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CONTENTS

THE TRANSITIVITY PATTERN IN *THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT*

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Abstract

The Sermon on the Mount is a text of reference for Christianity because it contains a code of conduct, a set of rules and an incentive for the believers to be actively involved in the whole faith process. The ideational metafunction of transitivity is a point of interest in our analysis of *the Sermon on the Mount*. The transitivity pattern reveals the meaning and functions of all the teachings of Jesus concerning anger, adultery, divorce, oaths, retaliation, love for enemies, almsgiving, prayer, fasting, treasures, serving two masters, judging others, profaning the holy and self-deception. The sacred text is deemed to be endowed with a strong perlocutionary force, a text with authority and power of persuasion. This force is enhanced mainly by the material process types used and its corresponding participants. The occurrence mainly of the material processes highlights this idea. That is why *The Sermon on the Mount* is crucial in grasping and acquiring its content in order to grow in faith.

Keywords:

transitivity, System Functional Grammar, process, pattern, metafunction

1. Theoretical Framework applied to the Analysis of *The Sermon on the Mount*

The theories underpinning our analysis of *The Sermon on the Mount* are the Critical Discourse Analysis and The Systemic Functional Grammar. By means of a critical discourse analysis of *the Sermon on the Mount* we will proceed to the clausal breakdown of the Sermon focusing on the processes and their corresponding participants.

In his article, R. Hasan has a very interesting approach regarding the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), starting from "the specific relations between the linguistic and social

phenomena". In this regard, we must consider two important questions: "Does discursive variation produce social change?" and "Does social stability presuppose discursive consistency?". Hasan starts his demonstration from the general argumentation of discourse. In its dynamic, the general discourse benefits from a general privilege of universality.

Hasan shows also that another important characteristic of the discourse is "*variation*". With a sociological background, variation is a form of consistency. In this case, we can speak about the same characteristics: "1. Display frequency of instantiation and persistence in time; 2. Be specific to some particular form(s) of interaction; 3. Possess objective reality, being viewed by a given community as the appropriate, normal behaviour in the context such as interaction(s)" [1] (p. 18).

J.L. Meurer uses some important elements from Giddens' structuration theorising as "tools for the contextualization of discourse analysis endeavours". His research contains a mediatic application, "discussing aspects of national identities as instantiated" [2] (p. 85). Therefore, our general interest comes in regard of SFL as social practice of language. "In SFL, roles and identities have been analysed in numerous ways, one which is through the exploration of Tenor and its interconnection with the interpersonal metafunction of language realized by the lexicogrammatical systems of mood, for example, Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995), Herberle (1997, 2001), Richmann (2001), and Silva (2002) have used this aspect of systemic functional analysis as a tool of exploring identities and relation in CDA. The point to emphasise is that "texts arise within intercontexts characterised by the tripartite social framework … the analysis carried out in SFL and CDA may be enriched by incorporating theoretical principles related to identities, social practice, and especially rule/resources as development in structuration theory" [2] (p. 88).

In conclusion, Meurer agrees that the most important issue regarding the linguistic relationship between SFL and CDA is "to establish relationships between language and context" [2] (p. 98). We must remember also that the context can have a very complex implication regarding the linguistic approach. Therefore, Meurer reminds us about two important backgrounds of linguistic contextualisation: "Context of Situation" (related to register) and "Context of Culture" (related to genre). Three features of the context of situation which serve to interpret the social context of a text, the environment in which meanings are being exchanged:

1.   the field of discourse refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what it is that the participants are engaged in.

2. the tenor of discourse refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of relationship are obtained among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the type of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships they are involved in.

3. The Mode of Discourse refers to what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in the situation: the symbolic organisation of the text, the status that it has and its function in the context, including the channel (spoken or written or both) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic and the like.

The Context of Situation and the Context of Culture are very much related, they are in a relationship of complementarity.

The variables of the Context of Situation (Field, Tenor, Mode) are related to specific metafunctions of language (Ideational, Interpersonal, Textual) and corresponding systems of options in the lexicogrammar (Transitivity, Mood, Theme/Rheme) being at a high level of delicacy. While in the Context of Culture, there is no such level of delicacy. The terms of "delicacy" and "scale" introduced in The Systemic Functional Grammar refer to the meanings of words which go from general to specific according to the context of the situation.

In Meurer linguistic theory CDA and SFL are very important to investigate the social structure of the discourse. "My hope is that language practices, as developed within SFL and CDA, will have the potential to impact on how individuals understand and react to such structures, helping them to see relationship between language and the larger context of culture, leading to changes where individuals reflect on their roles, on significations and form of domination in a way legitimately lead to better life politics both at the immediate context and at larger intercontexts of human practice. Language is the weapon" [2] (p. 96). The text of *the Sermon on the Mount* is intended to produce an impact on the hearers, to educate them by means of different techniques typical of a public discourse, techniques which will be further analysed.

The linguistic concept of "Systemic Functional Linguistics" (SFL) has a close relationship with the gender of public speaking, which we can identify such as "*predication and propagation*". "The approach to axiological analysis which I have called "predication and propagation" is a synthesis of Martin's (2000) work on appraisal and Lemke's (1998a) work on attitudinal meaning [3] (p. 202). The main difference between analysing the axiological aspect of meaning from predication and propagation perspectives is, firstly, the level of abstraction at which analyses are conducted. Lexical resources deployed in evaluative *predication* inscribe of attribute an element of the text with particular attributes. From the perspective of evaluative *propagation,* axiologies can be seen to propagate across the whole course of a text and beyond. In specific acts of meaning which are considered as instances of social dynamics, axiologies can give coherence both large and small-scale. Through repetition these axiologies are imposed leading to a process of permanent, insidious imposition, which produces, through impregnation, a real belief" (Bourdieu 1998: 29)" [3] (p. 57-58). The religious text which is subject to our analysis is a sermon and highlights perfectly all these concepts of predication and propagation.

The link between SFL and CDA can be summarised in the linguistical connection between "contextual" and "cultural". "Both set out to comprehend meanings with reference to the coherence-generation function of social context, history and culture" [3] (p. 63-64).

In linguistics different types of grammar have been advanced: Generative Grammar, Cognitive Grammar and Functional Grammar. Functional Grammar proves to be effective in the analysis process of different versions of translations. It also represents a useful tool of critical discourse analysis which provides a useful insight in understanding the religious text. Language comprises both Genre and Register, the genre dealing with the external aspect of the language and the register referring to the internal one. The internal dimension of the language covers the lexical, grammatical, syntactic features of the language while the external one aims at the functionality and purpose of the language.

SFG or *Systemic Functional Grammar* was developed by Michael Kirkwood Halliday as a branch of a social semiotic approach to language. The theory of SFG establishes the natural relationship which exists between semantics and lexicogrammar Halliday himself claims that "his aim has been to construct a grammar for purposes of text analysis: one that would make it possible to say sensible and useful things about any text, spoken or written in modern English" [4] (p. XV). The tenets of SFG are to determine the context of culture, context of situation and metafunctions. The context of culture reveals the whole cultural history behind texts and helps to put messages into proper perspective. Halliday and Matthiessen explain the context of situation as realized by mode (textual), field (experiential) and tenor (interpersonal) which are simply the arrangement of the message, the expression of world view and the relationship between the participants respectively.

Metafunction as used in SFG is a concept that refers to ways in which language functions differently, but simultaneously in a text [5]. The metafunctions are explained in the light of textual which provides connection between the arrangement of text or language and the features of the situation in which it is used; ideational which deals with the expression of the speaker's experience. A crucial aspect of the distribution of the content levels of language is metafunctional diversification which allows the creation of multiple meanings: ideational including both experiential and logical meanings, interpersonal (creation of text, clause as an exchange) and textual (creation of text as a message in context).

The Sermon on The Mount is about to be analysed from the perspective of the ideational metafunction of transitivity, with a special focus on the processes and their assigned participants.

2. The Sermon: definition and features

According to the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* the term sermon is defined as "a talk given as part of the Christian church service, usually on a religious or moral subject" and *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Theory* provides a more extended definition saying that a sermon (L sermo, 'talk, discourse') is similar to a homily (Gr 'discourse') which is "delivered to an assembled congregation, or a written book of an admonitory kind edifying the reader morally".

These definitions emphasise the authority held by the person who delivers the speech and the impact it has on the auditorium. As it is mentioned in Acts 19:8 of NKJV "and he went into the synagogue and spoke boldly for 3 months, reasoning and persuading concerning the things of the kingdom of God."

The sermonic language has an attitude-altering agenda calling for commitment and righteousness. In conformity with Taiwo (2005) it shapes lives, attitudes and behaviours towards a moral path.

3. Transitivity pattern in the *Sermon on the Mount*

The Sermon on the Mount is a text of reference for Christianity because it contains a code of conduct, a set of rules and an incentive for the believers to be actively involved in the whole faith process.

The ideational metafunction of transitivity is a point of interest in our analysis of *The Sermon on the Mount*. Transitivity is a system of a clause having an influence not only on the verb standing for Process but also Participants (Actors, Goal, Beneficiaries) and Circumstances.

3.1 The Material Process

The sacred text is deemed to be endowed with a strong perlocutionary force, a text with authority and power of persuasion. This force is enhanced mainly by the material process types used and its corresponding participants. The occurrence mainly of the material processes highlights this idea. According to Thompson the material process is "the largest and most diverse category in transitivity". The material processes encountered in The Sermon are:

persecute, built, hid, shine, gives light, abolish, 9odell, teaches, exceeds, murder, insult, hand over, get out, commit, causes, cut off, throw away, divorces, inherit, strikes, forces, give alms, reward, shut, pray, heap up, give, rescue, bring, serve, disfigure, marries, store up, steal, break in, sow, reap, gather, throw, trample, knock, find, fell, came, blew, does the will, take, fast, take out, maul, turn, look at.

All the extracted verbs denominating material process express tangible, physical actions, doings, happenings, events which mean that it is used a language of deeds mainly, a language which contains the power of transformation and moulding the audience into real believers in the Christian faith. The two most frequent participants in material process clauses are the actor and the goal [6]. The actor is the entity which functions as the source of energy to determine a change and the goal is the entity affected by the action of the verb. Other participants in the material process are the Range (a nominal group, a continuation of the meaning expressed in the verb), the Beneficiary (client or recipient) and the Scope [5].

e.g.:

"**Whoever** -*Actor*- **divorces**- *Process* his wife-*Beneficiary- Recipient*, let him (Client) give her (Recipient) a certificate of divorce- *Goal" (5-31, Matthew)*

Take heed- *Process*- that **you**- *Actor*- **do not do**- *Process*- your charitable deeds- Goal- before men (Client), to be seen by them (Beneficiary- Recipient). Otherwise **you**- *Actor*- *have Relational Process- no reward*- **Goal**- from your Father in heaven.- *Agent*

*"*Therefore, **whoever**- *Actor* **breaks** – *Material Process*- one of the least of these commandments**- Range**, and **teaches** – *Material Process* **others** – *Beneficiary -Recipients*- to do **the same- Range**, **will be called**- *Relational Identifying Process* **least in the Kingdom of heaven**- *Circumstantial Attribute*.

3.2 The Relational Process clauses refer to the state of being and the state of having. There are two types of processes: attributive process and identifying process. The attributive process deals with assigning a quality and the identifying process determines an identity. (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014)

e.g. "**Blessed-** *Value* **are-** *Relational Process* the poor- *Token* in spirit" (5-3, Matthew Gospel)

The Sermon on the Mount starts with the ten Beatitudes which we intend to analyse from the point of view of processes and participants: the process used is relational. In case of relational processes, the participants are Value and Token.

The participants considered as **Token** in the Beatitudes are: "*the poor in spirit", "those who mourn", "the meek", "those who hunger and thirst", "the merciful", "the pure in heart", "the peacemakers", "those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake".*

The direct way of addressing to the audience creates a moment of drawing attention to what follows to be exposed. The Participant of Value/ Attibute corresponding to the Relational Process in the initial position and its 9-time repetition are emphatic and didactic techniques meant to highlight certain moral features which are highly valued in the Christian belief. There is a symmetry of the sentences which makes them easy to be kept in mind by the hearers.

3.3 The Verbal Process exemplified by means of the following verbs and phrases: "say", "utter", "tell", "insult", "swear", "greet", "let your word be" has 3 corresponding Participants: sayer, verbiage and receiver:
e.g. "But **I** – *Sayer* **say**- *Process* to you- *Receiver,* **Do not resist an evildoer**- *Verbiage*

3.4 The Mental Process is divided into affective, cognitive, perceptive, desiderative and behavioural process which is mid-way between material and mental process according to M.A.K. Halliday's theory.
The verbs and phrases which designate mental processes extracted from the Sermon are the following: think, know- Cognitive, see, have heard- Perceptive, wants- Desiderative, love, hate- Affective, forgive, look dismal, glorify, has something against, revile – Behavioural.
e.g.: "Let your light- *Actor*- **shine** -*Process*-before men (Beneficiary- Recipients), that they may see (Mental Process of Perception) **your good works** – *Goal*-and **glorify -** *Behavioural Process*-**your Father in heaven** *The Range. (5-16, Matthew).*
The participants of a mental process are the senser and the phenomenon. The Senser-participants are *you*- the predominant one (the followers or the audience of the Sermon*), they, them, your father, your Heavenly father.* The Phenomena- participant are *God, your good deeds, your neighbor, your enemies, those, the one, false prophets, these words.*
The referent *you* for the position of senser refers to anybody at all and makes the message timeless and universal.

3.5 The Existential Process is only one identified:
e.g. When all the time **there -***Subject* **is -***Ext* **a plank** – *Existent* in your own eye?
The low level of existential processes is relevant of the fact that we cannot talk about things that are nonexistent. The predominance of the material processes reflects that fact that the message has authority, it is factual and it is very little descriptive.
The end of the sermon comes with the reassurance that following all the imperative rules is similar to building our house on the rock rendering stability and solidity to our life. The consequences of disobeying them is pictured like a house falling greatly against the rain, floods and blowing winds. The use of Past Tense in the final part of the sermon, such as "fell, came, blew, beat", is meant to give force to the speech, to be influential and persuasive to the hearers. Rain, storm, wind and stream are universal elements to be used holding the position of Actor and aiming at the universality of the message in the Sermon.

Conclusions
The transitivity pattern reveals the meaning and functions of all the teachings of Jesus concerning anger, adultery, divorce, oaths, retaliation, love for enemies, almsgiving, prayer, fasting, treasures, serving two masters, judging others, profaning the holy and self-deception.

That is why *The Sermon on the Mount* is crucial in grasping and acquiring its content in order to grow in faith.

The stylistic device of metaphor is made use of all through the Sermon as Wierzbicka (2001) stated that "metaphors can undoubtedly encapsulate profound truths; and in Christianity and other religions, some of the deepest and most important truths have been formulated, preserved and transmitted through the centuries in metaphors."

"The salt of the earth", "the light of the world", "the eye is the lamp of the body", "false prophets in sheep's clothing but inwardly are ravenous wolves".

The use of the modal verb *Shall* repetitively typical of formal regulations), the first Conditional Clauses expressing real conditions and the interrogative form are all features of the sermonic religious language making points clearer in the discourse, entreating listeners to give more thought to the created contexts and be persuasive, ultimately.

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A CORPUS-DRIVEN ANALYSIS OF NOUN PHRASES IN *NUMBER 11* BY JONATHAN COE

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Abstract

The current paper focuses on a linguistic analysis upon Jonathan Coe`s *Number 11* aiming to identify and classify noun phrases while at the same time placing under scrutiny their functional and structural aspects. The tripartite approach of this article tackles the issue of noun collocations recurrence from the angle of their definition, classification, and socio-cultural impact, with a view to demonstrating that a reader`s processing effort is significantly reduced by the use of these chunks of language stored in our long-term memory which ease comprehension. Last but not least, it will be demonstrated that collocations carry emotive force and thus the socio-cultural aspects of this type of idiomatic language need to be further underexplored.

1. Introduction

By means of this article readers are exposed to computational analysis, mainly based on the exploration of collocation analysis, with a clear focus on extracting noun phrases in Jonathan Coe`s *Number 11*. The former part of the paper provides an analysis of collocation within an interdisciplinary research framework, combining elements pertaining to general linguistics, comparative linguistics, semantics, pragmatics, lexicology, and intercultural communication, whereas the latter part is corpus-based and it includes word lists, concordances and collocational patterns of nouns in *Number 11* by Jonathan Coe with the purpose of demonstrating the role of collocational phenomena in structuring and interpreting literary texts. Since collocations do reflect the cultural setting in which they occur, it is only

natural to see collocations as a reflection of a cultural, social, and pragmatic model within the boundaries of a conceptual framework, which makes perfectly justifiable a holistic approach to them, including a linguistic, semantic, cognitive, pragmatic, and cultural point of view.

2. Touring the concept of collocation

Native speakers of English produce a high proportion of the utterances they use automatically, a fact that demonstrates languages in general and English specifically are repositories of associations of words stored in the speaker`s mind. Could this account for linguists being so interested in collocations? One reason surely comes from the idea that collocations are the building blocks of language and are, in some sense, basic units of language in use and that frequency of occurrence has a direct impact on the organisation of grammar. Mainstream literature pinpoints a vast range of interpretations of collocations as an inherent part of figurative language, generally regarded as mechanisms that endow language with cohesion. Figurative meaning is linked to the concept of connotative meaning, influenced to a great extent by culture, stereotyping, and already existing connections. Seen as characteristic of literally language, figurative language can also be easily identified in advertising, tourism, politics, law, or everyday speech. Furthermore, the growing interest demonstrated by linguists has changed the focus from the study of isolated instances to the study of complex or interdisciplinary ones.

The first notable intervention in the field of collocational analysis belongs to Firth who states that "The collocation of a word as a piece is not to be regarded as mere juxtaposition, it is an order of mutual expectancy. The words are mutually expected and mutually prehended" [1] (p. 181). This idea originates with J.R. Firth and is very important in the neo-Firthian school of corpus linguistics. Although failing in providing a clear definition for the term of collocation, Firth is generally cited among the first linguists who have developed a theory of meaning on the notion of "meaning by collocation" while it is also widely recognised as having been the pioneer of the concept of collocation within the borders of the linguistic theory [1] (p. 196).

The term *collocation* is based on the principle that words within a language tend to co-occur with certain words more often than with others. Being in between free-word combinations and idioms, collocations are considered as sequences of habitually co-occurrent bundles of lexical items, generally described as arbitrary, recurrent in context and common in both familiar and technical language. Though basically language-related items, collocations are governed by thought and shaped by the communicative act, they are an innate part of our language, thought and communication.

Many definitions have been provided over the years with a view to explaining the functionality of collocations and why they pop up by the dozen in both spoken and written language. The difficulty in finding a conjoint definition of collocations arises from their heterogeneity and complex nature. The concept of collocation has been portrayed extensively within different linguistic frameworks. Some of the definitions provided as it follows include opinions expressed by Hoey, Sinclair, Baker, Cruse, Philip, Brown, Miller or Hardie.

According to Hoey "Collocations can be defined by means of the relationship a lexical item has with items that appear with greater than random probability in its textual context" [2] (p. 7). We could say that this theory is based on the principle of "mutual expectancy" according to which the occurrence of certain words may trigger the presence of others, words thus becoming collocates [2].

Sinclair advocates that the meaning of a word is heavily context-dependent and is to be analysed not in terms of word-inherent semantic characteristics but rather through the lexical and grammatical elements with which the word co-occurs [3] (p.108). Words are integrated within a lexical and grammatical structure, so the choice of a particular word influences the context of the other words used alongside.

Mastering the use of collocations is a process resultant from constant exposure to co-occurring word combinations. The degree of meaning opacity plays an essential role in the process of unveiling the meaning of a collocation. More idiomatic word combinations become more difficult to understand, thus the approach focuses mainly on their use in context. Linguists such as Firth [1], Halliday [4], Howarth [5] plead in favour of explaining meaning in context.

In the same climate of opinion Baker states that collocations are "semantically arbitrary co-occurrences" which "do not follow logically from the propositional meaning of the word" [6] (p. 14). This comes in support of the opinion expressed by the same scholar that the occurrence of collocations is not dependent upon the denotative meaning of its constituents, thus meaning cannot always account for collocational patterning. In this respect she provides us with the following examples: the collocation *make/pay a visit* is unlikely to be replaced with *perform a visit* and the collocation *break rules* cannot be used as *break regulations* [6] (p. 47).

A different perspective belongs to Cruse who defines collocations as "sequences of lexical items which habitually co-occur, but which are nonetheless fully transparent, in the sense that each lexical constituent is also a semantic constituent" [7] (p. 40). Therefore, the constituents of a collocation form meanings which are restricted to one collocation. Extending the landscape, Cruse [7] (p. 86) casts light on the fact that anticipation of these habitually co-occurrences by means of semantic or syntactic rules is difficult because they are encountered with a certain regularity in different text types.

Attempting to provide a unified perspective of the above-mentioned definitions, Philip`s research highlights that collocations are made up of more than one word, expressing a unique meaning which must be semantically complete, a feature known as "semantic integrity" [8] (p.6).

In the *Cambridge Dictionary of Linguistics* collocation is defined as: "The relation between individual lexical words such that they frequently occur together, or one requires the other: e.g., *brand* and *new* in *brand new*, *staple* and *diet* in *staple diet*" [9] (p. 86). In line with this approach Hardie states that: "Collocation in an all-encompassing sense simply means those aspects of a word's meaning which subsist in its relationship with other words alongside which it tends to occur" [10] (p. 512).

In order to render meaning, words combine to form collocations and phrases, thus their semantic analysis must be done in context, hence the importance placed on corpora. The tendency of words to co-occur in combinations that sound natural to the native speakers of a language is what lies beneath the surface of collocations. The constructional approach to collocations assumes that they appear to have a fixed idiosyncratic meaning, but that does not imply that they also have a fixed meaning. "The meaning of a word, and no doubt of any structurally frozen content item, whatever its size cannot be characterized in terms of very precise and fixed or black and white criteria" [11] (p.61).

By and large, understanding the meaning or any word or construction implies the effort made by a speaker to overlap a certain conceptual configuration onto a certain linguistic form, a task far from simple because no single conceptual image is shared by all language users. Nuyts [11] pleads in favour of considering the construction concept of a grammar as a natural consequence of a dynamic view of language use.

As it happens with any study that attempts to reach complexity, it is difficult to make use of only one theory, since they overlap and are not mutually exclusive, thus contributing to a holistic understanding of the phenomenon under scrutiny.

3. Theoretical framework

We now turn our attention towards presenting a theoretical background by skimming through a great deal of the technical terms which are involved in the study of collocations: *collocate, collocational meaning, collocational pattern, collocational range, lemma, node, and span.* In linguistics collocation is largely described as the tendency of some words to co-occur more frequently than others consisting of one or more collocates and a node. First and foremost, a dividing line must be set between the concepts of *collocate* and *node*. By *node* we understand the lexical item that is being scrutinized. The words that appear frequently in the proximity of a node are known as the collocates of that node word. "Each successive word in a text is both node and collocate, though never at the same time" [3] (p.115). As for *span*, Sinclair initially defined the term as having three lexical items before and after each node, though later he defined it as having four lexical items before and after each node [3]. The association of two or more collocates means that they only convey one meaning which becomes increasingly specific as the length of a collocation increases.

If the writer and reader or speaker and hearer do not have enough common ground, communication cannot succeed. The definition of collocation previously mentioned is a relationship of habitual co-occurrence between words, not necessarily *lemmas*. Since the two concepts are used interchangeably, we need to make a clear difference between them. "For example, the lemma *take* is realised in text by the word forms *take, takes, took, taking, taken*. Similarly, the lemma of the noun *rabbit* is realised by the word-forms *rabbit, rabbits, rabbit`s and rabbits`* and the lemma of the adjective big is realised by *big, bigger,* and *biggest*." [12] (p. 25).

Words combine with other words to form stretches of language, not randomly but following strict sets of rules meant to convey what is defined as *collocational meaning*. Patterns of collocations are an outspoken expression of the preferences of specific language communities for certain ways of expression and linguistic patterning. The number of contextual patterns provides fruitful empirical evidence on various aspects of the meaning of a word. To fully and thoroughly understand the intricate aspect of the concept of collocational meaning, Baker concludes that words tend to occur in the company of other words "but words are not strung together at random in any language, there are always restrictions on the way they can be combined to convey meaning" [6] (p. 46).

Collocational range is the collection of collocates which are usually combined with a given node. The collocates which are associated with a word in terms of compatibility to a greater or lesser degree, correspond to the collocational range of that word, which is influenced both by the level of specificity of that word and the number of senses it has. The more general a word is, the broader its collocational range. For instance, the verb *take* has a vast collocational range including *take advantage of, take a break, take a decision, take a*

photo, take a risk, take a seat, take a step, etc. On the other hand, the verb *nod* has a limited collocational range since it mostly occurs in the structure *nod one`s head*. Words which have synonymous meaning may have different sets of collocates. For instance, we may say *waste time*, but not *squander time*, the same goes for *deliver/pronounce a verdict* which sounds natural as opposed *to deliver a sentence* [6] (p. 48). Collocational patterning may be different among languages not only at the level of word choice, but also in that it involves different methods of depicting an event. "Patterns of collocation reflect the preferences of specific language communities for certain modes of expression and certain linguistic configurations, they rarely reflect any inherent order in the world around us." [6] (p. 49). Patterns of collocations which are recurrent in language become linguistic stereotypes as well as an inherent part of our linguistic repertoire and we do not stop to think about them when we come across them, whereas collocations with little history of recurrence may strike as unusual.

Given the features that collocations have and more importantly them being language-specific, researchers have demonstrated an increased interest in finding statistical patterns applied so as to extract bilingual pairs of collocations for parallel and non-parallel corpora. What accounts for the complexity of the collocational patterns is the multifaceted linguistic, semantic, and cognitive process that their utterance triggers. This timeline tour of the definitions and theories of collocations with a clear focus on the lexical approach is meant to help us understand their evolution and current use. Collocations are part and parcel of both language and thought and their use is influenced by context, historical and social background and last but not least by the linguistic experience of the writer/speaker and of the reader/hearer.

4. A brief insight into the taxonomies of collocations

There is no consensus on the classification of collocations since scholars and linguists have adopted different strategies supported by the fact that there seems to be no universal law that governs the functionality of collocations apart from the agreement that they are seen as combinations of at least two lexical items which contribute semantically to the overall meaning, though they belong to different word classes and may have a limited semantic range. Hence, the importance of presenting an overview of the classifications provided by various researchers taking into consideration ample criteria.

From the point of view of their morpho-syntactic properties mainstream literature has found that collocations are divided into two major groups: lexical and grammatical, a classification dependent on the part of speech the constituent words represent. Since the long-established paradigm distinguishes between grammatical and semantic or lexical collocations, it is fundamental to make a presentation of the main features that shape both these categories. For grammatical collocations the collocators function as determiners of the node. Grammatical collocations bestride the boundary between lexical and grammatical relations. Semantic or lexical collocations are more restricted in meaning than grammatical collocations.

The first well-defined distinction between grammatical and lexical collocations is made by Benson et al. who state that "a grammatical collocation is a phrase consisting of a dominant word, a noun, adjective, verb and a preposition or grammatical structure such as an infinitive or clause" [13] (p.15) whereas "lexical collocations, in contrast to grammatical collocations, normally do not contain prepositions, infinitives or clauses" [13] (p.30).

Lewis suggests the same taxonomy: lexical and grammatical collocations. Lexical collocations are further subdivided into six types [14] (p.133):

➢ adjective + noun (e.g. *heavy rain, strong wind*)
➢ verb + noun (e.g. *take a step*)
➢ verb + adverb (e.g. *fully understand, gladly accept*)
➢ noun + noun (e.g. *a desire of suitors, a gang of thieves, a swarm of bees*)
➢ adverb + adjective (e.g. *totally unbelievable, wonderfully curly*)
➢ verb + noun (e.g. *pay a bill, make an appointment, lay eggs*)

Grammatical collocations are according to Lewis a combination of open class words, be it a noun, verb, or an adjective and a particle [14] (p.134). Thus, there are four types of grammatical collocations:

➢ noun + preposition (e.g., *advantage of, emphasis on, hatred for, need for*)
➢ verb + preposition (e.g., *agree with, ask for, belong to, wait for*)
➢ adjective + preposition (e.g., *keen on, prone to, typical of*)
➢ preposition + noun (e.g., *in debt, on loan, under pressure*)

Cruse finds that each lexeme contributes in itself to the overall meaning of the collocation by stating that "each lexical constituent is also a semantic constituent" [7] (p.40) and

highlights the importance of the grammatical word classes of the collocational occurrence by classifying grammatical collocations into:

➢ noun phrases (noun+preposition e.g., *knowledge of*, noun+ long infinitive: *a task to do*, noun+that clause: *the decision that,* preposition+noun, e.g. *on purpose*)
➢ adjective phrases (adjective+preposition, e.g., *fond of,* adjective+long infinitive, e.g., *keen to learn sth.,* adjective +that clause, e.g., *she was aware that*)
➢ verb phrases (verb+preposition, e.g., *believe in).*

Can we speak of degrees of transparency when it comes to collocational meaning? As previously stated, collocations are not only a matter of language, but also of thought, so their full comprehension is an elaborate task which requires both effort and deep analysis. Apart from their semantic and stylistic functions, collocations also have a pragmatic role, which only adds to the complexity of their understanding. Considering their semantic transparency, Bartsch [15] (p.72) has divided collocations into transparent for which the meaning is clear from a compositional reading of its constituents (e.g. *make an impression*), partly opaque in which case one lexeme conveys a collocation-specific meaning which is distinctive from its meaning when used outside the construction (e.g. *run for president*) and opaque for which the meaning is difficult to predict (e.g. *draw up a will*). Opaque collocations require enhanced effort from the reader since it is necessary to link contextual clues and metaphorical meaning with the message that seems to be transmitted.

A groundbreaking piece of research in the linguistic field of collocations belongs to Mona Baker. In terms of collocational range Baker makes a clear distinction between unmarked collocations further divided into common collocations and collocations with extended range, such as *heavy gambler* and marked collocations [6] (p. 51). The latter type of collocations is mainly used in fiction, poetry, or advertising with a clear view of creating unusual combinations of words meant to catch the readers` attention. A marked collocation is a challenging and unusual combination of words that arouses our curiosity as hearers or readers, used with the clear purpose of creating unusual images, producing laughter, and catching the reader`s attention. Armstrong uses the example of the adjective *rancid* to prove that it generally collocates with nouns referring to dairy products, such as cheese, butter, milk

and further provides the example of a film "Rancid Aluminium" which breaks the collocational pattern to achieve a certain stylistic effect. As an extension of the adjective rancid which basically denotes something perishable, it can be used in collocations with socks or bedroom. However, the linguist does make it clear that the extension of the scope cannot go too far without consequences upon language [16] (p.97).

5. Computer-assisted analysis and result interpretations

The fact that collocation has grown and turned into an important pillar in applied linguistics is undeniable and what stands as proof is that there has been a rising trend registered in the direction of exploring the role of collocational phenomena and implicitly of collocational patterns in structuring and interpreting literary texts. Moreover, it is equally important in the stylistic analysis of literature. Hori acknowledges that "Collocation has grown to become a main pillar in applied linguistics. It is hoped that collocation will also attract the attention of people who are interested in language and style of literary texts as an important component in the stylistic analysis of literature." [17] (p. 29).

Corpus linguistics makes use of large collections of spoken and/or written texts to explore with accuracy and describe linguistic features and patterns associated with language use depending on the context they are used in. It is a systematized, multidimensional, and resourceful research tool used to enhance translation studies and intercultural networking. In the field of cross-linguistic research Granger pays special attention to corpus-based applications and states that "linguistics and translation now have a common resource" [18] (p.14).

The use of a computer-assisted approach has enabled us to present complete datasets which allow a linguistic analysis of Jonathan Coe`s language through the study of collocations in *Number 11*. The richness of collocations in Coe`s work may be considered his contribution to the enrichment of English figurative language. In this respect Greenbaum declared that "In the stylistic analysis of literary works a study of collocations may reveal the predilection of individual writers or genres for particular collocations, their avoidance of collocations that are frequent elsewhere and their selection of collocations that are rare or unique" [19] (p.81). Thus, our corpus-based study will focus on the analysis of lexical and grammatical collocations by examining the frequency and context of occurrence of linguistic items.

We embark on a detailed analysis of the corpus mentioned above to identify the occurrence patterns of collocations by focusing on noun phrases. For the detailed analysis of patterns of noun phrases, we proceed based on a computer-assisted approach. The text analysis was carried out via MAXQDA 2021 [20] a software for Qualitative Data Analysis. The first step was to import the corpus into the software. By taking advantage of a computer-assisted approach, it has been possible to present complete datasets to shed some light on linguistic noun patterns encountered in Jonathan Coe`s literary work *Number 11* [21].

highly significant for a given node are very frequent in the language. For instance, the definite article *the* alongside personal pronouns may be encountered at the top of many collocate lists given their overall frequency. As it is shown in figure 1 the frequency of the definite article *the* in *Number 11* [21] clearly outnumbers that of any other word.

A software used to calculate the frequency of a collocation will function on a collocational span, which is a set number of words before and after the node. The software then gives a list

of words that occur within the selected span. Considering solely the criterion of frequency when analysing a list of collocates may be misleading since in English words that are not highly significant for a given node are very frequent in the language. For instance, the definite article *the* alongside personal pronouns may be encountered at the top of many collocate lists given their overall frequency. As it is shown in Figure 1 the frequency of the definite article *the* in *Number 11* [21] clearly outnumbers that of any other word.

Word	Word length	Frequency	%	Rank
the	3	5256	5,91	1
be	2	3158	3,55	2
and	3	2755	3,10	3
have	4	1679	1,89	4
that	4	1575	1,77	5
her	3	1378	1,55	6
she	3	1199	1,35	7
you	3	958	1,08	8
say	3	851	0,96	9
this	4	782	0,88	10

Figure. 1.

In English noun phrases are divided between noun phrases with premodifiers and noun phrases with postmodifiers. The class of premodifiers includes adjectives, articles (definite article *the* and indefinite article *a/an*), classifiers, determiners, demonstratives, present and past participles, possessives, and other nouns. According to Biber et al. [22], there are four types of noun premodification which have also been identified in *Number 11* [21], namely general adjective (e.g. *conspirational whisper* p.11, *silly delusions* p.14*, horrific thing* p.30), *ed*-participial modifier (e.g. *dignified retreat* p.41*, pointed chin* p.42), *ing*-participial modifier (e.g. *amazing width* p.5, *terrifying woman* p.6*, fleeting apparition* p.14*, daunting prospect* p.20) and noun modifier (e.g. *eye level* p.33*, chocolate biscuits* p.35). The class of postmodifiers includes prepositional phrases (e.g. *kind of* p.40, *feature of* p.45), adjective clauses (e.g. *device which seemed to me* p.45, *the language that he speaks* p.95), relative clauses (e.g. *a feel for what* p.41, *sense of indifference when* p.145), to-infinitive phrases (e.g. *idea to bring* p.131, *wish to relax* p.262).

Chandler [23] claimed that in English a large number of noun phrases with premodifiers are introduced by a determiner and the determiner may be followed by one or two adjectives. The results of this analysis revealed that *Number 11* mostly displays the same word order distribution of simple noun phrases, by that we mean determiner+modifier+head noun with some slight differences which occur once the modifier changes position. Various constituents may function as a head, the most frequent of them being common nouns. The basic structure of the noun phrase is determiner+adjective+noun which means that any noun phrase must have a noun preceded by a determiner and one or more adjectives in that order. Adjectives usually occupy the place between the determiner and the head noun (e.g. *the neat clusters* p.3), but the same position may be occupied by other nouns that modify the noun (e.g. *a shabby fawn mackintosh p.8*). All in all, there are eight basic categories of word order patterns which commonly occurred in noun phrases with premodifiers which are presented

below accompanied by several examples in context:

➤ head noun+head noun (s) (e.g. *eye level*, p. 33, *section editors*, p.272, *site office*, p.394)

➤ descriptor+head noun (e.g. *rough unison*, p. 34, *rapid retreat*, p.35, *bad dreams*, p.39, *little alleyway*, p.41, strange imaginings, p.66,)

➤ article+head noun (e.g. *the plates*, p. 36, *an expanse of*, p.39, *the finality of*, p.103,

➤ determiner+head noun (e.g. *every side*, p. 37, *every word*, p. 42, *another thing*, p.66, *several years*, p.141)

➤ classifier+head noun (e.g. *lump of meat*, p. 15, *cluster of trees*, p.56, *the pack of cards*, p.104, *a bunch of undergraduates*, p.129)

➤ possessor+head noun e.g. (*e.g. her brother*, p. 12, *his mother*, p.254, *his hard hat*, p.394)

➤ quatifier+head noun (e.g. *one day*, p. 13, *one morning*, p.44, *eleven campmates*, p.168, *eleven floor*s, p.486)

➤ demonstrator+head noun (e.g. *this lot*, p. 35*, these cards*, p.56, *these words*, p.103, *this week*, p.180)

The findings of this study have revealed that the corpus subject to analysis *Number 11* abounds in noun phrases with premodifiers and that the basic word order of a noun phrases in *Number 11* is determiner+modifier+head noun, in which the modifier may be the descriptor, the classifier, the possessor or the demonstrator, though the number of descriptors is higher than that of other modifiers. The possessor always comes in front of the descriptor, the classifier or even the quantifier.

In the case of the occurrence determiner (article)+ noun it has been observed that the number of occurrences of the definite article *the* clearly outnumbers that of the indefinite article *a/an*. The+head noun has 5256 occurrences, whereas a/an+head noun has only 3624 occurrences.

Another conclusion that can be drawn is that the use of pronouns as part of the noun phrases is quite common as they are used to substitute the names of the characters (e.g. *her brother* p.3, *his weak responsive grip*, p.5, *her ears* p.6, *in her wheelchair*, p.7, *her arms*, p.10).

Conclusions

The shifts in emphasis from single words to collocations to pairs or groups of words as integrated chunks of meaning and usage have now become a much more fully accepted aspect of vocabulary description. Challenges and figures of speech can be found in any kind of text, be it literary or non-literary. This is one of the ideas that lie behind the motivation of this article. Analysing the dependability of collocations on context and the intention of the linguistic user is a challenge. Collocational knowledge has far-reaching implications precisely because of their prevalence in language. Significant attainments in the domain of syntactic analysis and the evolution of computer area allowing access to substantial text corpora have led to an impressive evolution in the field of collocation analysis. Many collocations strike us as inevitable selections of words, which means that the choice of one constituent triggers the choice of the other. Native speakers intuitively perceive the lexical constraints governing collocations, whereas second language users need to become familiar with them by means of various linguistic encounters. Thus, if one chooses the wrong collocation, one may be understood but fail to sound natural.

It is only natural to approach collocations holistically from a linguistic, semantic, cognitive, pragmatic, and cultural point of view. Collocations are a living proof of the dynamics of language, they are a never-ending field of research for linguists because they can acquire new meanings, or they can change from being transparent to opaque in reference to our cultural or linguistic experience. The process of creating new collocations is in a continuous movement and the methods may vary from extending an existing range to deliberately placing together words from different or opposite spans. New collocations gain acknowledgement, are reinforced by usage, and are eventually integrated into the customary repertoire of the language. It is paramount that a study and a thorough understanding of collocations is needed when dealing with any kind of text, be it literal or not. We could wonder whether it is simpler to use words literally or figuratively. We might be tempted to plead in favour of the former, but ironically, we prefer the latter. John R. Searle states that "the knowledge that enables people to use and understand metaphorical utterances goes beyond their knowledge of the literal meanings of words and sentences" [24] (p.84).

By and large language and especially literary language utilise frames which give rise to patterns. In this way communication goes beyond the limits of it being a mere process of transferring linguistic information or encoding and decoding messages. Meaning is created through cognitive operations such as pragmatic inferences and conceptual integration with the aid of encyclopedic knowledge, belief systems and cultural understanding.

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THE WOMAN QUESTION IN E. B. BROWNING'S *AURORA LEIGH* AND A. L. TENNYSON' S *THE PRINCESS*

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Abstract

In this paper we attempt to analyse one of the most contentious issues of the Victorian era, 'The Woman Question,' in relation to the underlying Victorian gender ideology and Victorian literature on gender as one of the primary means of expression of gender matters. Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh* and Alfred Lord Tennyson's *The Princess*, two of the major works of the nineteenth century dealing with the problems faced by women in Victorian society are examined in terms of their approach and contribution to the gender issues predominant in the aforementioned period. The main purpose is to provide a clear view of Victorian gender ideology and highlight the role played by Victorian literature in the challenge against the strict patriarchal codes of the era.

Keywords

The Victorian era; The Woman question; *Aurora Leigh; The Princess*

1. The Victorian Gender Ideology

The Victorian age was an intricate and paradoxical epoch that witnessed, on the one hand, a significant expansion of wealth, power and culture and, on the other, poverty and disputes. 'The Woman Question' was a discussed subject that prevailed the era. With its strict gender roles, Victorian England was a strictly patriarchal society where discrimination against females was a dogmatic practice. As J. Tosh states, "it was a society characterized by increasingly sharp category distinctions of gender and sexuality" [1] (330). The Victorian ideology of gender is based on the idea that females were both physically and intellectually the inferior sex. According to the stereotypical gender roles, the man was supposed to be the breadwinner while the woman was to be the homemaker. The ideal woman, as 'the moral guardian of society' [4] (99), was behind the education and care of the children and the organisation of the household as a whole, while the man was supposed to have a career. A woman was subordinate to her husband, and she was required to be domestic, nurturing and obedient. The Victorian gender ideology justified itself claiming that women were meant to

be only mothers and wives. However, throughout the age, male autonomy was reinforced by emphasising masculine values of bravery and endeavor. Females were allowed to have only a subsidiary role characterised by feminine virtues, being by law, the property of her father or husband.

In 1890, Florence Miller portrayed the female's condition in her speech to the National Liberal Club. She mentioned that "under exclusively man-made laws, women have been reduced to the most abject condition of legal slavery in which it is possible for human beings to be held ... under the arbitrary domination of another's will, and dependent for decent treatment exclusively on the goodness of heart of the individual master" [5] (413). Victorian focus on refinement, propriety, restraint, and sexual prudishness developed into a form of slavery. Without having control or right over their lives, many females endured a life of misery and faced disease and early decay. Depicting the plight of Victorian women in her essay "Cassandra", Florence Nightingale indicated that "she is like the Archangel Michael as he stands upon Saint Angelo at Rome. She has an immense provision of wings, which seem as if they would bear her over earth and heaven; but when she tries to use them, she is petrified into stone, her feet are grown into the earth, chained to the bronze pedestal. Nothing can well be imagined more painful than the present position of woman" [6] (50). Nightingale's direct reference to the Victorian female on a pedestal image is satirical in that it draws attention to her desperate status hidden behind the false glorification. The main point of criticism in "Cassandra" lies over the domestic subjugation which entrapped the woman in the household, keeping her dependent on male autonomy. Although marriage was seen to be a matter of survival for Victorian women, it provided nothing more than a new household with growing responsibilities but no real benefits or security.

The feminine inferiority was at the heart of the value system of Victorian society with all its institutions. As the 19th century progressed and women began to try harder to break free from the traditional regime of patriarchy, the already existing gender violence became more apparent and intense. The conflict between the sexes, both in domestic and political spheres, was perceived as a threat by Victorian men whose supremacy was challenged by women's emancipation. The 19th century gradually brought about radical changes in scientific and economic terms and the rights of Victorian women. Although they were not satisfactory and may even be considered shallow by today's standards, the legislation in favour of women at the time might be regarded as essential steps toward the liberalization of women. The social dictum of women's place in the Victorian age was losing ground as the new laws emerged. However, their implementation and extension took some time. Early Victorian prescriptions excluding women from the economic realm and positioning them as the objects and the spiritual guardians of the household were being challenged in the political, economic and legal circles. Women fought against all odds on the path to liberation. The suffrage movement marked the end of the century. The suffragettes, led by iconic English political activist Emmeline Pankhurst, campaigned for women's right to vote. The transformation brought by the industrial revolution was the principal agent.

The newly acquired role of Victorian women in the labour market and their active involvement in the new market economy merged with the previously gained rights and helped make the voice of Victorian women sound louder and more assertive. However, despite the dramatic shift in ideas concerning gender relations, complete gender equality was by no means achieved. Instead, the traditional notion of inequality gave way to the mildly reformed view of equal but different. As professional, educational and legal rights improved, male

autonomy weakened, but female dependency remained. The recovery was slow and painstaking. Nevertheless, women's struggle for emancipation continued with growing publicity. Along with several social and economic realities of the age of transformation, which created the grounds for change, the literature of the period on gender appears to have been an effective means of expressing the hardships faced by Victorian women.

2. Victorian Literature on Gender: Challenging the Norm

Among the many factors contributing to the advancement of women in the Victorian social pyramid, literary works played a significant role. The social criticism directed towards the injustices against women fostered the awareness of the Victorian female on the path to liberation. The Victorian notion of 'Angel of the House' was debated by several writers of the era, most notably Charlotte Brontë, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Alfred Lord Tennyson, and Thomas Hardy. Their arguments on gender matters raised in their works helped promote awareness and popularise Victorian gender conflict. Brontë's Jane Eyre, Hardy's Tess, Browning's Aurora and Tennyson's female characters became the representatives of downtrodden and oppressed Victorian women. This reflects the extent of strict gender codes of the period. The ideal woman is the one who follows the prescribed roles imposed by society if she wants to avoid trouble.

Mrs. Reed sends Jane to the Lowood Institution, a charity school, where she faces another form of male oppression inflicted upon her by the parson and hypocritical overseer of Lowood Institution, Mr. Brocklehurst. He represents the Victorian notion that views female inferiority as God's will. After eight years, Jane, fed up with the routine of Lowood, decides to leave with her unfulfilled desire for liberty, "And now I felt that it was not enough; I tired of the routine of eight years in one afternoon. I desired liberty; for liberty, I gasped; for liberty I uttered a prayer; it seemed scattered on the wind then faintly blowing. I abandoned it and framed a humbler supplication; for change, stimulus: that petition, too, seemed swept off into vague space: 'Then,' I cried, half desperate, 'grant me at least a new servitude!'" [7] (86). In pursuit of change, Jane advertises for a job as a private tutor. Soon, she becomes the governess of the young Adèle Varens, who is the ward of Mr. Rochester, the master of Thornfield Hall. Working as a governess was one of the few good jobs for a woman in Victorian England since it was not much different from the work performed by a housewife. Although Jane was not particularly querulous about the job, the tranquillity of Thornfield was not what she expected from life. By this time, her sense of gender equality was quite developed. She was well aware of the gender bias of the time. Her comment as to the status of women in society demonstrates the gist of Victorian gender ideology, "Women are supposed to be very calm generally: but women feel just as men feel; they need exercise for their faculties, […] they suffer from too rigid a restraint, too absolute a stagnation, precisely as men would suffer; and it is narrow-minded in their more privileged fellow-creatures to say they ought to confine themselves to making puddings and knitting stockings. It is thoughtless to condemn them, or laugh at them, if they seek to do more or learn more than custom has pronounced necessary for their sex" [7] (111). When her relationship with Rochester starts, Jane finds herself in another gender challenge. Rochester's attitude and standing were typically patriarchal. She feels trapped between her desire to be independent and her love for Rochester. Following a series of dramatic events, the most important of which is the revelation of Bertha Mason, Rochester's isolated and insane wife, Jane finally attains her

goal of the marriage of equals. Jane's triumph over her destiny is a glimpse of hope for the Victorian women who desperately wished to abandon their traditional roles.

3. The Woman Question in E.B. Browning's *Aurora Leigh*

Aurora Leigh, Elizabeth Barrett Browning's poem, also portrays the struggles of a woman to go beyond the confines of Victorian gender ideology. Browning's lengthy poem is regarded as a proto-feminist work depicting female characters suffering from gender stratifications. Just like Jane, Aurora is an orphan cared for by a maiden aunt who forces the norms of the period on her. She challenges the norms through her devotion to literature and desire for a poetic career, which she partially achieves in London literary circles. The roles regarding the status of women prescribed by gender ideology are challenged by Aurora, whose desire for individual freedom merges with literary creativity and is eventually complemented by love. In "Aurora Leigh," through another female character, Marian Erle, Browning also draws attention to the plight of poor and sexually abused women. The social criticism in this respect focuses on Victorian indifference to the fate of the victims actually created by the system itself. In the poem, Romney, Aurora's cousin, represents Victorian women's perception in general. His first attempt to convince Aurora to accept his marriage proposal fails due to his denial of Aurora's potential and prospects of becoming a successful poet. The Victorian women ideology is so deeply rooted that Romney is unaware of the humiliation he inflicts upon the woman he loves. Aurora's quest for a poetic career turns out to be a search for identity and liberation.

The Victorian gender stratification, which rests on the belief that virtuous women should not move beyond the boundaries of the domestic sphere, is questioned by Browning, who equips Aurora with both the skills to pursue a career and the virtues to be an ideal wife. On the other hand, in her struggle, Aurora's description of herself with masculine terms demonstrates the rigidity of Victorian gender codes that penetrates into the souls and minds of even feminine figures seeking emancipation. Aurora clearly represents Browning's refusal of female dependency and male chivalry, which she explains in a letter to Mary Russell after the publication of her Poems: "I know that women (many of them) encourage this tendency by parading their weakness, and it is detestable to my eyes, in an equal degree, on both sides of sex" [8] (25). After a series of dramatic events, Romney, whose socialist schemes primarily fail, realises the defects in his conception of Aurora in terms of her capabilities and potential. In fact, both of them discover the proper role between gender and power. Although Browning's poem may not seem like a violent attack on Victorian gender ideology, it stands as a denial of the gender norms of the period by portraying the nature of oppression nurtured by Victorian male patriarchy.

4. The Woman Question in A. L. Tennyson's *The Princess*

Similarly, to challenge the norm, but from a different perspective, Alfred Lord Tennyson's poetry reflects the period's conflicts embedded in gender relations. In *The Princess*, he questions one of the significant deprivations of women. His argument dwells upon higher education for women. In the poem, the princess finds a university where men are not allowed to enter. However, with two of his friends, the prince secretly enters the university disguised as women. Yet, once their identity is discovered, they engage in a battle for the princess' hand. Despite their eventual defeat, the prince succeeds in his quest for the princess' love. The women's university reflects the contradictory nature of the practice,

which keeps women away from the realm of higher education. On the other hand, the eventual union stands as a glimpse of hope for women's higher education, which Tennyson believed would be beneficial for both sexes. Even though Tennyson's poem does not seem to be strictly feminist, it reflects one of the significant fields of gender discrimination during the period. In *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir by His Son*, Hallam Tennyson reports his father's views on education in the Victorian era in his own voice: "the two great social questions impending in England were 'the education of the poor man before making him our master, and the higher education of women'" [9] (206). In *The Princess*, Tennyson questions the existing inequality and stresses the importance of the bondage between the two sexes in his poem "The Woman's Cause is the Man's", which is a part of "The Princess," "'Blame not thyself too much,' I said, 'nor blame / Too much the sons of men and barbarous laws; / These were the rough ways of the world till now. / Henceforth thou hast a helper, me, that know / The woman's cause is man's: they rise or sink / Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free: / For she that out of Lethe scales with man / The shining steps of Nature, shares with man" [10] (77). Tennyson suggests that gender discrimination and oppression are to be eliminated for the good of both sexes. As Howard W. Fullweiller notes, "*The Princess* poses questions which were of vital importance to the Victorians and which are, perhaps, even more important to us" [11] (47).

Conclusions

Brontë, Browning and Tennyson, among many other outstanding literary figures of the period, contributed to the status of women in the Victorian era and further by bringing up the social ills regarding gender issues through their works and iconic characters, most of which have become the symbols of women's struggle for equal rights and opportunities. Their literary writings reflected the need for social and legal reforms from distinct perspectives. Despite the ranging views, the underlying challenge was basically the same. Their views fuelled the growth of female masses trying to break away from their traditional roles dictated by the Victorian gender ideology. The emergence of feminism and the 'New Women' concept accelerated the women's emancipation movement, which led to the acquisition of many social, legal and political rights. The Victorian age was the great era of the English novel, and literature as a whole was a powerful method of publicising social issues. Nevertheless, the significance of 'The Woman Question' and its resolution in Victorian age in particular and throughout the world in general has been a major concern since its appearance. Today women's challenge against the norms in various parts of the world still continues with different intensities depending on the degree and type of oppression they are made to face. On a global scale, women are victims of mistreatment due to cultural, economic, political or religious norms. Until eliminating all forms of discrimination against women, 'The Woman Question' will remain to be discussed, and its breeding grounds will have to be challenged by all means.

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DEATH OF THE WOMAN IN MATTHEW GREGORY LEWIS'S *THE MONK* (1796)

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Abstract

This paper introduces the destruction of femininity or the death of the woman in *The Monk* (1796). As we will observe, the chosen work is a very masculine novel, fabricated in a very vivid manner by a twenty-one-year-old Lewis who returned from the Continent ready to write about the newly seen events brought up by the French Revolution. In his novel, we will observe that the author uses the female body as a repository of opposites. If it was characterised by religious awareness, it should have represented the symbol of innocence but once perceived with erotism, in the end, it only became an unwanted inanimate object. The woman's body represents a delicate subject for both Male and Female Gothic texts. In the presented context, Lewis associates the female body with an object of intense imagery, a beautiful treasure to be displayed that delivers pleasures only for the eye and as long as it belongs to the strict norms of patriarchal rules. However, these features do not belong together. Thus, it creates a juxtaposition that cannot be fulfilled by the female characters and their socio-cultural functions. Therefore, these characters will ultimately perish.

Keywords

Woman; gothic; death; dissolution; French Revolution; Venus; perfect proportions; devil; innocence; monk

1. The Monk – as a scene for feminity destruction

The Monk (1796) by M. G. Lewis belongs to the horror register dedicated to the Male Gothic and presents a repository of gruesomely horrendous situations that define the main characters' dissolution process. The novel's buoyant structure is intertwined with controversial topics like treachery, deception, assassination, secret torment, the abandonment of an offspring, sexual suppression, and travesty. *The Monk* (1796) was a fascinating work for its period that continues to have the same impact today. The story's protagonist, a thirty-year-old Catholic friar who was also a virgin, was bewitched by Satan's disciple. Ambrosio was invited to explore his dormant passions of promiscuity driven by a homoerotic

magnetism. The fact that he gave life to every one of these impulses will gradually lead him to a path of degradation and depravity. The eponymous monk will start enacting a series of violent events from when he renounced his chastity. Little by little, the holy friar resorted to the unnatural act of matricide, defiling his sister by force, ultimately murdering her as well. In his final attempt to escape, Ambrosio signed away his soul to the Devil, who promised to deliver salvation from the angry mob about to lynch him. Albeit the novel speaks about a male protagonist, the developing action implies many feminine characters. It is not only the gender allocation of the characters that transmitted subliminal hints of ambivalence, but Lewis also divided the third-person narrator's voice between Raymond and Agnes. Another example of gender counterbalancing is the author choosing to create a category of antiheroes by dividing their wickedness between both sexes, Ambrosio the Abbot and The Prioress, also known as Mother St. Agatha. In the end, both parties will end up facing brutal deaths.

As for the setting, the author opted for Spain, particularly the Catholic convent of St. Clare, a pious environment visited by the Devil. Eager to come, Satan sought the perfect opportunity to get invited and start inflicting depravity on the weak. The action is peppered with satirical artifices, which allow the readers to mock the institution of Catholicism and the act of extreme divine adoration.

Regarding gender allocation, the sphere of ecclesiastical elements presents many crevices in the patriarchal dogmas that should have been strictly followed. Doing otherwise will conduct a series of difficult situations and, ultimately, the dissolution of the less experienced characters. Consequently, the novel introduces us to a horror spectacle of clerical debauchery and perverse infatuation while presenting the social ambiguities of the women's image and the corruption of her selfhood. It is considered that the conflictual female physiques collide with the presence of death. The body of the woman associated with death "serves as cyphers for other values, as privileged tropes" while enhancing the potency of a horror narrative [1] (p. 9).

His uncontrolled appetite for obscene perversion increases Ambrosio's voyeuristic satisfaction of secretly gazing at women's bodies. As a result, this tableau is always followed by destruction through death. Regarding the act of fornication, it always happens in the closeness of death, is an accomplishment because of it, or the peril of dying triggers or enhances the character's carnal desire. In the Lewisian novels, permission for a male-female couple to have a normal relationship is never granted. Thus, this establishment will fail to follow reciprocal agreements, being subjected to damnation. The author decided to complicate the nuance of the traditional heterosexual relationship with scenes of misunderstandings, oppression, broken promises, and mandatory massacres.

The Monk's (1796) significance of the visual representation is not only related to the fact that it expresses its essence in terms of female cadavers but contradictory to Bronfen's above belief. It diverges from the traditional feminine shyness and beauty. Besides the technique applied by Lewis, we have Watkins's statement, which says that "virtually all women in the story […] are made to look worse than their male counterparts", which can be considered a message for the patriarchal system trait of the Male Gothic [9] (p. 119).

2. Woman – cause and victim

The female in Lewis's novel who embodies beauty's quintessence is an ordinary character. Nevertheless, it represents the reason that triggers the homocentric engine to create action, thus leading to conflict. Antonia, a young girl of only fifteen, immaculate, gracious

and demure, represents the paragon of what culture requires from women: humble, innocent, timid. She almost has no voice and rarely expresses herself. The only information she has ever had the chance to gather was from the scriptures of the Holy Bible through the lectures held by her mother, Elvira, who was censoring every aspect of reality. The fact that she was denied the experience of the world outside of a coven was the main reason for her introverted behaviour.

As a result, when approached by Lorenzo, Antonia had no idea how to carry on an informal conversation with a male. Her character appears to be constructed and described mostly based on her physical aspect. She was covered by her veil that represented the fragile coating of chastity. Just as a present, Her body was associated with Venus, and just like a work of art, she needed to be admired and carefully decoded. To be created in such a harmonious way was proof of divine intervention. Her character symbolises symmetrical perfection, a concept also found in the neo-classical sources representing the fusion of iconographical elements and supreme beauty.

The fact that Antonia is an assembly designed by a male is obvious. When she entered the church to listen to the sermon, Lorenzo first became fascinated with her covered beauty, then excited with the hope of seeing the rest of her body while her aunt rushed her to get rid of the veil.

Aroused by the immediate gratification of seeing her bare physique, he prolongs his stay at the church to recollect their first encounter. He dreamed that she was his spouse, and as they were getting married, she was snatched by a gruesome creature. The picture of her naked body appears in his unconsciousness while desperately fighting to free herself, her dress being torn with bestiality. Finally, she managed to escape, although "her white Robe was left in his possession" [4] (p. 28).

Lorenzo's dream represents the accurate anticipation of her impending death at the hands of the patriarchal cleric agency. However, it is also perceived as one of the various scenes of undressing her untouched and chaste body by the male glance while devouring it with her mind. The author references her virginity because she wore an immaculate „white Robe" in Lorenzo's dream. Moreover, after the dress in the dream was destroyed, meaning she lost her innocence, Antonia darted to the skies up through "rays of [...] dazzling brightness" [4] (p. 29).

As for the moment of their first encounter, Lorenzo thought of Antonia that her face had "the most dazzling whiteness" and was radiating purity. [4] (p. 9) Everything that represented her social significance was designed by the male gaze of Lorenzo and Antonio, respecting the same classical criteria of culturally accepted beauty. The metaphorical comparison of Antonia with the Medicean Venus is used both by Lorenzo and Ambrosio while they yearn for her. Both men wish to have her only for their sole pleasure—Lorenzo, a decent chevalier, dreams of their wedding. At the same time, Ambrosio decides to accomplish his perverse fantasy by drugging and abducting Antonia in the cells of the underground convent, thus becoming the "Master of her person" [4] (p. 384).

Ambrosio, just as his prey, was highly inexperienced and famous in the local community of Madrid for being "so strict an observer of chastity that he knows not in what consists the difference of Man and Woman" [4] (p. 17). The key aspect in his character's construction was the sexual suppression he inflicted on himself, which directly contributed to enacting his obscene desires.

The author did not condemn religion but the restrictions such as isolation and abstinence that come with its practices. Excluding vital aspects like human contact and knowledge will result in unhealthy personal development with outbursts based on what was repressed because prohibition always conducts riots. Ambrosio indulged in the thought of imagining females that were frequently described as very obscene. Evidence suggests that Lewis's character development responds to the continuous perpetual concept of sexuality that emerged in the 18th century.

Sontag considers that this period witnessed a "boom in the production of pornography in the societies of Eastern Europe and America" [7] (p. 207). He is convinced that the explosion of perversity and obscenity was due "to a festering legacy of Christian sexual repression and sheer physiological ignorance, these ancient disabilities being now compounded by more proximate historical events, the impact of drastic dislocations in traditional modes of family and political order and unsettling change in the roles of the sexes" [7] (p. 207).

In terms of applying Sontag's statement, Ambrosio possesses all the mentioned attributes: imposed chastity, repressed sexuality, lack of experience, lacked knowledge about his parents, and growing up in a broken household. Thus, even though he was considered a man of moral excellence, the monk becomes the novel's vilest and most perverted character.

Once he discovered his sexuality, the monk felt a deep urge to satisfy the cravings that could no longer be repressed. For the first time, Ambrosio felt duped by his subconscious when his feelings of divine adoration switched to arousal at the sight of Antonia.

Even though his sexuality has been activated, the monk ignorantly considered that his mind was playing tricks on him by mistaking passion for holy admiration.

"What Beauty in that countenance! [...] what sweetness, yet what majesty in her divine eyes! [...] oh! If such a creature existed and existed but for me! Were, I permitted to twine round my fingers those golden ringlets and press with my lips the treasures of that snowy bosom! Gracious God, should I then resist the temptation? [...] Fool that I am! Whither do I suffer my admiration of this picture to hurry me? Away, impure ideas! Let me remember, that woman is forever lost to me. Never was Mortal formed so perfect as this picture. But even did such exist, the trial might be too mighty for a common virtue, but Ambrosio's is proof against temptation. Temptation, did I say? To me, it would be none. What charms me, when ideal and considered as a superior Being, would disgust me, become woman and tainted with all the failings of Mortality. It is not the woman's beauty that fills me with such enthusiasm; it is the Painter's skill that I admire, it is the Divinity that I adore! Are not the passions dead in my bosom? Have I not freed myself from the frailty of Mankind?" [4] (p. 40-41).

Since Ambrosio needed to deal with his newly acquired ambiguous feelings, he decided to permit Rosario to be his apprentice while indulging in the pleasure of being idolized. However, his approach seemed to be equally difficult because the novice was causing him strange tingly sensations as well: "From the moment in which I first beheld you, I perceived sensations in my bosom till then unknown to me; I found a delight in your society which no one's else could afford; and when I witnessed the extent of your genius and information, I rejoiced as does a Father in the perfections of his son" [4] (p. 57-8) The monk was unaware that his erotic phantasies were about to come to life when Rosario uncovered her true identity by shedding her clothes and revealing that she was a woman. She had just broken the image of a man Ambrosio wished to have been connected to in a spiritual union. Therefore, Lewis decided to design the character of Matilda (Rosario) as a strong figure which sparked divine

admiration contoured by visual beauty. To be in Ambrosio's proximity, she first presented herself as a devoted male follower. Secondly, she then initiated him to carnal pleasures. Then thirdly, Matilda unleashed her unrestrained sexual appetite, which was increased through the anticipation of her soon-coming death because of the bite of a venomous snake. The fact that Matilda portrays three different roles involving the treacherous appearance triggered Ambrosio's bewilderment.

The virgin monk was not prepared and did not know how to handle nor decipher all his insurgent instincts and the ambiguously delivered information: "his dreams presented the image of his favorite Madonna [...] the eyes of the Figure seemed to beam on him within expressible sweetness. He pressed his lips to hers and found them warm: The animated form started from the canvas, embraced him affectionately [...] His unsatisfied Desires placed before him the most lustful and provoking images, and he rioted in joys till then unknown to him. [...] He started from his couch, filled with confusion. [4] (p. 67)

Because of his monastic seclusion and "long abstinence from women" [4] (p. 379), Ambrosio started feeling pressured and confused. McEvoy underlined Matilda's transformation stating that she was „subject to constant metamorphosis" [5] (p. 20), thus altering her character to complete dissolution. Since Ambrosio's involvement with a woman was prohibited, Matilda e grew into her position and gained the force to control him in such a manner where he was reduced to a silent feminine otherness or, as Tuite considered," the muted, fugitive figure of homosexuality" [8] (Web). The monk then realised that he was missing the submissive Rosario and his former sexual unawareness. Even though Lewis presented Ambrosio as being silenced and Sapphic, his character never crossed the boundaries of heterosexuality. [2] (p. 307) The woman's physical appearance, a direct classical reference to Venus de Medici, triggered the overly excited Abbot and the reason for his abrupt introduction to intimacy. However, in the dystopic construction of the novel, the female body is considered complicated because of its problematic and conflicting identity.

It is widely known that the body Is indispensable in religion, yet "theologically discredited and morally condemned" [6] (p. 57). Every activity performed by the Lord on Earth was a miracle involving the human body and flesh, like transforming food or reviving the dead. The fact that God reincarnated in Jesus Christ to die displayed on a cross and resurrect later shows that the human body had a very important role in creating religion and Christianity. The image of the woman was glorified because of its resemblance to the Holy Madonna and recognised as a symbol of ambivalence, exhibiting both the idea of the mother and the virgin. It is also well known that the Aristotelian theology considered the female body as the root of sin; moreover, the Devil's delegate was ready to inflict evil and evoke temptation. The woman's physical appearance, a direct classical reference to Venus de Medici, was the trigger for the overly excited Abbot and the reason for his abrupt introduction to intimacy. However, in the dystopic construction of the novel, the female body is considered complicated because of its problematic and conflicting identity.

In *The Monk* (1796), the dark forces appeared in the form of a woman, one that was first compared to the Virgin Mary because she inspired divine adoration. However, this first image of her fades because she later initiates intimacy. The construction of Matilda is rather ambiguous because it lost all its association with virginity or motherly love, as she gradually turned into a fetish character or a "pornographic material" [5] (p. 26). Ambrosio's obsessive attraction for Matilda is because of his repressed life and her former association with Madona's figure.

While observing the female body, the secluded monk frequently thought of its divine resemblance. From the very beginning, Antonia was the epitome of promiscuous desires that were never permitted because of his religious position. In his unique style of transmitting subliminal messages, Lewis hinted that by examining the contradictory nature of the novel, the reader would conclude that Ambrosio was so attracted to the figure of the Holy Mother because he lacked one all his life. He associated his excitement both with sexual pleasure and maternal affection. Ambrosio began to display excitement while experiencing his first contact with female nudity. Using Matilda's witchcraft, he was permitted to secretly gaze upon Antonia's nakedness through an enchanted mirror while she was washing her body. Since his unarticulated lust was growing, Ambrosio needed fewer obstacles, so he resorted to killing Antonia's mother-guardian in a scene considered "one of the most brutal scenes of eighteen-century literature" [3] (p. 349).

A theological approach might alleviate the horror of Ambrosio's action conveying its meaning to the persecution of a martyrized mother as a former creator. Still, the author has no intention of excluding any detail of the gruesome murder scene committed by the Abbot. An extremely attentive Lewis presents in a structured description the final moments of Elvira's life, as the last actions performed by her rapidly deteriorating body with its shaking members, which looked like they attempted to oppose the soon coming and inevitable death. "Turning round suddenly, with one hand, He grasped Elvira's throat to prevent her continuing her cl'mour, and with the other, dashing her violently upon the ground, He dragged her towards the Bed. [....] the Monk, snatching the pillow from beneath her Daughter's head, covering Elvira's face, and pressing his knee upon her stomach with all its strength, endeavoured to end her existence. [.…] Her natural strength increased by the excess of anguish, long did the Sufferer struggle to disengage herself, but in vain. The Monk continued to kneel upon her breast, witnessed without mercy the convulsive trembling of her limbs beneath him, and sustained with inhuman firmness the spectacle of her agonies when soul and body were on the point of separating. Those agonies at length were over. She ceased to struggle for life. [.…] Her face was covered with a frightful blackness: Her limbs moved no more [.…] Ambrosio beheld before him that once noble and majestic form, now become a Corse, cold, senseless and disgusting" [4] (p. 303-4).

Ambrosio then proceeded to the room and fell in an armchair "as lifeless, as the Unfortunate who [lies] extended at his feet" [4] (p. 304). The misfortune that happened to Elvira did not cancel her cognitive function as a mother-guardian. On the contrary, Elvira's protective role has been paradoxically enhanced due to the gruesome sight of her soon decaying body, a factor that diminished Ambrosio's pervert arousal. It is important to underline that the mother continued to express an effective authority even after her death. Lewis granted his villains the possibility to know the divine truth but always when it was too late to repent. Thus, Ambrosio never found out that he committed matricide and that Antonia was his sister until he sold his soul to the Devil and could no longer use this information.

After succeeding in his plan to end Elvira's life, came the time to succumb to his most intense and obscene passions of sexually forcing Antonia after recovering from the state of her fake death. Ambrosio did not want to rape her unconscious body, but he insisted that she be awake so she could feel the intensity of his lust while struggling. This particular trait of using force to restrain his victim is a direct transposition of his long life of restrictions. It was now his time to suppress and confine someone just as he desired. However, he appeared to

have not lost all traces of humanity, oddly enough considering himself as repulsive and monstrous as the deed he has committed.

"A deadly cold had usurped the place of that warmth, which glowed in his bosom: No ideas offered themselves to his mind but those of death and guilt, of present shame and future punishment" [4] (p. 304).

The Lewisian aesthetic of detail depicts Elvira's carcass while underlining the transition from alive to motionless, from efficient to disabled, and from beloved to repulsive. It was evident that the exposure to her dead body had a powerful impact on Antonia, who was traumatized and overwhelmed by Ambrosio's barbarity. Her first connection with her mother's lifeless persona implied the act of touching. She almost trips over "something" along her way. Now Antonia's cherished mother was altering to a "cold-dead" "inanimate form", which she managed to hold for a second before ultimately collapsing on the ground "with a movement of disgust" [4] (p. 307).

Conclusions

To conclude with, we have observed that the female characters designed by the author have always been shapeshifters, moving from one identity to another while offering the perfect ground for gender elusiveness and ambivalent ambiguity. The Lewisian woman could create and deliver life while also participating in its dissolution like Agness. She could also reject and dump one infant while becoming extremely possessive and vigilant with the other like Elvira treated Ambrosio compared to Antonia, or she could be the Devil's emissary metamorphosed to look like the Holy Madonna.

The females that are permitted to live are presented as consumed and mature. However, regardless of their capitulation in front of the patriarchal dichotomy, they remain persistent and autodidactic and probably reside in a kingdom far from the Radcliffian fairyland.

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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] (p. 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 of 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.

Conclusions

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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BIOGRAPHY, MYTH AND LITERATURE – THE LIFE OF MIHAI EMINESCU

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Abstract

The present study aims to highlight the most significant upheavals regarding the biographical aspects related to Mihai Eminescu and their reflection in the critical essays. Erroneous views or old judgments can only be corrected by constant research in this field. The enthusiasm of rediscovering some monographic data regarding Eminescu is the main reason for writing this article.

Keywords
biography; life; monograph; non-fiction

Introduction

Nichita Stănescu said about Mihai Eminescu: "Eminescu is his own work and the fact that he existed as a human being is almost something extra" [1] (p. 113). Indeed, by writing his poetry, the great poet slowly moves into words, thus passing into the book of immortality. And then we wonder: what are those 39 years of life spent on Earth compared to his immortality? G. Călinescu gives us an answer in the critical biography *Viaţa lui Mihai Eminescu* (*The Life of Mihai Eminescu*). In a world that is affected by its own fall from spirituality, but spiritually hungry, G. Călinescu, in this volume, demonstrated that beyond information there is something much deeper: the spiritual identity of the poet.

1. A brief insight into Călinescu's *Life of Mihai Eminescu*

Eminescu's biography has long ceased to have a purely and strictly informative content; it has massively stepped into the problematic area and added an ideological perspective in most of its articulations, so not only into those directly related to the ideational plan. A first result is the indecision in revealing the technique and formula that we identify in the impermissible generalized access to what we might call the background of problems and common appreciations to most of Eminescu's biographies, the excessive tolerance for *what is usually said* about the poet's life.

Călinescu's contribution cumulates the two possible meanings of the biography: on the one hand, it represents the most brilliant assembly in biographical facts of informative data subjected to a severe critical examination, on the other hand, the synthesis of an interpretive, creative effort which resulted in that unforgettable portrait of the poet – possible, but not obligatory – superior in its significant value, but not in the annulment of any other similar intention.

The Life of Mihai Eminescu is a union between vast information, the scientific seriousness of the documents studied and the precise theory of argumentation, on the one hand, and literary talent, on the other. Starting from the conception that a biography is a work of complete generalisation, G. Călinescu presents us a human side of Eminescu, unaffected by the exposition of brutal, licentious or hilarious details. Without contradicting the fundamental data, the biographer restores by hypothetical fable facts for which the information is missing. The biographical element is illustrated with the help of quotations from the opera. Speaking about the history of values and documentary history or auxiliary that anyone can do according to certain rules, G. Călinescu considers that the documentary researcher is not obliged to rise from *erudition*, instead the vocation critic subjectively must always descend to it. A precise norm draws the subjectivity of criticism towards objectivity.

The Life of Mihai Eminescu is "our interpretation", but "this interpretation is objective because it relies on documents" [2] (p. 278). G. Călinescu was not interested in the writers' biography or in the exhaustion of the external data of their life, but in their spiritual portrait. The most important documentary source was for Călinescu the work of the writer because this is the place where the creator reveals his deepest moral judgement. Călinescu writes the following: "I am interested in human and the colossal movement of matter, the intimate voices of the universe and not infrequently, giving breadth, I have attributed my own tumults to the authors" [2] (p. 281). This is the moral universe from which *The Life of Mihai Eminescu* was born, a work that proves a great power to understand the diversity of literature, to revive human psychology and artistic structure. Specific for Călinescu is the lapidary style, sometimes aphoristic, intellectual and artistic, exciting through the speculative capacity. The phrase amazes us with its clarity and vibration, the expression is concise and the metaphors, memorable.

The literary critic goes through each stage of the poet's past, starting from his ancestors and his origin, exposing various controversial theories related to this, then continues with his parents, childhood, studies, maturity and, of course, his death. G. Călinescu manages to publish a complete monograph, having at his disposal everything that had been written about Eminescu before him, completing with his own contributions, preparing a work that has stood the test of time.

2. A bibliographical approach: challenges and controversies

Many of the things attributed to Eminescu and considered indisputable truths belong to pure mythology. Regarding the origin of Eminescu, Călinescu looks for foreign origins in Mihai Eminescu's family, even if the poet states at one point: "this ebb does not change reality at all; he doesn't stop me from being from a family not only Romanian, but also noble, a family of her own" [3]. A few years after the appearance of *Eminescu's life*, Călinescu himself admits that "absolutely serious research has proven that Eminescu is a pure Romanian, at least to the extent that purity is possible in the world. His father's ancestors have been free peasants in Bukovina since the beginning of the Eighteenth Century" [4]. As

for the date and place of birth, there is again a tendency to mystify. In an old Psalter which was kept by their ancestors in the house, down on the fifth page, Gheorghe Eminovici wrote: "Today, December 20, 1849, at four o'clock and fifteen minutes, our son, Mihai, was born" (January 3 according to the new rite) [5].

Mihai Eminescu was born in the city of Botoșani in the house bought by Raluca Eminovici on Calea Națională no. 179. This is confirmed by the secretary of the Agafton Monastery, Agafia Gherghel, a member of the Economic Council of the Monastery, on March 29, 1891, when she wrote to the Prefect G. Cerchez: "Mr. Prefect, March 29, 1891, Agafton; Mister Eminescu was born in Botoșani. It is certain as I asked Mother Fevronia Jorașcu who was present when he was born. It is still known that he was baptized by priest Dimitrie from the Uspenia Church" [6]. Leca Morariu, in her writing *Eminescu. Note pentru monografie* (*Eminescu. Notes for a monograph*), contradicts Călinescu's statements about Eminescu's habits of spending the nights through the surroundings of Ipotești, recording a series of statements by schoolmates that Eminescu "was very superstitious and very afraid of ghosts" [4].

In 1883, when he was only 33 years old, the poet was suddenly struck by alienation, more exactly he had a manic episode which was particularly serious and his hospitalization was needed. The mystery of the origin, the psychological and behavioural background of the poet built in Călinescu's book a myth of the disease. Talking about this in his book, *The Life of Mihai Eminescu*, Călinescu claims that he does not intend to present a romanticised life, but a scientific biography. For the sake of this scientific spirit, G. Călinescu also analyses the poet's illness: "He was suffering from inflammation around his knee […] of rheumatic paralysis of the right hand […] of morbid manifestations of the same nature […] is the luetic infection" [7] (p. 204). Based on everything he wrote it is obvious that G. Călinescu considers that it is absolutely certain that Eminescu's madness is of luetic origin. However, after six years of illness, showing the same symptoms as at the beginning, dominated by emotional disorders, we find Eminescu keeping his memory intact and thus his ability to improvise lyrics. During the six years of suffering, the poet had periods of lucidity, being able to get involved in some creative activities.

In *The Life of Mihai Eminescu*, Călinescu writes the book on the premise of the poet's hereditary disease, linking all the unpleasant events in Eminescu's life to the hereditary character of a disease transmitted through the maternal line. Even if G. Călinescu read and recorded in the bibliography at the end of the book the notes of Dr. V. Vineș – the one who took care of the poet in the last months of his life – he does not make a realistic analysis of these notes and treats Eminescu as an incurable dementia sufferer and considers that his death is due to the heart that "was previously swollen by an endocarditis caused by its great battles" [8] (p. 315). According to the doctor, the mercury injections led to an intoxication of the body and then to the continuous deterioration of the poet's health. In the volume *Maladiile lui Eminescu și maladiile imaginare ale eminescologilor* (*Eminescu's disease and Eminescologists' imaginary diseases*), published in 2015 under the guidance of the literary critic Eugen Simion, a book signed by twelve of the most important medical specialists in our country, the myth of syphilis is dispelled. The autopsy report of the writer shows that there is no brain damage characteristic for this disease.

In the afterword of *The Life of Mihai Eminescu*, published in 1966, Călinescu mentions: "The present *Life of Mihai Eminescu* is not a romantic life, but a critical biography, composed according to the sources that were at my disposal in order to gather together scattered and

contradictory information about the poet. Nothing fictitious has entered the structure of this book and if anything can have the *aura* of a literature, this would be only the attempt to take out of narrative and analysis the portrait of Eminescu". [9]

Conclusions

The poet's personality is too strong for both contemporaries and descendants, so its definition by various analysts always remains incomplete or not often contradictory, each offering the world an Eminescu of his own vision, open to interpretation. At the current stage of development of our literary history in general and of eminescology in particular, a biographical documentary of Eminescu must necessarily have as main subject the critique of the informative and documentary sources from the biographical space.

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FRAMING PRAGMATICS AND ITS EFFECTS ON LEGAL DISCOURSE

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Abstract

The present paper essentially epitomises a study concerning the dominant pragmatic effects on the analysis of legal discourse extensively used within the multilingual European Union. We aim to discuss how the pragmatic dimension of meaning should be perceived in relation to the legal language, by describing several exponents which tangle the interpretation of legal texts. It is known that legal language (discourse) is a type of language for special purposes, serving as the communication tool of the social science of law. In this sense, when formulating the legal norms, legislators must consider rendering the information in such a way to produce the desired effect on the population, having in view the fact that citizens need to abide by the strict rules of the law in order to avoid societal chaos. Therefore, we propose an interdisciplinary approach to the EU legal discourse and to pragmatic tools of analysing meaning in conversational – written or oral – context, claiming that the junction between linguistic pragmatics and law is prone to enrich the recognised practises of both fields.

Keywords

legal discourse; pragmatic interpretation; institutional discourse; interculturality

1. Introduction

To begin with, we highlight the fact that legal discourse represents one of the most recognised types of languages for special purposes, embodying the main communication tool used in law. Hence, legal language exists due to the interdependence between the two sciences of law and linguistics, having in view the fact that the essential medium for the existence of the law is language, as Jiménez-Salcedo and Moreno-Rivero endorses [1] (p. 1-4). Law and language are, then, inextricably interlinked. At the same time, specialised legal language has gained a particular significance over the past decades, also developing viable connections with pragmatics, translation studies, terminology and cross-cultural communication.

Verily, legal language is the means by which norms are transmitted; it is the language that, in addition to the background of main terms taken from normative language, uses a

series of terms that represent the creation of jurisprudence or legal doctrine. That is why the pragmatics of legal language is unique and highly specific, involving considerations that are not typically present in ordinary conversational contexts [2]. Our focus is placed on the importance of this type of language used and processed at European level as we are aware that law and language within the EU context are intermingled, while the linguistic value and interpretation of legal language carrying juridical information represent major attributes taken into consideration in the pragmatic analysis of legal discourse. Indeed, we believe that the essence of law is mainly and basically expressed through the use of linguistic devices.

In other train of thoughts, this specialised language has emerged in close connection to the effects that it has on the people consulting the legal norms. What is more, legal language has developed multiple pragmatic valences, as for its aim to be fulfilled, some generic linguistic principles or rules have to be taken into consideration. In this sense, legal language falls within the scope of pragmatics i.e., a relatively recent addition to linguistics, a hybrid *inter-discipline* dealing with the effective meaning of statements in communication and with all kinds of research focused on language and its use in context. Pragmatics is a new but present-day discipline, which has a very wide field of use, encompassing legal discourse and its specific effects. In the present day, it is a largely-recognised discipline, being appraised as the *linguistics of speech*.

2. Featuring pragmatics – the linguistics of (specialised) speech

In this part, we aim to establish a clear perspective upon pragmatics as a major branch of linguistics which has important effects in the interpretation of legal texts and legal discourses. Pragmatics, sub-field of linguistics emerged in the 1970s, has imposed a series of definitions and has been investigated by many linguists and specialists in the domain. For instance, Morris [3] claimed that pragmatics "deals with the origins, uses, and effects of signs within the total behaviour of the interpreters of signs". In terms of pragmatics, signs do not refer to physical signs, but to the subtle movements, gestures, the tone in voice, and body language that usually accompany speech. Pragmatics can also be briefly defined as a linguistics *of the use* – with multiple interdisciplinary implications, examining the effects of various components of the context upon the production and reception of utterances, both in terms of their structure and of their meaning [4]. In addition, other theoreticians define pragmatics as the "branch of linguistics that investigates the ways language is tied to the contexts in which it is used" [5]. We agree with the above definitions, considering that the science of pragmatics is an inter-discipline dealing with manifold linguistic processes, among which the interpretation of specialised discourses in specific contexts, thus englobing the study and interpretation of legal language and its concrete valences and uses in cross-cultural contexts.

Therefore, pragmatics blends as a distinct and coherent domain of research only in relation to the study of language abstracted from its use in context, which has been the main focus of twentieth century linguistics and philosophy of language alike. Investigation of standard pragmatics defines a number of items such as deixis, presupposition, speech acts, implicatures, politeness. Moreover, information structure has been stimulated by a range of difficulties and barriers encountered in the analysis of (specialised) language. Referring to meaning-englobing discourses, pragmatics also studies the effects that the speech (i.e., the discourse) has upon the audience and the speaker's inherent motivation in delivering that type of speech, and legal discourse is certainly integrated within this particular type of speeches with several specific effects. On these lines, legislators who formulate the legal

norms keep in mind that they have to render the information in such a way to produce the desired effect on the population, because citizens need to abide by the strict rules of the law in order to avoid societal chaos, all the more so as language performs differently and requires various communications in different contexts (e.g., social, behavioural, psychological or cultural).

In an attempt to frame pragmatics, investigating its nature and scope is necessary. As seen from its above-presented definitions, pragmatics considers the need for guiding language knowingness, for setting-up meaning potential. It is an open perspective discipline, investigating the relevance of language to ordinary people in various situations, searching for motivation (a sort of detective activity), for regulated language behaviour (individually and collectively). Language and society interconnect in the perceived use of language which stops to be a neutral medium for the transmission and receiving of information [6]. Furthermore, pragmatics deals with the subtleties of implied meaning and with inference mechanisms, while presupposition represents another type of implicature to be considered. For instance, we can take as example of analysis the expression "to have adequate time" found in the content of Article 6 from the *European Convention on Human Rights*, Section I. Rights and freedoms referring to the right to a fair trial, i.e., "Everyone charged with a criminal offence has the following minimum rights: (…) to have adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defence" [7]. The implied meaning of this utterance would be that the suspects should not be constrained to face the criminalistic procedures without disposing of enough time for the preparation of their defence. Here, the vagueness of legal language is seen as the concept described cannot be clearly defined. In our case, the vague phrase "adequate time" does not refer to a clear established period of time. The meaning of produced utterances is thus constructed, deconstructed and re-constructed, when the speaker and his/her interlocutor take turns in the course of communication. It is not only about the exchange of information, but also about interexchange of ideas, when the speakers (who may be the legislator) and the hearer (citizens, litigants etc.) establish a common ground which guarantees that failure in communication is unlikely to occur and social understanding is assured.

Pragmatics is also seen as linguistics of the use, examining the effects of the *context* upon the production and reception of utterances, in terms of their structure and meaning. Taking into account the pragmatic aspect of language, context occupies the predominant role in understanding the content, i.e., the used words, of an act of communication. Legal speech is characterised by pragmatic ways of conveying the complex message(s), taking into account notions such as *context*, *co-text* a.s.o. Context, i.e., social signs, body language, and tone of voice (the pragmatics), is what makes utterances clear or unclear to the speaker and his/her listeners. In the example above, the context is expressed in case of a charge of criminal offence. This content also includes the implied content [8] that covers conversational and conventional implicatures and presuppositions. Hence, pragmatics deals with implicature, presupposition, illocutionary force, deixis etc. In other words, pragmatics actualizes both linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge.

Pragmatics has developed connections and relations to other social sciences. For instance, pragmatics has developed connections with sociology, i.e., the study of the development, structure, and functioning of human society, playing an active role in the development of pragmatics, claiming that communication involves much more than just the words people are using, involving all social signs that people make when they communicate. In legal context,

this link can be exemplified by the situation when a witness is put to testimony and his adjuration is combined with the gesture of touching the Bible – the sacred Christian book – as a combination of verbal and non-verbal communication via signs and/or symbols. Furthermore, analysing the relationship pragmatics vs. semantics, pragmatics influences language and its interpretation, as illustrated by literal meaning, the actual meaning of the words as interpreted by a listener based on the social context. While the speaker perceives the talk as a simple sharing of information (semantics), the receiver perceives it as a churlish monopolisation of his/her time (pragmatics).

Having in view the importance of this innovative science, it is noted that pragmatics gives people "a fuller, deeper, and generally more reasonable account of human language behaviour" [9]. Without pragmatics, there is usually no understanding of what language actually means, or what one really means when (s)he is speaking. Cruz [10] state that pragmatics is a well-established discipline that goes well beyond semantics if its scope is not limited to the study of the encoded meaning of words, phrases or sentences in blankness. Rather, pragmatics considers a superfluity of factors such as the interlocutors' identities (i.e., gender, age, status, social class, education, profession, ethnicity etc.) and the situational context where they interact (i.e., a professional meeting, business encounters, court proceedings, familial reunions, etc.). Other factors refer to the information interlocutors rely on (knowledge and beliefs about other people, habits, interactions, etc.), the interlocutors' goals and purposes when interacting and their social and affective relationships. Having these factors in view, pragmatics infers that language is a socio-cultural product used by individuals not just to simply convey information, but also in attempt to modify other people's views upon life, and correct them, if necessary, for instance, by imposing judicial restraints – in such a way that the act of justice has accomplished its purpose. Moreover, pragmatics infers that language is also used to interact with other people, i.e., to perform actions such as asking people for things, inquiring about information, convincing others of something (e.g., the defence carried out by counsels, lawyers, attorneys) etc. [11], or to create, maintain or damage social relationships (e.g., the corrective force and the remedial effects of legal punishments) [12]-[13].

Pragmatics also presumes that *meaning* is not an inner property of lexical items and grammatical structures. Meaning is rather a secondary element of the intentions of the users of language. However, speakers possess an informative intention to convey a particular message (which is somehow mentally represented, so it is a personal representation). Understanding utterances is perceived as a process of common adjustment of their explicit and implicit content, boosted by cognitive effort, as a result of which hearers can construct hypotheses that need confirmation and acceptance. In this process, participants at the justice making and/or finding, in order to complement the act of justice, carry out a series of actions (tasks), such as disambiguation, conceptual adjustment, reference assignment, construction of descriptions of the attitude the speaker expresses or of the action they have performed, supplying some premises or relating the content of the utterance to contextual information in order to draw some conclusions [14].

3. Legal discourse and cross-cultural pragmatic competence

In this section, we aim to signpost how cross-cultural pragmatics shapes the pragmatics of legal discourse as embedding operative texts. Our main focus of research remains the pragmatic competence in legal frameworks, speech acts (formulation), and pragmatic transfer

of legal information. Hence, cross-cultural pragmatics indicates that individuals from two societies or communities carry out their interactions according to their own rules or norms, often resulting in a collision in expectations and misperceptions about the other group [15]. Being so, this situation is applicable in legal settings, the difference of perception between people pertaining to two distinct socio-ethnic communities of a single country, or between two or more distinct countries of a continent or of different continents, having consequences on the manner in which these people interpret and relate to the rules of the internal or the external law. It is considered that, in distinct societies and communities, people speak in different ways, and these disparities in speaking manners are profound and systematic in multiple areas, including the legislative field [16]. These disparities ultimately reflect different cultural values or hierarchies, different communicative styles and customs. This matter of fact is due to the different cultural values and priorities independently established in distinct societies. Indeed, cross-cultural studies mainly focus on speech-act realisations in different backgrounds in terms of cultures, cultural breakdowns and pragmatic failures, leading to the fact that some linguistic, behavioural and lawful habits that are considered appropriate in one society may not seem the same in another language, community or legal system. In nuce, the comparative approach of different cultural norms reflected in language use is made through the agency of cross-cultural studies.

Moving forward, Bachman [17] developed a pattern of communicative ability defined as "language competence" and divided into two components: *organizational competence* and *pragmatic competence*. Organizational competence includes knowledge of linguistic units and the rules of assembling them together at the sentence level (*grammatical competence*) and at the discourse level (*textual competence*), possessed by all people, but in different ways of expression. Pragmatic competence basically represents the ability to comprehend and produce a communicative act, consisting of *illocutionary competence* and *sociolinguistic competence*. To put it in a nutshell, pragmatic competence is a linguistic ability which involves the technical ability (expertise) of the speaker to process the information in a proper, formal way that enables the correct application of the communicated message to the audience. This specific competence implies a number of factors, including specific knowledge in the field – in our case, in the field of law –, so that the information is properly transmitted and understood. For instance, legal language can be a pillar of this process, as it has an inner meaning to be communicated to interested people in the field, but also to the lay population as it is known that the linguistic valence of law has to be perfectly produced and provided.

Further on, within the pragmatic competence, we distinguish between *sociopragmatics* envisaging context-dependency and societal – rather than individual- centred theory and *intercultural pragmatics* as a relatively new field of investigation that is concerned on how the language system is implemented in social encounters between persons who have different mother languages, who communicate in a common language (e.g., English), and who represent different cultures [15]. It is worth noting that cross-cultural pragmatics and intercultural pragmatics are not the same thing. Cross-cultural pragmatics compares different cultures, based on the investigation of certain aspects of language use, such as speech acts, behaviour patterns, and language behaviour, while intercultural pragmatics focuses on intercultural interactions and investigates the nature of the communicative process among people from different cultures, speaking different first languages. Intercultural pragmatics carries a socio-cognitive perspective on communication in which individual previous

experience and present situational experience conditioned by socio-cultural factors are equally important in meaning construction and comprehension.

Interculturality is a crucial notion for intercultural pragmatics and the interculturality issue in communication is seen if non-native speakers make use of semantically transparent language, when fewer misunderstandings and communication breakdowns than expected are generated. The insecurity experienced by *lingua franca* speakers make them launch a unique set of rules for interaction which may be referred to as an "interculture" [18], a "culture constructed in cultural contact". In an intercultural discourse, there are common exchanges and transformations of knowledge or communicative behaviour rather than simply transmissions. Communication is the result of interplay of intention and attention motivated by socio-cultural background that is personalised by individuals. The sociocultural background is composed of *dynamic knowledge* of interlocutors deriving from their previous experience embedded in the linguistic expressions they use, and current experience in which those expressions do create and convey meaning, i.e., the specific *legalese*. Referring to EU law, we can assume that communication between member states' courts is assured through a process of cross-cultural interaction, and there is a mutual key-factor that assures successful communication between parties, i.e., the language of the law.

Identifying intercultural communication to norm-governed interaction (social conduct) of members pertaining to two or more cultures and using cross-cultural communication when members of the same culture are involved (again, from a comparative approach to interaction patterns) are essential in chartering the inter (cross)-cultural competence developed in pragmatics. Intercultural communication refers to "understanding cross-cultural differences in behaviour as a prerequisite for understanding intercultural behaviour" [19] (p. 90). The pre-established rules of European law represent a sort of moral code to be respected by all the members of the Union, no matter whether of Romanian, French or Spanish citizenship. In the field of law, interculturality plays a significant role, taking into consideration its large-scale use, and the obligation for the European citizens to abide by the law as imposed by the European institutions and legislators.

At the same time, the legal discourse, made up of operative texts, is used in all European countries, so it enjoys a wide-ranging popularity throughout the continent. In relation to operative texts, Reiss [20] is highly influential in drawing attention to the function of a text, regarding the context of the original and the context of the situation that requires translation. Actually, her approach favours the text rather than the word or sentence as translation unit and, therefore, the level at which equivalence is to be achieved. In the same pattern, the author classifies texts, based on language functions, into informative, expressive, and operative, the latter being a text whose focus is the appellative aspect, the text appealing to the readers to act in a certain way by persuading, requesting, and tempting them, which are, of course, attributes of legal discourses. These are some main arguments for which legal texts pertain to the category of operative texts. The same author [20] counsels specific translation methods for these text types. Thus, the translation of an operative text has to apply adaptation strategies, where the translator does his/her best to create the same effect as the source text does on its readers, particularly when rendering the European legislation all around the continent.

Concerning the components of *pragmatic competence*, it is acknowledged that pragmatics, seen as a perspective or a particular way of carrying out linguistic activities, makes it natural to start gathering what used to be subfields of linguistics [15]. In the same

context, Lyons (1977, cited in Vîlceanu, 2021) [6] believes that pragmatic competence includes: a. knowledge of role and status (in the speech event – speaker and hearer – and in the social hierarchy); b. knowledge of spatial and temporal location (e.g., in a Court); c. knowledge of the medium of communication (oral versus written mode); d. knowledge of appropriate subject matter and field (which may imply acquisition of specialised legal knowledge); e. knowledge of appropriate register (level of formality – the distinction formal-informal speech).

In these circumstances, applied pragmatics studies the problems of interaction that appear in contexts where successful and efficient communication is decisive, an example of such situations being in juridical settings, within law regulations, etc. Thus, it is noticed that pragmatics has numerous influences on legal language and legal interpretation (analysis) through its contribution to the applicability of legal texts, laws, legislations, (European) jurisprudence etc. In such a case, these particular interpretations should be attentively studied and researched. Concurrently, Jopek-Bosiacka [21] complains that "the study of pragmatic functions of legal discourse has been for long almost totally neglected". Meantime, legal discourse has been analysed through speech act theory, rhetorical and stylistic perspective, or in terms of historical evolution. Several researchers [22]-[24] characterised (written) legal discourse predominantly in terms of archaic structures and formulaic expressions and named such style as *frozen* or *formal* because it challenges the principles of modern writing. Especially the previously mentioned formal or frozen style seems to account for taking a new approach towards written legal discourse whose development contradicts current trends in linguistic studies.

Therewith, earlier analyses of the interrelation between law and language show the rhetorical character of the language used in law. Terms such as *language of law* or *legal language* are frequently used in analysing the relationship between language and law. Some reasons may be the prevalence of traditional structures (e.g., a formal approach), the focus on structure rather than on the real use of the legal language. Some developments within linguistics and even in law have encouraged the reformulation of the notion of language which can also be known as discourse. There is a tendency to develop the texts as communicative occurrences, focusing on genres and intertextuality. These developments have produced changes in how the legal communication is approached, focusing on pragmatics of (written and/or oral) legal discourse. Nowadays, the legal discourse has evolved in such a way that it entered the fields of pragmatics, linguistics, discourse studies, and social sciences.

Taking into consideration the previously discussed arguments, we believe that the communicative competence, particularly in the matter of law, can be efficiently ensured between the parties only by implying efforts made by both sides, assuring the fluence of the information along the communicative channel. This is also necessary in the enforcement of law through its specific legal texts, of which we can mention codes of laws, constitutions, regulations, statutes etc., which are widely used at the European level. We must not neglect the fact that pragmatic analysis of legal discourses also has in view specific utterances whose meaning is disputed in court trials, such as the (implied) meaning of threatening statement a.s.o. Moreover, it is observed that pragmatic issues rise in the discourse of legal procedure, such as arrest notifications, courtroom advocacy, and judicial opinions compound of a smorgasbord of spoken and written styles.

In view of these allegations, mention must be made of the fact that, if the information provided in the normative texts is clearly transmitted, the communicative competence is successfully accomplished and the discourse in context has fulfilled its valences (inter)culturally. Certainly, the development of the communicative competence in terms of specialised language, i.e., legal English, is essential for the assimilation and operationalisation of the particular legal language and terminology by the target public.

Conclusions

To sum up, when discussing meaning issues related to legal discourses, we noted how far concepts and approaches developed in linguistic pragmatics may contribute to decoding problems of meaning uncertainty that arise in law. Both linguistic pragmatic and legal interpretation, though quite different disciplines, have common objects of analysis, possessing some elusive imbrication aims, methods, and standards. On the one hand, pragmatics is descriptive (describing the actual usage) and explanatory, while, on the other, law is primarily normative, mainly due to the emphasis on authorities. It is for sure that the assimilation of legal language, in connection with the use of pragmatic ways of text interpretation and valorisation and their mixture in cross-cultural contexts is important for law students, legal practitioners, translators, theoreticians, terminologists and other English legal language users and stakeholders who are interested in this type of language, comparative law and multilingual work.

This research project aimed to accurately identify some pragmatic features of EU legal English, considering the translation policies, practices and effects in terms of behaviour change and quality assurance. We premised our argument on the idea that pragmatics and legal speeches, by their very nature represent interdisciplinary fields of investigation, which have established operative interfaces. Furthermore, they have been attached ever increasing importance in the academic landscape, within the EU setting, and in closer connection with the industry, within the uprising fields of legal linguistics, legal translation and EU terminology, EU legal discourse analysis and cross-cultural communication.

Acknowledgment

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FEAR INDUCING MADNESS: GUY DE MAUPASSANT'S *THE HORLA*

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Abstract

Fear, whether of natural or supernatural causes, is something that dominates the Gothic genre. *The Horla* portrays how fear obscures the rational mind, so much so that it drives the main character into madness. The balance between what is real and unreal is diminished as paranoia and hallucinations take over, leading the victim of these to doubt their own eyes. Literature communicates with madness in numerous ways, as it takes the shape of "the other". In an attempt to cast a new light on the question regarding one's descent into madness, a common theme within the aforementioned genre, this paper's objective is to explore *The Horla's* protagonist's experience with questioning his sanity.

Building on previous theories related to madness, hallucinations and alienation, this paper will analyse the emotional and mental state of the unnamed protagonist, as he logs his experience with the haunting being in his household, simultaneously doubting his sanity for believing a haunting is occurring.

Keywords

Gothic; haunting; madness; otherness; fear

1. The author's madness explored

As the Gothic genre has proven itself to be a refuge for all the uncanny, unpleasant, and suppressed elements of human life, it is no wonder that within it offers rooms for exploration of some of our lingering primal instincts, such as fear. Its popularity in early 1800s France was "due in part to the widespread anxieties and fears in Europe aroused by the turmoil in France finding a kind of catharsis in tales of darkness, confusion, blood, and horror." [1] (p. 532-554). Marquis de Sade noted that in order to still shock or startle their reads, writers had to invoke the supernatural and demons, because everyday life during the French Revolution had been so incredibly bloody." [1] (p. 532-554). Similarly, although a few decades later, Guy de Maupassant appeals to unseen demons, tormentors of the mind and sanity, to not only frighten the readers, but to make them doubt their own sense of reality. Another thing to notice is mentioned by Finn M. R. in *Figures of Pre-Freudian Unconscious from Flaubert*

to Proust, "Fascination with hypnotism was at its peak during the 1880s in France." [2] (p. 24) – hypnotism which would imply losing all faculty over your own mind and body – similarly to a possession of sorts.

The Horla is one of Guy de Maupassant's short stories that was published twice – the first version of it appeared in the *Gil Blas* newspaper, on the 26th of October 1886 and the second version appeared in a volume of his works in 1887. The two proceed from the same idea, of an invisible being sucking the life force out of its victims. However, the writing style of the two versions is different, which may bring forth the first clue of decline. In the 1886 version, the unnamed narrator is brought forwards in front of a group of people – he is being studied, listened to, heard by his audience. He asked to be institutionalised and seen by a doctor, and only then proceeds to tell his story [3] (p. 236-244). This brings to mind the thought that our narrator has found the energy, the desperation, maybe, of seeking out help – he had gone to a doctor and attempted to better himself, to find a cure, to find an escape. The later version has a much darker ending. It comes in the form of a diary, giving the reader daily updates and proving a unique suspense. The narrator, overwhelmed by his tormentor, devises a plan to confine the Horla in a room and sets fire to the house. Unfortunately, he forgets about his servants inside, and as a twist delivered by his paranoia, ends up committing suicide, because he is unsure if this being which torments him can be destroyed by fire [4] (p. 12). This progression from being able to get help, to committing suicide is an important thing to notice, especially taken into the context of the author's own life experiences and the historical period he lived in.

Guy de Maupassant's literary style provides a window for writers to glimpse into the unpleasant aspects of life, often pessimistic. His characters often struggle and by the end of the novel, they realise that all their efforts had been futile. This commonplace negative view on life, piled together with Maupassant's own mental issues, had been the necessary fuel for this story to take life. As he wrote it towards the end of his life, his mental health worsened. He had syphilis and had suffered from migraines his entire life. At the time, hallucinations, and certain complex conditions, such as scopaesthesia, or scotoma, were not yet linked to mental health, which would have left the author to question his own sanity when he himself experienced "hallucinations" for which, today, we have explanations [3] (p. xx-xxii).

Before breaching this any further, a mention about "scopaesthesia" would be worth making. "Scopaesthesia" is defined as the eerie feeling of being watched while you know you are alone [5] (p. 895-896); "scotoma" is "a spot in the visual field in which vision is absent or deficient" [6]. These occur during severe migraines, similar to the ones Maupassant had lived through. These are also present in the story under different interpretations, which will be analysed in the next part. To add on to this, he mentions in his letter to Flaubert [7] a "black depression" which had him become more reclusive, paranoid, and delusional, to the point that he was convinced that flies were eating his brain. Before he was institutionalised, he tried to commit suicide twice, and failed [8] (p. 3-10). The author's behaviour is mirrored to a certain extent by the main character of the short story.

2. Fear inducing madness

As fear is a primal reaction of humans, the narrator's first encounter with an extraordinary occurrence is met with rationality, in doing so he attempted to suppress that initial feeling of fear. Despite this, as things escalate, his fear captures his mind, and leaves our narrator in

despair. He begins having nightmares, which provide an insight into his subconsciousness – linking the primal fear of unknown to his dream state. In this instance, he, for the first time, can feel "somebody leaning on me who was sucking my life from between my lips with his mouth" [4] (p.3).

However, the narration jumps again to an attempt to rationalize what is happening, later on the narrator shares that "I certainly should think that I was mad, absolutely mad, if I were not conscious, […] Some unknown disturbance must have been excited in my brain, one of those disturbances which physiologists of the present day try to note and fix precisely, […]" [4] (p. 7). It is this moment that is foreshadowed by an earlier scene in the short story, the hypnotism of his cousin, Madame Sable, by Dr. Parent. The hypnotism portrays this woman's loss of autonomy, of control – as the doctor instructs her subconscious mind during their session, the conscious mind is not aware of why it does the things that it does. This idea is again mirrored in several paragraphs, "I am lost! Somebody possessed my soul and governs it! […] Then suddenly, I must, I must go to the bottom of my garden to pick some strawberries and eat them, and I go there. I pick the strawberries and I eat them! Oh! My God! […]" [4] (p.8). The narrator makes this connection between the Horla possessing him, feeding off of his life force, and hypnotism. It requires the supernatural to appeal to the subconsciousness, to fear, in order to subjugate the human. Fear is a reaction that is based within the mind, and following along the narrator's diary, we see a man's descent into hell, into madness, day by day. This fear of what he cannot see, what he, a rational man, cannot explain, is what ultimately leads his mind to degenerate and fall within the grasps of madness.

The inability to identify reality is one that pervades the entire story. The unnamed protagonist suffers from severe hallucinations and starts to doubt his sanity – yet he does this carefully. Each step of the way he prepares a plan in order to catch his tormenter. He sets up traps for this Horla, to capture it in action, to capture its essence, and to prove to himself that he is sane, that the reality he lives in is the same as the reality he experiences. In spite of this, after each plan to catch it, the event escalates – at first it leaves empty carafes of water, then it holds a rose in the garden, then it turns pages in a book, ultimately standing in between our narrator and a mirror making it impossible for the narrator to see his own reflection. These experiments of his provide a feeling of truth to the story – the reader is inclined to believe the narrator, to question his reality alongside him. It provides such a logical narration, and yet, the supernatural prevails – be it solely in the mind of the protagonist or in his reality.

The climax is when he admits its presence entirely and recalls the words of a monk "Do we see the hundred thousandth part of what exists? Look here; there is the wind. Which is the strongest force in nature, […] the wind which kills, which whistles, which sighs, which roars – have you ever seen it, and can you see it? It exists for all that, however." [4] (p. 3). This former discussion comes on to foreshadow his life at the present, he is now the victim of something that he cannot see, and yet, for him, this exists and is very real. It illustrates a madness that he refused to accept in the beginning, but once it became apparent that he could not avoid it, he devises a plan to escape it. Ironically, as the narrator is stalked by an unseen force, he completely forgets about the very real and alive servants, who attend to him every day, as he sets fire to the house, in which both the Horla and the servants are in. He suffered alone the bearings of the Horla yet made them suffer together. Even more so, that the lack of knowledge about anything regarding the supernatural, the mystery of the Horla does not let him believe that his tormentor had died within the fire he started, and thus, he decided in the end to commit suicide [4] (p. 12). In the earlier and shorter version, the unknown makes him

run to safety, run to help. His fear does not immobilize him, but fear is a driving force, one that ultimately saves his life.

Bearing in mind the formerly mentioned conditions of the author, these are also mirrored in the short story. It is shared in one of his letters that he has seen his double, or that he has seen his friends, while they were not actually near him [7]. The Horla, however, is never described, and it cannot be seen, thus making this monster even more frightening, as the void of what it is not known will usually be filled with our own personal, deepest fears. [3]-[4].

Conclusions

As the unnamed narrator of *The Horla* experiences terrifying hallucinations, often mirrored by the author's own life experiences, he is ultimately at a loss in attempting to explain what is happening to him and to his perception of reality. Fear of the unknown, fear of what will happen, is what drives the narrator to his final escape, be it institutionalising himself and asking for help, or by committing suicide and escaping the material dimension of existence. The short story taps into the unconscious mind, into primal fear, presenting it as a very powerful tool of driving one to insanity. This idea is frequently echoed in the story, that the nemesis is individualized, personal, and strives only to consume its victim.

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THE DYNAMICS OF THE LEGAL ENGLISH LEXICON

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Abstract

We propose an in-depth study of particular lexical features of the English legal lexicon and of typical socio-cultural concepts in order to highlight that such structures may lead to translation difficulties. Under these circumstances, special attention will be paid to typical features of legal language and especially English legal language, considering the ever increasing demand of translation from and into English. Based on the assumption that nowadays translation market demands not only full competent translators, but also highly specialised professionals to deal with the technicalities of expert domains such as legal language, considerable impotence needs to be awarded to the study of lexical and socio-cultural items of English legal language as sensitive translation-related issues that might lead to real prejudices and social dissensions, if not properly observed and transferred from the source language into the target language.

Keywords: loans; technical terms; legal; language; translation; translator.

With regard to the synchronic features of the English lexicon, further appreciations are to be taken into consideration. Thus, maintaining the concept of central *core* or *Common English*, linguistic research studies emphasize the fact that the lexicon of the English language displays typical features according to certain language varieties. Specialised classifications of English language varieties provide further the synchronic features of the English lexicon [1]. According to this classification, a graphical representation of the language varieties and their lexical peculiarities would show the following (Quirk 1985: 15):

Region	Social	Field of discourse	Medium	Attitude
regional variety due to affiliation to regional groups	affiliation to social groups	lexicon depends on purpose of communication - activity type people are involved in	defined by speaking and writing	defined by any individual speaker of English, irrespective ofthe regional variant or

Common English
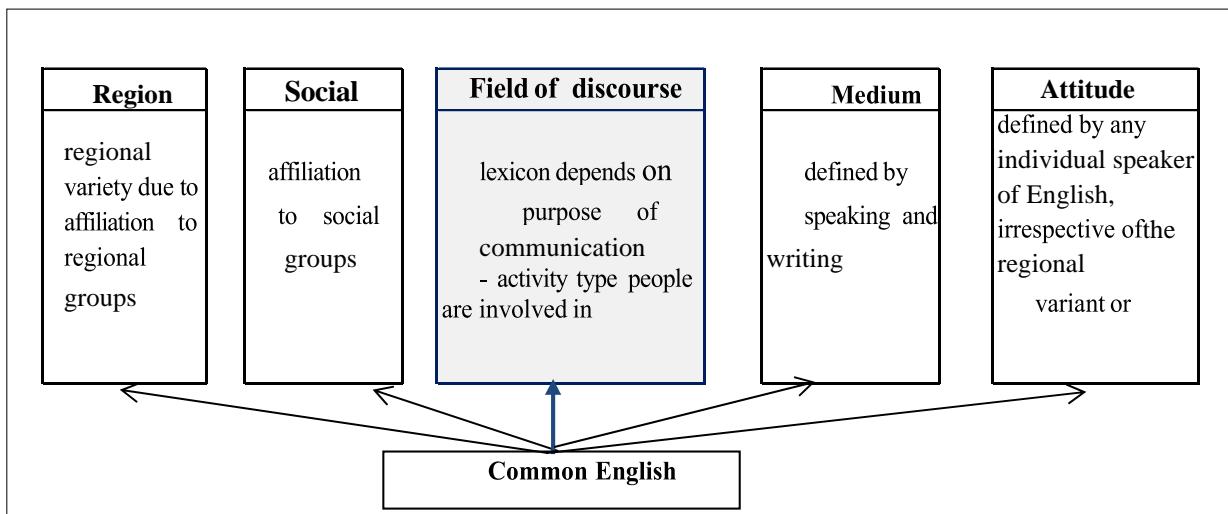
Figure 2. – Language varieties and their lexical peculiarities

As the main interest of the present paper is to present typical lexical features of legal language, in what follows we will focus mainly on certain lexical characteristics of Standard English versus legal English used in written documents [2].

Depending on the professional domain, training and interest, the individual can change the register of the language used. Thus, the change of register can be understood as the individual's choice to turn to a particular set of lexical items, which are frequently used for handling the field in question [3]. (p. 204)

The switch to a certain register implies further changes beside the particular set of lexical items. This aspect is clearly emphasised by the language of technical and scientific description. In such cases the passive is common and clauses are often nominalised. Moreover, noticeable grammatical differences are to be found in the language of legal documents [4].

Generally speaking, literature is a long-established field, though it extends to other fields (Quirk 1985: 24). Furthermore, some fields have certain characteristics in common, for example, legal and religious English have numerous forms peculiar to their respective fields, but both may include usages that are otherwise archaic [5].

Moreover, scientific language covers a wide range of subject matters (psychology, literary criticism, history, physics, medicine), each of which could be regarded as a separate field, though all these varieties belong to the scientific register. According to Quirk, the scientific languages number considerable varieties which have developed their own linguistic expression (Quirk 1985: 25). Among these language varieties, legal language lexical peculiarities are to be further presented and analysed [6].

Figure 3. – Continuum of texts in academic and professional fields
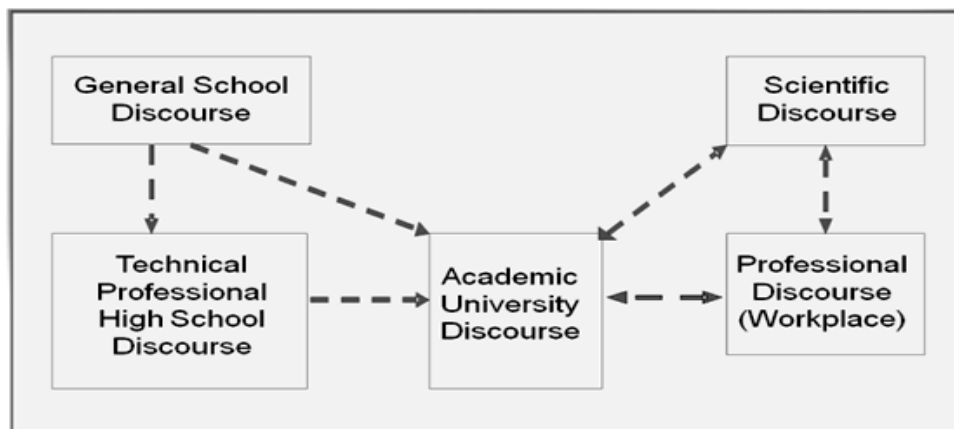
Characterised by Cao (2007: 21) a distinctive feature of legal language, legal discourse is a complex and unique aspect in translating legal texts. Thus, *the complex legal vocabulary is a general feature typical for different language varieties in the field of legal language* [3] (p. 204), further specific features of these sub-languages indicate particular and unique aspects of the legal vocabulary.

In legal language, the typical used archaisms are compound adverbs formed usually by adverbs, such as *here*, *there*, or *where*, to which prepositions, such as *after*, *at*, *by*, *from*, *in*, *of*, *to*, *under*, *upon* or *with* etc., have been suffixed. These words were common in medieval English. Rather than saying "under it" or "under that", a speaker of Middle English could say "*hereunder*" or "*thereunder*". And instead of using "with what" or "with which" in questions, Middle English speakers would generally say "*wherewith*". In addition, legal English has retained several morphological forms that have died out in ordinary speech [7] [8].

Having regard to Regulation (EU) No 167/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 February 2013 on the approval and market surveillance of agricultural or forestry vehicles (1), and in particular Article 22(4), Article 24(4), Article 25(2), (3), and (6), Article 27(1), Article 33(2), Article 34(3), Article 35(4), Article 45(2), Article 46(3) and

Article 53(8) thereof

REGULATION (EU) 2015-504: 1

Direct fishing of the species set out in Part A of Annex V, shall be prohibited in the zones and during the periods set out therein.
For exploratory fisheries, the TACs and by-catch limits set out in Part B of Annex V, shall apply in the subareas set out therein.
REGULATION (EU) 2015/104:117

Such kind of words reflects the regular, solemn, conservative, rigid and authoritative style of contracts and the use of which can avoid the repetition and redundancy. One of the main justifications for continued use of antiquated vocabulary is that it is more precise than the modern equivalent [9]. Using antiquated terminology bestows a sense of timelessness on thelegal system, as something that has lasted through the centuries and is therefore deserving ofgreat respect. And archaic language is considered more formal than everyday speech.

Loans represent the second linguistic layer of the legal vocabulary. Concerning borrowings of Latin root, Cao (2007: 58) considers that comprehension difficulties might appear as such words, even if they are similar linguistically; turn out to be different in legal substance. Accordingly, Cao (Ibid: 57) presents several examples of *common false friends* such as the word *demand* which is differently treated in English and French; in this respect, the word *domicile* in English, *domicile* in French and *Domizil* in German are differently rendered within the legal documents in these languages [10]. In addition, examples of noun phrases such as *good faith* in English, *bona fides* in French and German are not entirely the same, as they are regarded by Cao as examples of linguistic equivalents but conceptually non-equivalents or partial equivalents in different languages.

Transfer of days between fishing vessels flying the flag of different member states Member States may permit the transfer of days present within the area for the same management period and within the area between any fishing vessels flying their flags provided that points 4.1. and 4.2. and 12 apply <u>mutatis mutandis</u>. Where Member States decide to authorise such a transfer, they shall notify the Commission, before the transfer takes place, of the details of the transfer, including the number of days to be transferred, the fishing effort and, where applicable, the fishing <u>quotas</u> relating thereto.
REGULATION (EU) 2015/104:114

Legal language contains a large number of words that are not used at all in ordinary speech. The technical meaning of words in the official documents has often stabilized, clarified, single and precise [3] (p. 206).

In legal texts, *technical terms* are widely used such as: *defec*t, *remed*y, *jurisdiction*, *damages* and/or *losses indemnities*, *tenancy*, etc. In the following example the underlined words are commonly used technical legal terms in contract English [11].

This system and the results of the <u>assessments</u> shall be <u>documented</u>; (2) <u>established</u> a <u>documented</u> <u>agreement</u> with a <u>qualified</u> <u>entity</u>, <u>approved</u> by both <u>parties</u> at the appropriate <u>management</u> level, which clearly defines: (i) the tasks to be performed; (ii) <u>the declarations</u>, <u>reports</u> and <u>records</u> to be provided; (iii) the <u>technical</u> <u>conditions</u> to be met in performing such tasks; (iv) the related <u>liability</u> <u>coverage</u>; and (v) the protection given to information acquired in carrying out such tasks. (b) The competent <u>authority</u> shall ensure that the internal audit process and a <u>safety risk management</u> process required by ATCO. AR.B.001(a)(4) cover all <u>certification</u> or <u>oversight</u> tasks performed on its behalf.
REGULATION (EU) 2015-504: 19

In this excerpt there are 106 words, among which more than 25 words are technical terms. That can show us the frequent use of technical terms in legal documents.

In the same line with Cao (2007:10) in Oțăt [3] (p. 206), such terms affect the meaning of the other lexical units used in connection with them, thus legal words have meanings

only in the context of the existence of a legal system and only through particular rules of law. Under these circumstances, we can emphasise that legal language provides a typical lexicon which is constructed differently from that of the ordinary language, and involves terms that relate to each other in ways different from those of the ordinary language.

Conclusions

At the *lexical* level ambiguities seem to occur most frequently due to an ambivalent use of specific vocabulary items. Thus, by investigating both native and bilingual contracts we reached the conclusion that:

- ***common words with uncommon meaning*** are likely to cause lexical translation difficulties;

- ***archaisms*** and ***loans*** are the less frequently encountered examples of translation-related difficulties, especially due to the formal and strict norms of the contract style. However, borrowings have been encountered in our analysis; most of the loan items being instances of **Latin** and **French borrowings**, such as *quantum □ cuantum* which were is understood and used both by the drafters and the translators of the analysed texts. Some other examples of borrowings used in Romanian target texts, which regard more contemporary contract and business lexical items such as *joint venture* or *the format* (of the document) have also been properly transferred and used in the TT documents;

- in the case of synonyms, ***legal terms*** seem to produce most of the ambiguous examples encountered, mainly due to an ambiguous interpretation of such words during the translation process.

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CONSPIRACY THEORIES AS NARRATIVES.
LIBRA – HISTORY RETOLD

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Abstract

This paper is concerned with conspiracy theories seen as narratives. Many modern scholars agree that, both from a historical (factual) and from a literary (fictional) viewpoint, conspiracy theories have the same modus operandi. First, I am going to discuss conspiracy theories and their epistemological metamorphosis in time, with a clear paradigm change, from 1964 onward. In the second part of my paper, I shall concentrate on conspiracy theories as narratives, and shall try to illustrate how such theories – originating in real life – are explored in fiction. My starting point will be the conspiracy theories regarding the JFK assassination, a historical event which shaped the American nation, and became notorious for the great variation of conspiracy theories it generated. As a work of fiction, I shall focus on *Libra* by Don DeLillo, a novel which transposes into fiction the conspiracy theories revolving around the JFK assassination. In the process, a secret history of this historical event is rendered, a history which Nicholas Branch, one of the characters, is struggling to write. The novel demonstrates how conspiracy theories work in fiction, but also DeLillo's view, according to which the JFK assassination represents the very birth of American postmodernism.

1. Introduction

Conspiracy theories seem to be a given nowadays, a phenomenon that has gained a great interest, especially these past few years. They are present worldwide, and pertinent to a variety of fields: in the age of fast communication of and increased globalisation, conspiracy talk seems ubiquitous, it is linked to both domestic and international matters, being a very versatile means of explaining a number of events – mostly social, economic, political. We must bear in mind that, at times, by exploiting these phenomena, conspiracy theories manage to achieve mass-manipulation.

In the last decades they have been shown lot of attention, and numerous studies have been dedicated to these theories: historians, psychologists, cultural studies scholars have tried to tackle conspiracy theories. This has brought along another discussion related to conspiracy theories, i.e. whether or not they have reached their era of glory, and they have become mainstream. Modern scholars such as M. Butter [1] argue that, even though they are very widely spread, they have never been less influential than they are today – his study being published in 2014.

Perhaps a better understanding of conspiracy theories is to be grasped when taking into consideration their epistemological transformation in time. In this process, Richard Hofstadter's essay [2] in 1964, proved to be quintessential. The essay is being hailed as a milestone in conspiracy theorizing, even though modern scholars do not completely agree with it. Hofstadter connects conspiracy theories either with mental illness, with paranoia, or with the minority, with the demi-intellectuals, with the fringes of society. By analyzing several types of discourses (senator McCarthy, speaking in June 1951, a manifesto signed in 1895 by a number of leaders of the Populist party, a Texas newspaper article of 1855, and a sermon preached in Massachusetts in 1798 [2] (p. 7-9)) and discussing several conspiracy theories (the Illuminati – 1798, the Masons' plot in the 1820s and 1830s, the "Catholic plot against American values" [2] (p. 19)), he concludes that the "paranoid style" describes all of them.

After 1964, however, conspiracy theorizing has undergone a process of "depathologisation". Staring from Fredric Jameson's view, according to which conspiracy theories are [3] (p. 6) "the poor person's cognitive mapping in the postmodern age", modern scholars – Butter [1], Knight [4], Fenster [5] – agree that there is a clear shift in paradigm: conspiracy theory has become a form of knowledge. In the postmodern age, it has become perfectly normal, rational, to re-think and interpret reality, therefore conspiracy theories are no longer seen as paranoid, or necessarily linked to the fringes of society, minorities of the non-educated: [4] (p. 2) "You now need /…/ to be a little paranoid to remain sane. A certain kind of world-weary paranoia has become the norm, in both entertainment culture and popular politics."

Butter seems to agree that we need to [1] (p. 12) "re-evaluate paranoia with regard to the present age", suggesting that "under the conditions of postmodernity there are, unlike before, good reasons to be paranoid". He acknowledges that in today's reality they are ubiquitous, widely spread by the media, circulated in the mainstream, and not only believed by "lunatics on the fringe", but he states that conspiracy theories have never been less influential than they have been in the past fifty years, as they are "illegitimate" forms of knowledge. This is due to the fact that [1] (p. 17) "/…/ their status as knowledge changed during the 1960s. Until then, they were regarded as a legitimate form of knowledge; since then they have become a form of counterknowledge that is attractive to many, but whose claims are, by even more people, per se dismissed as 'conspiracy theories'". The term itself, he adds, only started being used on a larger scale in the 1960's and "in mainstream discourse at least, it immediately signals that the claims of the mental construct thus 71odellin are unjustified and removed from reality."

2. Conspiracy theories as narratives

Conspiracy theories are understood and acknowledged by modern scholars as well constructed, coherent, and logical narratives: [1] (p. 17) "conspiracy theories are, in different

senses of the term and on different levels, narratives and have to be treated accordingly". Since this type of discourse originated in politics, and, historically, has always been integrated within the American political thought and discourse, conspiracy theories have a strong connection to power. More importantly, they explain how power works: [5] (p. 81)"As a narrative form, conspiracy circulates in contemporary culture in both history and fiction/…./ Conspiracy theory, then, tells stories about the past, present, and future, and it presents an argument in narrative form for a contemporary audience about how power works."

They are present both in fictional and factual narratives, and, as Mark Fenster argues, have the same characteristics, being very versatile and crossing genre borders. Butter explains that conspiracy theory [1] (p. 29) "is not restricted to a specific genre, but cuts across generic boundaries and even the distinction between factual and fictional texts."

In contemporary culture, factual and fictional narratives function in the exact same way, which is why conspiracy theories, as narratives, are models of [5] (p. 83) "historical storytelling" : they involve both the perpetrators and the defenders of the moral order, in the attempt to explain past and present fact, linking events which, in appearance, seem to bear no connection to one another: [5] (p. 83) "Nonfictional narratives employ a conventional narrative and causal structure for their description of the "real" of history, organizing the past to produce what Roland Barthes called the 'reality effect'/…/. Conspiracy constitutes a model of historical storytelling that allows a narrative assemblage of details from the past to be comprehensible and to appear real and true, notwithstanding the resistance posed by other competing narratives of the same past, and even by the details themselves".

Both characters and real individuals have very similar methods of relating to history, hence to conspiracy theories: they tend to collect and interpret information, try to uncover what may still be hidden, or less obvious and then interpret it accordingly, so that it makes sense. Besides being "largely cognitive", the relation of the character/individual to history is also a symbolic one: [5] (p. 86) "The relationship between the individual and history within the conspiracy narrative Is allegorical, Jameson argues, and may 'be taken to constitute an unconscious, collective effort at trying to figure out where we are and what landscapes and forces confront us in a late twentieth century whose abominations are heightened by their concealment and their bureaucratic impersonality'".

In fact, Fenster [5] is so exact in his analysis that he gives us a classical conspiracy narrative which consists of: the protagonist (strongly connected to causality, consequence and psychological motivations), the velocity (more precisely, the fast pace of the action, which, at times, might be confusing, the "narrative pivots" (i.e. the turning points, when the protagonist connects the dots) and "restoration of agency" (when the protagonist is beginning to understand how to defeat the conspiracy).

3.   Conspiracy theories – narratives of fact and fiction

As previously shown, my aim is to discuss conspiracy theories as narratives. Conspiracy theories have evolved across centuries, from what was generally known as "paranoid style" to legitimate, and then, illegitimate forms of knowledge. This epistemological transformation is paralleled by their spreading in the entire American culture. Richard Hofstadter's "paranoid style" was only characteristic of the right wing extremist political discourse, it dealt with exaggeration and alteration of reality – due to some form of [2] (p. 6) "distorted judgment", it was confined to politics and was specific of the period prior to 1964, a moment

in time when the paradigm changed completely. Modernity has a new and different view on conspiracy theories, as more attention has been given to the matter: they have become an illegitimate form of knowledge, a form of "counterculture", Butter argues, and, accordingly, dismissed and ridiculed, especially by the elite. However, conspiracy theories managed to break free from politics, and from the fringes of society (where Hofstadter claimed they had been) and permeate all the layers of American culture, creating what Knight names [4] (p. 43) "cultural paranoia" – a phenomenon which shaped American society. One should not be perplexed by this state of affairs, as in postmodernity it is only normal to be a little paranoid, the73odellar contends.

Conspiracy theories as discourse need to be distinguished by conspiracy theories as narratives. Historically, discourse, is strongly linked with a certain type of rhetoric, meant to convince the public; in the imperial period of Rome, discourse was shown even more interest, with a focus on "elocutio", a type of discourse with aesthetic value. When referring to conspiracy theories as discourse, the emphasis lies in its capacity of conveying a message, and of being persuasive enough to pass the message on to the viewer/reader, etc. As narratives, conspiracy theories focus on the way that the story is told; more precisely, conspiracy theories are ways of narrating historical events, and they describe how power works. The unique way in which the events are narrated, the (fast) pace of the events, the way that the "agents" (the protagonist included) handle the "story" represent, in broad lines, conspiracy theories as narratives. Mark Fenster and Michael Butter agree that conspiracy theories are, in fact, narratives, as they cover both real historical events, and fiction. Butter explains that [1] (p. 28) "[a]s 'an instrument of the mind in the construction of reality', a narrative transforms the chaos that is unmediated reality into a well-ordered account of what happened, why it happened, and who made it happen."

Whether they are telling real or fictional stories, conspiracy theories are very powerful narratives, all following the same rule: they depict events as happening at the same time, as connected; everything has been carefully planned, there are no accidents; events are presented in a [1] (p. 28) "highly condensed fashion". As Fenster points out, conspiracy theories function as a cultural practice of interpretation, and they are to be found everywhere, as narratives – from political campaigns to journalism and popular culture.

Literature (i.e. fiction) is, without a doubt, one of the most prolific fields for conspiracy theories, from "The Illuminatus!" Trilogy (1975) by Robert Shea and Robert Anton Wilson (the authors were associate editors at Playboy), to Umberto Eco's "Foucault's Pendulum" (1988), from Dan Brown's successful series to [6] Don Delillo's *Libra* (1988) – winner of the International Fiction Prize, both highbrow and lowbrow fiction has been very well received by the general public.

In my attempt to discuss conspiracy theories as narratives, I shall focus on the assassination of president Kennedy (1963), and this for several reasons I find absolutely relevant: (1) conspiracy theories have always been a part of American (political) discourse, and they have always paralleled each and every significant event in American history; (2) the JFK assassination has brought along a great variety of conspiracy theories, and, with them, a high degree of paranoia; (3) the moment when it happened is crucial (1963), right on the brink of the paradigm changing completely for conspiracy theories (1964); (4) this cannot be a coincidence, and Don Delillo, states that the JFK assassination coincides with the very birth of American postmodernism, as it was a moment when Americans lost their innocence, and

they had to face a world defined by an abyssal lack of meaning, a world governed by emptiness, randomness and absurdity.

3.1. President Kennedy's assassination

President Kennedy was assassinated on November 22nd, 1963 in Dallas, by a lone gunman, the official account goes, Lee Harvey Oswald, a former US Marine. This tragic event in the history of the United States was one of the most propitious for conspiracy talk and conspiracy theories – both in the number of alternative variants given to the official account, and in magnitude given to the event, by conspiracy theorists (in terms of other events it has been related to, people, institutions, and so on). Usinki and Parent showed that about than 90% of the Americans believe that there is a conspiracy behind the JFK assassination, which is covered up by the federal government. Some of these theories simply state that is was the CIA who planned and conducted the assassination, and that Oswald was just a pawn. Others, state that there was a second shooter, and in fact, the president was not killed by Oswald. There are conspiracies which claim that Lyndon Johnson, who became president right after the Kennedy's assassination, played a big part in the events; for some, it was the communists, or even secret societies to blame. It is true that, these conspiracy theories had the perfect social background to support them: a continuous lack of faith in the authorities which dropped, according to opinion polls from three quarters before 1960, to only one quarter in 1994.

Indeed, in 20th century America, the 1960-1970's, the conspiracy theories began to focus less on the enemy outside (trying to usurp the political power in the U.S.A.), and concentrated on the enemy inside – the federal government itself was the conspirator. It was not a matter of a conspiracy against the government, but a conspiracy by the government. This is the key moment when American "superconspiracies" started to emerge, the moment when epistemological paradigm of causality has undergone a transformation, so that the conspiracy theory shifted from a legitimate to an illegitimate form of knowledge, according to Butter. [1] (p. 28). "Conspiracy theories about the Kennedy assassination, for example, only emerged and gained a broader currency as distrust toward the American government grew over the course of the 1960s and 1970s, when, in other words, systemic conspiracy theories became more popular and provided the background for the event conspiracy theory."

Taking all off the above into account, we still have to wonder, why this assassination, in particular? Why has it managed to produce such nation/worldwide paranoia, that even today, people are convinced that the government lied. Some voices say that for Americans it was the trauma of the American [4] (p. 78) "mythical loss of innocence" the perfect American society, with its nuclear family, living a good, prosperous life was forever lost. But, Knight argues, it is more than that. The assassination is the event that "knocked American history off its course"; it coincides with the realization that forces way greater than us are at work, that they are absurd, uncontrollable and chaotic: [4] (p. 78) "/.../conspiracy theories have fed anxiety about the irredeemable strange highlighted – and fed into – an anxiety about the irredeemable strangeness of reality in postmodern times." It was the very birth of American random, non-coherent postmodernism (that cannot be separated from paranoia), it was, therefore, the very birth of cultural paranoia. It is both a symptom and a cause of the cultural paranoia, as the assassination, uncovered what people hadn't suspected that existed (Oswald, Jack Ruby – had existed and lived random lives until their "historical roles"); that is why we can see [4] (p. 115) "the Kennedy assassination as the last moment of solid ground before the hermeneutic abyss."

Immediately after the Kennedy assassination, the left interpreted this historical event as a conspiracy, and the murder was pinned on the extreme right. It is only logical that, soon after, the Castro conspiracies and the Nazi conspiracies emerged. 1964 is a crucial moment in time which introduces us to the postmodern superconspiracies [1], that began to develop from this point on. The JFK conspiracy is no exception. On the contrary, we can understand [4] (p. 115-116) "the Kennedy assassination as the symbolic event that led to the postmodernization of American history /…/ In many ways, then, the assassination of President Kennedy has come to function as the primal scene of postmodernism. It is represented as an initial moment of trauma that ruptured the nation's more innocent years, and which in retrospect has come to be seen as the origin for present woes."

This [4] (p. 116) "moment of cataclysmic rupture in the course of American history" which would have to have been invented, if it hadn't actually happened, is defining for the American culture today, for its high degree of skepticism and the logic of paranoia that places everything under scrutiny. For DeLillo, the Kennedy assassination is the moment when the world lost its coherence, when it stopped being "manageable", the moment when we [4] (p. 114) "entered a world of randomness and ambiguity, a world totally modem in the way it shades into the century's 'emptiest' literature, the study of what is uncertain and unresolved in our lives, the literature of estrangement and silence."

3.2 Libra

Libra, the novel which I am going to discuss briefly in what follows, illustrates this exact view, that reality has lost its coherence, that the traditional logic of causality has been replaced by the logic of paranoia, that much of what happens is due to the arbitrary, uncontrollable forces of the hazard, which replace the former (human) "agent". The novel has a complex structure made of two plot lines. The first one presents a misfit Oswald wandering through life; each such chapter (odd in number) narrating episodes from Oswald's life has place names as a title: In the Bronx, In New Orleans, In Moscow. Much as in real life, Oswald is described as an outsider, a loner, but passionate, immersed in reading, becoming a communist enthusiast. The second plot line deals with the conspiracy itself, apparently separated from Oswald; it is marked chronologically, by dates that lead to the 22nd November; it reveals the attempt of CIA agents to murder the president, as a form of revenge for the failure of the Bay of Pigs operation.

As previously discussed, there is great number of conspiracy theories, lots of variables and combinations between. There is a conspiracy theory according to which the president was murdered by the CIA agents who wanted Cuba back on the agenda, dissatisfied with the failed U.S. invasion of Cuba (the Bay of Pigs incident), as a result of which many CIA agents were captured, and the agency was [8] "charged with supplying faulty information to the new president", i.e. Kennedy.

This conspiracy theory from reality is transposed in Delillo's *Libra* as follows: a couple of CIA agents, carefully plan the (attempted) murder of JFK on account of their anti-Castro agenda. These two plotlines meet almost by accident – through a series of coincidences meant to demonstrate DeLillo's view – linking the CIA with the Cuban side of the story. This randomness that, paradoxically, seems to govern the unfolding of the events is supported by Oswald's fortuitous wandering through life. Oswald from the novel fits perfectly in the profile made by psychiatrists to all the president murderers: they all "were nationally displaced individuals", "all had an erratic work adjustment", "all were slim and between 5'

and 5'8", "all had a paranoid diagnosis at the time of their homicidal act." Swanson et al., qtd. In [4] (p. 84) He is a deviant young man, with an absent father figure, unable to adapt (bullied and severely beaten in school), who finds escape in reading (very interested in the Communists), who, at some point, decides to take hold of his "destiny".

The CIA conspirators (Guy Bannister, David Ferrie and Walter Everett Jr.) are the ones responsible for most of the conspiracy thinking and conspiracy talk: they meet and plan the assassination of the President in perfect detail, and they manage to convince Oswald the his destiny is to be their gunman. Oswald accepts, but he is unaware that he is being manipulated. He is sucked into the conspiracy, seduced by the promise of a fulfilled destiny, just like real people are persuaded and manipulated by real-life conspiracy theorists to join their conspiracy (theory).

Besides the characters doing the conspiracy thinking, the narrator himself introduces another conspiracy theory (a real life theory, the one that states that there was a second shooter); interestingly enough, "the shooting scene" reveals different things to the reader (who finds out that Oswald is not the real murderer), and to Oswald himself. The narrator does this, as Oswald, pressing on the trigger, looks through the viewfinder of his rifle (unaware that Raymo, the second shooter, exists). The scene is quite confusing, even to Oswald, who, only afterwards realizes that he failed to kill the president, and that he is being set up: [6] (p. 400)

"Lee was about to squeeze off the third round, he was in the act, he was actually pressing the trigger.

The light was so clear it was heartbreaking.

There was a white burst in the middle of the frame. A terrible

splash, a burst. Something came blazing off the President's head.

He was slammed back, surrounded all in dust and haze. Then

suddenly clear again, down and still in his seat. Oh he's dead he's dead.

Lee raised his head from the scope, looking right."

David Ferrie, one of the conspirators explains how these two separate lines, separate events – Oswald's life and the conspiracy – are brought together by the third line. This is the line that binds everything together, it goes beyond causality: it is power of coincidence, of the absurdity and of randomness, that, somehow, makes everything fit into a bigger scheme, as it connects it all: [6] (p. 399) "Think of two parallel lines. /…/ One is the life of Lee H. Oswald. One is the conspiracy to kill the President. What bridges the space between them? What makes a connection inevitable? There is a third line. It comes out of dreams, visions, intuitions, prayers, out of the deepest levels of the self. It's not generated by cause and effect like the other two lines. It's a line that cuts across causality, cuts across time. It has no history that we can recognize or understand. But it forces a connection. It puts a man on the path of his destiny."

Ferrie's point of view can be paralleled with DeLillo's own perspective that the moment of Kennedy's assassination coincides with the moment when Americans (humanity) entered a world of contingency and emptiness. In this age, forces greater than us, the human agents, are at work, be it coincidence, randomness or the lack of predictability and control – sometimes even logic – of social events, a thesis supported by the social studies sciences. It is the postmodern age, which can no longer be separated from (the logic of) paranoia.

Nicholas Branch, a retired senior analyst, is the one trying to make sense of it all. He has been hired to write a secret history of the Kennedy assassination, much like the Warren

Report. He analyses and interprets everything. He is trying to find the right version, not to fall for any conspiracy, not to undermine or ignore any detail. But, much like in real life, the amount of information is enormous. Evidence keeps being uncovered, and Branch knows he cannot afford to overlook anything: he is writing a history, [6] (p. 57) "not a study of the ways in which people succumb to paranoia": [6] (p. 181) "Baptismal records, report cards, postcards, divorce petitions, canceled checks, daily timesheets, tax returns, property lists, postoperative x-rays, photos of knotted string, thousands of pages of testimony, of voices droning in hearing rooms in old courthouse buildings, an incredible haul of human utterance."

It is all there, Branch says in awe, and it keeps coming. In the end, he has to face the fact that this history cannot be written. If we come to think of it, Kennedy's story hasn't been completely written: it is still being (re)written, history keeps being (re)interpreted as new evidence is revealed, or maybe it is just analyses from a different angle, with a different approach.

The conspiracy theory is inoculated to the reader throughout the novel by simple communications such as "[a] fact is innocent until someone wants it; then it becomes intelligence", or [6] (p. 379), "God made big people. And God made little people. But Colt made the .45 to even things up", or by complex contemplations [6] (p. 101) "[m]aybe what has to happen is that the individual must allow himself to be swept along, must find himself in the stream of no-choice, the single direction. This is what makes things inevitable. You use the restrictions and penalties they invent to make yourself stronger. History means to merge. The purpose of history is to climb out of your own skin."

But, perhaps, Oswald's status, torn forever between his desire to be an agent of causality (be in control, seize his historical destiny) and the pawn, manipulated to play his part in the conspiracy, can let us grasp more clearly that, in the end "the assassination paradoxically comes to represent the causal origin of a rupture of [4] (p. 111) 'manageable' causality". The Kennedy assassination is the point zero in American postmodernization, when the old epistemological paradigm was dissolved, and replaced by the logic of paranoia which seems to have become the only constant: [4] (p. 116) "The culture of conspiracy surrounding the Kennedy case is therefore so enduring, not because it provides a compensatory sense of closure and coherence, nor even because it led to a loss of innocence, but because it is very much in tune with a postmodern distrust of final narrative solutions. Indeed, as theoretical accounts of postmodern literature and film suggest, the culture of paranoia is inseparable from the culture of postmodernism, not least because they share a paradoxical fiction of origin in the Kennedy assassination."

Conclusions

Conspiracy theories are a complex phenomenon that requires a lot of attention, an area that still needs study to be fully understood and explained, especially as it changes with the world we live in. In the digital age, when information circles the globe almost instantly, the concept of conspiracy theories is overused, being, at times, taken very seriously, to the point of causing hysteria, or laughed at and ridiculed, on other occasions, associated with naivety or a lack of a higher education. However, they may also be discussed in connection with the hidden meanings that only the initiated can grasp.

Conspiracy theories are, more often than not, linked to power, explaining a number of events both domestic and international, being interpreted in many ways by researchers in various fields – psychology, sociology, politics, cultural studies, and, of course, literature.

Very popular and easily adaptable, cutting across genres, this type of theory is found, therefore, both in real life, having to do with what is factual, but also in literature, movies or TV series, fiction being also a very favorable realm for conspiracy theories.

This kind of narrative being omnipresent, the observation made by Michael Butter is of utmost importance. With the world we live in today, we need to re-evaluate paranoia as now, unlike before, it has become reasonable to be paranoid. Indeed, the load of information is so great, so confusing and even contradictory, that now, like never before we have reasons to become paranoid. Conspiracy theories have become so complex, so sophisticated, that they can become plausible even to educated people, experts, leaders.

It is essential to understand that conspiracy theories are, after all, a form of narrative, and, implicitly, a form of discourse, with a precise purpose, meant to convince; from newspaper articles or documentaries, to works of fiction – conspiracy theories are ubiquitous these days. We need to learn how interpret such theories, and see them for what they are: narratives. As cultural studies scholars know well, [1] (p. 15) "the texts' narrative structures, their dominant tropes, and the strategies by which they present their evidence as coherent and conclusive are essential for the successful on interpellation of their audiences as conspiracy theorists."

Conspiracy theories are narratives, they tell stories – past present and future – about how power works, be it in real life or in fiction. As Fenster demonstrates, both factual and fictional narratives function by the same rules: they are unique ways of narrating historical events. Some of the conspiracy theories that have originated in reality, have been explored in fiction – some of the best novels ever written are built on such theories. Factual or fictional, it seems that conspiracy theories are here to stay: therefore, we might as well sit back and enjoy the ride, perhaps with a grin in the corner of the mouth.

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OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND-THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE VICTORIAN AGE.
THE LADY'S GUIDE TO PERFECT GENTILITY AND CHARLES DICKENS' *DAVID COPPERFIELD*

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Abstract

The Victorian Era, one of the most stable and prosperous ones in the history of Britain, takes its name after Queen Victoria. Despite the fact that there was a female monarch on the throne, the Victorian women were given little if any social recognition. They were kept within the limits of their homes with the Victorian mentality imposing that motherhood and household were enough for them. By looking at *The Lady's Guide to Perfect Gentility* and Charles Dickens' *David Copperfield* this paper seeks to demonstrate that women were not important figures in the public sphere of the Victorian life.

Keywords

Victorian Era, Victorian mentality, women, role

1. Socio-historical context

The 19th century is acknowledged for its "solidity of purpose and far-reaching achievements" (Stîngă 7) [1], marking the highest point reached by Britain in terms of socio-political, economic and cultural development. This period of time, also known as the Victorian Age, is preceded by the Georgian period and, according to Stîngă (7), it takes its name after the ruler, Queen Victoria. In addition to that, Stîngă (7) says, it is the first age in which the monarch got to see her name given to the period while still being alive. Stîngă (7) makes it known that the Victorians valued "stability, authority and respectability in public life". As a result, it was quite sensible for them to associate the era with the "institution of monarchy, more precisely with the head of the most powerful nation of the day" (Stîngă 7).

However, before knowing that a bright future would wait for her, Victoria had few chances of ever being queen to begin with. "Her father, Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, was

the fourth son of the reigning King George III" (Stîngă 8). It seems rather unlikely for someone placed so low in the line to the throne to become monarch, but the odds were in Victoria's favour. Comșa (12-17) [2] explains that Victoria became queen when she was barely 18. At the time the Queen was enthroned, there was little respect for the Crown coming from the public. In spite of that, the young Queen was rational and managed to gain the love and the admiration of the people. Her reign was mostly free of war, with the exception of some minor rebellions. Her rule was characterized by an improvement in the English politics and also by the enlargement of the British Empire. (Stîngă 7) uses words such as "stability, prosperity, progress, reform and Imperialism" in order to characterize the Victorian era. This indicates that the period aforementioned proved to be one that evolved without major changes, with people being successful and having money, a period during which the British Empire was powerful and influential. Stîngă (7) [1] explains that the profit and the industrial improvement at home allowed the middle class to develop and to become a large, educated social category.

2. Victorian Women

Apart from all the social categories, the one that makes the focus of this essay is represented by the women. According to Comșa (32) [2], during Queen Victoria's reign, there were little opportunities for women to get well-paid jobs or to have access to better education. All women were oppressed, including the maids and the governesses. Moreover, before the 1870s, married women did not even have legal rights. Women were thought to be the weaker sex, in terms of their intellectual capacities as well as in terms of their physique. The perfect Victorian woman had to be virtuous and obedient. In addition to that, she had to put the needs of the others over her own. The press, as well as politicians and writers favoured domesticity as the status quo role for women. As stated by Digby (195) [9], there was a distinction between the public sphere, mainly dominated by men, and the private sphere, governed by women. Stîngă (29) mentions that a woman's place was in the house during the reign of Queen Victoria and that it was a common belief that domesticity and motherhood brought her sufficient emotional fulfilment. In other words, in the male Victorian mentality, a woman should be satisfied by the limited area that she had access to, within the limits of her house.

The role model for the Victorian women was the Queen herself. Queen Victoria was the most legendary member of the royal family and, at the same time, she was the image of "a kind femininity centred on family, motherhood and respectability" (Stîngă 29). Her marriage to Prince Albert and her numerous children represented the ideal marital life, making her "the mother of the nation" (Stîngă 29). However, according to Stîngă (29), even if the throne belonged to a woman, the progress towards the emancipation of the women was rather a slow process. Wives were still considered the property of their husbands; working-class women were paid less compared to the men and upper-class women were restrained from getting an authentic education. In consonance with Schor (172) [3], the ideology surrounding women's role in the 19th century was a very powerful one. Women were expected to build their lives around their homes and their families. Not only is that, but this duty they had to fulfil should prove enough for them, it should basically frame their lives.

3. The Lady's Guide to Perfect Gentility

The Lady's Guide to Perfect Gentility by Emily Thornwell summarises some of the etiquette rules a Victorian woman had to act according to and included different pieces of advice organized in different categories. Beauty for example had to be natural and any sign of artificially obtained physical attractiveness was undesirable. However, the guide did include sources that could be useful to women who wanted to keep their grace and good looks. Such an example is "choice cosmetics for improving and beautifying the skin", which included homemade recipes meant to keep the skin looking fresh and glowing. The remedies usually consisted of juices which should have helped with cleansing the skin, keeping it bright and removing the wrinkles. Another example refers to the hands of a Victorian woman and it stated that an elegant hand was associated with the prestige of the possessor. "Good taste" seems to be a fascinating example, showing the rather superficial principles that dominated those times. A woman had to raise her dress when walking over the pavement, using just her right hand. It was considered vulgar to raise her dress with both hands. In addition to that, there were special rules to be observed at the table, such as never using the knife to convey the food to your mouth and to only feed yourself with a fork or a spoon [4].

Probably among the most absurd categories discussed in this guide is the one that refers to the "desirableness of a pure breath". *The Lady's Guide to Perfect Gentility* does not shy in claiming that "The purity of the breath is of the greatest consequence; what, indeed, could be so afflicting to one of the gentle sex as impurity in this respect." Not only is this piece of information ridiculous, but it is also inappropriate. Discussing the worth of someone based on their breath should not be taken into account, as a human being is so much more than their breath. Still, the guide is kind enough to provide once again home remedies and tonics so that a Victorian woman could achieve the preferable "sweet breath".

Taken together, these recommendations are very shallow, more often than not remaining on a surface level. None of them refers to the actual education of women or to their rights, but rather seemed to prepare the girls for being the perfect wives in the eyes of the society. Everything had to be in order or one's reputation would be ruined forever. The focus of this article shifts to the exterior image of a woman, claiming that perfect gentility, high social class manners, calm and grace were based, first of all, on how a woman looked, on the image she presented to the society. The information provided by these articles depicts just how superficially women were treated, all being camouflaged under the name of a so-called guide to perfect gentility. This only emphasizes that the women had little to do in the public sphere of the society, their role being in the houses they had to watch over.

4. Dicken's female characters - between angels in the house and bad wives

In addition to the guides for women, the literature of the Victorian Age also clearly reflected "the condition of life and the society" (Holloway 88) [5]. Flint (19) [6] mentions that, during the 19th century, the novel came to be a dominant literary form. This happened as a result of many factors, such as the expansion of the cities, the low-priced costs for paper and for the printing process, and the better advertising and promotion of books.

The author chosen to be discussed in this paper is Charles Dickens, known for the "domestic fairies of his pantheon" (Milbank 80) [7]. He delivered his texts in monthly pieces, creating "an urgent demand for each new number" (Flint 22) [6]. Out of everything he has written, the focus will be on *David Copperfield* and the two stereotypical female characters, the angel in the house and the bad wife [8].

The angel in the house in this case would be Agnes Wickfield. When David first meets her, she looks "as staid and as discreet a housekeeper as the old house could have" (Dickens 336), already suggesting towards the fact that she would be a good housekeeper, a trustworthy one you would want around your house. Even later in life, David had the tendency to associate the "tranquil brightness" (Dickens 336) [8] of the stained-glass window with Agnes. Over the course of the novel, she remains sensible and kind, even if David chooses to marry another woman. When he is in Switzerland, after Dora's death, David comes to realize that he loves Agnes and that he should become a better man for her sake, because she inspires him to be one. David returns to London, only to hear that the school Agnes rules is successful and that she had had many admirers, but only one love. Just as David realizes that he is her one love, they become a couple and get married. The finale of the novel presents David and Agnes happy together, with three children. David states that his "domestic joy was perfect" (Dickens 1290), indicating that he finally got the tranquil life he had been longing for. This calm climate is partially due to Agnes being an ideal wife, knowing just how to rule over the house. All things considered, Agnes fulfils the Victorian role of the angel in the house, creating a model for the young Victorian ladies.

In contrast to Agnes the reader will encounter Dora Spenlow, David's first wife. He falls in love with her the moment he sees her, explaining that she "was more than human to me. She was a Fairy" (Dickens 580) [8] and that he was "swallowed up in an abyss of love in an instant." (Dickens 581). However, she cannot be persuaded into learning how to be a good wife. When given a "housekeeping-book and a pretty little pencil-case and box of leads, to practise housekeeping with" (Dickens 899), she starts crying. Once they finally get married, David will begin to notice that she is not the right woman for him. If anything, she turns out to be a terrible wife, claiming that "housekeeping was not comfortable" (Dickens 947) [8]. The couple hires servants, but they turn out to cheat on them. Dora is aware of her poor skills and even asks David to call her "child-wife" (Dickens 958) [8], which is a suitable name for her child-like behaviour that eventually prevents David from trying to change her. Nevertheless, Dora has a moment of epiphany on her deathbed, when she confesses that she was not fit to be a wife and that, if she had been a better wife, she could have made him a better husband as well. Her last moment, even though it proves to be a very rational one, cannot erase the fact that she was not a good wife, according to the Victorian mentality. More so, even David himself tried to change Dora, because he was still a Victorian man who should have had a typically Victorian wife. Although he claimed that he loved her, David attempted to make Dora adjust to the social norm.

Conclusions

In summary, this paper argued that the role of women in the Victorian Age was a very limited one, usually within the borders of the house. The articles dedicated to them and the pieces of literature opted for obedient women, for ruling a house and for motherhood, at the same time criticizing females who could not fulfill the social duty they were attributed. Victorian women were absent from the public sphere of life, which also made them absent from the Victorian male mentality.

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(RE)FRAMING SPECIALIZED TRANSLATION

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Abstract

Terminology or specialized language is more than a technical or particular instance of general language. In today's society with its emphasis on science and technology, the way specialized knowledge concepts are named, structured, described, and translated has put terminology in the limelight. The information in scientific and technical texts is encoded in terms or specialized knowledge units, which can be regarded as access points to more complex knowledge structures. As such, they only mark the tip of the iceberg. Beneath the waters stretch the tentacles of a many-splendored conceptual domain, which represents the implicit knowledge underlying the information in the text. In order to translate this type of specialized language text, translators must go beyond correspondences at the level of individual terms and be able to establish interlinguistic references to entire knowledge structures. Only then can they achieve the level of understanding necessary to create an equivalent text in the target language.

Keywords

Concept; terminology; translation; organization; model; frame; communication.

Conceptual modelling is the activity of formally describing aspects of the physical and social world around us for purposes of understanding and communication. The conceptual modeller thus has to determine what aspects of the real world to include, and exclude, from the model, and at what level of detail to model each aspect (Kotiadis and Robinson, 2008). The way that this is done depends on the needs of the potential users or stakeholders, the domain to be modelled, and the objectives to be achieved. A principled set of conceptual modelling techniques are thus a vital necessity in the elaboration of resources that facilitate knowledge acquisition and understanding. Such resources would ideally allow non-experts to understand a given domain by focusing on and capturing essential knowledge.

Terminology and specialized knowledge representation is basic to knowledge acquisition processes such as specialized translation and communication. Given that terms are the linguistic designations of specialized knowledge concepts, it goes without saying that they are inextricably linked to their representation, activation, transmission, and acquisition of specialized knowledge. According to Sandrini (2000: 1), concepts are at the centre of all

types of knowledge and constitute the key elements of the knowledge space of a subject area. A knowledge space is made up of relations among concepts of a predefined domain and is represented by statements. [1]

Concept systems are evidently a core element in conceptual knowledge representation and acquisition. As it is well-known, a major focus in both applied and theoretical Terminology and Specialized Communication has always been conceptual organization. In fact, a great deal has been written on the topic (see Budin, 1994, Puuronen, 1995, Meyer and Mackintosh, 1996, Meyer *et al*., 1997, Pozzi, 1999, Pilke, 2001, Feliu, 2004, Tebé, 2005, Faber *et al*., 2007, León 2009, *inter alia*) [2] [3] [4]. Given the fact that terms are specialized knowledge units that designate our conceptualization of objects, qualities, states, and processes in a specialized domain and are key to understanding, any theory of conceptual modelling and knowledge representation should aspire to psychological and neurological adequacy.

Conceptualization processes as well as the organization of semantic information in the brain should underlie any theoretical assumptions concerning the access, retrieval, and acquisition of specialized knowledge as well as the design of specialized knowledge resources. However, quite often, this is not the case.

It is a fact that conceptual organization (of any sort), despite its acknowledged importance, does not appear to have an important role in the elaboration of specialized knowledge resources. Astonishingly few resources are conceptually organized, and even those that are based on meaning merely provide an overview of a specialized field, solely based on the IS_A or TYPE_OF conceptual relation. This overview usually consists of graphical representations of concepts in the form of tree or bracket diagrams.

However, even this type of organization is a fairly rare occurrence since the great majority of terminological resources available on Internet contain little or no information regarding the location of specialized knowledge concepts in larger knowledge configurations (Faber et al., 2006) [3] [4]. Even when concept maps or representations are provided, they rarely respond to user needs or expectations. Our experience as thinkers tells us that the mainstream conceptual tree does not adequately reflect what is in our mind, and that our mental representations are much richer and more flexible than such representations of conceptual structure. Since knowledge resources should reflect, to the extent possible, conceptual categories and the processes that actually occur in the brain, the question is how an awareness of the nature of mental processes can be applied to the representation of specialized knowledge concepts in order to enhance specialized knowledge acquisition.

As a rule, standard theories of cognition are based on abstract representations of entities, events, and processes stored in semantic memory, which do not take into account the human and contextual factor of processors, their focus of attention, spatiotemporal situation, or context of perception (Barsalou, 2008: 618, Mahon and Caramazza, 2008: 59) [5]. As it happens, these conventional (though inadequate) theories of cognition are the same theories upon which mainstream conceptual representations (or conceptual trees) in specialized knowledge domains are currently based. The question is what really happens in our mind when we think about something, and how we acquire permanent knowledge about it.

A set of new theories of cognition have been proposed that provide new insights into conceptualization processes. These theories claim that cognition is situated, and that understanding is equated with sensory and motor simulation. In other words, when we encounter a physical object, we partially capture property information on sensory modalities

so that this information can later be reactivated (Damasio and Damasio, 1994). For example, to represent the concept, PEACH, neural systems for vision, action, touch, taste and emotion partially re-enact the perceiver's experience of a peach. These re-enactments or simulations are not the same thing as mental imagery, which is consciously evoked in working memory. Unlike mental imagery, these simulations seem to be relatively automatic processes that lie outside of our awareness (Simmons *et al.*, 2005: 1602).

To date, brain-imaging experiments have largely involved the conceptualization of everyday objects such as cups, hammers, pencils, and food, which, when perceived, trigger simulations of potential actions. For example, the handle of a cup activates a grasping simulation (Tucker and Ellis, 1998, 2001) [6]. Food activates brain areas related to gustatory processing as well as areas in the visual cortex representing object shape (Simmons *et al.*, 2005). When conceptual knowledge about objects is represented, brain areas represent the shape and colour of objects, the motion they exhibit, and the actions that agents perform on them become active to represent these properties conceptually. Such re-enactments not only occur in the presence of the object itself, but also in response to words and other symbols. For precisely this reason, they should be taken into account in Terminology. Although few neuropsychological experiments of this type have ever been performed with specialized concepts, there is no reason to suppose that the brain would work any differently. For example, when reading about hockey, experts were found to produce motor simulations absent in novices (Holt and Beilock, 2006) [7].

In all likelihood, a similar result would be the obtained if the object were a tide gauge, pluviometer, or anemometer. The expert's brain would show motor simulations in brain areas that would not be activated in the case of non-experts to whom the object was unfamiliar. The information regarding simulated interaction is thus a vital part of conceptual meaning. The way that object concepts are represented in our brain seems to suggest that current methods and ways of elaborating specialized knowledge representations should be modified in order to take this information into account in order to facilitate knowledge acquisition.

Yet, we may well ask ourselves if such research on cognition, however valuable, can be usefully applied to the creation of specialized knowledge resources. We believe that the answer is yes. First of all, situated conceptualizations reflect the fact that concepts are not processed in isolation, but are typically situated in background situations and events (Barsalou, 2003) [5]. This signifies that context is crucial in knowledge representation. At any given moment in the perception of the entity, people also perceive the space surrounding it, including the agents, objects, and event present in it (Barsalou, 2009: 1283), and this can be applied to specialized knowledge modelling. For example, EROSION is the wearing away of the earth's surface, but whether conceptualized as a process or the result of this process, erosion cannot be conceived in isolation. It is induced by an agent (wind, water, or ice) affects a geographic entity (the Earth's surface) by causing something (solids) to move away [5].

Moreover, any process takes place over a period of time, and can be divided into smaller segments. In this sense, erosion can happen at a specific season of the year, and may take place in a certain direction. All of this information about erosion should be available for potential activation when we think about the concept, and wish to acquire knowledge about it. The meaning of a concept is constructed on-line, and is modulated by context.

Accordingly, a knowledge resource that facilitates knowledge acquisition should not be in the form of a static term base with a list of unrelated data records. It should represent

concepts as part of a larger context or situation in which the concept is related to others in a dynamic structure that can streamline the action-environment interface.

Frame-based terminology (Faber *et al.*, 2005, 2006, 2007) uses a modified version of Fillmore's Frames (Fillmore 1982, 1985, Fillmore and Atkins, 1992) coupled with premises from Cognitive Linguistics to configure specialized domains on the basis of definitional templates and create situated representations for specialized knowledge concepts [6] [7] [9].

In Frame-based Terminology, conceptual networks are based on an underlying domain event as well as a closed inventory of both hierarchical and non-hierarchical semantic relations. We have used these premises to construct an environmental knowledge base called *EcoLexicon* (http://ecolexicon.ugr.es/). The main focus is on conceptual relations as well as a concept's combinatorial potential, extracted from corpus analysis. This prototypical domain event or action-environment interface (Barsalou, 2003) provides a template applicable to all levels of information structuring.

In EcoLexicon, knowledge can be accessed from top-level categories to more specific relational structures. The most generic level is the Environmental Event (EE), which provides a frame for the organization of all concepts in the knowledge base. The EE is conceptualized as a dynamic process that is initiated by an agent (either natural or human). This process affects a patient (an environmental entity), and produces a result. These categories (agent, process, patient, etc.) are the concept roles characteristic of this specialized domain. Additionally, there are peripheral categories which include instruments that are typically used during the EE, as well as a category where the concepts of measurement, analysis, and description of the processes in the main event are included. This event-based representation facilitates knowledge acquisition in text processing since conceptual categories are bound together by event knowledge.

For example, one of the concepts in EcoLexicon is EXTREME EVENT in its sense of natural disaster. Disasters in the environment include great earthquakes, floods, giant sea waves, hurricanes, tornadoes, etc., and their consequences. The concept of EXTREME EVENT is very complex since it is a natural agent that initiates a process (i.e. earthquakes or volcanic eruptions can produce tsunamis) but it can also be the process itself, which occurs in time and space.

All of the concepts closest to the central concept are connected to it by a series of conceptual relations that are explicitly named (e.g. TYPE-OF, CAUSES, AFFECTS, etc.). Since EXTREME EVENT is a very general concept, the only visual information that can be associated with it is that of its subtypes (HURRICANE, TORNADO, EARTHQUAKE, FLOOD, etc.). The majority of relations at this level are thus TYPE_OF. However, EXTREME EVENT also activates non-hierarchical relations typical of the general event frame. As such, its principal attribute is RISK; it AFFECTS the environment; and CAUSES an environmental impact. As for the TYPE_OF relations, they can be regarded as access routes to more prototypical base-level concepts [Rosch, 1978], which do have a mental image, and can activate specific contexts. This set of subtypes (hurricane, tornado, flood, tsunami, etc.) take the form of constellations, each with their own set of subordinate concepts and conceptual relations, which encode more specific sub-event knowledge and representations.

According to Barsalou (2005), a given concept produces many different situated conceptualizations, each tailored to different instances in different settings. Thus, context can be said to be a dynamic construct that activates or restricts knowledge. This general event

that codifies a natural disaster can thus be re-contextualized at any moment to center on any of the more specific sub-events. For example, when the EXTREME EVENT representation is re-contextualized to focus on HURRICANE, it takes the following form [5].

This type of re-contextualization of EXTREME EVENT still contains a sector of the previous information, but varies the focus of attention so that hurricane is now the center of focus. Besides communicating the fact that hurricane is a type of extreme event, this new representation highlights the fact that wind and flooding are crucial participants in the event. Wind is part of a hurricane, and a hurricane causes floods. Not surprisingly, WIND and FLOOD are concepts that are susceptible to simulation since they can directly affect human life and health. It also mentions the attribute of low atmospheric pressure as well as the scale used for hurricane measurement (Saffir-Simpson hurricane scale), which codifies an important aspect of expert interaction with a hurricane. [10]

Object concepts can also be represented dynamically as parts of events. One of the basic characteristics of objects is knowledge of whether and how they can be manipulated. In the case of man-made objects, another important property is their function, or how they can be used. This would mean that an important part of the information in the representation of specialized engineering instruments would evidently involve how they are used by humans, for what purpose, and what is the result of the manipulation.

In order to translate specialized texts, translators must acquire sufficient knowledge of conceptual content. Although it is not necessary to have the same depth of knowledge as an expert in the field, there is a minimum threshold that must be met. The knowledge acquisition process can be carried out in cost-effective time if translators have a set of search strategies developed and knowledge resources at their disposal. [11] One of the problems of knowledge acquisition is precisely the lack of translation-oriented terminological resources that reflect the complexity and dynamicity of conceptualization. Although in terminology theory, much emphasis is placed on conceptual representation, reality shows that very few specialized dictionaries or glossaries are concept-based, and those that are based on meaning, only offer static representations based on the IS_A or PART_OF relation. A truly effective specialized knowledge resource should reflect recent advances in neuro-cognition which point to the following:

1. No specialized knowledge concept should be activated in isolation, but rather as part of a larger structure or event. A specialized knowledge resource that facilitates knowledge acquisition should thus provide conceptual contexts or situations in which a concept is related to others as part of a process or event.

2. Since knowledge acquisition and understanding requires simulation, this signifies that non-hierarchical relations defining goal, purpose, affordance, and result of the manipulation and use of an object are just as important as hierarchical generic-specific and part-whole relations.

3. Specialized domains are constrained by the nature of their members. This is reflected in clusters of conceptual relations that make up the general representational template, characterizing different categories [12] [13].

All of these have been illustrated by examples from EcoLexicon, an environmental knowledge base. EcoLexicon is a conceptually-organized, frame-based terminological resource that facilitates knowledge acquisition since it presents concepts as part of larger knowledge structures and permits dynamic processes such as the re-contextualization of knowledge representations.

Conclusions

Framing specialized translation deals with conceptual modelling, i.e. the activity of formally describing aspects of the physical and social world around us for purposes of understanding and communication. The conceptual modelling thus has to determine what aspects of the real world to include, and exclude, from the model, and at what level of detail to model each aspect. The way that this is done depends on the needs of the potential users or stakeholders, the domain to be modelled, and the objectives to be achieved. A principled set of conceptual 89odelling techniques are thus a vital necessity in the elaboration of resources that facilitate knowledge acquisition and understanding. In this respect, the design and creation of terminological databases for a specialized knowledge domain is extremely complex since, ideally, the data should be interconnected in a semantic network by means of an explicit set of semantic relations. Nevertheless, despite the acknowledged importance of conceptual organization in terminological resources, conceptual organization does not appear to have an important role in their design. It is a fact that astonishingly few specialized knowledge resources available on Internet contain information regarding the location of concepts in larger knowledge configurations. Such knowledge resources do not take into account the dynamic nature of categorization, concept storage and retrieval, and cognitive processing. Recent theories of cognition reflect the assumption that cognition is typically grounded in multiple ways, e.g. simulations, situated action, and even bodily states. This means that a specialized knowledge resource that facilitates knowledge acquisition should thus provide conceptual contexts or situations in which a concept is conceived as part of a process or event. Since knowledge acquisition and understanding requires simulation, this signifies that horizontal relations defining goal, purpose, affordance, and result of the manipulation and use of an object are just as important, if not more so, than vertical generic-specific and part-whole relations. Within the context of recent theories of cognition, this chapter examines the frame-based conceptual 89odelling principles underlying EcoLexicon, a multilingual knowledge base of environmental concepts.

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EXPERIMENTAL METHODOLOGIES.
A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH

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Abstract

On the basis of data, we analyse two different pairs of syntactic patterns, the so-called dative alternation and particle placement of transitive phrasal verbs. Although it has sometimes been argued that only experimental data can contribute to studies of priming, the analysis shows that (a) the corpus-based results for datives are very similar to the experimental ones; (b) priming is also obtained for the verb-particle construction, a construction hitherto not explored in the priming literature and (c), most importantly, in line with much previous psycholinguistic and corpus-linguistic work, priming effects turn out to be strongly verb-specific such that some verbs are much more resistant or responsive to priming than others. As a variety of studies has shown, speakers tend to repeat syntactic structures they have just encountered (produced or comprehended) before.

Keywords

 methodology; study; linguistics; priming; syntax; structure.

The range of experimental methodologies has also been broadened considerably and now includes a wide variety of offline experimental paradigms such as sentence completion tasks and picture descriptions in dialogs**.** In addition, researchers have carried out online studies where priming effects were also measured in terms of production latencies.

While many studies have investigated the dative alternation and the active–passive alternation in English, more recent work has also looked at the equivalent constructions in Dutch as well as Dutch locative PP alternations, the order of auxiliary verb and past participle in Dutch as well as dative-accusative verb alternation in German (Scheepers & Corley, 2000), and the order of syntactic functions in Japanese (Yamashita *et al*., 2002).

The currently most pressing issues concerning syntactic priming (many of which will also be addressed in the present approach) are the following:

- the duration of syntactic priming: on the one hand, Levelt and Kelter (1982) and Branigan *et al*. (1999) report that priming (in spoken and written production respectively) is fairly short-lived. On the other hand, other studies report priming effects across longer time

interval or more intervening material (Bock & Griffin, 2000; Pickering *et al.*, 2000; Chang *et al.*, 2000) [1].

● the directionality of syntactic priming: Branigan *et al.* (1995) discuss a variety of different studies which, taken all together, support the assumption that syntactic priming can operate from production to production (Bock, 1986; Bock & Loebell, 1990), from comprehension to comprehension (Branigan *et al.,* 1995 for an overview) and from comprehension to production (Branigan *et al.,* 2000; Bock, 2002) [2] [3].

● the grammatical characteristics of the priming verb: Pickering and Branigan (1998) found that (a) syntactic priming is stronger if the priming verb lemma and the target verb lemma are identical (compared to different lemmas in prime and target) and that (b) morphological differences between the priming verb and the target verb (in terms of tense, aspect and number) do not result in strongly varying priming strengths [4].

● the degree to which syntactic priming is asymmetric and construction-(pair)-specific: From a between-alternations perspective, Bock (1986) found stronger priming for the two syntactic frames involved in the dative alternation than for those involved in the active–passive alternation in English; a similar prominence of datives over transitives was found for English by Potter and Lombardi (1998) and for Dutch by Hartsuiker and Kolk (1998). In addition, from a within-alternation perspective, further asymmetries wer sometimes obtained: Bock (1986) found there was stronger priming for ditransitives than for prepositional datives while Potter and Lombardi (1998) report the opposite (and Pickering *et al.,* 2002: 587 mention evidence for symmetric/ balanced priming) [5].

● the degree to which syntactic priming is language-specific: Hartsuiker et al., (2002) demonstrate syntactic priming from comprehending Spanish to producing English, Salamoura (2002: Exp. 2) demonstrates priming from Greek (L1) structures to English (L2) structures, and Gries and Wulff (in press) show that German learners of English as a foreign language exhibit priming in an English sentence completion task [6] [7].

The present study is concerned with the issues raised above. However, it is different from most others in two respects. First, its main point is that it goes beyond previous works by paying closer attention to the role individual verbs play for priming.

Recent studies demonstrated that different verbs exhibit differentially strong associations to particular syntactic patterns or, put differently, constructions. Although the experimental priming studies mentioned above did control for the frequencies of prime constructions and for item-specific effects (in terms of F1 and F2 statistics) and, thus, allowed for a clear confirmation of syntactic priming, there appear to be no studies at all which investigated to what degree, if any, the strength of priming effects is conditioned by the prime and target verbs.

The main issue of this study is, therefore, the question of whether particular verbs are more responsive or resistant to priming as target verbs such that, across many different prime verbs, they either have a tendency for a particular construction that overrides the prime structure or not.

More generally speaking, the present study takes into account the degree to which syntactic priming may be verb-specific. Second, contrary to most previous works, the present study is based on naturalistic corpus data rather than psycholinguistic experimentation. Given that the first studies reporting syntactic repetition were based on naturalistic data, it may appear somewhat surprising that so little corpus based work on priming has been conducted,

especially since larger corpora and the software necessary for their analysis is so widely available.

This absence can probably partly be attributed to the fact that, although Bock's (1990) first example for what she later refers to as syntactic priming is drawn from naturalistic conversation, priming researchers such as Branigan and Pickering have argued against corpus-based approaches to priming by stating that:

> there are several nonsyntactic factors which could lead to repetition. [. . .] Corpora have proved useful as a means of hypothesis generation, but unequivocal demonstrations of syntactic priming effects can only come from controlled experiments (Branigan et al., 1995: 492; Pickering & Branigan, 1999: 136) [8].

In order to investigate syntactic priming corpus-linguistically, first all ditransitive constructions and all prepositional datives with to and for in the British component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB) were identified. Out of the 3793 cases, 790 had to be discarded for the priming analysis because they were the first or last construction either in one of the 500 corpus files or in a subtext of a corpus file, leaving 3003 prime-target pairs (i.e. subsequent constructions of either type) for the analysis. Each of these was then coded for a variety of variables:

- Medium: the medium in which prime and target occurred: spoken vs. written (automatically retrieved from the corpus files).
- CPrime and CTarget: the constructions of the first and the second of the two constructions constituting a prime-target pair: ditransitive vs. prepositional dativ (automatically retrieved from the annotated parse trees within the corpus files).
- CID: the fact whether the constructions in prime and target are identical: yes or no (this coding task was performed semi-automatically with a spreadsheet software applied to the output of the concordancing software).
- Distance: the distance in parsing units between the occurrence of prime and target within each subtext of each file as determined from the annotation of the corpus: $0, \leq1, \leq2, \leq3, \leq4, \leq5, \leq6, \leq7, \leq8, \leq9, \leq10, \leq15, \leq20, \leq25$ and >25 (a parsing unit is the basic structural unit of each corpus file; in the majority of cases it corresponds to a clause or sentence).
- VFormPrime and VFormTarget as well as VLemmaPrime and VLemmaTarget: the exact verb form and the verb lemma of each prime and target (the verb forms in both constructions were retrieved automatically from the corpus files, the lemmatization was done manually by myself).
- VFormID and VLemmaID: whether both constructions involved the same verb form and verb lemma: yes or no (this coding task was performed semi-automatically with a spreadsheet software).
- SpeakerID: whether in the spoken data both constructions were produced by the same speaker or not: yes or no (this coding task was performed semi-automatically with a spreadsheet software applied to the output of the concordancing software) [9] [10].

Not only has the corpus-based analysis of syntactic priming revealed significant priming effects for ditransitives and prepositional datives, the results are also strikingly similar to those of previous experimental studies in terms of strength of effects, the influence of

morphological characteristics of the verbs, construction-specificity, directionality and distance effects (i.e. the time course of priming).

On the one hand, the results from the corpus-based investigation of priming have documented a clear priming effect for both the ditransitive and the prepositional dative, and many characteristics of the corpus-based priming effects clearly resemble those of previous experiments.

However, it has also provided evidence that offers a much more detailed perspective on this global effect by showing that priming effects are verb-specific: Individual verb associations to particular constructions as measured by distinctive collostruction strength result in some verbs allowing priming in one particular direction more readily than others.

This tendency is masked by the overall priming effects, but taking into account individual verbs' behavior can provide a more precise picture of the processing of the verbs and the structures in which they are used. It illustrates the potential of this way of analysis for a different constructional alternation that has so far received little attention in the literature on priming, namely verb-particle constructions.

Many studies are concerned with active/passive and datives. As in Hartsuiker *et al.* (1999), however, the results indicate that priming effects can also be obtained for cases where the alternants consist of the same phrases in different orders. The general findings concerning particle placement are somewhat similar to those of the dative alternation. There is a general priming effect so that constructions are likely to be repeated at the next opportunity.

In addition, both the dative alternation and particle placement exhibit a similar strength of the priming effect, and in both cases one construction primes more strongly than the other.

Finally, there are slight effects of the verb form and the verb lemma which, although insignificant, are at least in the same direction as the analogous (experimental and corpus-based) effects for the datives; the same holds for the directionality of priming. While the results are in need of additional evidence, they provide prima facie evidence of structural priming for a construction hardly related to syntactic priming in previous work. But let us now see whether particle placement is subject to the same kind of verb-specificity effects as the dative alternation [11].

Branigan and Pickering (1999) argue against corpus-based approaches to syntactic priming, claiming that the priming effects obtained from naturalistic data may have to be attributed to nonsyntactic reasons. The non-syntactic factors they mention include "temporary switches to more formal registers at certain points in the interview [. . . or . . .] the well-known facilitatory effects of repeating particular words" (Pickering & Branigan, 1999: 136). Also, they briefly refer to discourse-motivated syntactic repetitions. In the light of these potential points of critique, it is necessary to address how corpus data compare to experimental approaches in the analysis of priming.

It is true that, in general, experimental studies are in a better position to single out particular aspects of priming more easily than corpus-based studies, and the possibility to hold experimental conditions constant across a variety of trials and (combinations of) conditions should not be underestimated. However, the exploratory benefits of corpus data are mentioned by Pickering and Branigan themselves, and from a different perspective, the controlled nature of experimental conditions also has some drawbacks.

First, the priming data are usually collected in a very narrowly defined and artificial setting. While this is desirable from the point of view of delimiting error variance, it does not

allow generalizations of the role of register effects on syntactic priming—the corpus data, by contrast, allow for a multifactorial analysis of syntactic repetition in natural settings.

In addition, in their discussion of previous experimental approaches to priming, Hartsuiker and Kolk (1998: 148) criticize much previous work for not taking into consideration the overall frequencies of syntactic constructions, which — if not considered properly—may introduce frequency effects into the priming results. In the present approach, the corpus data allow for a natural computation of construction baseline frequencies [12].

Second, not all experimental studies managed to account for all potential explanatory factors. For example, Bock and Loebell's (1990) findings may be interpreted as evidence for the irrelevance of thematic utterance characteristics and that function words are irrelevant to priming until Hare and Goldberg's (1999) and Bencini *et al.*'s (2002) replications showed that this was not necessarily the case. Of course, this does not invalidate the experimental approach as such, but it points out that the number of factors to be taken into consideration is so high that it is not always possible to hold them all constant. Thus, including such confounding factors into a corpus-based evaluation may sometimes be a useful alternative.

Finally, by investigating syntactic priming from a corpus-based perspective, one can determine to what degree it plays a role for grammatical variation, i.e. the phenomenon that in a given discourse situation the speaker may have the choice between two truth-conditionally equivalent, nearly synonymous constructions (e.g. between the two dative constructions, active vs. passive, or the of-genitive vs. the s-genitive, etc.). Including the priming effects into the research design may make it possible to increase the accuracy of predicting the construction the speaker will choose (subconsciously)[13].

Apart from these general methodological arguments, some other more specific comments on Pickering and Branigan's non-syntactic factors are due because not all of these lend themselves to an explanation of the present results (and Pickering and Branigan do not provide empirical evidence for their claims). For example, the fact that one of the two constructions may be predominant in a particular register is taken into account here since (a) the corpus data cover a wide variety of registers and (b) the medium (speaking vs. writing) was included into the analysis. Note also that neither alternation investigated is inherently related to a particular level of formality, nor explaining the frequent cases of syntactic priming by hundreds of sudden register/formality changes does not seem very plausible.

Similarly, the effects cannot be straightforwardly reduced to, say, the givenness or semantic characteristics of the direct object's referent: First, both datives have information structure properties (Thompson, 1990), so why should only one result in priming in corpora? Second, one might suggest that the slight priming prominence of the verb-particle construction with a VP-final particle is due to the fact that this construction is associated with a given referent of the direct object (Gries, 2003): Once the referent of the direct object has been introduced, the verb particle constructions in the subsequent discourse will place it before the particle [7].

However, Gries (2003:120ff) finds priming effects for VPCs regardless of whether the referent of the direct object NP in the second construction is co-referential with that of the first. Third, the kind of animacy/argument effects that might in principle affect datives (such that animacy affects constructional choices) cannot explain the results on VPCs where animacy plays no role (cf. Gries, 2003a, 88–89]) and the particle is often aspectual or idiomatically used and can, thus, not be attributed argument status [9].

An additional important point is that other non-syntactic factors can also not be held responsible for the present findings. For example, those who would like to attribute the present results to lexical repetition effects would have to explain why, in the case of dative alternation, it is the ditransitive construction that primes more strongly although (i) it is the prepositional dative which allows for the priming of the function words to and for and (ii) the fact that lexical activation decays too fast makes it unlikely that the long duration of priming effects observed here and in other (experimental studies) is just a lexical memory effect.

Much of the present findings resembles those obtained experimentally so strongly that they cannot be explained away as easily as suggested. While scholars do not rule out discourse-motivated factors of priming at all, it is hard to explain all the similarities between the different kinds of results and still simply uphold the claim that all this is epiphenomenal. Without doubt, further experimental evidence is necessary, but it seems as if the utility of corpus-based, explorative results should not be underestimated prematurely.

There is also experimental evidence supporting the verb-specificity effect argued for here. Gries and Wulff replicated Pickering and Branigan's (1998) experiments on syntactic priming in English with native speakers of German to determine whether syntactic priming is also obtained with advanced learners of a foreign language. In addition to a general priming effect, they found that, just like in the present study, the strength of the priming effect of the seven dative alternation verbs discussed above is strongly correlated with a general bias of the subjects to use the experimental verbs in particular constructions. Their results are summarized: the y-axis portrays the bias of individual verbs to either the ditransitive or the prepositional dative in the corpus data, basically as measured by collostruction strength. The x-axis portrays the preference of individual verbs to be completed using either the ditransitive or the prepositional dative in the sentence-completion task [6].

Finally, the strong correlation ($r2 = .8$; $t (5) = −4.47$; $p = .007$) is indicated by the slope of the regression line, which shows that one can predict the outcome in the priming experiment on the basis of the verbs' preferences as measured on the basis of the corpus data.

Even though these results were not obtained with native speakers, they do point to the fact that experimentally primed sentence completion is strongly sensitive to verb bias. Thus, I submit, this issue is clearly in need of further research of which corpus linguistic methods may play an essential role in determining collostruction strengths for verbs to be tested (notably, Gries and Stefanowitsch, 2004, on verbs distinctive for actives and passives) [2].

Many previous results are explained within, say, the psycholinguistic model proposed by Pickering and Branigan (1998). In this model, syntactic priming is accounted for in terms of combinatorial nodes which are activated when a verb is used in a particular construction. When a speaker produces a verb in a particular construction, the lemma nodes of all words produced as well as their feature nodes (representing morphological features such as number, tense, etc.) and the corresponding combinatorial node are activated. Since the activation level of these nodes and the links relating them decays only gradually, the nodes and links that were just used are more likely to be used again when the next opportunity arises; syntactic priming is the result. Since the combinatorial nodes are directly related to the lemma nodes, priming should be stronger when the same verb is used in both prime and target, but the verb form as such should not influence the priming effect.

Since the findings concerning the dative alternation are so similar, they can of course be equally well integrated into Pickering and Branigan's model. Remember, for example, that

not only priming was found, the priming effect was also stronger when the verb lemmas were identical. There is also a tendency for identical verb forms to result in a stronger priming effect, and while that was not hypothesized in the above model, similar tendencies were obtained in Pickering and Branigan's (1998) on singular-vs.-plural form differences. Also, since the model has been argued to involve a shared representation in comprehension and production, the fact that SpeakerID had no strong effect in this study can be explained naturally [6] [7].

Finally, the fact that the verb-particle constructions exhibit priming supports the idea that order information is encoded within combinatorial nodes. Given this kind of psycholinguistic model, the second kind of finding of this study, the verb-specificity of priming, can be integrated straightforwardly. Recall that each verb lemma is connected to the combinatorial nodes of the construction in which the verb can be used. Since syntactic priming of a construction C involves the repeated activation of C's combinatorial node (so that its resting level is exceeded), it follows naturally that when the link between a verb and C is stronger, priming of (only) that construction should be stronger. This is exactly the point: the verbs which are strongly associated with one construction exhibit priming with this construction much more strongly than with the other construction.

Thus, Pickering and Branigan's model need to be supplemented with the notion that the links between verb lemmas and combinatorial nodes they postulated anyway can also be differentially strong to reflect their degree of attraction/repulsion to a construction as measured by collostruction strength. This would allow for the model to accommodate the present findings on verb-specificity, but also allows for an economical representation of many of the findings concerning verb sub-categorization preferences, verb bias etc. Given the strong interest in the issue of whether syntactic priming is best explained as activation patterns or implicit learning (Chang *et al.*, 2000, 2003), it is even conceivable that the network architectures used to test these different conceptions could be somehow enriched with the collostructional information.

All in all, the present findings demonstrate how useful — in spite of some limitations — corpus-based approaches to priming phenomena can be to support and extend findings obtained with other methodologies, promoting once more the ideal of converging evidence.

Conclusions

Terminological units are subject to linguistic analysis. Since this type of analysis can be carried out in a number of ways, it is necessary to choose the linguistic approach most in consonance with the object of study. Such an approach should be lexically centered and usage-based, as well as focus on meaning and conceptual representation. As we shall see, such is the case of cognitive linguistic approaches. In the past, Terminology and Linguistics have mostly ignored each other. In its initial phase Terminology was interested in asserting its independence from other knowledge areas, and creating a totally independent discipline. This goal led terminologists to go to great lengths to emphasize differences between the two even to the extent of affirming that terms are not words. In a parallel way, linguistic theory has largely ignored terminology, probably because specialized language has been and is often regarded as merely a special case of general language. Thus, it was not considered as worthy of serious study because anything pertaining to general language was also presumed to be true of specialized language.

However, interesting conclusions about specialized language, scientific translation, and language in general can be obtained when terminology is studied in its own right. As such, it is most certainly susceptible to linguistic analysis within the framework of a linguistic model. Oddly enough, some years ago this seemingly innocuous affirmation would have caused quite a hue and cry in terminological circles. The reason for this was that the first approximations to terminology had normalization as a primary objective. Great pains were taken to strive for totally unambiguous communication through standardization. This signified unicity or one-to-one reference between term and concept. The fact that the majority of terms designate concepts that represent objects in a specialized knowledge field meant that such an objective seemed possible to achieve.

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TRANSLATIONS PERSPECTIVES ON MULTILINGUAL EU LEGISLATION

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Abstract

The present paper highlights the evolution of EU legal discourse and the particularities of its translation. Over the time, legal language has been perceived to be addressing to a limited community members and understood only by specialists in the field. In a way EU legislation opened the gates to a larger public and it can be concluded it made law and language inextricably interlinked, where there is always place for compromise between the requirement of precision and the fundamental principle of full understanding of legal texts. In this respect the paper is intended to carry out an analysis of the legal language produced by the EU bodies and be an in-depth study of its translation process in accordance with the European norms, in its attempts of bridging linguistic, terminological and cultural gaps. Admittedly, we shall focus on the aspects that define EU legal language in the local, national, European global context, the structure, typology and nature of EU legal texts.

Keywords
legal discourse, translation, legal equivalence, discourse-oriented approach, cultural differences

1. Introduction
Translation of legal discourse has traditionally been recognized as posing a great challenge to translators being generally acknowledged as one of the most difficult types of translations due to characteristics of the legal discourse which is both archaic, but also referring to current situations, which has played and still plays an important role in linking legal systems among themselves, culturally-bound, referring to norms and rules of different nations and cultures. Nevertheless, the result must be neutral in the case of European and global documents, balancing from a word-for word approach, but at the same time which has

to take into consideration the particularities of a discourse, in general. Thus the sources of difficulty in legal translation basically concern the nature of law and the endeavour of crossing it from one language to another taking into account the cultural differences.

2. Legal translation in the current global context

Law is a vital part of communication between nations and countries and translating law is on increase due to the phenomenon of globalization. It requires both skills of language, but a background of cultural and professional knowledge, being at the confluence between art and science, making legal translation a multi-faceted, complex process.

Generally speaking of legal translation, Cao [1] (p:23) points to "the systematic differences in laws, linguistic differences and cultural differences " as the major sources of legal translation difficulty. Beaupre' (1986) as cited in Garzone [2] (p:5) calls *legal equivalence* which accounts for the legal effects that a translated text will have in the target culture.

A legal translator does not read, nor write the law, but it is closer to the interpretation of law by the lawyers as they need to know how lawmakers and lawyers/judges think.

Legal language is a type of register, not only referring to law but to what is produced in legal settings, *a set of related legal discourses.* [3] (p:13)

From the contents point of view, despite the diversity of legal systems in the world and Europe, we can actually refer to the Roman law introduced in European countries through Napoleonic Codes. The common law system developed in England and, as a result of colonialism, was transferred into a lot of countries including the United States of America or Australia. The civil law system in turn is based on the Roman law reintroduced in the European countries thanks to the Napoleonic Codes and, as a result of colonialism, was transferred to countries even from Asia and Africa.

Nonetheless, international multilingual legislation of the UN and EU laws share commonalities in terms of drafting and translation. While international legal instruments produced by the UN are written in its six official languages, which do not automatically become domestic law of the signatory countries in the EU, currently, there are twenty official languages. Translating refers to two large categories of outcomes in EU institutions: first, major treaties and secondary legislation.

EU legislation once adopted becomes the domestic law of the EU Members States and is directly binding on EU citizens being directly enforceable in the domestic jurisdictions of the Member States. EU legislation translation process is based on the multilingualism policy promoted by European Union and its legislation institutions: European Parliament, the Council and the Commission, but permanent adjustments need to be done with the national legislation. As it is often the case the law-makers are not non-native speakers, not completely mastering the language, there is a growing importance of the legal translation and lawyer linguists.

Legal translation is therefore a specialised translation type which represents the transfer of legal concepts from a source language to a target language. Grazone [1] (p:3) points out that legal translators are subject to the heaviest semiotic contrasts at all levels: the language of the law, *typically formulaic, obscure and archaic*, the legal discourse, *culturally mediated,* and the legal texts that have *special pragmatic status*. In this context we can say that legal texts constitute a separate typology of texts with a special register, for special purposes: regulatory (perspective) and informative (descriptive)[4](p:11) Moreover, Sarcevic [4] (p:11)

singles out three types of legal texts: *primarily prescriptive such as, codes, treaties, contract and conventions, primarily descriptive such as decisions, actions, appeals, petitions: purely descriptive such as, law textbooks, articles and the like*. In this regard, it turns out that it is necessary to study and properly translate legal terms to ensure a proper understanding of legitimacy of legislation in force, a correct understanding of the legal discourse and convey the correct meaning.

The categories of legislative texts of we may refer are diversed, produced in the form of international treaties and laws produced by authorities, judicial texts produced by legal authorities, legal scholary, documents produced by academic which depend on the legal systems or private legal texts written by non-lawyers in litigation and other legal situations. Secondary legislative instruments refer to the directives and decisions, and to a lesser extent, the non-binding, declaratory instruments of recommendations and opinions.[1]

3. Nature and typology of EU Legal Discourse

Bhatia [5] (p:227-229) envisages the two aspects of legal discourse: spoken and written. Bold claims are often made about the complexity of legal translation and the distinctive nature of legal discourse. While the spoken legal discourse involves the pedagogically oriented lectures and moots, the academic lectures, textbooks, cases, judgments and professional lawyer: client consultation, counsel/witness examination and jury instruction, written legal discourse refers to contract, agreements, insurance policies, which usually take frozen forms, and legislative rules and regulations which are basically formal.

Cao [6] (p: 79) distinguishes four variants of written legal texts : *legislative texts, for example, statutes, international treaties, etc., judicial texts produced in the judicial process, legal scholarly texts produced by academic lawyers or legal scholars and private legal texts which include texts written by lawyer, for example contracts, leases, wills and litigation deeds, etc.*

These different text-types have their own peculiarities and have various communicative functions. Basically, two communicative purposes ca be identified: normative and informative. Legal texts have a normative function establishing legal facts or creating rights and obligation. These are mostly prescriptive, legal texts like legal advice, correspondence between lawyers, and commentaries which are said to have an informative function.

The need for a better lawmaking and legislative drafting was clearly stated in 1992 at the Edinburgh European Council and since then the Council and the Commission have made important steps in meeting this need. English as the main drafting language has undergone a process of deculturalization in order to convey a common meaning. This process on the one hand meant simplification and reduction of terms, which cannot be found in some European languages but on the other hand inventing new terms.

The Joint Practical Guide since its first edition in 2000 has set basic principles and guidelines regarding translation and has been a valuable tool in ensuring that the legal acts drawn up by the European institutions are drafted clearly, precisely and in an intelligible and consistent manner and at the hand of use for the staff of the three institutions urged to use it and to contribute to it with their comments. It is a reference for treaties and acts and used in conjunction with other specific instruments, such as the Commission's Manual on Legislative Drafting the Council's Manual of Precedents, the Interinstitutional style guide published by the Office for Official Publications of the European Communities or the models in LegisWrite.[2]

4. Particularities of EU Legislation Translation Process

In the EU institutions, multilingual production of legislative texts is an integral part of the legislative process.

It should be borne in mind 2013 as the moment when EU law is enacted in 24 official languages for the all member states with a necessity to frame and apply it in all these languages. Admittedly, we can talk about a legal culture and since then the need to uniformly apply EU legislation starts from the basic principle in multilingual law, the principle of equal authenticity and the common practice is that in the final clause of a treaty specifies the original languages of the treaty and the fact that all official language texts are equally authentic and the text is equally authoritative in each language. The principle of equal authenticity was intended to confer undisputable authority on each of the authentic texts, de facto eliminating the inferior status of authoritative translations [4] (p: 199).

A legal term can may have multiple meanings given by its national background and the new one belonging to the Community legal system. One important principle in multilingual law is the principle of equal authenticity. The common practice is that in the final clause of a treaty, usually specifies the original languages of the treaty and the fact that all official language texts are equally authentic, that is, having equal legal force and the text is equally authoritative in each language. In this respect there are no particular requirements as to the manner of negotiation or reaching agreement or the form of a treaty, and as it happens, in international diplomacy, negotiators frequently resort to a compromise that glosses over their differences with vague, obscure or ambiguous wording, sacrificing clarity for the sake of obtaining consensus in treaties and conventions changes aremade in the draft legislation to achieve policy ends.

Drafting, in the EU, as part of the European Community legislative process follows the following procedure: a proposal for a particular piece of legislation comes from the European Commission (EC) at first.Then, the initial draft of a legislative proposal is prepared by the technical department or technical experts for the sector concerned who write it in English or French according to the language used in their department.

After this stage as the preliminary draft is prepared, as a second step, it is submitted to the other Commission departments as part of the internal consultation procedure. The Commission's Legal Service is examining the draft for compliance with the law and coherence with other legislation. As Smith citing Robison points out [7] (p:5) in the European Council, as EU draft legislative texts go through extensive consultation, examination and revision and EU law is often the fruit of difficult compromises.

It is then the job of legal revisers, who all have dual legal and language qualifications and who will examine it for compliance with the rules on form and presentation of legislation, in particularly the JointPractical Guide of the European Parliament.

During these early stage, the draft exists in only one language, while in the next step, the text follows the route of translation into all the official languages by the DGT, when the legal revisers must also correct formal or terminological errors and ensure that the legal scope is exactly the same in the different language versions.

The result, the legislative proposal is submitted to the European Parliament and the EC where it undergoes through those institutions' internal pre-adoption procedures before their final deliberation and eventual adoption.

Translating Law is a process of harmonisation in terms of consistency in usage of terminology, grammar, syntax, spelling etc. and translators are in constant pressure to achieve

interlingual concordance or intertextual symmetry or correspondence. [4] (p: 202). When examining the language of law its features can be easily noticed from lexical, syntactical and pragmatic point of view to fulfill the demands of the law and its applications.

4.1 Legal Lexicon

The legal lexicon is characterized by complexity and unique legal vocabulary, often found in different legal languages as it is close to technical language, but due to the differences in legal systems, many of the legal terms in one language do not have a correspondence in the target language which is a major source of difficulty in translation due to the English legal lexicon, full of archaic words with a formal and ritualistic usage. Even where the different language versions are entirely in accord with one another, Community law uses terminology which is peculiar to it. Brussels language has mainly a vertical frame of communication, with a regulatory and directiveness character from a suprastatal structure to the statal ones.

Apart from long and complex sentence structures found in most legal languages, there are also syntactical peculiarities to each legal language.Legal terminology is often highly abstract, with a high frequency of the use of nouns, legal concepts do not necessarily have the same meaning in Community law and in the law of the various Member States. For instance, German legal texts commonly employ multiple attributive adjectives. Legal English is on the other hand characterized bycomplex structures, passive voice, multiple negations, and prepositional phrases which are extensively used: 'may' and 'shall' are extensively employed and performative verbs such as 'declare', 'announce', 'promise', 'undertake', 'enact', 'confer' and'amend' are also very common. [7] (p179–200). Different legal languages also have their own styles in expressing mening behind words. The two basic meanings of legal texts are performativity and modality. Legal language is in tight connection with its performative nature, as utterances perform acts, determine facts, stipulates rights and guide institutions. Words in legal language differ in meaning, import and effect depending on who utters them. Of these speech acts, a prominent linguistic feature is the frequent use of performative markers. Another pragmatic consideration in legal texts is ambiguity, vagueness and other uncertainties found in statutes and contracts, which are often points of legal contention. The courts often have to deal with such linguistic problems in the search for uniform interpretation and legal certainty.

As a help, specialised dictionaries, have appeared, and with the development of the Internet, the databases became largely available. Already famous tools, Interactive Terminology for Europe (IATE) and Eurodicautom, are now terminology databases of the European Commission, accessible on line within the Commission.

4.2 Legal Syntax

From syntactic point of view legal language is characterised by the formal and impersonal complexity and a considerable length of sentences in legal texts as they may serve various purposes due to the profoundness of the subject matters and the prospective nature of legislative law.Being a legal writing EU legislation is characterised by an impersonal style, with the extensive use of declarative sentences pronouncing rights and obligations.

At short notice the main characteristics of any EU legal text would be:
  - doubling the meaning
  - the excessive use of subjectives

- compound-complex sentences
- complex syntax with adversative, copulative, cumulative and disjunctive clause

These peculiar linguistic features often create barriers to the effective understanding of such writing both for the ordinary reader and the translator. Thus, to be able to understand and translate legislative provisions, one is inevitably required to take into account the typical difficulties imposed by some of these factors[5] (p: 208). Owing to the fact that legal sentence are characteristically long and complex, analyzing the source text lexically, structurally and probably functionally seems to be a must before any rendering can be made.

Admittedly, legal sentences are described as long self-contained units, all types of subordinate clauses being likely to be embedded in one sentence and due to "an array of subordinating devices, sections of language which would elsewhere be much more likely to appear as separate sentences" [8] (p: 201).

In this climate of opinion, awareness should be raised about the fact that legal style results from legal traditions, thoughts and culture and refers to the linguistic aspects of the written legal language and also to the way in which legal problems are approached, managed and solved [7] (p:190).

Conclusions

To sum up, the foregoing study of legal language, in general and EU legal language in particular is a general description of the linguistic features believed to be common in most if not all legal languages in varying degrees bearing in mind that major differences exist in different legal languages and such variations constitute a source of difficulty in legal translation. It is therefore of outmost importance that legal translator should have background knowledge in the legal systems of the source and target languages and keep the characteristic features of legal discourse, producing the type of equivalence required with the same legal effect. Legal translation at discourse level should capture all types of equivalence (lexical, grammatical, and stylistic) needed to provide legal equivalence.

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REFLECTING ON MAGIC AND SOCIETY IN FANTASY FICTION: THE CASE OF J.K. ROWLING'S *HARRY POTTER* SERIES

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Abstract

This article reconsiders the conventional approaches to the interpretations of fantasy fiction, by enlarging the reciprocal influence between magic and fiction, on one hand and society and reality, on the other hand. The primary sources I use in my research include the *Harry Potter* series by J.K. Rowling: *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (1997), *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (1998), *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* (1999), *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* (2000), *Harry Potter and the Order of Phoenix* (2003), *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince* (2005), *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* (2007). As I make reference in the title of my article, magic and society are the pivotal concepts around which my literary investigation unfolds. I argue that the corpus chosen is a *Buildungsroman* which is well placed in an age of anxieties and of uncertainties – our (post-) modern society. The corpus chosen evolves upon the development, the formation and the transformation of Identity of the main character.

Keywords

fantasy; magic; identity; buildungsroman

1. Fantasy – a bird's eye view

The terms *fantasy* and *fantastic* appear to be almost the same, but their interpretation is different. The word *fantastic* is derived from the Latin word *phantasticus*. This word is derived from the Greek word *phantastikos* (φανταστικός), which means able to imagine, which, in its turn, has its origin in the Greek word *phantazein* (φανταζείνη), meaning *to make apparent* or *to appear* [1]. Through the perspective of the etymology of the word presented, all literary works may be interpreted as fantasies, since all imaginary endeavours fall under the category of the fantastic [2].

Fantasy as a genre is fairly recent. Theorists such as Attebery and Jackson defined and delineated fantasy from other related literary genres. People tell stories and the stories are set

in a world quite different from our day-to-day world. This other world is a world of myth and magic, as it begins with a magical formula: "once upon a time" (Stableford, xxxvii). It is also true that, in modern fantasy literature, there have been strategies which deal with the "mythical past and the present (or future) rather than any kind of past" (Stableford, xxxviii) [3].

The term *fantasy* was coined by the critic Tzvetan Todorov, in his paper *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre* (1973). According to Todorov, the fantastic is described as any event occurring in our world and which seems to be supernatural. Following this first encounter, the Reader is the one who decides whether the respective event was purely an illusion or if it was for real and it actually happened. [4] Todorov delineates the Fantastic as being the hesitation when answering the question about reality. Following the moment the Reader decides whether an event is real or just an illusion, Todorov operates a further division of the Fantastic: the first category belongs to the phenomena which have a rational explanation (called Fantastic uncanny) and the phenomena which are truly supernatural (Fantastic marvellous) [5]. Todorov (1973) mentions three conditions that must be fulfilled for a text to be fantastic:

> First, the text must oblige the reader to reconsider the world of characters as a world of living persons and to hesitate between a natural or a supernatural explanation of the events described. Second, this hesitation may also be experienced by a character; this the reader's role is so to speak entrusted to a character (…). Third, the reader must adopt a certain attitude with regard to the text (…) (33).

However, the definition proposed is restrictive, as it depicts only the stories in which unusual events might bear either a natural or an unnatural explanation.

In the comprehensive book *The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy*, Chute J. et al., a fantasy text is defined as "a self-coherent narrative" (p. 338) [6]. The focus in this interpretation is on perception: "When set in this world, it tells the story which is impossible in the world as we perceive it (…); when set in an otherworld, that otherworld will be impossible, though stories set there may be possible in its terms" (p. 338) [6]. Among the theorists who tried to come up with a theory of the genre, Brian Attebery is the one who considers, in his book *Strategies of Fantasy* (1992), that fantasy is both a "formula" and a "mode" and depicts it in opposition with "fantasy as a genre". Attebery (1992) proposes as definition of fantasy as a formula: "a form of popular escapist literature that combines stock characters and devices – wizards, dragons, magic swords and the like – into a predictable plot in which the perennially understaffed forces of good triumph over a monolithic evil" (qtd in Sander, 193). Fantasy, understood as a formula, is a commercial product at its core and, from the perspective of its tradability, its success is dependent on consistency and on predictability. Fantasy is also an intricate or a "sophisticated" (194) mode of telling a story. From this perspective, fantasy writing is characterized by "stylistic playfulness, self-reflexiveness and a subversive treatment of established orders of society and thought" (194). This second definition is seen through the perspective of Fantasy understood as a mode [7]. As F. Jameson [8] outlines in his paper[1] [9], *Magical Narratives: Romance as genre*:

> For when we speak of a mode, what can we mean but that this particular type of literary discourse is not bound to the conventions of a given age, not indissolubly linked to a given type of verbal artifact,

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[1] Despite the fact that the author refers to magical narratives, I decided to include this interpretation, as it is also quoted by R. Jackson in her book *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (1981).

but rather persists as a temptation and a mode of expression across a whole range of historical periods, seeming to offer itself, if only intermittently, as a formal possibility which can be revived and reviewed (9).

A mode is a modality of "doing something, in this case, of telling stories" (p. 295). The storytelling process is intricate and complex and the writer has to find adequate methods "not only to present but also interpret appearance, behaviour, thought, and speech", in order to be consequently able "to depict the essentials of character, dialogue, action and physical setting" (p. 295). The descriptions used by a writer must be based on "some conception of identity, causality, intentionality and the benignity, malignity or indifference of the universe" (295). Therefore, from this perspective, the mode represents a stand, an attitude on the world, but, at the same time, a means of portraying the world. I support this perspective and use it in order to argue the fact that, on the basis of the corpus under scrutiny, there are stances taken on the current state-of-facts and, at the same time, certain depictions of reality. I specifically refer to gender and society, to institutional power, religion and morality and the perceptions thereof from the corpus, which, in my analysis, shall be interpreted as depictions of reality.

In her book entitled *Fantasy and mimesis: responses to reality in Western culture* (1984), Kathryn Hume [10] proposes to look at a combination of two creative impulses which are opposite, namely mimesis and fantasy. Hume defined the two notions as follows:

> These are mimesis, felt as the desire to imitate, to describe events, people, situations and objects with such verisimilitude that others can share your experience; and fantasy, the desire to change givens and alter reality – out of boredom, play, vision, longing for something lacking, or need for metaphoric images that will bypass the audiences' verbal defenses. (20)

The interpretation resides in the fact that mimesis and fantasy are not actually polar opposites, but their relationship is actually symbiotic. Attebery also mentions the relation between mimesis and fantasy. According to Attebery, "Mimesis without fantasy would be nothing but reporting one's perceptions of actual events. Fantasy without mimesis would be a purely artificial invention, without recognizable objects or actions" (3).

At its roots, literary fantasy is characterized by a subversive or at least disturbing feature at social level. It is a violation of the dominant mode, threatening to subvert and to undermine the social conventions and rules. Mikhail Bakhtin [11], in his study entitled *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (1984)*,* outlines a traditional literary genre, namely *menippea.* The menippea was easily balancing between the actual world, the underworld and an upper world. The norm within such a space was represented by states of hallucination, dream, personal transformation, extraordinary happenings.

Characteristic of the menippea are violations of the generally accepted, ordinary course of events and of the established norms of behaviour and etiquette[1] (…) (Bakhtin, 96) [11].

The forms of the fantastic change and move, "from the marvellous (which predominates in a climate of belief in supernaturalism and magic) through the purely fantastic (in which no explanation can be found) to the uncanny (which explains all strangeness as generated by unconscious forces)" (Jackson, 14) [9]. This is also what Todorov outlines when mentioning the changing forms of the fantastic. Historically, fantastic tales from the nineteenth century focus on a polar vision of the realistic narrative [12]. Consequently, as Todorov summarizes

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[1] In my interpretation of the corpus under scrutiny, I do not adopt this approach.

it, the literature of the fantastic is "nothing more than the uneasy conscience of the positivist nineteenth century" (Todorov, 169) [4].

The topography of the modern fantastic focusses on vision and visibility, (…) for it is structured around spectral imagery: it is remarkable how many fantasies introduce mirrors, glasses, reflections, portraits, eyes – which see things myopically, or distortedly, or out of focus – to effect a transformation of the familiar into the unfamiliar (Jackson, 25) [9].

The problems of vision raise another interpretation of the fantasy novels. It is commonly claimed that what is real is what we see, so the *real* is the *visible*. The unseen or things "which threaten to be un-seeable, can only have a subversive function in relation to an epistemological and metaphysical system" (Jackson, 26). In common usage of the English language "I see" is synonymous with "I understand". Therefore, knowledge, reason, understanding come from the visible [13]. They come "through the power of the look, through the '*eye*' and the '*I*' of the human subject whose relation to objects is structured through the field of vision" (Jackson, 26). This interpretation supports my approach in the analysis of spaces from the corpus under analysis [9].

Fantasy is preoccupied with limits, boundaries, with limitations and disappearance or dissolution. From this perspective, it subverts the unitary, whole and oblique perspective that Bakhtin named *monological*. Fantasy is based upon "a dissolution of separating categories, a foregrounding of those spaces which are hidden and cast into/as darkness" (Jackson, 28). The themes of fantasy can be "clustered into several related areas: (1) invisibility, (2) transformation, (3) dualism, (4) good versus evil" (Jackson, 28).

The corpus selected to be scrutinized in this paper revolves around the idea of becoming of age, of personal development and growth. From this perspective, reference is made to psychoanalysis. Freud makes reference to the tripartite development of a "self". When referring to the stages of development, Freud calls the first stage the narcissistic one (self-love, magical thinking), the second one is represented by the attachment to loved objects and the third one is represented by a surrender to the laws of reality, or necessity [13]. All these stages are developmental stages towards the process of *maturation*, producing an 'ego', a 'self' and an 'I'. It is this very complex process of the genesis, of the development of the ego which represents the underlying common element throughout the series of fantasy books subjected to analysis. This process is related to the insertion into culture, of formation and of deformation, of structuring and questioning. This is essential in considering the complex interaction between ideology and the unconscious life of the individual. From this perspective, fantasies offer graphic images of this troubled process. In this respect, the theories of Freud and of Lacan are important in the coining of possible understanding or explanations. Lacan's continuation of the Freudian theory focuses on the particular stage of human development, which is called *le stade du mirroir*, the mirror stage. This stage is placed in the transition between primary narcissism and the attachment to loved objects. According to Freud, the first stage finishes when the impulse is directed from self to an external object, namely when the ego-libido shifts towards the object-libido. The outcome of this process is the recognition of self as object, as if seen in the mirror. The mirror is represented by the looks of the others. This is the moment the ego appears, forming itself as means of self-definition and identification [14] [15][16].

2. The Bildungsroman

The *Bildungsroman* used to be a dominant narrative form in European literature, at the beginning of the eighteenth century and until the modernist era. The *Bildungsroman* consists of a story of coming of age of a young person. The term *Bildungsroman* is understood as a novel of education or of formation[1][17]. The term *Bildung* refers to a larger and more formative "learning". The term *Bild* could also refer to "representation" or "image". The term of "learning" refers to a learning in the educational field, meant to incorporate the establishment of a self-image [18]. This kind of learning also includes the process of growing in age, of maturing, at all levels of personality. It is a process which develops at physical, emotional and intellectual levels. It is a process of becoming developed mentally and emotionally, and of behaving in a responsible way. This process is also about the learning of how the world works, gaining in this way the ability of taking decisions and of making one's own way into the wider and unknown world.

In the literary history of the West, the *Bildungsroman* is both the product and the mirror of a revolutionary period: "(…) at the turn of the eighteenth century much more than just a rethinking of youth was at stake. (…) Europe plunges into modernity, but without possessing a *culture* of modernity" (Moretti, 5). The process started "eventually leads to literary modernism, in which the developing personality of the individual becomes all the more fragmented and displaced"[2] [19] [20] [21] (Tally, 67). Goethe is the author of what is "often considered the archetypal *Bildungsroman* (in which) the young protagonist starts off naïve in both love and the world" (Tally, 67) [12]. The "apprenticeship" of Wilhelm Meister[3] represents actually his own journey out of the familiar places, into the world, "(…) where he meets people of all social classes, and where he eventually comes to terms with his own identity" (Tally, 67) [12] [22] [23].

The other important moment in the history of the *Bildungsroman,* besides Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship,* is represented by James Joyce's novel *The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.* The main character of Joyce's novel, Stephen Dedalus, leaves home to find his place in the wider world, in a similar way with Goethe's hero. The difference stops, as "(…) the modernist Portrait of the Artist differs from Goethe's earlier *Bildungsroman*" (Tally, 67). The difference between Goethe's and Joyce's novels resides in style and in the substance. In the case of Joyce, the narration is done at the third person. The narrator is not Dedalus himself, but the readers perceive his own experiences and thoughts. As Robert T. Tally Jr. outlines (68).

His *Bildung* is far more interior than Wilhelm Meister's. Daedalus's maturity comes from his own intellectual and psychological development, far more so than Meister, whose learning and self-awareness comes primarily from the variety of other people he encounters.

The development of the *Bildungsroman* is from encompassing "a symbolic form of the society as a whole to a symbolic form of the isolated individual within a society" (68) [24] [25] [26]. Starting from this historic perspective, I derive the conceptual framework of interpretation of the *Bildungsroman* as a text which depicts the development from childhood

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[1] According to Cambridge Dictionary (online version): Roman is understood as a book telling a long story in prose and Bildung, as education, formation. (https://dictionary.cambridge.org, accessed on January 21st 2022).

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[3] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (1796).

to adult maturity, in which the main character or the hero develops himself or herself from "ignorance and naivety to knowledge and mastery" (69) [19] [27].

The Harry Potter series can be read through the perspective of a modern Bildungsroman. The main character, Harry Potter, embarks on a quest towards maturity and goes through experiences which make him stronger and wiser. He has chances to prove his skills and knowledge, to make moral choices and to learn about himself [28].

Conclusions

I have presented some reflections on the themes of magic and society, with significance on an interpretative reading of the Harry Potter series. A magic world offers a world of opportunities, of challenges and of dilemmas, where the main character can embark on a quest. This quest is not only his own, but it is a universal quest. The same, the theoretical framework of the *Bildungsroman* supports the interpretation of a modern version, in which the character is in a fantastic world and magic needs to be learned.

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LIVE POETRY AND THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF POETRY ON THE STAGE

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Abstract

The beginning of the 20th century the increasing emancipation of the avant-garde as a multitude of practices that will come out as simple entertainment. These practices allowed for a certain kind of interaction between the audience (spectators) and the performers. Avant-garde, and not only, influences many other postmodern literary practices that managed to stand out mainly because of their reader-oriented focus, and the fact that many times they allowed for reader-author co-participation in the constitution of a work of literature. My paper aims to focus on live poetry (which I perceive as an intersection between participatory art, theatre and poetry) and how literature on the stage can use instances of co-participation when the performer-poet and the reader-spectator are in the same space and time and create a sense of community among the participants. Patterns of doing and a search for meaning seem to be two of the main instruments that would enhance this participatory side of the practice, creating an atmosphere that would make both the spectator and the performer have the same experience.

Keywords:

performance poetry; slam poetry; spoken word; participation; patterns of doing; theatre; community; literature; spectatorship; avant-garde.

1. The state of culture in the 20th century

The second half of the 20th century was mostly characterized by skepticism towards narratives and knowledge, which has been often called the "postmodern condition" (Lyotard, 2021) [1]. At the same time, culture and economy started to merge and co-habit, art itself focusing mostly on the masses and how they perceive the cultural product. "The society of the spectacle" (2015), as Guy Debord [2] would call it, flourished at the end of the century, with many artistic practices changing their methods as to please, entertain or obtain economic

benefits. Poetry is not to be excluded from this situation as public readings, slam poetry competitions, or spoken word shows have often been criticized because of their spectator-oriented format.

At the same time, new technologies started to be incorporated in many artistic practices, poetry included. How can these technological practices influence the way the public perceives the artistic act? A very relevant perspective on this is given by Nicholas Carr in his *The Shallows: What the Internet Is Doing to Our Brains* (2010) in which he notices the cognitive changes in the human that technology has awaken [3]. The same perspective is given in a dialogue between Jean-Claude Carriare and Umberto Eco in *This is Not the End of the Book* (2011) [4] in which they acknowledge that the way in which they perceive literature has changed. The overall conclusion is that our perception of literature has change mainly because our attention and cognitive capacities have gotten used to a set of multimodal practices. We are not looking only at the text, but we feel the need to look at other instances such as gestures, image, rhetoric, voice fluctuations in order to understand and enjoy the cultural product. We seem to no longer be satisfied by reading in solitude, but there is a need for constructing a communal experience when it comes to literature, fact that can be seen in the increasing number of poetry competitions in the United States, and their growing popularity in Europe as well.

In her *Artificial Hells* (2012)[5], Claire Bishop looks at these three moments as key moments that allowed for Participatory Art to become an autonomous artistic field. The historical avant-garde, the Dada serates in France and the industrial changes in Russia from the beginning of the 20th century as historical junctures that built the basis of an interactive and participatory practice that allowed the masses to be part of a *movement* or experience a new kind of aesthetics.

2.   The Origins of Poetry Performance on American Ground

Marvin Carlson, in the introduction to Fisher-Lichte's *Transformative Power of Performance: A new Aesthetics* (2008) [6], notices that European performance focuses more on the body and how it is perceived by the public – the body as a beholder of some kind of meaning; while American performance focuses more on sound, rhetoric and storytelling. My research, however, aims to focus on the performative (understood here as a bridge between the spectator and the performer) aspects of "poetry on the stage" (slam poetry and spoken word), and "poetry made using digital means of production", as I consider both of them as being an emblematic form of expression for the 20th century literary and performative field.

As far as American live poetry is concerned, I would say that there are other events that shaped the two practices mentioned above. One of them is still linked to the avant-garde, but mostly on how the text can be performative by imitating the "breath" of the author at the moment of writing, theory developed by Charles Olson in his 1950 essay "Projective Verse"[7]. Another influence would be that of Larry Eigner, whose poetry has been called "poetry of disability" by Raphael Allison. Poetry of disability focuses mostly on the way in which the text and the public reading of the text reflects the character of the performer himself. This poetics of disability can be seen in other contemporary poets such as Neil Hilborn [8] or Reagan Myers, whose poems deal with mental illness. Another important step in the evolution of live poetry is the Black Arts Movement and their performances that combine jazz (Amiri Baraka), or sometimes tribal sounds (The Last Poets, The Watts Poets) in order to obtain a sense of "revolution" and community among the masses. Influences of this can be seen in hip-hop music, but also in spoken word performers such as Akua Naru,

Lance G. Newman, Gill Scott-Heron or one could go as far as seeing these influences in Tom Waits' music. A third step I would say is Robert Frost's reading at the Inauguration of J.F. Kennedy as president of the United States, event that started a tradition that has been really popular among democrats. By having a closer look at each individual performance from Robert Frost's to Amanda Gorman's, we can see radical changes in which the poets construct those occasional poems and how thematically linked they are to the socio-economic situation of the period. At the beginning we can notice a type of poetry that focuses on nationality and being together as Americans, while later performances, gradually start to focus on inclusiveness and living among Americans, as they come from minority groups. In the case of the inaugural poems the objective is one great example of how poetry, politics and social experience can come together.

3.   Poetry, politics and every day performance – a continuous dialogue

This juxtaposition of art, politics and social experience seems to be characteristic of the 20th century artworld as art historians and critics have noticed that, in fact, there are no more boundaries between art and life. Claire Bishop (2012) [5], Evring Goffman (1959) [9], Judith Butler (1988) [10], Richard Schechner (2003), and a more contemporary approach given by the French philosophers Baptiste Morizot and Estelle Zhong Mengual (2021) would agree on the fact that art, life and every day performance are connected. In order to be perceived well by the public, there needs to be instances of interaction between them. Therefore, if there is a dialogue between the "presence" of the author and the text in the same room, we might argue that there is a three-way dialogue that is created between the text, spectator and performer, whose role are interchangeable: the text performs by introducing elliptical phonetic, textual or rhetoric holes, and it is the subject of the interpretation process that the spectator and performer are initiating; the spectator performs his role as decoder of meaning by observing and reacting to what is shown to him, reconstructing the performance withing his own vertingon (vertical horizon – term used by Janneke Wesseling in her *The Perfect Spectator* (2017) [11] when she describes the interaction between the spectator and a work of art as a vertical, having an infinite amount of signification possibilities); the performer is then to become the text (as his body, gestures, voice can be seen as another type of narrative), and spectator in the sense that he witnesses the (re)creation of his work through the interpretative lenses of the observer.

Most theories focus on the fact that this interaction is mostly at the level of meaning, the spectator's duty being that of filling the ellipses left out by the performer. At the same time, the performer, through his multimodal approach of representation will help the spectator have a better understanding of the overall message of the performance. Another view on the issue of interaction is that of a ritualistic exchange that produces some kind of transformation in the status of the spectator, changing his role from a simple observer to that of a participant in the constitution of the artwork. Baptiste Morizot and Estelle Zhong Mengual point out the fact that our previous experiences can shape the way in which we perceive a work of art, and the way in which we perceive future experiences as well [12].

In a previous research related to how multimodal tools of expression (voice, gestures and text) can influence the audience's reaction I have managed to observe that the text and the presence of the author can lead the audience to a certain experience of the poem, creating an atmosphere that will build a more sensitive and tangible approach to the whole event. Adam Gottlieb's "Poet Breathe Now" [13] used repetition and changes in pace in order to create a

suffocating environment for his audience, therefore Gottlieb and his spectators would share the same experience at the same level. The text frequently used words related to air, creating textual patterns that would get the audience accustomed with the overall feeling of the poem. Another case study was that of Neil Hilborn's poem "OCD" whose gestures on the stage reflected the message in the poem – his struggles with OCD, repetitions working are at the same time patterns of doing and semantic representation of the overall message of the poem. Rudy Francisco [14] in his "Rifle" uses storytelling in order to catch the attention of the public, breaking the boundary between fiction and reality. What is common at these three is the clear narrative pattern: beginning, middle and end. One more common feature is that their poems al almost confessional. The performances manage to use personal experiences in order to express common issues: The emancipation of black communities from Chicago (Adam Gottlieb), toxic masculinity (Rudy Francisco, by using the metaphor of the weapons turning into musical instruments), and mental illness (Neil Hilborn, performing his OCD experience on stage).

Other performances are those who textually incorporate their ethnicity: Beau Sia and Venessa Hildary [15][16]. Their cultural font reflects exactly their poems that many times deal with issues such as identity and ethnic multiplicity. Beau Sia, for example, in "Give Me a Chance" plays the role of the desperate Asian-American who is struggling to be "seen" by the American society[17]. In "Asian Invasion", however constructs a dual personality of an Asian corrupted by the typical American white male toxicity. Although he's wearing a pink hoodie during that performance, which would show some kind of fragility typical to Asian culture in the United States, the power of delivery is certainly of a different tone.

Conclusions

Julia Novak's *Live Poetry* (2011)[18] is mostly theoretical, Raphael Allison's *Bodies on the Line* [19] who focuses on public readings only and on authors that typically write for the page, and Susan B.A. Somers-Willett's *The Cultural Politics of Slam Poetry: Race, Identity, and the Performance of Popular Verse in America* (2009) [20] whose seems to me it is more oriented on the poems and the identity of the author, and less on the spectator. I believe that a study on how there could be an intersection between the text, the performance, and the audience, allowing for a constant change of roles between, as well as establishing a communal experience during the event is necessary in order to have a wider perspective on contemporary poetry performance. As far as methodology needed for such a study, I believe there are three directions to approach this phenomenon: close reading of the actual text, that will help me identify the main themes, the rhythm of the text and finally the structure; close listening looking at voice fluctuations, tone and intonation, etc.; and a third one that looks at the body itself, gestures and the front of the author.

Such a study could bring a new perspective to the Romanian performance poetry scene as well, as the practice is not so popular yet, almost inexistent from the public eye. Only a few festivals have tried to include performance (understood here as slam and spoken word) in their programme (FILTM, JazzTM – *Strada Fără Nume*) and other underground local projects that did not last a long time mainly because the audience was minimal and reactions not so favourable, as well as possible economic shortcomings. That's why, by looking at the American scene, I believe that relevant devices that will help the development of the performance poetry genre in Romania can be selected.

Although the study might be too extensive, therefore a focus on those performances that express cultural emancipation, struggles of one's identity in the American society will better reflect the devices that I will need.

To sum everything up, my research aims to look into performative poetry and its capacity to generate a sense of community and communal experience among the spectators, and create a bridge between the spectator, text and performer. To go back to a previous definition I gave to the genre, performance poetry is: "An accessible artistic genre that uses narrative, physical and cognitive devices in order to please, interact with, or influence the audience, usually coming from a middle-class background, audience that is entitled to judge and establish certain qualities or weaknesses to the piece presented, and, at the same time, it can directly and indirectly switch places and become itself a performer." (Higyed, 2022: 122) [21]

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HYPONYMIC RELATIONS IN THE LEXICAL FIELD OF FASHION. A STRUCTURALIST ANALYSIS

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Abstract

Due to the dynamic nature of the vocabulary, we can argue that the lexico-semantic field has no rigid boundaries. This fact leads to difficulties in establishing the elements of the lexico-semantic field and implicitly the semantic relationships between its constituent units.

The present paper aims to present the importance of hyponymy and hypernymy in structuring lexico-semantic fields, but also to exemplify these semantic relations through some series of lexemes from the women's fashion field in Romanian language. We use in our research the structural method called semic analysis to study different types of dresses present in the lexico-semantic field of "rochie" taking into consideration their common and variable semes.

Besides the conclusions on the importance and the role of the analysis in structuring the lexico-semantic fields, there are also revealed the limits encountered in the applicability of the semic analysis method.

Keywords

structure; lexico-semantic field; women's fashion field; semic analysis; hyponymy; hypernymy.

1. Introduction

The lexicon of a language represents one of the most complex levels of the language due to its mobility and dynamism. As the human society is in a process of continual evolution, this is inevitably reflected in the lexicon.

Language is a structured and well-organized system in which "all the elements fit together, and the value of every element depends on the simultaneous coexistence of all the others." [1[, (p. 113). Therefore, the compounding units do not exist independently, but they are found in certain interdependent and hierarchical relations. A new step in the study of the

lexicon as a system is the identification of the *lexical fields*[1]. Within the notional field, specific relationships are established among vocabulary units, and, besides those of *synonymy* and *antonymy*, relations of *hyperonymy* and *hyponymy* are also established.

The purpose of our paper is to present the importance of hyponymy and hypernymy in structuring lexico-semantic fields, but also to exemplify these semantic relations through some series of lexemes from the women's fashion field in Romanian language.

The research paper has two parts. The first part of the research is a theoretical one and aims to specify and analyse the operational concepts that underlie our research. We consider that this theoretical support is indispensable for the detailed examination of the lexico-semantic fields of fashion in Romanian language. The second part represents the applied study of our research, that is the *semic analysis* of the *hypernym* "rochie". In order to perform this research, we have used various lexicographical sources and especially online sources such as: fashion magazines, fashion websites and fashion blogs. The methodological perspective is a synchronous and qualitative one as it is oriented mainly to the lexical analysis of fashion fields.

2. Terminological classification

In order to practically approach the structuring of a lexico-semantic field, a theoretical and methodological incursion in structural semantics is absolutely necessary. Although the expression of *semantic field* was introduced by G. Ipsen in 1924 [2] (p. 24) and the theory of semantic fields was proposed by J. Trier in 1931 [2] (p. 24), these concepts have existed since F. de Saussure and even earlier.

The systemic character of the language has been demonstrated by F. de Saussure who used the notion of *associative groups* or *constellations* to describe the words of a given language grouped according to their related concepts. The first example of a semantic field seems to have been the series of military ranks. Each lexeme defining military ranks expresses the value of its position in the whole terminology of ranks, as it means something only in relation to the other lexemes. Within the associative group *associative relations* which are based on the analogy between the concepts take place. This fact is one of the realities that demonstrate the systematicity of the language.

Trier shares Saussure's view and defines the semantic field as a set of associations between words that have meaning by virtue of their relations [2] (p. 104). As a result, a meaning exists only within a field. Each semantic field forms, together with others, a wider field and so on, until it reaches the general, the widest semantic field which is made up of a combination of subsystems, without gaps or overlaps. Therefore, there is an organization of the content of any word, simpler or more complex, depending on the number of meanings of the word and the categories of speakers who use it.

Analysing the opposition between language and reasoning, Trier makes one of his most important observations, the distinction between *conceptual field* and *(semantic) lexical field*. The *conceptual field* is considered a semantic complex which is the result of experience and corresponds to a lexical field, but this unfolds in an unstructured way, the language being the

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[1] The term *field* was introduced into linguistics in the first part of the twentieth century by German linguists (DSL: 101-103) to designate a way of grouping the words of a language; the concrete application was methodologically heterogeneous, with many encyclopedic, extralinguistic data and variable depending on the authors (with differentiated names: *linguistic field, conceptual field, lexical field*, etc.).

one that interferes and organizes its content. The analysis of this distinction results in the positioning of the lexical field in the following hierarchical structure: word - lexical field - language - thinking - conceptual reality - ontic reality [3] (p. 245).

Trier's theory has been criticized for its inability to admit a perfect picture. Even if we can talk about a clear organization in certain areas of the lexicon such as the series of numerals or kinship terms, it is difficult to admit that between ideas there are some structural relationships independent of words, relationships that are maintained even if the terms change. The system of semantic fields orders thinking, so we are faced with the neopositivist claim that language determines thinking. Trier's theory proves his importance as it elaborates a method of structuring the lexicon and implicitly of determining the influence of language on thinking.

The famous linguist Eugeniu Coşeriu [4] (p. 41) makes a valuable reinterpretation of the theory of lexical fields. Starting from the idea that the structure of the vocabulary cannot be entirely known because of the large number of words in a language, Coşeriu concludes that the delimitation of the lexico-semantic fields is of theoretical and practical interest. Moreover, he stated that not all words in the lexicon can be classified into fields, but only the organized and stable parts.

Coşeriu stated that the words in a language are grouped within a lexical-semantic field according to their common semantic features. Therefore, the lexical-semantic fields are *subassemblies*, sets of the lexical ensemble of a language which group only names that are related in terms of meaning or which have a common semantic denominator. The words grouped in a field of this type have some *common semes*, which occupy the first place in the definition of meaning. The common semes of the field represent an *arhisemem*, which can be materialized in an *archilexem*. Thus, between the terms of a subassembly, both common features and semantic differences, expressed by variable seme, are established. A subset of a particular language is valuable only after performing the field analysis, after its characteristic semantic oppositions after are highlighted. [5] (p.156), [6] (p. 33, 43, 135-136)

Coşeriu [5] (p. 156) and later, Bidu-Vrănceanu [6] (p. 144) considered that the terms of a lexical-semantic field must belong to a single part of speech and the lexical-grammatical meaning can be considered another common seme. Therefore, the internal oppositions of a field correspond to the oppositions that exist within a grammatical category.

Coşeriu [8] (p. 34) proposed the identification of the lexico-semantic field with a *paradigm*[1] as it consists of lexemes which share an area of common meaning but which at the same time are in direct opposition. Moreover, Romanian lexical semantics specified that numerous fields are constituted of several *paradigms*. Thus, it was introduced the relational and differential approach of the lexical meaning, specific to European lexical semantics, which imposed the *semic* or *compositional analysis*.

There is no universal type of lexical-semantic field. Besides the principle of comparing and differentiating the meanings of the terms from a field, each field can pose its own problems in analysis. Moreover, polysemy complicates the distribution of words in fields, which is done deliberately by the linguist, through semantic and contextual disambiguation while the overlaps or gaps cannot be avoided. The idea that such fields are constructions of

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[1] The *paradigmatic* definition of the field is also supported by other linguists such as Pottier who analyzed the paradigm of "chairs" describing different types of seats like: *chair, stool, armchair*, etc., according to definitional criterion: with/without back, with/without arms, fixed/folding, one seat/several seats, etc. (B. Pottier 1964: 121-125)

the linguists is supported by linguists such as J. Picucho [9] (p. 68, 92-94) and F. Rastier [10] (p 77). This observation is true as long as the speaker cannot easily operate with the whole inventory of terms and oppositions in a field.

Bidu-Vrănceanu [11] (p. 147) considers that the isolation of the fragment represented by a lexico-semantic field is done according to some criteria that focus on the *semantic factor*. The considered criteria are: 1. the common semantic property is rendered by several *semes* which are present in the compositional formula of all the lexemes from the field; 2. based on the first criterion, the inventory of the field is formed; 3. in the case of polysemantic words, generally only one of the meanings falls into a certain fields; 4. the terms of a lexical-semantic field belong to a single part of speech; most words in the analysed fields are nouns; 5. the delimitation of the semantic relations in each paradigm of a field is done by means of *variable, distinctive semes.*

The identity and the opposition are not the only paradigmatic relationships of meaning which link words. There is another relationship, established on the basis of a hierarchical principle and which associates a narrower, more precise, specific term called *hyponym*, with a more general one, called *hypernym*. This is the hyponymic relationship.

Alise Lehmann and Françoise Martin-Berthet [12] (p. 77-78) define the relation of hyponymy as a hierarchical relationship which links a specific word (subordinate), the *hyponym*, to a more generic word (superordinate), called the *hypernym.*

The relationship between a *hypernym* and a *hyponym* is one of *inclusion* and it can be represented graphically to transpose the vertical hierarchy which exists between the components.

FRUIT

is a ↗
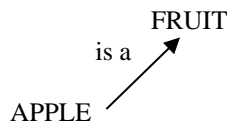
APPLE

Figure. 1. Graphic representation of the *hypernym - hyponym* relation[1]

According to this relation, it can be observed that the term "fruit" is a *hypernym* for the term "apple", establishing a superordinate relation of *hyponymy*.

Forăscu [11] (p.92) and Bidu-Vrănceanu [13] (p.252) share the view that the *hyponymy* is a semantic relation which is based on the *unilateral, asymmetrical inclusion* of the meanings of the considered lexical units because only the *hyponyms* are included in the *hypernym*. This relation is used to demonstrate the structured, orderly character of the vocabulary.

For example, in a statement like "Mi-a dăruit o *rochie*"[2]. "Rochie" can be substituted by "sarafan", "furou", "rochie mini". However, the latter cannot substitute "rochie" in the phrase "rochie de ocazie".

In the above example, "sarafan", "furou", "rochie mini" are the *hyponyms* of "rochie", whose meaning is included in the sense of the first mentioned lexemes. In addition to "rochie", these have specific semantic notes. "Rochie" is, therefore, a more general, superordinate term (*hypernym*) which can always replace one of its *hyponyms*, which are subordinate to it, but not the other way around. The *hyponyms* of a *hypernym* are in a

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[1] Figure taken from L'Homme (2004: 92)

[2] He gave me a *dress*. [our translation]

relationship of *incompatibility*, that is, they are mutually exclusive: If X is *o rochie de ocazie*, then it cannot be *un sarafan, un furou*, etc.

All hyponyms of a hyperonym enter into a *co-hyponymous* relationship. In this context, we pay attention to the following terminological taxonomy:

Figure. 2. *Co-hyponymous* relation

The interpretation of the figure highlights the relationship of *hypernymy*, but also that of co-*hyponymy*. The hyponyms rendered by the terms "bluză", "rochie", "palton", "pantaloni", "sacou" form a relationship of *co-hyponymy* having both common and distinctive semes. Similarly, "sarafan"," furou", "rochie mireasă", "rochie babydoll" and "rochie pillowcase" are *co-hyponyms*. Co-hyponymy is a *horizontal relation* of subordination to the generic term "haine de damă" and respectively "rochii" (hypernyms). The last ones mentioned are characterized by a relation of superordination as they include all the hyponyms expressed in the figure above.

Alise Lehmann și Françoise Martin-Berthet [12] (p. 92-93) assert that the *co-hyponyms* are units of the same rank because they are located on the same level of relation which attaches them to the *hypernym*. They differ from each other by one or more specific features. Contrary to what happens to the relation of antonymy which is based mainly on a binary opposition, the negation of one of the co-hyponyms does not necessarily imply the affirmation of another co-hyponym, here the choice remains open. For example, if X is not a "wedding dress", X can be "a baby-doll dress", "a mini dress". The co-hyponyms are mutually exclusive: "o rochie" is either "rochie de nuntă", "rochie de cocktail" or "sarafan".

According to Bidu- Vrănceanu [11] (p.93), European semantics (A. NikJas-Salminen, 2003: 18-20, M.-F. Morturcux, 2001: 82-84, C. Touratier, 2000: 33, Alise Lehman and Françoise Martin-Berthct, 1998: 50-53) has been concerned with the implications of hyponymy in various fields, including the structure of the lexicon and the importance of the hyponymy-hypernymy relationship as a basis for the lexicographical definition. In this type of definition, it is indicated to first describe the general class to which the definite word belongs (*haine de damă*) and then indicate the specific features that distinguish the definite word (e.g. *rochie*) from other terms in other subclasses.

This approach is very economical, as it avoids repeating the properties that one word has in common with another.

Hyponyms can be reordered in both the *common* and *specialized lexicon* when changing a *hypernym*. We propose the following case for example:
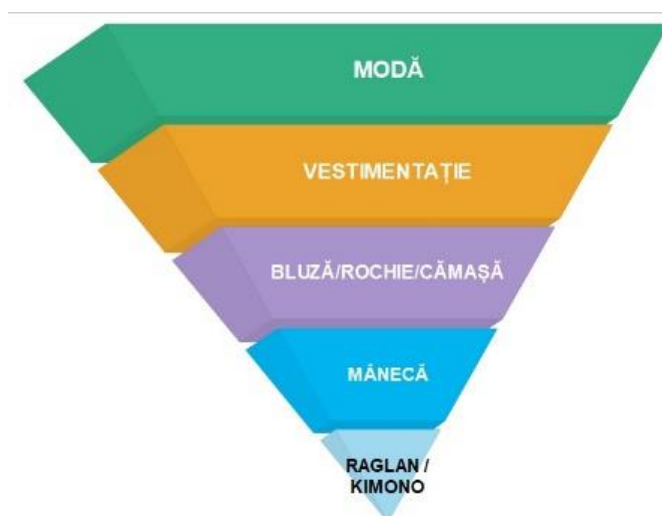
Figure. 3. Hyponymy relation

The *hyponym* "raglan" is subordinated to the *hypernym* "mânecă", which becomes *hyponym* for the *hypernyms* "bluză", "cămașă", "rochie", the latter being *co-hyponyms* and subordinated to the *hypernym* "vestimentație". The latter is in turn subordinated to the generic term "modă" called by Lorența Popescu *pantonim* [14] (p. 36, 306, 325).

Lorența Popescu (2015: 36, 306, 325) stated that the same lexical unit can be part of several paradigms ordered by several *hypernyms,* subordinated in turn by the *hypernym* "haine" and by the *pantonim* "modă". This mobility marks the boundary between the common lexicon and the specialized lexicon. The importance of *hypernyms* present around the *pantonim* structures the knowledge in a defined terminology, offering grading steps and establishing links between the specialized and the common lexicon, both aspects concerning the access to meaning [14] (p. 325-326).

To better understand the meaning of the selected fashion terms, we will also use the *semic analysis.* If we want to describe the meanings of lexical units in a rigorous and systematic way, we must use the notions of *sem*e and *sememe* which allow to contrast the meanings of different lexical units with one another. The *seme* is usually defined as a distinctive semantic feature, namely a component of meaning which is peculiar to a lexical unit and notably allows contrast with another lexical unit. In this case the sememe is then, if we take up one of the first definitions of Bernard Pottier, "the set of the semantic features (or semes) falling within the definition of the substance of a lexical unit" [15] (p.8).

The specialized literature studies the relationship of inclusion at the *extensional level* and *intentional level.* As regards the extensional approach Bidu-Vrănceanu [7] (p.133), the referent is the item in question. For example, at the lexical-grammatical level we can have the following relation of inclusion: "furou" is a noun. The intentional approach, according to Kleiber [16] (p.7-8, 12) Bidu Vrănceanu, [7] (p.134) is based on the number of *semes*. We will specify here that a term is made up of a content and an expression. The content represents the totality of *semes*, distinctive semantics marks.

The lexicon of fashion includes a variety of *semes*, which Lorența Popescu [14] (p.304-305) classifies according to five criteria, namely: *material* (here we can talk about material

and features of clothes); *cut* (shape, ethnic element, artistic element); *ornament*; *purpose* (inside/outside, season, unisex/female); *segment of clothes* (collar, sleeve, flounces).

Thus*, hyponymy* allows the formation of *paradigms*[1], described as sets of terms and meanings that are based on similarities and differences. According to Popescu [14] (p.303), the paradigmatic complexity of women's clothing field is due to the great number of possible classes, the hierarchy of classes is based on the taxonomies of this lexicon, on the *hypernym-hyponym* relation, on their capacity of ordering and ordered concepts (2015: 303).

The fashion terminology subordinates terms that have a high degree of inclusion in which specific terms are integrated. Thus, the hypernym *clothing* includes terms intended to cover the human body, terms in which there are constitutive but also distinctive marks. Also, the category of high-ranking hypernyms includes terms of great generaility such as*: clothing, footwear, accessories*. From the class of elements with a lower degree of generality take part lexical units which are hyponyms for the three categories of hypernyms.

3. Analysis

The dress, a fundamental piece in women's clothing, will be represented by the *hyponymic structures*, whose *semic analysis* is presented in the diagram below. We are going to consider *common semes* of the field such as: [+woman's clothes], [+single item of clothing] composed from a blouse and a skirt but also *variable semes* such as: [+shape/cut], [+length], [+width], [+sleeve], [+texture], [+specific occasion], [+complementary items].

One of the most important *semes* in the description of a dress is its *cut/shape.* Thus, dresses can have an *A-shape, asymmetrical, trapeze, sack, pencil, conical, tent, fit and flare, drop waist or high waisted* cut*.* They can also have the shape of *a princess, baby doll, mermaid, sweater, corset, sweater,* or *robe*. Other important semes in the definition of a dress are its *length* and *width*. Therefore, a dress can have a *short/mini, midi, maxi/long* length or it can be *tight* or *wide*. The seme *sleeve* can also differentiate dresses, these can have *kimono, raglan, short or long sleeves* or they can simply be *sleeveless. The texture* is also a defining seme according to which the dresses can be made from *crochet, embroidery,* or *flowing* materials. The seme *specific occasion* classifies dresses according to the context the dress is worn. Thus, dresses can be *formal* if they are worn at the office or at a party, *casual* if they are worn at home or in informal situations*,* or they can be worn in specific occasions such as: *wedding, beach, or for a tango dance or skating*. As a dress covers the upper part of the body and includes skirts below the waist, it can be considered a complete outfit. However, there are also types of dresses that also need extra items of clothing to create a complete outfit, these are the *saraphane, the slip, sweater* or *the shirt dress*.

The terms included in the class of the *hypernym* "rochie" are described according to a few definitions found in the lexicographical works, but we especially extracted details from the contexts provided by the online magazines, sites, and blogs. In this way, we have a more detailed picture of these lexemes which can help us in the distribution of *semes.*

According to DEX [17] (p.1057) *rochia* is "îmbrăcăminte femeiască la care bluza și fusta (din același material) formează o singură piesă."[2].

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[1] The major paradigms of women's clothing fashion identified by Lorența Popescu (2015: 303) are: "basic parts and components", "footwear, ornaments", "tailoring", "trimmings and embroidery", "style", "production and trade" which, according to certain criteria, are classified in additional paradigmatic classes.

[2] Women's clothing in which the blouse and skirt (of the same material) form a single piece. [our translation]
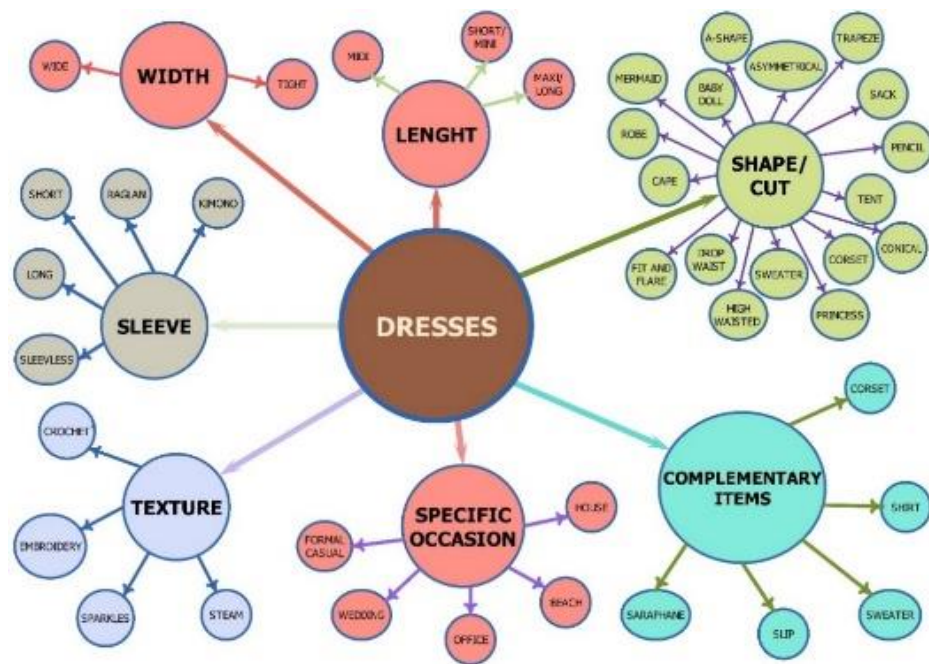
Figure. 4. The structure of the hyperonym *rochie*

In the following table we are going to analyse different types of dresses present in our corpus from online media taking into consideration their common and variable semes.

Common semes of the field				Variable Semes of the field					
	Women's clothes	Single item (blouse + skirt)	Specific occasion	Cut/ Shape	Length	Width	Sleeve	Complementary items	Texture
Rochie (dress)	+	+	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
Rochie ocazie (Occasion dress)	+	+	[+formal]	±	±	±	±	-	±
Rochie de zi (day dress)	+	+	[+day]	±	±	±	±	-	±
Rochie de seară (Evening dress)	+	+	[+evening]	±	±	±	±	-	±
Rochie de plajă (Beach dress)	+	+	[+beach]	-	±	±	±	-	±
Rochie mireasă (Wedding dress)	+	+	[+wedding]	±	±	±	±	-	±
Rochie casă (Home dress)	+	+	[+casual]	±	±	±	±	-	±
Rochia în forma literei A (A-line dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	[+A shape]	±	±	±	-	±

126

Common semes of the field				Variable Semes of the field					
	Women's clothes	Single item (blouse + skirt)	Specific occasion	Cut/ Shape	Length	Width	Sleeve	Complementary items	Texture
Rochie princess, (Princess dress)	+	+	[+formal]	[+princess]	+	±	±	-	±
Rochie gypsy (Gypsy dress)	+	+	[+casual]	+	+	+	+	-	±
Rochie croșetată (Crochet dress)	+	+	[+casual]	±	±	±	±	-	[+crochet]
Rochie sarafan (saraphane)	+	+	[+formal], [±casual]	±	-	-	±	+	±
Rochie corset (Corset dress)	+	+	[+formal]	[+corset]	±	-	±	-	±
Rochie tango (Tango dress)	+	+	[+tango]	+	±	-	±	-	±
Rochie conică (Conical dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	[+cone]	-	+	±	-	±
Rochie cu mânecă raglan (Raglan sleeve dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	±	±	±	[+raglan sleeve]	-	±
Rochie cu broderie (Embroidery dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	±	±	-	±	-	[+embroidery]
Rochie vaporoasă (Flowing dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	-	±	-	±	-	[+flowing material]
Rochia Asimetrică (Asymmetrical dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	[+asymmetrical]	±	-	±	-	±
Rochia Baby dolln (Baby doll dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	±	-	+	±	-	±
Rochia mulată pe corp (Bodycon dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	±	±	-	±	-	±
Rochia Bardot (Bardot dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	±	±	±	[+bare shoulders]	-	±
Rochia cu mânecă clopot (Bell sleeve dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	±	±	±	[+bell sleeve]	-	±
Rochia Blazer (Blazer dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	-	-	-	±	-	±
Rochia Pelerină (Cape dress)	+	+	[+formal]	[+cape shape]	±	-	±	-	±
Rochia de Cocktail (Cocktail dress)	+	+	[+cocktail]	±	±	-	±	-	±
Rochie flapper/ (Drop waist)	+	+	[+formal]	[+ Drop waist]	-	-	±	-	±
Rochia cu talie imperială (Empire waist dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	[+ High-waisted]	±	-	-	-	±
Rochie Fit and flare (Fit and flare dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	[+fitted upper body with a wide skirt]	-	+	±	-	±
Rochii care se leagă în spatele gâtului (Halter dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	±	±	±	[+ straps tied dress]	-	±
Rochia lungă în spate și scurtă în față (High Low dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	[+asymmetrical]	[+long dress at the back and short at the front]	-	±	-	±

Common semes of the field				Variable Semes of the field					
	Women's clothes	Single item (blouse + skirt)	Specific occasion	Cut/ Shape	Length	Width	Sleeve	Complementary items	Texture
Rochia Tunică (Kaftan dress)	+	+	[+formal]	[+robe]	+	-	[+tunic collar]	+	±
Rochie cu mânecă Chimono (Dress with Kimono sleeves)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	+	±	±	[+Kimono sleeve]	-	±
Rochia neagră scurtă (Little Black dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	-	-	±	±	-	±
Rochia Sirenă (Mermaid dress)	+	+	[+formal]	[+mermaid]	+	-	±	-	±
Rochia Midi (Midi dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	±	[+midi]	-	±	-	±
Rochia Mini (Mini dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	±	[+mini]	-	±	-	±
Rochia Teacă / Creion (Sheath/pencil dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	[+pencil/sheat]	±	-	±	-	±
Rochia Cămașă (Shirt dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	[+shirt]	+	-	±	+	±
Rochia de patinaj (Skater dress)	+	+	[±skating]	[+Tight-fitting dress at the top with a wide skirt]	-	-	±	-	±
Rochia Furou (Slip dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	[+slip]	±	-	±	+	±
Rochia supradimensionată (Overseized dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	-	±	+	±	-	±
Rochia fără bretele (Strapless dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	±	±	±	[+strapless]	-	±
Rochia Pulover (Sweater dress)	+	+	[+casual]	[+sweater]	-	-	±	+	±
Rochia Swing (Swing dress)	+	+	[+formal]	[+Tight-fitting dress at the top with a wide skirt]	-	+	-	-	±
Rochia Trapez (Trapeze dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	[+trapeze]	±	+	±	-	±
Rochia Cort (Tent dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	[+tent]	[+maxi]	+	±	-	±
Rochia Sac (Sackdress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	[+sack]	[+midi]	+	±	-	±
Rochia petrecută (Wrap dress)	+	+	[±formal], [±casual]	-	±	-	±	-	±

We notice that there are only two common semes for all the concepts analysed, namely [+women's item of clothing], [+single item (blouse + skirt)] while the others differ. However, all these are important for the definition of a *lexeme*. For example, in the *semic composition* of a semantic field the combination of the following relevant semantic features: "dress" (Si) + "women's clothes" (S1) + "single item (blouse + skirt)" (S2) + "occasion" (S3) + " mermaid shape" (S4) " long" (S4) + "tight"(S5) + "sleeveless"(S6) + "no complementary article"(S7) + "texture"(S8) = "mermaid dress"(semem)

The rigorous definition of meaning depends essentially on the identification of differences. Thus, the simple grouping of words in a field, based on some common elements

that make the comparison possible, is of neither theoretical nor applied interest. Grouping words in a field can be complicated as the field is made up of classes and subclasses and the delimitation of these is important to establish more rigorously the relations of meaning and, implicitly, the differences relevant to meaning. Variable semes prove their distinctive value by *replacement* also known as the *switching test*. [11] (p. 247)

For example, if in the *sememe* ([+specific occasion] + [+cut] +[+length] + [+width], [+sleeve] + [+complementary items] + [+texture]), we replace the seme "wedding" with "casual", we obtain instead of the lexeme "rochie de nuntă", the lexeme "rochie de casă". If we replace the seme [+maxi] with the seme [+midi], will talk about a "mini dress" and not about a "long/ maxi dress".

Conclusions

A natural consequence of the process of globalization and modernization of our society is the constant development of all areas, including in the lexicon of a language, in order to keep up with the inevitable changes. This study highlights the lexico-sematic fields with special attention to the *field of fashion* and *the semes* used in establishing it. These reflect the increased mobility of the terms that form the complex field of fashion.

We consider that the theoretical knowledge of the concept of lexical field is fundamental to structure it. The lexical fields were extensively researched by many linguists. We highlight the traditional, diachronic approach of Jost Trier and the more modern, structuralist one, from a synchronic point of view, formulated by Eugen Coșeriu.

Besides the relations of *synonymy* and *antonymy*, *hyponymy* is one of the most important relations established within the lexical field. The term *hyponymy* has concerned linguists both logically and as a way of demonstrating the *structured* nature of the lexicon.

In terms of this very general organization, the lexicon appears as a hierarchical set of object classes, each lower class inheriting the properties of the immediately superior class and defining itself, in turn, by its own characteristics. The relations of hyper-ordination of *hyponyms* to a *hypernym* are complex and can be located on several levels which lead to the *lexical-semantic hierarchy*. We can define the term *hypernym* as a generic term, or a referential term, the term ranked above in a hierarchy or the *superordinate* term, while the *hyponym* refers to the specific term or *subordinate* term which contains all the semantic elements of the hypernym and some additional items.

The essential objective in the analysis of lexical-semantic fields is the determination of the meaning relations (equivalences, identities and oppositions) between the words of the field, for a more rigorous definition of meaning. This goal is achieved through comparison (based on common semes components) and differentiation (expressed by variable, distinctive components). We highlight that between the lexemes of the same lexico-semantic field can be identified relations of *switching, substitution,* and even *opposition*.

We also note that a semantic field corresponds to a certain grammatical category and that we cannot group into lexico-semantic fields all the words but only those that are organized and stable.

Following the representations and analyses performed so far, we conclude that the significant number of terms created within lexical fields of fashion indicates that fashion terminology is in continually development, the establishment of this terminological system using all vocabulary enrichment procedures.

The analysis of notional fields is justified on the one hand, by theoretical and methodological aspects, and, on the other hand, by applicative ones. The description of the vocabulary as an extended class of lexemes made by combining a certain number of *semes* represents an important aspect in the definition of lexeme. The *semic analysis* of a lexeme can give us important information which can be of real use in lexicographical works.

However, we should take into consideration that the research on the method of *semic analysis* is at the beginning and only the semantic structure of a few terminology series has been studied. Moreover, it is certain that the integral *semantic analysis* for the whole lexicon of a language is a rather laborious operation and practically impossible to accomplish.

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STANDARD *VERSUS* NON-STANDARD? A TYPOLOGY OF LANGUAGE VARIETIES

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Abstract

Our study is based on the use of English in different parts of the world, a major and interesting source for studying and recognising the actuation of contact-induced change. The position associated with *correctness* and *prestige* heralded by standard forms inevitably brings into discussion the study of non-standard forms and the necessity to try and look for hierarchically ordered constellations of varieties. We aim to reveal not only how scholars considered sociolinguistics an appropriate field of study capable of changing the descriptive and traditional classification of varieties and providing new hierarchies, but also why English is regarded as the global *lingua franca* (ELF). After investigating several contextual factors, such as medium, linguistic competence, genre, social norms, strategy, etc. that have contributed to language processing and production all over the world, we base the following part of our research on Halliday's model.

1. Introduction

Theoretical discussions should be premised by the idea that Standard English is not characterised by one single ancestor dialect (specifically the London speech), but by cumulative generations of authoritative writing based on various text types (e.g., legal documents, financial transactions, journalism, or scientific treaties that we explore when we set out to ascertain something as significant or valid). According to Haugen (1966), standardisation is perceived as a process, which automatically involves a constant state of change, even if the effect of standardisation is to inhibit it. [1]

In this sense, *Standard English* can be regarded as a "consensus dialect" [1] (p. 6) based on authoritative writing produced by clerics, scholars, bureaucrats, engineers, reporters, lawyers, doctors, etc. In certain contexts, standardisation does not stem from prescriptivism, since grammarians tend to follow, rather than precede, what we have already been using

especially in legal documents such as governmental texts (Rissanen, 2000) (e.g., multiple negation had not been present in the emergent standard when it started to be forbidden in the eighteenth century) [2]. Therefore, the enforcement of standards inevitably led to the rise of prescriptivism, with the intention to prevent change.

2. Standard versus non-standard

Across centuries, English has noticeably shifted in terms of pronunciation, word-form or grammar due to the increasingly diversified local settings in which it has been used. During this ongoing process, the general research area of sociolinguistics also started to switch its focus from the descriptive-historical approach to the study of language variation and change. Some of the main linguists who have outlined how communicative function and variation are fundamental to how we use English are Labov (1972) [3], Biber (1988) [4] and Halliday (1973, 1978, 1994) [5]. Variation received mainly descriptive treatments before the 1990s, as scholars tended to analyse particularities of expression without referring to an ideological context. The shift towards an ideological-oriented approach is marked by Bourdieu (1984) [6], who theorises language varieties by highlighting their symbolic and cultural value. For instance, in his opinion, RP reflects the symbolic domination that this variety has exerted over some speakers of the social system.

Variationist sociolinguistics (e.g., Trudgill 1986; 2011; Milroy 2002) also recognise the cultural value of vernaculars because they are considered to be authentic speech products. The study of culture expressed in languages and, most of all, the different varieties of English has also been at the core of the interests of cognitive sociolinguistics (e.g., Kemmer and Barlow, 2000; Dirven, Frank and Pütz, 2003; Geeraerts, 2003; Kristiansen, 2003; Achard and Kemmer, 2004). Language as a system can express many symbolisations that may, ultimately, reflect variety-related conceptualisations that speakers generate. As culture ratifies authentic creations, vernaculars automatically gain cultural value because they become the result of natural linguistic change. In opposition, *standard* ways of speaking cannot be considered anchoring points since they lack the solidarity and local affiliation we seek and, thus, they are seen as *in*authentic constructions. Nevertheless, the use of prestigious varieties of English can sometimes offer speakers the chance to get better service-sector jobs, leaving social distinctiveness (materialized through linguistic style) to play an important role in material benefits. [2] [6] [7]

Dialectal variation is said to be one of the main qualities that English possesses[1], a language which has undoubtedly become the most widely used linguistic resource for international communication. Due to its position in this turbulent multilingual world, where contact languages that can be employed by individuals who do not share a first language, English has become one of the most common *lingua francas*. Dialectal variation can be understood if we refer to people who have been using language in various degrees, thus leading to a cluster of *lects* gathered in complex diasystem. As individuals seek different ways to express the same ideas in diverse cultural and situational contexts, theorists have been trying to examine these language-external factors that cause sociolectal, regiolectal, idiolectal or register variation. Whether or not we recognise the conflation of centripetal and centrifugal forces that place these dialects in relation to a single language or drive them apart

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[1] In Kachru's opinion, it becomes "a pluricentric language" (1986: 159).

when recognising different Englishes as localised forms that are developed for various cultural identities, English remains an international language.

As *lingua franca*, English possesses a non-local character, which makes it possible for people around the globe to use it as means of communication in many contexts: business meetings, academic conferences, doctor's appointments, guided holiday tours, etc. The capacity to serve all these purposes and many more makes *English as lingua franca* (*ELF*) unique, because it enables communication not only to elite speakers, but also to ordinary individuals who are not even part of communities where English is salient. The question is how to reach and ensure mutual intelligibility when English plays so many roles across the world. Kachru (1985; 1992) identifies three main places, or "circles" as he calls them, in which English is spoken. According to him, English as a mother tongue is found in the inner circle, where it serves many functions and is found in all fields. English maintains its societal role and becomes a second language learnt at school in other countries which represent the outer circle. The third category refers to the rest of the world, which represents an expanding circle, since educational purposes are no longer the only function that English possesses and international communication makes boundaries more fluid. Thus, English as a foreign language draws attention to the risk that other learners may disregard the culture of Britain or the US which permeates it and they might ultimately transform it into a deracinated language. [2]
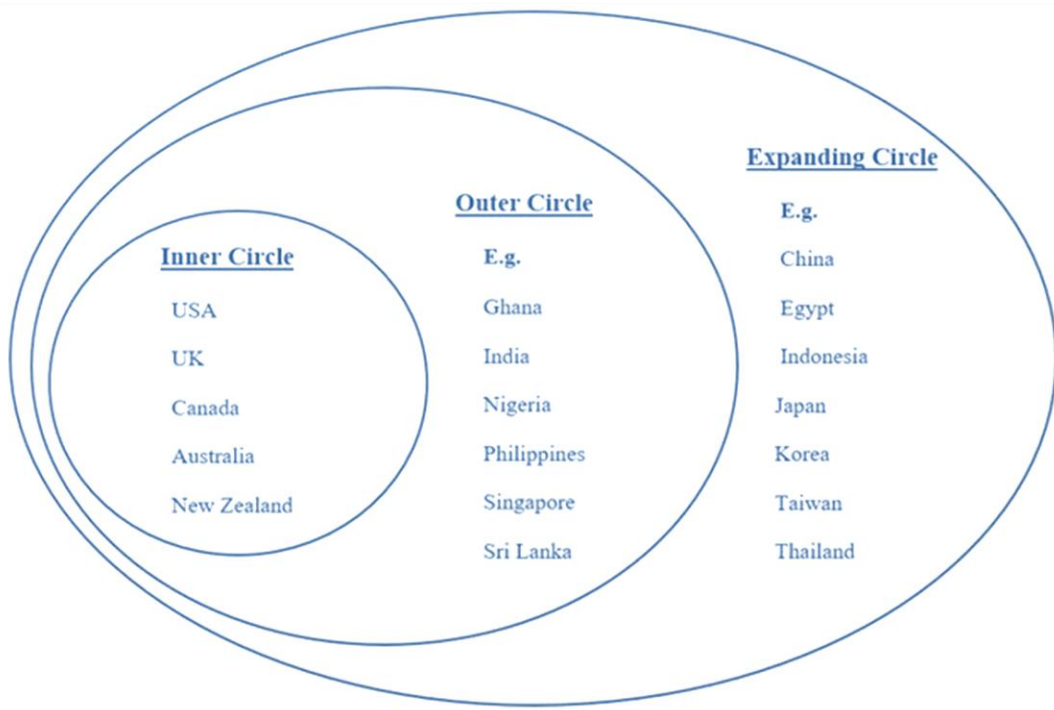

Figure 4. Concentric Circles of English (Kachru, 1992)

Perceptions of language in change are also connected to the emergence of *lingua francas*, among which English occupies a highly important role for many reasons that we have already mentioned. English encounters more languages than any other in this fast-changing globalised world and, therefore, much of the researchers' attention has shifted from "dead" languages which are also used for vehicular purposes (such as mediaeval Latin and classical Arabic) to this "living", ubiquitous language.

The cultural globalisation that English is a part of has guided researchers to explore the "sociolinguistics of mobile resources and not of immobile languages" (Blommaert, 2010: 180). Two clear examples that illustrate this direction are found in the case of Jamaica and Nigeria, where Jamaican Creole and Nigerian Pidgin serve as flexible vernaculars in the mobile lives led by so many immigrants. As such, Standard Jamaican English and Nigerian English are not usually heard when Jamaicans and Nigerians travel to the US or Britain. Studies have confirmed that identity is now more loosely tied to territory, since speakers are able to signal their roots anywhere outside the national borders or, as Thomas (2004: 259) concludes, "Jamaica is now wherever Jamaicans are". This confirms that the creole and pidgin varieties have been mobilised and incorporated into the new "space of flows", whereas their standard counterparts have been placed in the traditional "space of places" (Castells, 2010). Hence, external influence can lead to an inversion of the traditional prestige usage, making standard linguistic resources volatile for stable endonormativity. [7]

Since we have already discussed the *myth of superiority* that standard English language was associated with during the first twenty years of the eighteenth century, it is also important to mention that the *language variety myth* ascribes the virtues of English in relation to other European languages. Hence, creativity and variety stories, that were propagated before the eighteenth century, emphasised the position of superiority that English possessed – a version which was positively preserved (for example, in James Greenwood's *Royal English Grammar*), but also negatively interpreted as a manifestation of provinciality or rusticity on behalf of the speaker who did not comply with "the rules":

As amongst these various dialects, one must have the preference, and become fashionable, it will of course fall to the lot of that which prevails at court, the source of fashions of all kinds. All other dialects, are sure marks, either of a provincial, rustic, pedantic, or mechanic education; and therefore have some degree of disgrace attached to them. (Sheridan, 1762: 30, quoted in Algeo, 2001: 73). [8]

From Sheridan's (1762) point of view, the variety of dialects was also linked to the difference of pronunciation which denounced a division between the citizens of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Nevertheless, his "Heads of a Plan for the Improvement of Elocution" describes uniformity of pronunciation as a vector for eradicating social differences rather than geographical provenance. The author exemplifies instances of bad speech such as "vitious articulation" in a nurse's or favourite servant's pronunciations and attaches negative connotations such as illness or infection to them: "vitious articulation […] often infects a man's discourse thro' life" (Sheridan, 1762: 23). McCrum et al. (1987) also signpost intolerant comments regarding varieties, reminding us about the ubiquitous Anglo-American language rivalry, which employs the distinction between the *standard* (appropriate) form and the *non-standard* / mixed/dialectal (inappropriate) forms. Mazzon (in Wright, 2000: 88) highlights that the "standard versus non-standard" prejudice proves that unless professional

linguists adhere to less monolithic views of language behaviour, teaching practices and public opinion will still present speakers in a dichotomous light and we will still be "a long way from an acceptance of variation. [1]

We fully support the view that "the new varieties of English" should not remain "second-class forms of expression employed by […] second-class speakers" (Mazzon in Wright, 2000: 88) which deviate from the norm. Linguistic variations ought to represent inherent and primary vehicles for self-expression, as speakers use language to reach beyond the informative level, towards revealing attitudes, feelings and beliefs or influencing the interlocutors: "linguistic variations are not to be considered as deviant; they are the natural consequence of the users' needs to communicate more than factual knowledge, to express their feelings and attitudes and to manipulate the others" (Vîlceanu, 2008: 183) [9]. Thus, according to a specific situation, speakers feel the need to adapt language and create alternative ways to convey their message in a purely informative, utterly expressive, and even persuasive manner. The idea of a *standard* form purports the rigid class and status distinctions that characterised it as a "prestige" language in the nineteenth century and before. As such, conventions that regulate the standard are only apparently unyielding, while variations should be perceived as "alternatives" that are *initiated* by speakers, who may adopt different identities, in order to serve the medium and context of linguistic communication.

In other words, *adopting* and *adapting* become important steps for linguistic diffusion to take place. It is usually the speaker who selects the linguistic variation according to his or her interlocutor(s), a phenomenon which emphasise s the importance of face-to-face interaction as a prerequisite for the conscious or unconscious *convergence* of a speaker to another person's speech. Conversely, when a speaker does not aim to be more likeable and wants to reduce intimacy, he or she is expected to *diverge* the speech towards that of a listener. Thus, interpersonal distance becomes attainable according to the people's stylistic operations in their forms of talk. There are also cases when there is no need for variation (or deviation) and *maintenance* becomes the rightful term to designate the communicative strategy adopted by the interlocutors. From this point of view, face-to-face encounters not only become an important way to socially interact, but also the primordial site of language variation and change.

The study of dialect convergence, divergence and maintenance was developed by Giles in the 1970s as an alternative explanation for Labov's (1966) attention to speech and his sociological design of the research. Additionally, Giles (1973) starts to highlight the importance of motivational factors that are inherently found in any existing way of communicating, even though we are not always aware of the alternative forms of talk that our motivated choices ultimately create. Thus, by defining core concepts such as *convergence*, *divergence*, and *maintenance*, Giles (1984) postulates the *speech accommodation theory* which he renames *communication* accommodation theory due to the expanding reach of the framework (further developed and refined by his followers, i.e., *accommodation theorists* – see Coupland, Coupland, Giles and Henwood, 1988; Harwood and Giles, 2005; Giles and Giles, 2012; Giles, Gasiorek and Soliz, 2015) [10] [11] [12] [13]. Thakerar, Giles and Cheshire (1982) mark the distinction between *objective* and *subjective* accommodation when analysing variationism because an explanatory point of view may sometimes be overshadowed by a person's perception of communicative style. Accordingly, speeches can be shifted to "match" the characteristics *perceived* in the speaking partners' styles, sometimes without an explicit rationalization. Relational processes that interfere with

accommodative predispositions and outcomes reached a higher level of complexity when Genesse and Bourhis (1988) discuss the importance of other contextual factors such as social norms, strategy, belief, attribution, or intention. Thus, variationists have been trying to apply this sensitive social psychology of accommodation in order to measure either linguistic or attitudinal effects. The problem is that contextual understandings can be difficult to control and, afterwards, measure which is why accommodation research has generally been characterised by experimentation. [3]

At the end of the twentieth century, factors such as the social class of speakers or territory are still essential extralinguistic observations that point to specific aspects of language variation in usage guides. Still, usage guides also comprise other "sociolinguistic considerations" (Weiner, 1988) like medium, genre, frequency, attitude, or linguistic competence that constitute key factors in explaining alternative ways as points of usage. We shall deviate from Weiner's perspective, as his "sociolinguistic considerations" stretch out various social aspects of language variation, and propose the classification that Halliday (1978), Lodge, Armstrong, Ellis and Shelton (1997) and Leech et al. (1999) agree upon. Although their standpoint matches Weiner's (1988) concern with fitting language and the social man into the broader landscape of language study, they only refer to two distinctive categories of variety differentiation: the ones that are primarily "determined by the speaker" (*inter-speaker variation*) – *dialects* – and others which are "conditioned by the context of utterance (*intra-speaker variation*) – *language registers* (Vîlceanu, 2008: 183). Both types of linguistic variations (dialects and language registers) may seem "reductionist" (Kristiansen, 2008: 48), but they constitute very simple and powerful principles which connote an expressive value, thus contributing to an assessment of the speakers' profiles and the type of linguistic situation in which they find themselves. [9] [13] [14] [15]

Tracing back the architecture of this strand, we focus on Halliday's (1978) model that encourages us to distinguish between "language as system" (which encompasses stylistic variation and registers) and "language as institution" (which includes independently formed varieties such as sociolects or regiolects). In the Hallidayan sense, these metafunctional variables offer important clues particularly in face-to-face communication and influence the pragmatic choices in our interactions. His approach also departs from Chomskyan linguistics that sought to ignore social variation and focus instead on homogeneity, forms, or structures of language when studying speech communities. [5]

We believe that Halliday's definitions (1978: 35) constitute a wise theoretical starting point in order to make a clear distinction between *dialect* and *register*, that will ultimately provide a better understanding of the *interspeaker* and *intraspeaker* variations. On one hand, *dialect* represents a variety "according to the user", determined by his/her "socio-region of origin and/or adoption", thus "expressing diversity of social structure (patterns of social hierarchy)." On the other hand, *register* (also identified with "diatypic variety") is strongly connected to "the use" and determined by the "nature of social activity" that speakers engage in, thus "expressing diversity of social processes (social division of labour)." Hence, dialects constitute "different ways of saying the same thing" in which subcultural varieties (standard versus non-standard) can be observed based on differences in phonetics, phonology and lexicogrammar, while registers are "ways of saying different things" in which occupational varieties (technical versus semi-technical) allow a visible differentiation in semantics. [5]

In Halliday's (1978, 1993) schemata, there can be "strongly-held attitudes towards dialects as symbol of social diversity", in which caste, provenance (rural versus urban),

generation, age or sex constitute key controlling variables or "major distinctions of spoken versus written (language in action versus language in reflection)" register, for which field (type of social action), tenor (role relationships) or mode (symbolic organisation) regulate variation. This approach stresses not only the metalingual function of language (the capacity to refer to itself), but also people's potential to become "designers" and be able to regulate their various linguistic "products". Poetry, irony, linguistic jokes, or merely quoting other people's words become spoken or written "designs" for which the language user can use different sources of variation. One of the most eloquent examples that illustrates what can happen when possibilities of language are fully explored is Raymond Queneau's *Exercices de Style* published in 1947. Later translated into English as *Exercises in Style* (1958), the French author's book shows how ninety-nine versions are employed to tell the same fragment of a story. Barbara Wright, the translator, explains that not even the story or the specific language in which it is written matter as much as features of style.

Adapting to genre-rules or making appropriate stylistic choices may cause lexical variation, but these are not the only sources which could lead to word selection. Additionally, many corpora containing numerous patterns in language use[1] have highlighted the importance of topic variability, as well as regional and social differences when investigating types of variation, even though the incapacity to untie the sources of variation with only one instrument constitutes a clear disadvantage. Consequently, we can distinguish between linguistic designs for talk, for which our utterances gain functional and indexical implications, and literary or quasi-literary genres, in which case metapragmatic awareness lacks specific implications. Nonetheless, the type of vocabulary (connotations, relation to context, lexical sets), the use of grammar (word and phrase order, clause, and sentence structures) or the kind of discourse (point of view, speech delivery as monologue or dialogue) become essential linguistic features of writing that make each text distinctive.

Conclusions

To wrap up, in exploring language, questions of *standard* and *non-standard* or *dialect* and *register* are put into a perspective so that learning standard English becomes more a matter of learning new registers than of studying a new dialect. Naturally, one should not overlook the mother tongue if the standard differs from it, but understand that the whole complex ideology of language attitudes and value judgements is based on the emergence of dialects, the correlation between them and registers, etc. It is important to remember that if the speaker switches between an implied norm (in this case, the equivalent of a prestige or "standard" form) and alternative forms, he/she is not using deviant forms, but variants that have differential values in the social system. However, there is still a body of opinion that argues for the existence of only one model that ensures "correctness" (in mother tongue contexts) and mutual intelligibility (in international contexts). Their view practically favours *standard English* over *standardised English*, holding onto the belief that only one variety of English is multifunctional (or no more than two, if we consider the differences between the British and American variants). Still, it seems unlikely to believe in a linguistically monolithic *standard English* after we have presented the diverse ideological perspectives

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[1] Units of meaning and collocational frameworks are investigated by Renouf and Sinclair (1991, 1996), lexical clusters by Biber et al. (1999), grammar patterns by Houston and Francis (2000), formulaic chains by Wray (2002), phrase-frames by Fletcher (2002), etc.

which either situate it as a class dialect or the functionalist arguments which take into consideration syntax in speakers' communicative situations, besides the written language. Thus, from these perspectives, *standard English* seems unreal and obsolete, a result managed by powerful forces that have struggled throughout history to control language at both grammatical and phonological levels.

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ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF *FOUNDER* AND CHURCH FOUNDATIONS IN ROMAN COUNTY, IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Abstract

The founder and the foundations are complex concepts that cannot be explained today by synonymous terms that truly reflect their meaning. There are considered equivalent but approximate terms as former or "father", for the founder, and settlement, institution, church, monastery, construction, for the foundation. In Moldavia, the rulers showed a special interest in monastic life, raising foundations and maintaining the existing ones. Sociologists, historians or legal experts defined these privileges and obligations: the founder received honorary distinctions (his name was inscribed on the plaques and commemorative stones); had the right to a votive picture, together with his family, as the case may be; the name of the founder was written in the diptych and mentioned in the holy altar; the founder and his descendants had reserved seats for prayer, and their remains were kept in the place of worship founded by them; the founder was offered spiritual assistance and special services, both during and after life; he had the right to administer the foundation and to elect its leaders; the founders could be housed and maintained in church or monastery, when in difficult circumstances. The foundation right was not extinguished and was inherited by the descendants.

Keywords

founder; foundations; Moldavia; Roman County; the nineteenth century

1. Introduction

The founder and *the foundations* are complex concepts that cannot be explained today by synonymous terms that truly reflect their meaning. There are considered equivalent but approximate terms as former or "father", for *the founder*, and settlement, institution, church, monastery, construction, for *the foundation*.

The simplest definitions, offered today by explanatory dictionaries, show a Slavonic origin of the terms and specify their close meanings: *the founder*, as former, "father" of an institution, association or, especially, churches, and *the foundation*, as a church, monastery,

institution etc. founded by a founder. The emphasis is clearly on the religious significance of the foundation and the act of founding.

Therefore, the former was called *founder*. The same term was used for those who later endowed or restored the place of worship. Founder could be anyone who could afford it: individuals, men and women, but also legal entities: communities, associations and even settlements" [1] (p. 82). Typology efforts have divided the founders between *de facto* and *de jure* [2] (p. 49). *De facto founders*, the "great founders" were the ones who came up with the initiative and supported financially the construction and the endowment of a religious edifice [2] (p. 49), while *de jure founders* were represented by members of the founder's family, those who were not financially involved in the actual founding of the place of worship, a kind of "alliance" founders. Another category was represented by *the secondary founders*, those who contributed to the endowment, renovation, religious painting of the place [2] (p. 49).

The wish to perform a charitable act by supporting financially the construction of a public institution dates long before the Middle Ages. Christianity developed this practice of public investment in the form of philanthropy, as a gift to God, in the hope of a future salvation of the founder and his family [3] (p. 2-3). Rooted in the Old and New Testaments, the practice of offerings to divinity is one of the most important ways to help save the believer's soul.

A foundation, according to the historian Ștefan Gorovei [4] (p. 78), was meant to perpetuate the name of the medieval man, and the church became the most suitable construction to ensure eternal life for the founder and his family. The foundation certified the social status of the founder and his family and, at the same time, it represented a guarantee of his obligations towards his foundation. The foundation, in turn, assumes obligations to the one who founded it. The right of foundation in the Romanian Principalities fulfils almost the same provisions as those established by the Byzantine canons and laws [1] (p. 78).

The status of founder was highly respected. The rights, privileges and obligations of the founder were established by *typica*, a kind of "founding" [5] (p. 59) book, which regulated the conduct of the Divine Liturgy, religious discipline, the granting of honorary rights, the material and financial situation of the place of worship, the requests of the foundation and its patrimony, in main.

Sociologists, historians or legal experts, such as: Henri H. Stahl [6] (p. 162-189), Ștefan Gorovei [4] (p. 77), Gheorghe Cronț [1] (p. 106), Valentin Georgescu [7] (p.160), Maria Magdalena Székely [8] (p. 443), Igor Sava [5] (p. 59-60) defined these privileges and obligations: the founder received honorary distinctions (his name was inscribed on the plaques and commemorative stones); had the right to a votive picture, together with his family, as the case may be; the name of the founder was written in the diptych and mentioned in the holy altar; the founder and his descendants had reserved seats for prayer, and their remains were kept in the place of worship founded by them; the founder was offered spiritual assistance and special services, both during and after life; he had the right to administer the foundation and to elect its leaders; the founders could be housed and maintained in church or monastery, when in difficult circumstances. The foundation right was not extinguished and was inherited by the descendants. The one who did not fulfil his obligations towards the founded place of worship, the "evil founder", could, however, be withdrawn by his quality [7] (p. 160).

Along with the privileges, the founders had to fulfil their obligations to the established place. The most important ones were, of course, related to financial support and the endowment with the necessary things: vessels, clothes, objects and cult books.

During the Romanian feudal period, the people who were in a position to support financially and materially the construction of a place of worship enjoyed great public prestige. If the act of founding remained a privilege of the voivodes, the boyars could not rise to an equivalent rank unless they also held a foundation [7] (p. 75). Salvation by establishing a place of worship gave the upper classes the aura of the divine grace, thus becoming one of the most important ways in which the people were held in dogmatism, ignorance and superstition [7] (p. 75).

The right of foundation was taken in the Romanian countries, adapted to the historical realities. Thus, foundations such as churches, monasteries and hermitages, dioceses and Metropolias, infirmaries, travellers' shelters, charity institutions, hospitals and educational institutions appeared [1] (p. 88). Under the protection of the voivodes, the phenomenon of founding grew. Churches and especially monasteries have become owners of large tracts of land due to this support, but also another determining factor – the location of the rural community around the monastic ensemble.

In the following centuries, the monastery and several other settlements with a social, economic and cultural role, established by the church canons through the practice of founding, became institutions through which the local authority exercised government. The monastery domain incorporated arable land, vineyards, orchards, forests, hayfields, ponds, as well as goods in the possession or property of peasants in bondage to monasteries (houses, fields, vineyards, orchards, hayfields).

In Moldavia, the rulers showed a special interest in monastic life, raising foundations and maintaining the existing ones. The development of the monastery domain that started in the second half of the 14th century contributes to the strengthening of the universal character of the property in the respective period and to the increase of its impact on the society, from the economic, social, legal, political-ideological and cultural point of view. Monasteries, sometimes even churches, become real centres of economic activity, involved in agricultural and craft exploitation, trade, "active economic agents, privileged, in the last resort, by the state" [5] (p. 21).

In the period before the Organic Regulations, the State and the Church were in close interdependence. The state was ruled by the princes with the help of the Assemblies, whose president was the metropolitan, and the prince played an important role in the organization of the Church [9] (p. 25) through the great logothetes. The bishops administered the fortunes of the dioceses at their will, and the prince intervened only when he needed material support. There was, therefore, a "bond of friendly reciprocity, by which the Church gained great influence in the State, but also the State, which, in turn, gained considerable influence in the affairs of the church" [10] (p. 3).

This relationship of reciprocity was to break with the introduction of the Organic Regulations, which emphasized the "interference of the state in the affairs of the Church" [11] (p. 114). The state authority began to intervene more and more in the way the church fortunes were administered, and this was done during the three "regulatory lords": in Wallachia, Alexandru Ghica (1834-1842) and Gheorghe Bibescu (1842-1848), and in Moldavia, Mihail Sturdza (1834-1849). This process of supervision of the Church by the State took place in three stages [9] (p. 26): the establishment of Ministries of Cults (*Logofeţia Credinţei*, in Wallachia - 1831, respectively *Vornicia Credinţei* in Moldavia - 1844; the establishment of Central Church Houses in both countries (1834 in Muntenia, 1835 in Moldova), which accumulated revenues from certain monasteries, later (1840 and 1847 in

Wallachia, 1844 in Moldavia), in the Central Houses there were paid the revenues of metropolias and dioceses, so that the hierarchs lost the right to administer and the exclusive control of the estate of the dioceses they pastored.

Conclusions

The nineteenth century is practically characterized by the continuous effort of the policy to limit the power of the church hierarchy. The greatest concern of the various governments was directed at the church estate, some of which were in the use of the Holy Places (dedicated monasteries), and others in the use of the hierarchy and the abbots of monasteries (earthly monasteries). In the first half of the nineteenth century, the governmental authority struggled and, succeeded, during the reign of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, in secularizing these assets and using them for the stated purpose of modernization of the country. As a result, the Church has entered a deep material and spiritual crisis. Church institutions and clerical staff no longer had material support – church assets were practically "seized" by the state. In the end, it was the governmental authority that identified the ways to solve the financial difficulties that the Church was going through and that also led to a spiritual crisis of the society. In 1893, there was issued the *Law of the laymen clergy*, by which priests received salaries from the State, and the *Law of the Church Houses*, in 1902 [9] (p. 9).

Although, by its interference in the church affairs, the State has now become the most important "founder", an analysis of the origin of the founders and the location of the foundations shows that, during this period, unlike the previous ones, most founders were boyars and estate owners. If, in the other periods, the hierarchy was dominated by voivodes and lords, followed by the great nobility, in an era when the main concern was the modernization of society, the boyars were the first to write their names in the inscriptions.

In all three administrative units ("ocoale") of the Roman County, the Upper, the Middle and the Lower one, there were estates and properties owned by boyar families who played important roles in the history of Romania, families that included rulers, scholars, scientists or people of culture, from Bogdan and Hermeziu, to Vârnav and Sturdza. Like all boyar families in Moldavia, they turned their attention to the construction of religious edifices, the donation of villages, "selişti" (the places where the villages where settled), vineyards, apiaries, forests or ponds. In addition to real estate, they donated various objects of worship, icons, tetrapod covers, silver platters, epitrachelions, chalices, crosses of precious metals or valuable liturgical books.

The repertory of church foundations in Roman County in the nineteenth century, includes several places of worship that influenced not only the religious life, but also the social, educational (at a time when clergy were the only educated class), cultural and, sometimes, even political one.

The "activity" of founder and donor was a very rich one within the boyar families. The founding actions they initiated or the help they offered to the churches meant, in fact, the possibility of forgiveness of sins and salvation. Regardless of the moment or the purpose in which the donations and the foundations were made, they eventually highlight the interest in the founding activity of these families, important supporters of the places of worship in the Roman County and of the entire Romanian Christianity.

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COMPATIBILITIES OF LITERARY TRANSLATION AND CULTURAL TRANSLATION

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Abstract

The paper envisages literary translation and cultural translation from an integrated perspective. The development of cultural translation is seen in close connection to literary translation, and the cultural turn in *Translation Studies* means reinterpreting translation as involving linguistic and cultural transfers. We aim to prove that literary translation and cultural translation overlap, by analysing culture-specific items pertaining to literary texts.

Keywords
literary translation; cultural translation; cultural transfer; culturemes

1. Introduction

In this paper, we premise from the idea that language, as a dynamic interface between writers and readers, is in continuous change in a world where progress and science have marked the new era of digitalization and have re-assessed translatorship. Translation means communication between people and languages and dissemination of information through translators' expertise and creative work in the process of bridging gaps between literature(s) and culture(s). Thus, language becomes a complex tool that enhances cross-cultural communication and develops human relations and social interaction.

The present paper tackles the problem of translating culture and culture-specific items in a complex process of reaching a linguistic and cultural balance between two texts. This derives from the degree of (un)translatability of a language which depends on the extent to which a text is "embedded in its own specific culture" [1] (p. 41). In translating literary texts, we aim at comparing literary and cultural translation and thus two questions arise: *Could we envisage cultural translation separately from literary translation? Are they overlapping in the process of remapping literature(s) and culture(s)?* In order to answer these questions, we set the following objectives:
- to frame the concepts of literary and cultural translation;

- to analyse culture-specific items pertaining to literary texts in order to prove that the two phenomena intersect/converge;
- to demonstrate that David Lodge's *Small World* is a cultural translation.

2. Featuring literary and cultural translation

To validate our hypothesis that literary and cultural translation are overlapping in the process of remapping literature(s) and culture(s) we need to have an insightful approach into these two intricate and inseparable phenomena and thus demonstrate their compatibility. As an academic discipline, literary translation has been a continuous preoccupation for numerous scholars who have tried to fully fledge a general definition from a source-text oriented (Catford, 1964), target-text oriented (Holmes, 1972), or function-text oriented perspective (Reiss and Vermeer, 1984). Other theorists (notably, Lefevere, 1992; Toury, 1995 and Simon, 1996) have interrogated the notions of accuracy, equivalence and fidelity with respect to literary translation, arguing that "any assessment of these criteria is inevitably determined by a variety of cultural, political and economic factors" [2] (p. 441).

Literary translation is a complex and interesting phenomenon which takes places at the interface of two literatures and two cultures. It is associated with the translation of texts which are literary in the source culture or to translating in such manner that the final product is considered literary to the target culture. In an attempt to offer a definition, Boase-Beier states that literary translation refers to "the translation of texts that are held to exhibit literary features" or "the translation of texts in a literary way" [3] (p. 1).

Regarding the first definition, we should not consider the premise that a translated text is literary on the basis of the nature of the source text, be it a poem, a play or a drama. We could also consider as literary the translation of other types of texts (i.e., advertisements, songs, religious or philosophical texts) depending on the degree to which they employ literary devices or whether they can create cognitive effects on target readers.

The second definition, "the translation of texts in a literary way", refers to bearing in mind the qualities of literary texts (style, functionality or effect) and whether they can be translated in a literary way. There are texts which could be translated in a literary way, using varied literary and stylistics devices and thus having aesthetic effects on the target readership. We need to mention that literary translation as a genuine and productive activity can be envisaged as science, art or craft depending on the translator's skills and innovation and equally on his/her creative genius in the process of rewriting the original text.

Firstly, translation means manipulation of language, transfer of words, recontextualization and cultural interference. Language as a dynamic factor in human relationships is interconnected with culture and this connection influences people's values and mindsets, but also the way they interact. In this context, translation is an act of communication between languages and cultures, a work of art which requires in-depth cultural and linguistic knowledge for both translators and readers. Thus, literary translation becomes an opportunity for knowing other cultural milieu, for human communication and social interaction because "language is a tool to represent, present reality and act upon reality in interaction with others" [4] (p. 13).

Secondly, translation is considered a form of rewriting since it is performed under certain social and cultural constraints and it is targeted to fit specific purposes. Rewriting implies adapting the original to the target readership's ideology or poetics and equally rendering the

meaning of the foreign text into domestic culture in compliance with norms and resources that compound the system of that society.

Also, rewriting means re-creating the text from another perspective. Such an interdisciplinary view creates an integrated approach to translation and reinterprets it. This new approach to translation was due to the emergence of the *Cultural Turn* which reconsidered translation from a culturally-oriented perspective and re-assessed the concept of culture, also focusing on the cultural effects of translations and on the translator's effort to view translation in the context of culture. Rewritings highlight the translators' presence in the text placing them at the centre of socio-cultural mediation, which gives them the role of linguistic and cultural negotiators.

Irrespective of these definitions, translation is creative writing because it makes things happen in an artistic and genuine way and this gives value to the end product. Therefore, if we envisage translation in terms of creating an original text, we may clearly consider it a form of art whose goal is to impress the reader, if we envisage translation as a process, it can rightly be considered a science as the translator's knowledge is more than just a form of mechanical reproduction.

However, literary translation cannot be dissociated from cultural translation in the process of cultural transfer. In our attempt to validate the hypothesis that the two phenomena overlap we need to mention that cultural translation is a very complex and intricate process which involves numerous social, political, economic factors. Also, we need to acknowledge that in text typology (expressive, informative, vocative texts, according to Newmark, 1981/1988) we do not encounter cultural texts and literary texts cannot be dissociated from the socio-cultural contexts in which they appear and function. The corpus of translated texts encompasses an assortment of literary texts which are translated from a different perspective in order to secure the cultural transfer between two languages and their associated cultures.

The controversial concept of cultural translation and its meaning has been influenced by many disciplines such as ethnography, anthropology, postcolonial and cultural studies and has been of great interest for various authors (notably, Wolf, 2002; Trivedi, 2005; Buden and Nowotny, 2009; Conway, 2012; Pym, 2014). The notion of cultural translation is a metaphor used to explain how literary translation mediates cultural differences or represents other cultures through translation.

In translation studies, cultural translation, as opposed to linguistic translation, is seen as "any translation which is sensitive to cultural as well as linguistic factors" [5] (p. 35) and it requires two texts embedded in any two linguacultural areas. Considered "a messy collection of ideas" [6] (p. 264), this new type of translation can be perceived as an activity in which there is no start text and no fixed target text with great emphasis on the cultural process rather than on the final product. Also, translation is no longer seen as a finite text but as an act of communication between multicultural groups. The main cause of cultural translation is a permanent migration of people and it is associated with the intermediary position of the translator, the cross-cultural movements that create places for translators' work, and the cultural borders crossed by translations.

Translation determines the emergence of a cultural space in between two different worlds and this could not be secured without sustained work of translators who strive to bridge gaps between generations. A continuous effort of multiple reading and interpretation, of linguistic negotiation and cultural mediation, cooperation and collaboration between the agents involved in the process (i.e., translation agencies, market requirements, readership, etc.)

reinterprets literary translation and provides new perspectives in enhancing global communication.

Regarding the relationship between translation and cultural translation, we could mention that every translation is an act of cultural translation, whereas each process of cultural translation involves translation. Cultural translation remains an instrument of discovery and cultural exchange in the field of translation. Considering these theoretical aspects, we aptly agree that literary and cultural translation converge and they cannot be considered separately, as isolated systems, but as part of a continuum in an attempt to re-create history, art and literature.

3. The cultural transfer in translating David Lodge's *Small World*

A second argument for proving that literary and cultural translation overlap in the process of transferring information between literature(s) and culture(s) requires a detailed analyse of culture-specific items pertaining to literary texts. Translating other cultural milieu becomes an important and tremendous task when the two languages and cultures are different and no perfect equivalents are available. This requires the translator's in-depth knowledge and the choice of efficient and effective translation strategies to assure referential accuracy and create equivalence.

We need to mention that *culturemes* or culture-specific items are complex socio-cultural phenomena which act at different levels within a community and they can receive multiple interpretations in a different spatial or temporal sphere. Their value is determined by readers who are the final but the most important element in the writer-translator-receiver relation and they become national symbols in an attempt to create cultural diversity and equally to preserve local colour.

Accordingly, we envisaged a contrastive and comparative research method and the corpus comprises the English edition of *The Campus Trilogy – Small World* (Vintage, 2011) and the two Romanian editions *Ce mică-i lumea!* (Editura Univers, 1997 and Polirom, 2011), both translated by George Volceanov. It is noteworthy that George Volceanov is a university professor at "Spiru Haret" and he was awarded important prizes for literary translation. He has translated from Hungarian and English more than sixty books of famous writers and he also translated and supervised the series "Operele lui Shakespeare". His vivid passion for translation, which he considers a "modus vivendi", made him declare in an interview in "Traduceri Literare", in 2017, that "literary translation is the hobby which kept me alive" [7].

The corpus is wide and comprehensive enough to provide a variety of instances of authentic British and American language, idioms and collocations, style and register, pairs of synonyms, French, Italian and Latin words, which demonstrate the translator's scholarship and his ability to manipulate language and to create meaning in socio-cultural contexts. The cultural transfer is secured through varied translation techniques which the literary translator used in a fine way of rewriting the original and bridging cultural gaps. We shall exemplify these renderings according to Vîlceanu's taxonomy (2011) also considering the techniques used in translating cultural terms according to Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) and Newmark's taxonomies (1988) and thus prove that *Small World* is equally literary and cultural translation:

a. Geography and ecology
Toponyms

➢ *the Emerald Isle* (p. 258) = *Insula de Smarald* (p. 42/54) – calque + transposition; the translator glosses it by specifying that this is a poetical name of Ireland (*denumire poetică dată Irlandei, în peisajele căreia predomină culoarea verde*), suggesting the resplendent greenery landscape, the first use of this term being made by the poet William Drennan in the poem "When Erin First Rose" in 1795 [8]. We need to mention that Ireland was given several nicknames, but the most familiar is "the Emerald Isle" and this is due to the beautiful green surroundings, a view determined by a friendly climate, a mixture of warm temperatures and heavy rainfall. Other cultural references focus on geographical or historical features that characterize each county of Ireland giving them a nickname, i.e., Donegal is named *The Forgotten County* due to the fact that it is a county which is situated far northwest. Limerick is known as *The Treaty County* (the Treaty of Limerick was signed here) and Kilkenny is known as *The Marble County* and this aspect is associated with the stone used in city buildings [9].

➢ *English Midlands* (p. 227) = *Midlands* (p. 9/13) – transfer. We notice the omission of the qualifying adjective *English* indicating origin, the translator assuming that the Romanian readers are familiar with the name of the place. Nevertheless, we opt for more cultural information: The Midlands, situated in central England and subdivided into the East and the West Midlands, were important in the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries. The West Midlands is featured by "a heavy concentration of large industrial cities, including Birmingham" [10].

b. Anthroponyms

➢ *Oxford* (p. 229) = *Oxford* (p. 11/16) and *Cambridge* (p. 229) = *Cambridge* (p. 11/16), they are two famous towns and high-rank British universities, very familiar to the Romanian public which are transferred in the target language. The translator does not provide other cultural information assuming the readers' knowledge and high education. It is noteworthy that *Cambridge* and *Oxford* universities mirror a set of moral and religious mindsets highly influenced by the Catholic church (Irimia, 1999) and they were the only universities in England up to the 19th century. *Cambridge University*, the etymology of the anthroponym means "bridge over the river Granta" [11] (p. 153), which is situated on the river Cam, dates back to 1209, a moment represented by scholars' migration from Oxford to Cambridge in order to escape Oxford's riots of "town and gown" [12]. Other cultural references associate Cambridge, which remained an insignificant university for a long period of time, with the name of Desiderius Erasmus and also with the foundation of *Trinity College*. In contrast, *Oxford University,* the etymology means "ford used by oxen" [11] (p. 153), which is situated on the River Thames, was initially a way of access over the Rivers Isis and Cherwell, with no buildings in its early years and where "lectures were given in hired halls or churches" [12]. Among the first colleges that activated here we could mention University College (1249), Balliol College (1263) and Merton College (1264).

➢ *Strand* (p. 408) = *Strand* (p. 199/250) – transfer + explicitation in the literary translator's notes (*stradă londoneză paralelă cu Tamisa, cunoscută pentru hotelurile şi teatrele ei*). We consider the transfer is not complete and we should add further cultural reference in order to create a real image of London and to bring the original socio-cultural context. The name describes an important street in the centre of London which connects West End and City. In the 12th century many imposing houses appeared here, named after

noblemen (i.e., Exter Street, Bedford Street, Arundel House). Also, numerous literary personalities lived here (i.e., George Eliot, Samuel Coleridge, etc.) and the place received the name of "the most famous street in Europe" [13] (p. 114).

c. Infrastructure
c.1. Educational and cultural institutions/titles

➤ *junior school* (p. 231) = *școală primară* (p. 12/17) – cultural adaptation also *primary school* (p. 252) = *școală primară* (p. 37/47) – calque + transposition. The two educational systems (British and American) do not differ in many aspects however we need to make clear explicitation of the term in order to avoid cultural confusion. In the UK educational system, the primary school refers to children under 11 (aged 5-11) and comprises infant school (aged 5-7) and junior school (aged 7-11), whereas in the US children aged 6-11 attend elementary school (first to sixth grade) and children aged 12-18 (seventh to twelfth grade) go to junior high school.

➤ *Washington Square* (p. 563) = *Piața Washington* (p. 358/448) – calque, the transfer is completely secured through explicitation (*Piața Washington este și titlul unui roman al autorului american Henry James 1843-1916*). In order to avoid misunderstandings, the translator George Volceanov mentions it is the name of a famous novel and not a square.

c.2. Mass-media

➤ *The Times* (p. 237) = *The Times* (p. 20/27) – transfer, it is a very famous publication, an independent and conservatory newspaper. It was founded in 1785 under the name *The Daily Universal Register* and it focuses on the upper middle-class opinion, following a classic layout (Irimia, 1999), i.e., letters from the readers, adverts, sports, news, etc.

c.3. Economic structures – currency

➤ *ten grand is a sum* (p. 512) = *zece miare este o sumă* (p. 306/384) – cultural equivalence, we notice the use of informal language, *grand* in slang means a thousand pounds/dollars, the translator remains faithful to the source text to create a reader-friendly translation. A few lines further in the book we are provided a more colourful equivalent for the expression *twenty grand* (p. 512) = *douăzeci de bătrâne* (p. 306/384). The bilingual synonymy is secured through domestication, the translator brings local flavour to the text to avoid repetition.

c.4. Sports

➤ *a game of poker* (p. 476) = *o partidă de poker* (p. 269/337) – equivalence + loan. The translator considers it is a transparent term describing a card game, which is played in various forms throughout the world. It appeared in North America and it became a national game in the United States. It is a national symbol and "its play and jargon permeate American culture" [14].

c.5. Architecture

➤ *villas* (p. 461) = *vile de la țară* (p. 253/318) – descriptive equivalence. The translator prefers the use of a relevant synonym in the target language to convey a similar meaning. We need to mention that this type of house may have a multiple meaning and accordingly may create confusion in the target culture: a villa is a country house with a garden used for holidays (in southern Europe), in Britain it describes a large house in a town built before 1914, or a large and old house, of Roman origins with a land belonging to it (Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture, new edition, 2005).

c.6. Administrative functional units

➢ *the Black Country* (p. 330) = *Ținutul negru* (p. 118/148) – calque + explicitation to create the socio-cultural context of the original text („*Ținutul negru"– zonă puternic industrializată din Midlands, supranumită astfel din cauza poluării*). We consider the transfer is fully secured but we need to mention that it was a main point of attraction for numerous writers (i.e., Charles Dickens, William Shenstone or Sir Henry Newbolt) who described it as having negative effects on the landscape, being a constant and increasing cause of pollution.

c.7. Units of measure

➢ *a pint* (p. 244) = *o halbă* (p. 25/36) – adaptation, the readership may not be familiar to this term and we need to provide further explicitation: 1 pint = 0. 9689 UK pint = 0.5506 dm2., also 1 pint = 0,568 litres. The transfer is partial as the Romanian equivalent is not perfect and thus the translation may be inaccurate. However, it is a recognized translation. In English pubs it is familiar the expression "A pint of beer, please".

➢ *draught* (p. 396) = *la butoi* (p. 185/233) – cultural adaption, the translator opts for a relevant equivalent in the target language, it means "served by being drawn from a large container such as a barrel" [15] (415) but the readers are not familiar to it.

d. Artifacts

d.1. Literary artifacts

➢ *The Faerie Queene* (p. 254) = *Crăiasa Zânelor* (p. 39/50) – equivalence completely secured through the translator's extratextual notes (*poem alegoric de Edmund Spenser (1552-1589), considerat o culme a poeziei Renașterii engleze*). The poem is well-known within the Romanian culture and readership and we could add that due to his poetic style, Spenser influenced many of his successors (i.e., Lord Byron or Percy Bysshe Shelley).

➢ *mystery trip* (p. 256) = *mister* (p. 40/52) – transfer + extratextual explicitation (*specie teatrală medievală cu subiect religios*). Activating further reference, we could state that the *mystery trip* belongs to the dramatic genre and it is one of the three types of vernacular drama (i.e., the miracle and the morality play) that developed in Europe during the Middle Ages. They contained biblical themes (i.e., Creation, Adam and Eve, the murder of Abel, and the Last Judgment) and they were derived from Latin plays presented by churchmen but they were highly criticized due to "the strictly religious nature of the play" and irrelevant satirical elements [16]. Accordingly, at the end of the 16th century it began to fade and it was no longer of general interest.

d.2. Film/music production

➢ *mandolin* (p. 493) = *mandolina* (p. 286/359) – loan, it is a transparent term and needs no further explicitation. It is a small stringed musical instrument and it appeared in the 18th century in Italy and Germany.

d.3. Religious/ historic terms

➢ *The Holy Grail* (p. 473) = *Sfântul Graal* (p. 267/335) – equivalence, it is familiar to the readership who know it as an object of quest sought by the knights of the Round Table. It had a Christian meaning as it was thought to be the dish or cup used by Christ at the Last Supper and in which Joseph of Arimathea had caught some of the blood of the crucified Christ. In the 13th century it was associated with the Arthurian legends, being considered a symbol of perfection (The Oxford Dictionary of Allusions, 2001).

➢ *the Black Death* (p. 539) = *ciuma neagră* (p. 334/418) – cultural adaptation, the translator does not deem to provide other references although this culture-specific term is

opaque for many target readers. The Black Death is used to denote "the great epidemic of bubonic plague" [17] (p. 92) that killed a great number of Europeans during the 14th century. Although it originated in central Asia and China, it rapidly spread throughout Europe.

d.4. Food and drink

➢ *Sheep/mutton-mouton* (p. 248) = *Sheep/mutton-mouton* (p. 32/41) – transfer, the translator deems it necessary to explain the two terms to avoid cultural misunderstandings (*în limba română, „oaie" se foloseşte atât cu sensul de animal cât şi cu cel de carne de oaie*). To secure semantic accuracy he (George Volceanov) gives explicitation in glossary notes (*în limba engleză sheep înseamnă oaie, ovine (animal viu), iar mutton carne de oaie (ca aliment)*).

➢ *crumpet* (p. 337) = *crumpet* (p. 126/158) – transfer + explicitation, the translator deems it necessary to secure an accurate meaning and explains the meaning of *crumpet* in glossary notes (*în limba engleză "crumpet" înseamnă „franzeluţă", dar şi „femeie cu moravuri uşoare"; în argoul limbii române "crumpet" poate fi echivalat cu „pârjoală", „chiftea"*). We consider the transfer is complete and the target readers thus avoid cultural gaps.

➢ *pikelet* (p. 337) = *pikelet* (p. 127/159) – transfer + explicitation in the glossary (*în limba engleză "pikelet" este diminutivul substantivelor „ştiucă", „târnăcop" şi „penis". În argoul limbii române poate fi echivalat cu „caras", cu conotaţiile sexuale de rigoare*).

d.5. Clothing and footwear

➢ *a black cocktail dress* (p. 562) = *o rochie de seară de culoare neagră* (p. 356/446) – descriptive equivalence, it is a type of formal dress used for parties or other social events.

d.6. Transport

➢ *a charter flight* (p. 383) = *o cursă charter* (p. 172/216) – equivalence + calque, it is a familiar term in the target language but in 1997 the readers did not acknowledge this travel concept which developed much later. It is "a low-cost journey in a plane on which all seats have been reserved in advance by travel companies for their customers" [15] (p. 224).

The text abounds in a variety of *culturemes* (i.e., toponyms, anthroponyms, infrastructure, artifacts, etc.) for which the literary translator provided extratextual glosses in an attempt to avoid misunderstandings. There were situations when further references needed to be activated in order to fully secure the cultural transfer and numerous *culturemes* which were transferred in the target language in order to raise readership's interest and thus enhance awareness.

Other important linguistic and semantic aspects that deserve our attention and which are meant to prove that *Small World* is equally literary and cultural translation are related to the strategies used in transferring idioms, proverbs, collocations, various instances of formal and informal language. We notice the translator's mastery in using domestication strategies to create cultural equivalence although the original flavour may sometimes be lost. Also, we need to mention his preference for numerous pairs of synonyms which are used alternatively along the text and borrowings from different languages (i.e., French and Latin) which are transferred through foreignization and doubled by the translator's intervention in extratextual glosses in order to demonstrate both translator's and readers' linguistic and cultural knowledge.

➢ **French and Latin origin words**: e.g., *décolletage* (p. 233) = *decolteu* (p. 16/22) – loan (Fr. *décolleter* + suffix *-age*) + naturalization; *Per se* (p. 233) = *Per se* (p. 16/22) – transfer (Latin origin), the translator provides glossary notes (*„însuşi" în limba latină, în*

original); it is a pun used to explain the character's name *Persse; vacuus, vacuior, vacuissimus* (p. 247) = *vacuus, vacuior, vacuissimus* (p. 32/41), it is a Latin expression which is transferred through foreignization and which demonstrates the literary translator's and readership's scholarship; *Vive le sport! = Vive le sport!* (p. 39/50) – transfer secured through foreignization + extratextual explicitation („Trăiască sportul!" – în lb. franceză în original) in order to avoid intercultural gaps.

➢ **Pairs of synonyms**: e.g., *glasses / spectacles* (p. 229, p. 240, p. 249, p. 251) = *ochelari* (p. 11/16, 23/31, 33/42, 36/47) this pair of lexical units is repeated alternatively along the text; a similar situation is encountered with the term *audience* (p. 238) = *participanți* (p. 20/27) and *audience* (p. 240) = *auditoriu* (p. 23/31) - synonymy to avoid repetition; also *small auditorium* (p. 274) = *public retras* (p. 60/76); a few pages in the book we notice the lexical pair *onlookers* (p. 496) = *spectator* (p. 291/364); *audiences / auditors* (p. 546) = *public* (p. 339/425); *movie* (Am E.) (p. 243, p. 312) = *film* (Br. E.) (p. 26/35, p. 249/313); *luggage* (Br. E) (p. 245, p. 438, p. 567) = *bagaje* (p. 27/37, p. 232/290, p. 363/454) – equivalence and *baggage* (Am.E) (p. 351, p. 567) = *bagaje* (p. 141/176, p. 363/454); *apartment* (p. 258) (Am. E) = *apartament* (p. 55) – we notice that cultural adaptation applies intralingually, between British and American English.

This detailed analysis provided numerous and varied examples of vernacular language, formal and informal style, a mixed-use of British and American language, which the literary translator transferred to the target text in a continuous attempt to satisfy the readers' requirements and expectations, showing loyalty to the original and bringing colour to the source text. The translator used effective and efficient translation techniques (i.e., calques, loans, transfer, modulation, paraphrase, etc.) in order to create an accurate and well-balanced text and to secure cultural transfer between people with different and varied mindsets and values.

Conclusions

Considering the corpus analysis, we may aptly state that *Small World* becomes a fine and complete artistic act of rewriting and recreating meaning in another socio-cultural context due to the literary translator's creative style, expertise and linguistic skills in the transfer of culture-specific items and this demonstrates our hypothesis that literary and cultural translation overlap in the process of bridging cultural gaps and remapping literature(s) and culture(s).

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A TRANSLATION-ORIENTED PERSPECTIVE REGARDING TERMINOLOGY MANAGEMENT

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Abstract

Terminology management from a translation-oriented perspective focuses on how terminology is facing new challenges in the 21st century and is turning into a more user-oriented discipline. Consequently, new and more appropriate applications are being developed to satisfy users' needs. In this context, we encounter several translation-oriented resources and applications which are of great use to translators. However, there is still a lack of concrete and useful tools for them as real users. In this chapter, there will be discussions regarding translators' needs and expectations, considering them as a specific group of terminology users, and provide relevant details about their preferences to be taken into consideration when carrying out translation-oriented terminological management. During the last decades, *Terminology and Terminography* have been subjected to several changes which have provoked a radical turn in their traditional assumptions and methodologies. This has been due to a number of factors: first, the electronic revolution has affected terminology management and, thus, terminographers' working methods are now based on computers and new technologies; second, the principles and methodologies of the General Theory of Terminology have been seriously questioned by many experts.

Keywords
terminology; translation; principles; resource; translator

One of the most interesting and beneficial aspects for translation due to the changes which have occurred in terminography is the increasing number of terminological resources that have appeared in the last few years. These resources, such as specialized dictionaries, glossaries, databases, etc. about a (or several) specialized domain(s), are the fruit of new methodologies and computing applications which favour the creation of these resources as they improve and facilitate terminographers' everyday work. For example, there exists a huge amount of information available in electronic format which can be easily stored to compile and manage textual corpora; candidate terms can be automatically extracted; texts can be automatically aligned; there are tools to create databases in an easy way, etc. Consequently,

the number of these resources, especially those in electronic format, is higher now than it was some decades ago [1].

However, more choice is not always synonymous with improved choice. Although there is now easier access to a greater number of terminological resources on different specialized domains, we find low and, often, very low-quality resources which are not reliable at all. The low quality of these resources is due to several factors: they are not systematically developed by their authors, the data included is not concise or correct, the information is not consistent, etc. In this context, translators have to bear in mind that the assessment of terminological resources is essential for their current work in order to deal with the intoxication (Cornellà, 1999) of so many resources, even more when the purposes of these terminological resources are not to satisfy their needs but often just to help the general public to have a superficial understanding of a text.

In what follows, we shall briefly discuss the current professional translators' situation regarding terminological resources and the aspects we have introduced above. Subsequently, we examine recent terminological resources and applications that try to fulfil the needs of translators as their target users and which have employed translation-oriented terminology management. And finally, we present a new tool, *Trandix*, a context-based consultation terminological resource aimed at translators [2].

In modern terminography, terminographical projects should cope with users' needs and expectations. The starting point of any terminographical project should be based on a series of decisions: working languages, specialized domain, temporality, and users, among others, as well as an analysis of the content as adequate for the potential users or the skills needed to properly use these resources. Consequently, the results of any terminological project would depend on the target users and satisfying their potential needs. However, this is not always the case, and particularly for translators.

A considerable number of resources currently available are of little use to professional translators, and therefore many are obliged to resort to the creation of their own terminological resources either from comparable corpora or from existing translations. These inadequate resources often pose a problem for translators since it is well known that they usually work under time pressure and they have little opportunity to create their own resources. This is the reason why terminological resources have considerable importance for them and should meet their requirements as far as possible.

In our opinion, professional translators' needs have usually been put on a level with those of other users (foreign language students, general public, etc.), which causes a problem regarding their specific needs and expectations. Hence, professional translators are obliged to carry out multipurpose tasks and, thus, translate, compile corpora, do research, create databases, store their terminology, etc., which increases the time they have to devote to each translation, and requires good research competence [3].

In order to guarantee good quality in any type of professional translation, the European Committee for Standardization (CEN) developed the European Standard for Translation Services (EN-15038), which was published in 2006 (CEN 2006). According to this standard, professional translators should have the following competences when translating:

- *Translating competence*, which "comprises the ability to translate texts to the required level" of specialisation and meet customers' requirements;

- *Linguistic and textual competence* in the source language and the target language, which "includes the ability to understand the source language" and translate it into the target language by following its textual conventions and rules;
- *Cultural competence*, which includes the ability to develop suitable strategies for the efficient use of the information sources available;
- *Technical competence*, "which comprises the abilities and skills required for the professional preparation and production of translations" regarding technical aspects; and
- *Research competence*, which refers to the "ability to efficiently acquire the additional linguistic and specialized knowledge necessary to understand the source text and to produce the target text."

All these competences included in the mentioned norm ensure a more efficient and precise translation, i.e., the acquisition of these competences by translators ensures a high level of translation quality and thus, appropriate communication with the target audience. Although these competences define a professional translator, in our opinion, research competence is one of the most important [4].

Therefore, research competence can be also understood, in a wider way, as the key to finding all the information that translators need when doing their work and filling gaps that they may have regarding cultural issues, textual conventions, technical problems, phraseology, etc., apart from assisting them with specialized knowledge acquisition and transfer.

In this context, it remains clear that research competence is constant and present during the whole translation process, that is:
- during the pre-translation phase, where it can become more intense so as to understand the original text and the specialized terminology;
- during the transfer from the original message to the target text, fulfilling the pragmatic requirements and looking for equivalents;
- during post-translation, when translators are carrying out the final revision and need to check terminology and other specific aspects to ensure the quality of their translation [5].

In short, we can confirm that research competence is essential throughout the whole translation process, and translators are required to have good skills to deal with the current infoxication.

Research competence combined with technical competence (that is, the competence referring to the abilities and skills required for the professional preparation and production of translations regarding technical aspects) is very useful for translators as they are frequently obliged to compile and manage corpora and extract terminology or create databases by themselves due to the lack of available or suitable terminological resources. In this sense, we can state that the more skilled a translator is in these two competences, the better it is for their work.

According to previous research on translators' needs and expectations (Muñoz, 2010) and also taking their working conditions into account, it becomes clear that translators prefer solving their terminological problems by means of the consultation of ready-made resources, either paper-based or electronic, i.e., consulting available specialized dictionaries, databases, glossaries, etc. However, as we mentioned above, they do not always have the possibility to do so because of the lack of resources to fulfil their needs or because of the low quality of available resources. Hence, they are obliged to search and compile their own data and carry out ad hoc terminology management [6].

Apart from translators' preference for ready-made resources, the 2010 study offers a series of conclusions regarding translators' needs and expectations, which we briefly present below (see Muñoz, 2010):

- Translators prefer online resources (56.47%) to any other type of resource (electronic resources, such as CD-ROMs, accounted for 24.71% and paper-based 18.82%) mainly due to easy and quick access, as well as their usually open access and update.

- Translators prefer bilingual (39.45%) to monolingual resources in the target language (25.56%) and source language (24.12%), and above all to multilingual resources (10.88%). This is due to the fact that they consider multilingual resources as being of lower quality and less useful in their work.

- The five most frequent resources used by professional translators are the following: (1) Bilingual Specialized Dictionary/Glossary (18.65%), (2) Searches in search engines (like Google) (16.13%), (3) Terminological Databases (8.84%), (4) Monolingual specialized dictionaries (original language: 8.63%), and (5) Wikipedia (8.63%). In the following positions, we find other resources, such as monolingual specialized dictionaries (target language: 7.83%) or parallel corpora (5.09%), but with a lower percentage.

- Regarding microstructure, translators were given the opportunity to classify the most frequent ISO fields (ISO 12620:1999) found in the microstructure of terminological resources into three different categories: essential, desirable and irrelevant;

- Translators also had the opportunity to express their opinions regarding their needs and expectations of terminological resources. These were the most repeated arguments: Terminological resources should: (1) Permit exportability and/or importability in different formats (.txt, .tmx or .tbx); (2) Include more pragmatic information about usage and tricky translations (old usage, false friends, specific usage in a domain or region, etc.); (3) Offer links to other resources to improve or increase the results, (4) Improve search options, and (5) Provide examples taken from real texts.

Having presented translators' needs and preferences regarding terminological resources, we can confirm that most of the terminological resources that are currently available (especially in electronic format) do not fulfil their requirements. They do not include the information needed by this group of users; nor do they ensure reliability or good quality. They are mostly devoted to helping with message de-codification, i.e. understanding the original message, but not to assisting with message codification or re-writing, which translators' tasks are based on [7].

Nevertheless, we must highlight the fact that there have been some good efforts to improve the working environment of translators in the last few years and nowadays several translation-oriented resources and applications can be encountered, as we discuss in the next section.

Despite the fact that most of the available terminological resources do not fulfil translators' requirements, there are different applications and resources which are aimed at translators or, at least, can be considered as somehow translation-oriented which have been developed in the last few years [8]. These resources claim to be reliable information sources or improve the consultation of terminological data so as to fulfil professional translators' requirements and make their life easier.

Conclusions

The General Theory of Terminology have been seriously questioned by many experts (Gaudin 1993, Cabré Castellví 2000; Temmerman 2000, and other authors) [2][4][7][9], especially regarding its prescriptive approach and idea of univocity between term and concept. The influence of some linguistic disciplines such as Corpus Linguistics, Cognitive Linguistics and Computational Linguistics on Terminology has incorporated new management tools and different approaches to theory and practice; and fourth, parallel working methods and mutual interests of ontology engineers and terminologists have led to the inclusion of ontologies in Terminography [9]. Finally, the above paper intended to offer a review of some other practical applications from the translator's viewpoint and provide some remarks about the current situation and possible future lines of research.

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SPECIALISED DISCOURSES: WORKPLACE DISCOURSE AND INSTITUTIONAL DISCOURSE

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Abstract

The paper focuses on two subtypes of discourse, namely workplace discourse and institutional discourse. We firstly provide definitions for the terms *discourse, workplace discourse, institution, institutional discourse*. We then differentiate between the terms workplace discourse and business discourse and between workplace discourse and institutional discourse. We also refer to some key concepts which are related to these two subtypes of discourse, such as *interaction order* and *institutional order*, *written workplace discourse* and *spoken workplace discourse*, the notions of *power* and *ideology*, to the constraints that the dominant speaker imposes on the other participant or participants in conversation (*interruption*, *enforcing explicitness*, *controlling topic formulation*). By investigating discourse in relation to these two subtypes, the present study aims to synthesise resources pertaining to the fields of workplace discourse and institutional discourse, to gain a better understanding of the two domains and to produce knowledge that might be applicable outside of the research setting.

1. Introduction

Discourse has been categorised into three subtypes: professional discourse (Gunnarsson, Linell and Nordberg, in *The Construction of Professional Discourse*, 1997), institutional discourse (Agar, 1985 in *Institutional Discourse*), and business discourse (Bargiela-Chiappini and Nickerson, in *Writing business: Genres, Media and Discourse*, 1999). However, later studies have distinguished between five subtypes of discourse, namely professional discourse, workplace discourse, organizational discourse, corporate discourse and institutional discourse [1].

The subchapters to come investigate workplace discourse and institutional discourse. Subchapter '2. Workplace discourse', provides definitions given to the term *workplace discourse*; differentiates between workplace discourse and business discourse and between workplace discourse and institutional discourse; defines concepts such as *interaction order* and *institutional order*, written workplace discourse and spoken workplace discourse; provides insights into discourse genres related to workplace discourse. In subchapter '3. Institutional discourse', we define the terms *institution, discourse, institutional discourse*; we refer to the notions of *power* and *ideology*, to the constraints that the dominant speaker imposes on the other participant or participants in conversation (*interruption*, *enforcing explicitness*, *controlling topic formulation*).

2. Workplace discourse

Workplace discourse takes place in all workplace contexts, such as hospitals, factories, commercial organisations, etc. According to Koester [2], it crosses "all areas of occupational settings". *Workplace discourse* differs from business discourse in that it includes a larger range of communicative contexts than business discourse, which takes place 'within or between commercial organisations' [3]. In other words, *workplace discourse* includes business discourse.

On the other hand, *workplace discourse* and institutional discourse are rather general terms which are 'often used interchangeably in the literature' [2]. However, a distinction can be made between the two terms if we define *workplace discourse* and *institutional discourse* according to their everyday meaning. Accordingly, 'professional discourse is a discourse constructed by professionals who have duties and responsibilities', while 'institutional discourse is made up by genres constructed, controlled and sanctioned by the institution.' [1].

Most of the research which has been done in relation to *workplace discourse* has been published in the 1990s. Approaches from fields like linguistics, sociology, anthropology, as well as research methods such as critical discourse analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography, have been borrowed for the study of *workplace discourse*.

The two major categories of study for workplace discourse are: *interaction order* and *institutional order*. Irimiea [1], defines interaction order as 'focused on the examination of words uttered in an encounter and the interaction that takes place between the participants'. According to Berger and Luckman (quoted in Koester, [2]), institutional order is 'the body of transmitted recipe knowledge, that is knowledge that supplied the institutionally appropriate rules of conduct'. While the field of sociolinguistics deals with workplace discourse from both of the above-mentioned perspectives, the domain of social constructionism explores workplace discourse in terms of social and institutional order and interaction order. Critical discourse analysis also investigates workplace discourse, going further than the other research stances.

Discourse genres that have been analysed with reference to workplace discourse include interviews (Bogaers, 'Gender in job interviews: some implications of verbal interactions of women and men', in 1998; Kerekes, 'Winning an interviewer's trust in a gatekeeping encounter', in 2006), small talk (Holmes, 'Doing collegiality and keeping control at work: small talk in government departments, in 2000; Maynard, Hudak, 'Small talk, high stakes: interactional disattentiveness in the context of prosocial doctor-patient interaction', in 2008), humour (Ackroyd and Thompson, 'Only joking? From subculture to counter-culture in organizational relations', in 1999; Rogerson-Revell, 'Chairing international business

meetings: investigating humour and leadership style in the workplace', in 2011), email interaction (Oliveira, 'E-mail messaging in the corporate sector: tensions between technological affordances and rapport management', in 2011), workplace notes, memos, minutes of meetings (Angouri, Marra, '"Ok one last thing for today then": constructing identities in corporate meeting talk', in 2011) and formal letters (Bargiela-Chiappini, Nickerson, Planken, 'Business Discourse', in 2007; Gunnarsson, 'Multilingualism within transnational companies. An analysis of company policy and practice in a diversity perspective', in 2010), mission statements and website materials (Gunnarsson, 2010, Koller, '"Hard-working, team-oriented individuals": constructing professional identities in corporate mission statements', in 2011).

Müller postulated a set of spoken communicative genres of industrial organisations from data collected in Germany, Spain and France: '1. private conversations; 2. contact conversations; 3. presentation talks; 4. training talks; 5. evaluation (appraisal) conversations; 6. planning conversations; 7. crisis communication; 8. analysis talk' (Müller, 2006, quoted in Koester, [2]).

Based on the set of genres put forth by Müller, Koester proposed another taxonomy, with reference to the speaker's purpose, identifying three macro-genres, based on data collected from American and British office talk: '(1) unidirectional genres: procedural and directive discourse; briefing; service encounter; reporting; requesting. (2) collaborative genres: decision-making; arrangements; discussing and evaluating. (3) non-transactional genres: small talk; office gossip.' [2].

Workplace discourse can be classified into written workplace discourse and spoken workplace discourse. Written workplace discourse refers to business correspondence which is used in organisations – for example, letters, emails, faxes. Emails were regarded both as a medium, as well as a genre, with scholars offering arguments in favour or against emails being considered as such.

Swales organised genres into hierarchies, sets, chains, and networks. A genre network is 'the totality of genres available for a particular sector (such as the research world)' (Swales, 2004, quoted in Koester, [2]). Genre sets are 'the total genre network that a particular individual – or… class of individuals engage in' [2]. Genre hierarchies are 'those genres which are most highly valued' [2], for example research articles, conference presentations, research monographs. Genre chains are 'a series of genres that are chronologically linked to one another, in that one genre is a necessary antecedent for another' [2]. For instance, 'proposals for conference presentations or research articles are followed by review and redrafting processes and eventually, the presentation or publication of the text. Chains usually consist of both written and spoken genres.' [1].

Spoken workplace discourse depends on the interaction with the environment and on context. Hence, deictic language plays an important role in the spoken interchange of information. Both linguistic and non-linguistic elements are important in this type of workplace discourse.

Studies in the field have revealed common features of workplace discourse: key words that occur frequently; common, identified phrases that are specific to the field; interpersonal features (such as idioms, politeness markers).

According to Irimiea, workplace discourse 'arouse from teaching needs, and received insights from teaching and teacher training, and, reversibly, raises awareness of the role of interpersonal and social aspects of communication'. [1]

Workplace discourse analysts have observed that there is a 'contradiction in the relationship between research and teaching practice regarding workplace discourse and professional discourse' [2], in that most of the progress has been made in written discourse, and not in real-life workplace discourse. This could be explained by the fact that there is little available spoken authentic material to be used in research. Koester proposed five characteristics to be used in teaching workplace discourse, so as to facilitate the acquisition of specific language and vocabulary used for business purposes:

'Workplace interactions are different from everyday interactions in terms of their goal orientation as well as characteristics, such as asymmetry, which influence the language and discourse structure in a number of ways. There are important differences between the vocabulary and phraseology used in workplace and business situations compared to social and intimate situations (…) Because of its goal orientation, workplace discourse is structured and participants engage in a range of genres to accomplish tasks. Problem-solving is a key activity in the workplace and a large proportion of workplace discourse involves talking about problems, discussing solutions and analysing evaluations. People working together pay attention to relational as well as transactional concerns (…) relational talk and use of interpersonal devices such as hedges, vague language and idioms.' [2]

Students are invited to reflect on the characteristics of workplace discourse and institutional discourse suggested by Drew and Heritage: '(1) goal orientation, (2) special and particular constraints, and (3) special inferential frameworks.' [4]. They could also be looking for answers which regard: '(1) the topic of the conversation, (2) goals of the speakers, (3) how and when speakers take turns, (4) who "controls" the conversation, and (5) the language used' [2].

3. Institutional discourse

According to Freed, 'institutional discourse refers to verbal exchanges between two or more people where at least one speaker is a representative of a work-related institution and where the interaction and the speakers' goals are partially determined by the institution in play.' [5].

Simpson and Mayr define an institution as 'an established organization or foundation, especially one dedicated to education, public service or culture, or the building or building housings such as an organization' [6]. Taking into consideration the previously given definition, it may become difficult to distinguish between the term 'institution' and the term 'organization'.

As mentioned above, the terms *institution* and *organization* are sometimes used interchangeably, in the literature related to sociology and linguistics, 'although "organization" seems to be used more for commercial corporations, whereas "institution" is more associated with the public organs of the state' [7].

There are numerous fields of study which have conducted investigations with reference to institutions, among which we can mention domains such as sociology, anthropology, economics, media, cultural and organizational studies. However, the study of discourse in institutions is a relatively recent endeavour, and it regards 'linguistic exchange as an aspect of interaction (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997), where language is seen as constitutive of organizations and institutions' [6].

In that which concerns institutional settings and contexts, we shall mention that they may vary from discourses of higher education to prison discourse, media discourse, or military discourse.

The term *institutional discourse* was coined, defined and characterised by Drew and Heritage in 1992 as: 'role structured, institutionalized, and omnirelevant asymmetries between participants in terms of such matters as differential distribution of knowledge, rights to knowledge, access to conversational resources, and to participation in interaction.'

'1. Institutional talk involves an orientation by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task or activity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question. In short, institutional talk is normally informed by *goal orientation* of a relatively restricted conversational form.

2. Institutional interaction may often involve *special particular constraints* on what one or both of the participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand.

3. Institutional talk may be associated with *inferential frameworks* and procedures that are particular to   specific institutional contexts.' [4].

Power in institutions is a term that appears in many theoretical accounts (Weber, 1914; Althusser, 1971; Gramsci, 1971; Foucault, 1979; Habermas, 1987). The notion of *power* in institutions is regarded from two distinct perspectives in most theoretical accounts, namely one of the perspectives is that institutions have power which they impose on people – oppressive power, and the other perspective is that the power that institutions have is persuasive, and that it is therefore received consensually and implicitly by people, and not by oppression – persuasive power.

Simpson and Mayr define *power*: 'In short, power comes from the privileged access to social resources as education, knowledge and wealth. Access to these resources provides authority, status and influence, which is an enabling mechanism for the domination, coercion and control of subordinate groups' [4].

Discourse in institutions has 'an important role in shaping reality, creating patters of understanding, which people than apply in social practices.' [6]. The relationship between discourse, power and ideology has been discussed by many scholars, such as: Mumby (1988, 2001), Drew and Heritage (1992), Gunnarsson et al. (1997), Mumby and Clair (1997), Sarangi and Roberts (1999), Cameron (2000), Thornborrow (2002), Iedema (2003), Tietze et al. (2003).

The three main directions of research in that which concerns the relationship between discourse, institutions and power were identified by Mumby and Clair, as the following: '(1) the study of how members of oppressed groups can "discursively penetrate the institutionalized form of   their oppression"; (2) how subordinate individuals "discursively frame their own subordination" thereby perpetuating it; and (3) analysis of how dominant groups "discursively construct and reproduce their own position of dominance" (e.g. van Dijk, 1993)' [7].

Ideology is another important term to be found in the field of institutional discourse. *Ideology* has been defined by several scholars as: 'a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view' [8]; 'ideologies serve particular interests which they tend to present as universal interests, shared by the group as a whole' [9]. Simpson and Mayr define *ideology* as 'the way in which a person's beliefs, opinions and value-systems intersect with the broader social and political structures of the society in which they live.' [6].

The idea that people contribute equally to conversations, which relies on 'the turn-taking model' [10] and on 'the co-operative principle' [11], is representative of casual, informal talk, but it does not apply to institutional interactions. According to Simpson and Mayr, there are asymmetrical relationships which become manifest in institutional interactions between the participants in the conversation: 'Institutional interactions can be defined, following Thomas (1988: 33) as those taking place within social institutions such as schools, the police or the law courts which have a clearly defined hierarchical structure. In such hierarchical structures, the power to discipline or punish those of lower rank is invested in holders of high rank, respectively head teachers, inspectors or judges, for example.' [6].

Fairclough mentions that the power holder, or the dominant speaker, in such interactions will set constraints on the other participant or participants in conversation in four ways: through *interruption*, by enforcing *explicitness*, through *controlling topic* and through *formulation*. [12]

In that which concerns the use of *interruption*, a relevant example of it could be that of a situation when the dominant speaker can decide to either ignore or dismiss the information coming from the other participant or participants in the conversation. This could happen because the dominant speaker may consider the information coming from the other participants in conversation to be irrelevant. In such cases, the power holder is the one who decides the discoursal obligations and the discoursal rights of the other participant or participants in the conversation. The function of interruptions can be either positive, or negative. 'In some instances and contexts, interruption may be egalitarian, indicate solidarity or heightened involvement in a discussion.' [6].

With reference to the term *enforcing explicitness*, we mention that this happens when the less powerful participant or participants in the conversation uses or use ambiguous language or vague language. In such cases, the power holder asks for 'disambiguation', using phrases such as: 'What do you mean by that?' or 'What is your point?'. Linguistic ambiguity is explained by the fact that 'discourse is essentially ambivalent and (…) displays many functions.' [6]. As was the case with the use of interruption, in some instances and contexts, the function of enforcing explicitness can be positive (the dominant speaker may try to help the less powerful participant in the conversation to use language that is less ambiguous), while in other cases, the function of enforcing explicitness can be negative (for example, the dominated speaker could resist the dominant speaker's demands for disambiguation because he/she has something to conceal).

When we refer to the device called *topic control*, we make reference to a professional interaction, or an institutional interaction, or a workplace interaction that is planned, which has a pre-established purpose, and in which the conversation is dominated by the speaker or speakers who is or are in charge. 'Chairing or controlling an interaction means introducing topics, changing topics, keeping the discussions "on track", making decisions, drawing conclusions and observing the formal conventions that govern formal interactions.' [1]. In some cases, like for example in law courts or police interactions, if the less powerful participant or participants in the conversation refuses or refuse to obey the discoursal obligations, the consequences could be serious, and they could be not entirely depending on the power holder's decisions, but on the regulations of the law.

When a participant or participants in the conversation uses or use *formulation*, he/she summarises, or they summarise statements that were previously mentioned in the conversation. The function of this device is that of 'holding to the pre-set purpose, steering

the discussions in the right direction, reaching agreement, making decisions and drawing conclusions.' [1]. This device is usually used in interviews, or in classroom or courtroom interactions. In interviews, for example, *formulation* can be used 'to produce a more elaborate response from the interviewee', or it could be a device which enables the participant in the conversation 'to control the interaction while at the same time clarifying matters for the audience' [6]. In this case as well, the less powerful participant could try to resist the dominant speaker's demands.

Conclusions

We have provided definitions to the terms *workplace discourse* and *institutional discourse*, we have differentiated between workplace discourse and business discourse and between workplace discourse and institutional discourse; we have defined concepts such as *interaction order* and *institutional order*, written workplace discourse and spoken workplace discourse; we have provided insights into discourse genres related to workplace discourse.

We have defined the terms *institution, discourse, institutional discourse*; we have referred to the notions of *power* and *ideology*, to the constraints that the dominant speaker imposes on the other participant or participants in conversation (*interruption*, *enforcing explicitness*, *controlling topic formulation*).

By investigating discourse in relation to workplace discourse and institutional discourse, the present study has produced knowledge that might be applicable outside of the research setting. We have synthesised resources pertaining to the fields of workplace discourse and institutional discourse and we have gained a better understanding of the two domains.

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FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN NATURE DOCUMENTARY FILMS: *WONDERS OF THE WATER WORLDS* (1961) AND *BORN TO RUN* (2015). A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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Abstract

The paper focuses on how the script and, more specific, how the figurative language differs in two nature documentary films from two completely different time periods. In order to be able to compare the evolution of the figurative language in these documentary films, it is necessary to cover and understand how poetic expressions enrich and give an extra flavour to the written texts. Among the fundamental concepts that we will use, we remind the following: the comparative multidisciplinary approach, figurative language, metaphor and symbol. The methods that will help us structure our research are the identification of the speech figures, the exhaustive study of these structures, the comparison and correlation of the results with the remaining samples considered, the observation, the explanation, and the analysis of the relationships that are at the root of these processes. Our approach will identify the most compelling figures of speech and analyse them from various angles. The conclusion of this research will emphasize the fact that non-literal language plays a crucial life in conveying a fresh new form of a message that portraits a much more interesting image of life.

Keywords

nature documentary film; figurative language; figures of speech; simile; metaphor; idiom; personification; literary devices

1. Introduction

The figurative language is used for offering a more accurate, musical and fluid approach to our speech, but it can also be used for emphasizing or enlarging the meaning of a word or of a group of words. In what concerns the semantics, the figurative language is made of figures of speech which will serve for language structuring. As regards the understanding and

interpretation of this type of language, we can state that the environment, the context and the inner world of each individual are defining elements in the process of decoding the transmitted message. Given the fact that the wording is unconventional, open, unconstrained and it does not rely on classic standards of communication, we therefore can say that there is an unlimited potential for creating new words, expressions or even new meanings [1].

In recent decades, we observed that the figures of speech have been used in almost all areas, and can be easily recognized and are painting a much more complex image than a century ago. If we take an example, the first one that comes to our minds, such as the metaphor, we will be able to observe that this is not confined only to language or words, but can also be visual: through a specific image, photo, or video sequence, and it can also suggest or hide a message which might have been otherwise harder to express in words. As for the other important style figures, such as comparison, enumeration, personification, they were present in our oral communication from an early stage and were used by speakers most of the time mainly unconsciously, meaning that they wouldn't know that they were using a poetic language or a specific figure of speech.

It has been found that most people want to get rid of the stressful daily concerns and want to escape, to travel, to enjoy nature, but the complexity of modern life prevents people from taking advantage of these basic benefits of human nature. By stating this aspect of life, the first explorers, the first film directors and then the first screenwriters had tried to bring the experience of exotic trips as close as possible to those who, for various reasons, could not undertake such journeys [2]. Thus, the first documentary films about nature were born at the end of the 19th century, through its representatives: Auguste Marie Louis Nicolas Lumière and Louis Jean Lumière, Eadweard J. Muybridge and Boleslaw Matuszewski.

The documentary film *Wonders of the Water Worlds* was released in the United States on the 21st of May, 1961 by the Walt Disney Productions, being the 29th episode from season 7 of *The Magical World of Disney* series. The film was produced and narrated by Winstin Hibler and the narration was written by Roy Edward Disney, the nephew of Walter Disney. As the title suggests, this movie follows various water animals in their natural habitat, trying to capture funny or surprising aspects of their daily routine which the public has never seen on television. Being released more than half a century later, in 2015, the *Born to Run* film was produced by NDR/Nature Films. The film deals with the calves and babies of that specific animals that need to be good runners in order to survive: muskox, wildebeest, zebras, piglets etc.

2. Figurative Language in "*Wonders of the Water Worlds*"

In this movie we identified many figures of speech, so we have chosen the most significant ones and tried to guess their meaning. At approx. 18 min. 02 sec. (18'02'') in the movie, the writer compares the lake with "an arena for their mating battle", referring to the birds in general and to the wild geese in particular, which decided to transform a peaceful landscape into a battlefield, showing off with various fighting techniques. We find another metaphor at approx. 22'07'' where all the food and the weed that the nature has to offer is generically called "an inexhaustible salad". For the first metaphor, the noun (N) *lake* was replaced by the noun (N) *arena*, while in the second metaphor the word *food* (N) was replaced with the word *salad* (N) preceded by the adjective (Adj.) inexhaustible in order to express the great quantity of food that the lake can provide. The lake also resembles a "stopping

place, a way station" (23'21''), meaning that it is just a place of transit, a place that you visit and leave.

When describing how grizzly bears catch fish, at approx. 27'02'', we find a complex metaphor: "they gathered here for the annual fishing derby […] fishing techniques vary: now, this is the casual approach: you just throw a paw full of hooks and trust the fishermen's luck. In contrast, there is the real *go get it*, then there is the timid type: he wants no part of any fish that fights back [1]. There is also the clown that spends all its time splashing around, spoiling things for everybody else". The fishing needles are compared to hooks, and the bear that makes a fool of itself and doesn't want to participate at the fishing activity is described as being a "clown", which means that it cannot be trusted and under no circumstance can be taken seriously.

At approx. 30'53'' we discover a metaphorical conception of time, seen as a stream, as a never-stopping body of water: "the river flows on through time and space". The flowing river makes us think to the fact that time only flows into one direction and it always goes forward, it never stops on its way and it can never be stopped, like life itself.

The pelican is "a masterpiece of functional design and a fisherman without equal" (32'41'') inferring that this bird is very well built and has all the necessary equipment for surviving and thriving.

A very amusing episode is presented at approx. 22'24'' when the male muskrat came home but the female had redecorated the house and there wasn't any door, any entrance left to their conical house. The male says: "All right, I give up! What did you do with the door? – Door?! - Females, so impractical". The personification is constituted in a classical manner: the male muskrat is attributed with the gift of speech and also with humour. The personification "mother sea" (at approx. 32'00'') implies the fact that the sea is behaving like a mother that takes care of its creatures, offering them all the food, care and help, whenever is needed in order to overcome difficult situations.

In the final part of this documentary film, we encounter two personifications that are interconnected: "death waits at every turning" (40'28'') and "death is but a servant to the living" (42'07'') where, again, death counts with human characteristics.

The writer of the narration has sprinkled also a few similes, such as: "mother skunk looks like a housewife" (7'40''), "the sea lily looks like a plant" (33'55''), "the pipe fish looks exactly like a blade" (34'50''), "the sculpin's protective colouring is unique. Somehow, when he lies motionless, he manages to look like nothing at all and, of course, that's the whole idea" (35'17'') and "this squid looks like a rock on a rocky sea bed" (37'04''). The comparisons with "like" are used to make the descriptions of various animals or objects to sound more vivid, more authentic and more vibrant.

At approx. 15'02'' we discover yet another figure of speech: "this living fossil is a slow and stuffy hunter". The two contradictory terms *living* and *fossil* used side by side constitute an oxymoron which suggests the fact that the longnose gar resembles an odd prehistoric marine mammal that has a strange ancient appearance.

As we can see from the list of the literary devices found in this documentary film, in order to create a picture as close to the truth as possible of these animals which live in and around the water, it is necessary to create connections, references, comparisons that the viewers can understand very easily, with which to identify themselves and testimonials which are easy to understand and digest. Many people do not realize that when they watch a documentary film they want to be transported in a whole different world, a new world different from the one

they live in every day, and that, in order to understand this new world, a complex experience is needed, made by capturing images, sounds, but also by a description that is as detailed and easy to understand as possible.

3. Figurative Language in "*Born to Run*"

This documentary film seeks to capture those animals that are forced, from birth, to run in order to be able to survive. The creators of this film make us understand the difficulties and atrocities that the little creatures are subjected to and how life can be shattered or finished in fractions of a second.

Even from the beginning, the metaphors start to take shape: life is compared to a "desperate struggle" (approx. 1'08'') in which the "clock" of the calf antelope "is ticking" (idiom) and it has to learn really quick the ways of its world but more precisely, the dangers that have to be avoided at any costs. At 4'22'' we have another metaphorical concept of life, which is described as "a never-ending march" to survive, meaning that these animals will have to literally run for their lives continuously. "The uphill struggle for all youngsters" (43'53'') is something that all mothers fear but the animal kingdom learnt to live with the idea that LIFE can be hard, cruel, unfair and that you can lose your most precious gift and everything you have in matter of seconds.

At 7'28'' we run into a similitude, which is rather bitter than amusing: "most animals have a single baby but this moose has an insurance plan: she delivers twins", inferring the idea that in case that mother moose will lose one calf, she will have another one to take care of.

"The youngsters leave their eggs ready to run" (10'55'') and "though they are born to run, wildebeest clock in at about 60 mph" (17'52'') are two hyperboles that accentuate the fact that all these babies are prepared and more than equipped with everything they need to start running and to start taking life seriously, as life is a competition where only the fittest and strongest can and will survive.

"Hiding is its best bet" (approx. 13'25'') is an idiom used to point out that the best solution for a fawn (a young deer in its first year of life) is to hide until it will be able to run. In other scene, the piglets of a wild boar female "are working out who among them is the top dog" (idiom, 20'43'') and are trying to solve their dispute by fighting one another. "Sleeping is a chance to recharge their batteries" (idiom, 21'50'') by relaxing and accumulating energy for later, but also an opportunity for mother to have some well-deserved resting time. After waking up, the piglets are "like turbo-charged humbugs" (at approx. 19'31'') which dash around the forest [2]. This simile stresses two main characteristics of the piglets: on one hand, they are compared to the traditional hard boiled English sweet due to their appearance and, on the other hand, they are very energetic and make a lot of noise.

The idiom *a drop in the ocean* extracted from the passage "3000 wildebeests will perish in this last epic chapter of their migration; a huge death count, but a drop in the ocean compared to the 2 million animals that undertake the journey" (at approx. 47'10'') means that the 3000 wildebeests that will die don't mean too much compared to the other 2 million animals that will survive and reach their final destination.

Toward the end of the film, we observe two metaphors representing two diametrically opposed concepts. At approx. 47'40'', the river banks are compared to a "death trap" because of the many animals gathered together and the small, restrictive space that they have to share. On the other hand, at the other end of the rope, we have the "promise land" (approx. 49'10''),

a place that looks a lot like animal's heaven: "endless grazing, plenty of companions and, above all, room to run". We are guessing that the two contrasting images at the end of the movie were intended to convey an overall antithesis, a general life and death situation where we can observe and understand, once again, what life can offer us and how the luck can change in matter of seconds: on one side, we have the never-ending struggle for water, food, reproduction which is the fight for survival and, on the other side, we have the paradise, the ideal space that all animals dream of and hope to reach one day.

4. A comparative study of the figurative language found in the two nature documentary films

The two documentary films are two examples of how the figurative language was used for the best interest of those who were going to watch these documentary films. Verbal metaphors are more frequently advanced by grammatical structures that propose identity relations and the film metaphors depend upon visual devices more than other things (Caroll, N., p. 811) [1]. That's why it is vital to create images that express sometimes, even better than words, an idea, a symbol, a message that otherwise would have been more difficult to transmit it to the public.

In "Wonders of the Water Worlds" film, we have identified 7 metaphors, 6 similes, 4 personifications, an alliteration and an oxymoron, while in "Born to Run" we have spotted 7 metaphors, 3 idioms, 2 hyperboles and 1 personification. Comparing the numbers, we can see that both movies have the same amount of metaphors and pretty much the same type of figurative language. Film is not just images in motion; it is also the unfolding of a story, of a fascinating, moving, exciting story (Nyiri, 2008: 5) [2]. The idea of continuity, reality and pure life should, of course, be present in documentary films but also, the figurative language, brings a star: the best supporting actor, meaning that, although it is not more important than image, characters or sound, the language that is used in films makes the listeners to imagine easier the presented situation and to identify with specific contexts or parts of the plot.

When used correctly, the literary devices help the viewer to appreciate, interpret, analyse and acknowledge the message that was created by the writer. It is interesting to know that conflict is considered also a literary device, as it helps in conveying the message.

Another compelling and at the same part an important component in presenting life is the visual metaphor that is very common in documentaries.

The film is to some extent a living reflection of the society we live in and it is very important that in these films we manage to find ourselves, to see our faults and our strengths, but especially to understand that we are all equal and very similar. All the characters in the studied films are very similar to each other, they are subject to the same vital living conditions, to the same daily problems, to the same kind of commotion and especially to the same strict and universal rules of life on earth. We have observed that the simplest things are often the most important things in an animal's life: food, shelter, reproduction.

Looking from a purely linguistic point of view, we can appreciate the fact that, in general, documentary films are also literary works, but accompanied by living images: sometimes they can be dialogs (real or imaginary), other times they can be familiar occurrences (pleasant or less pleasant) or even birth or death, two essential points of the existence of all living organisms and those defining the circumstances and the natural and social context in which life will take place and where death will eventually occur.

The majority of documentary films, ours included, make use, as in a literary work, of a protagonist (main character, usually good) and an antagonist (usually bad). The antagonists

of these films are, as expected, the predators that are still seen, unfortunately, as negative actors on the stage of life.

The narrations are also important and make a world of difference when capturing the viewer's attention, although, if the situation presented is breathtaking, little does the narration matter.

It is always sad to see life and death flowing in front of our eyes, as the elderly leave the place for the young, but it is also a good exercise of imagination for those who look at it: they become familiar with what life has prepared us since birth, namely: death.

Conclusions

In this paper, we have tried to show you a sample of what figurative language represent for the nature documentary film. We have seen that the literary devices play a big part in what we generically call figurative language.

It is believed that life itself cannot be replicated or reproduced but, as we have seen in this brief study, there are a few very inventive and entertaining ways of bringing real, savage life before the public eyes.

Concluding, we can say that non-literal language plays a crucial life in conveying a fresh new form of a message that portraits a much more interesting image of life.

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THE ARAB DISCOVERY OF WESTERN LITERATURE THROUGH TRANSLATION

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Abstract

Our presentation is an analysis of the discovery of Western literature and civilization through translation and covers several essential aspects: the various means of expressing the Arab identity through translation; the Arab world and its readiness for foreign contacts; the first cultural exchanges with the West; the development from "tarjama" to translation; the place of translation in Arabic culture; the process of reception via Arabization; the limits between translation and "Arabization" the evolution of literary translation. The theoretical support is given by the connection between author, text, and reader. In the Arab world, the translations made possible its access to Western culture. It is a complex process that started during the Nahda when the translators went so far with the changes brought to the source text that the translation eventually became an adaptation. We mention the personality of Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi and his significant contribution to the activity of the Language School and Translation Bureau in Cairo, serving – like many of his contemporaries – as an intermediary between Europe and the Arab-Muslim world.

1. Expressing our identity through translation

Considering modern literary theory, as soon as a text has been read or interpreted – and even immediately after it has been written – it no longer belongs to the author. The work escapes its parent and becomes the temporary property of the subjects who have received it through the complex constructions of their respective historicities. For Roland Barthes, "The author, when believed in, is always conceived of as the past of his own book: book and author stand automatically on a single line divided into a before and an after" [1] (p. 121). Ironically, the book comes into the world when the act of writing stops; the work is born at "the death of the author." Distinguishing very carefully between "text" and "work," Barthes evokes "the estrangement of the author" and affirms that "The Text, on the other hand, is read without

the Father's inscription" [2] (p. 61); in other words, of the author. The autonomy of the text and the freedom of its reading is declared, giving birth at the same time to the reader:

> Classic criticism has never paid any attention to the reader; for it, the writer is the only person in literature. We are now beginning to let ourselves be fooled no longer by the arrogant antiphrastical recriminations of good society in favor of the very thing it sets aside, ignores, smothers, or destroys; we know that to give writing its future, it is necessary to overthrow the myth: the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the Author. (*Ibid.*)

We will retain at least two ideas for our purpose. The first is the importance given to the reader. In addition to Barthes and the *Tel Quel* group in France, the reader has been the subject of particular interest in the German hermeneutic current called "reception aesthetics" or "reception theory." Referring to the theory of Wolfgang Iser as formulated in *The Act of Reading* (1978) and *The Implied Reader* (1974), Terry Eagleton notes that without the reader,

> […] there would be no literary texts at all. Literary texts do not exist on bookshelves: they are processes of signification materialized only in the practice of reading. For literature to happen, the reader is quite as vital as the author. They constitute processes of meaning that materialize only through the practice of reading." [3], (p. 64-65).

It is a way of saying that the construction of what we consider a literary work goes far beyond the author's scope.

By choosing not to repress the foreignness of the text, by allowing the original language to show through, and by striving to reinvent *the language of reception* according to a mode of aim specific to the source language, the translator affirms his action and underlines a presence that is not limited to the illusion that it would be the author alone who writes. On the contrary, translational writing unfolds in such a way, not to replace the "original" writing, but to reify it with another breath, with a new voice. Thus, the translator no longer seeks to hide behind the thickness of another verb, to let the voice of a quasi-messianic author pass through him, but rather to remake starting from the initial form a new form, thus adding to the earlier forms.

2. The Arab world and its readiness for foreign contacts

The questions raised by translating Western literary works into Arabic are closely related to those raised by translation for the general public. If the first significant movement of translation of Greek works into this language, from the 8th to the 15th centuries, concerned more scholars and the ruling class, the second movement, which began in the 19th century and whose consequences are still visible today, involves the common readership. The meeting of the French with the Egyptians during the Egyptian campaign of 1798 was the starting point of the Arab infatuation with Western works. The arrival of French forces on the Egyptian horizon forced Arab thinkers to question the relationship that linked them to the West and which began under the sign of military invasion. Then, the reception of the works of Western cultures in the mid-nineteenth century in Arab-Muslim countries gave another dimension to this relationship with foreigners, which was no longer imposed by arms, but by technology, science and culture. This period of openness to the West which marked the beginning of the modern Arab renaissance, the Nahda, literally "the recovery," was at the same time political, cultural, and religious, and extended from the end of the 18th century until the middle of the 20th century.

The Arab world gained access to Western culture, initially, mainly through the translation and adaptation of European works. Suppose there are texts which have enjoyed a massive

and enthusiastic reception in a society that seemed in every way different. In that case, it is indeed these French books, for the most part, which served at the same time as a model for Arabic literature. It now turned towards modernity and needed a foreign element to ensure its renewal at this period of its evolution. The new costume that the Western text had to wear to find a place in the East was that of the Arabic language and very often also that of specific Eastern cultural criteria. It also happened very often that it had to lose some of its characteristics to allow Arabic-speaking readers and writers alike to get used to the new forms of the novel, the short story and the theatre, genres imported from the West and which were adopted alongside those of classical Arab literature[1].

At the time of the *Nahda*, translation often went hand in hand with modifying the initial text. Changes were made in content and form to approach the criteria of Arabic literature or to please the general public, which ended up transforming the translations into adaptations. Does this particular approach mean that literary otherness is denied in Arab-Muslim countries? Were Western thoughts, tastes, and mores so challenging to accept as they are in these countries? We may question the existence of a book when we have removed from it all that goes against the tastes and customs of the countries where it has been received, keeping only the parts that do not clash with the local culture. To answer these questions and many more, it is necessary to look at the first Western literary works, which were chosen to be translated into Arabic and presented to the general public.

We will thus first highlight the contradictions that characterize these translations, which welcome a foreign text while rejecting its specificity, and then analyze and explain these phenomena by addressing the question of Arab cultural resilience in the face of Western otherness. It allows us to understand better the complexity of the treatment that Arabic translators and adapters have reserved for the source text. We are interested in what these translations have brought to modern Arabic literature, which, according to Abdelfattah Kilito, has been "resurrected thanks to the 'experience of the foreign' [. . .], and has been inseparable from European literature ever since." [4] (p. xii).

In his essay, *Discourse on Colonialism*, Aimé Césaire wrote that "it is a good thing to place different civilizations in contact with each other that it is an excellent thing to blend different worlds" ([5], p. 2). In the case of Egypt, the brief passage that the French made there from 1798 to 1801 sounded the death knell of Ottoman power, which kept Egypt in an almost general cultural autarky. It indirectly allowed the country to open up to the world, to make contact and exchange, after the fact, with other cultures and other civilizations, although it certainly did not allow an actual meeting or an accurate exchange between the Egyptians and the French.

3. The first exchanges

The actual exchange between East and West could have occurred since the first Egyptian missions in Europe. Of course, Egypt owed the conquering Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte its first factories and printing house. Still, it was only under the Viceroy of Egypt, Mohammed Ali (or Mehmet-Ali), that actual actions were taken to get the country out of its decadence.

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[1] Classical Arabic literature or *'adab'* (literally meaning courtesy), includes the traditional genres of poetry which are *madih* (panegyric), *rithâ* (elegy), *ghazal* (love poetry), etc. and ancient prose such as the *maqama* (session), the *rihla* (the travelogue), the *risâla* (the epistle), the compilations. As for the narrative genre, the old adab already had the *qissa* (history, whether it be a biographical story or a fictional story), the *hikâya* (story, fable or fictional story), the *khabar* (literally 'news,' stories or anecdotes told to be true), *hadith* (speech, conversation) etc.

Originally, Mohammed Ali (1769-1849) was an Albanian soldier engaged in the Turkish military expedition of 1801, which intended to defeat the French. He later realized his dream of ruling Egypt and endowing the state with military force to defend itself against possible aggressors. During his reign, the first cultural missions abroad took place, intended to train teachers in different scientific fields.

Because the language of Western sciences essential to the development of his political projects was foreign, Mohammed Ali gave translation a significant position. It is indeed thanks to the translators that Egypt could maintain effective links with Europe. He privileged the military, industrial, administrative and educational fields, and it was also under his government that the official Egyptian printing press of Boulaq was founded in 1820. The cultural domain could thus gradually benefit from direct contact with the West and allow the emergence of a new generation of cultured and modernist men.

The first cultural mission in the West took place in 1826 in France, during which distinguished a personality such as Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi (1801-1837), the young Sheik of Azhar (the Islamic University of Cairo) who stayed in Paris from 1826-1831, where he had gone as an imam accompanying the first Egyptian students to France. He related his stay in Paris in his famous work *Takhlīs al-ibrīz fi talkhîs barīz* ("Refined Gold or Paris in summary," 1989), published in Cairo in 1834. On his return to Cairo, he founded the Language School (1835) and headed the Translation Bureau (1841). He succeeded in expressing within Egyptian society his desire for institutional reform, particularly in the field of education, and his enthusiasm for Enlightenment thought and the technical progress in Europe. Despite the disconnect between the European cultural universe and Egypt, which was barely emerging from its decadence, Arab travellers like this man served as an intermediary between Europe and the Arab-Muslim world.

Egypt thus experienced a great movement during the *Nahda* era to translate and adapt Western writings into Arabic. They first translated scientific, political, and administrative works for the state and later turned to literary translation, which reached its peak in the first half of the twentieth century. The significant translation effort that took place and the progress of the printed press, which was booming at the time, allowed the Arabic language itself to be enriched and simplified to express the changes in Egyptian society. Many neologisms emerged, most of the time, inspired by French or English, both in the scientific, technological, and literary fields. Many foreign concepts could now be translated into Arabic, and objects hitherto unknown were beginning to appear in Arab society at that time.

The Egyptian writers were also gradually abandoning the old stylistic habits of the classical Arabic language, such as redundancies, rhymed and rhythmic phrases, and other stylistic devices. Some writers, however, still used them to give their translations or adaptations a classic literary cachet. The printed press also helped give their first readers short stories, plays, and novels translated into Arabic. Reception of these genres came in part through the influential newspapers which published them in serial form. The Western world occupied a prominent place in this new mode of expression thanks to its political, economic, and cultural models. This image of the West was served in particular by the "elite" press and the "European" press:

The private press is divided into the national press and the press of the elite turned towards Europe [...] deeply politicized, but giving the widest place to Letters, the sciences, the economy, the arts, the contribution of the civilization of the industrial era of Europe [...] finally a European press, occupied above all in supporting the effort of economic and political penetration of the powers in Egypt. [6] (p. 182–183).

Most major newspapers, such as the famous *al-Ahrām* (The Pyramids), founded in 1875, began publishing Arabic translations of European novels from their first publication. It was also the case with the newspaper *al-Hilāl* (The Crescent Moon), its first publication in 1892. The Arabic-speaking public appreciated this kind of light and entertaining literature that the newspapers published as a supplement. Journal editors also used translations of Western works to attract readers, often including them on the front pages.

4. The place of translation in Arabic culture

Translation has always occupied a prominent place in the development of Arab-Islamic civilization since the Middle Ages. To understand this diachronic approach to events related to the translation movement, we thought it worthwhile to give a brief chronological overview to enlighten the uninformed reader. We distinguish seven significant stages in the history of the Arabs, but when we talk about the golden age of Arab-Islamic civilization, we refer precisely to the first period of the Abbasid dynasty (750-905). Especially during this time, translation flourished and played a capital role in preserving ancient cultural products, mainly Greek, and transferring this culture from the East to the West. Without wishing to argue on this question, we maintain that the Arabs were not, at that time, simple smugglers who transmitted the ancient cultures (Greek, Persian, Hindu) to the Europeans, but enriched, developed, and refined them by subjecting them to their thought and way of reasoning.

One controversy that divided the Arab intellectuals was what to do in the face of the backwardness accumulated by the Arabic language. Two tendencies have asserted themselves. The first was represented by the promoters of native languages (dialects) like the Romance languages in Europe, resulting from the evolution of Latin, their native language. They justified their position by explaining that one cannot speak one language and write another, as it happens in the different Arab countries. The second tendency was represented by the supporters of literary Arabic, attached to its sacred dimension and its ability to maintain the nation's cohesion and perpetuate the ancient Arab culture.

Linguists designate this phenomenon by the technical term "diglossia" (duality of languages). For Arabic, these are the literary (or classical) variety, on the one hand, and the vernacular varieties, on the other. Concerning Arab diglossia (particularly in the Maghreb), the position of the French Orientalist William Marçais clearly illustrated the extent of the linguistic conflict in the Arab world, even if the article's tone reflects the colonial spirit:

A tongue? Two languages? [...] Let us say two states of the same language, sufficiently different so that the knowledge of one does not imply, absolutely not, the knowledge of the other; similar enough that the knowledge of one considerably facilitates the acquisition of the other. In any case, an instrument for the expression of thought which strangely shocks Western habits of mind; a sort of two-headed animal, and what heads! School curricula do not know how to deal with them because they are not made to house the monsters. [7] (p. 129, my translation)

Although diglossia is one of the difficulties of the Arabic language, the real problems of translation are not purely linguistic or even technical. They are closely linked to the inability of Arab society to produce knowledge. In the aftermath of their respective independences, roughly corresponding to the period 1940-1960, the Arab countries will increasingly feel the shock due to the gap that separates them from European countries.

5. Reception via Arabization

The intellectuals of the Nahda realized the great linguistic work that awaited them to conduct their translation project. The first of them who dared to criticize the state of the

Arabic language was Rifa'a al-Tahtawi. While he praised the simplicity and clarity of the French language, he lamented the complexity of his language. He stated in his "Journey to Paris" (*Tajlīṣ al-'ibrīz fī taljīṣ bārīs*):

> The contrary is true in Arabic; a person reading a book on a particular science must apply all the tools of the language and examine the words as carefully as possible since an expression can have meanings that are far removed from the one it has on the surface. ([8], p. 253)

Therefore, according to al-Tahtawi, the language should respond to the needs and tastes of the time, a time marked by profound internal and external changes. Suppose translation and translators were considered an essential tool to reactivate the orientation of the Egyptian nation. In that case, they should start with preparing the language and training it to play its corresponding role in transferring European sciences to Egypt. Al-Tahtawi, as a specialist in scientific translation, saw the need to follow in the footsteps of the French language to create a corpus that would have to be introduced in the Arabic language to cover the linguistic needs of translators and teachers of the different scientific disciplines because "The arts in French have reached their apogee, to the extent that for each science there is a dictionary, in which the technical terms are arranged in alphabetical order." [8] (p. 106).

The real task, then, was to revive (*iḥya'*) the mind and existence of the Egyptians by relying essentially on their Arab-Islamic past to meet the challenges of the historical epoch. This revival should urgently reach the Arabic language as the main foundation of civilization. Thus the language itself would come to assume the secrets of the triumph of nineteenth-century French culture. The books to be translated made a comprehensive list of new words available in Arabic. They covered different scientific and intellectual fields of the new thought derived from the achievements of the industrial revolution in Europe, the French revolution, and the consequences that both revolutions had had on the world human development during two centuries: the 18th and the 19th. The intellectuals-translators of the *Nahda* realized this vacuum that the Arabic language suffered from the end of the Middle Ages until the arrival of Muhammad Ali. It does not mean that this language had lacked scientific resources at all times. Still, instead, we intend to highlight the problem of Arabic, which had lived a long period of silence without trying, of course, to catch up with the advances in technological sciences. In *Journey to Paris*, al Rifa'a al-Tahtawi devoted several book passages to expressing his concerns about the translation project he wanted to conduct to modernize Egypt. He worked both ways. First, he checked the grammar and syntax; second, he tried to enrich the language through translation.

Al-Tahtawi and his team of translators faced a significant linguistic challenge. It is worth remembering that the Arabic language had lived through the same challenge and had responded to the challenges of science, philosophy, and logic of the ancients during the first centuries that followed the appearance of Islam. From the methodological point of view, we are facing two similar operations, especially in what the Arabic language needed, at the level of expression, in the 8th and 9th centuries and during the 19th century. Added to this was the massive contact with Western literature that marked the nineteenth century, which had not taken place before in all times of encounter between Western civilization and Arab civilization. The relationship between classical Arabic and the dialect had never been the subject of discussion among the *Nahda* figures, without denying that there were occasional debates. Still, they never reached and would never reach the great controversy between the first intellectuals of the *Nahda* and the sheiks of al-Azhar. The great debate, which led to a

dead-end, was on the innovation of the Arabic language. This decision would have decisive consequences in the development or, rather, in the foundation of the new Arab thought of the second half of the 19th century.

Conclusions

During the modern Arabic era, which effectively started from the second half of the 19th century, the Arabic language took on the demands of translation and creativity of contemporary science that differed in its details and foundations from ancient science. Of course, the scholars of the *Nahda* should first explore and search the ancient books for what was known before and then develop a new terminology that could translate the new science into Arabic. This new terminology to which we refer consisted of introducing new words into Arabic and, at the same time, developing concepts of some that already existed before to try to Arabicize foreign words. In other words, give these words an Arabic image respecting the grammatical and morphosyntactic regulations of classical Arabic. It is the method followed in carrying out the task of translation whenever it was necessary; a task that became, for al-Tahtawi, […] among the most difficult arts, particularly the translation of scientific books, which requires knowledge of the terminology used for the basic principles of the science to be translated [8] (p. 113).

Apart from the deep knowledge of both languages, it was necessary to adapt the Arabic language to take on something new. The challenge of the first translators of the *Nahda* opened a new path for modern Arabic thought. To weave this thought, al-Tahtawi introduced into Arabic many words collected from French such as théâtre, spectacles (*spectaclāt*), opera, etc.; words that would later find their Arabic formula respectively: (*masraḥ*, *ʿurūḍ*, *obera*). He also reformulated a series of fundamental concepts, including freedom (*al-ḥurriya*). This term should acquire a new concept before it comes into use. "Freedom" is not a new word in Arabic, but went back even to pre-Islamic times and was part of the "essential characteristics of the Arabs." With Islam, it acquired a new connotation: "justice and fairness" (*al-ʿadl wa l-inṣāf*). But its modern meaning was to be something new in the semantic field of the Arabic language: "freedom of belief" (*ḥurriat al-ʿaqīda*), "equalities before the law" (al-musāwāt amāma l-qānūn), "freedom of expression" (ḥurriyat al-taʿbīr), "freedom of women" (*ḥurriyat al-mar'a*), etc. He also added the term "citizenship" (*al-muwāṭana*) to the Arabic dictionary – a term that did not exist before. However, an essential word introduced into the Arabic language in the 19th century was the "constitution" (*al-dustūr*) which appeared to establish and regularize the relationship between the "governor and the people" (*al-ḥākim wa l-maḥkūm*). In addition, we are witnessing the first symptoms of secularism that tried to organize, for the first time, the state outside the religious framework. Thus, new concepts were gradually introduced into the Arabic language through translation. It means that Arabic during the Nahda allowed itself to be influenced by foreign languages, especially French, to enrich its own semantic and morphosyntactic field.

The translators were aware of what they were doing. They tried to move Arabic into a foreign language to translate the untranslatable and acquire new linguistic concepts. The translator tends to foreignize his language, bringing it as close as possible to the original, by introducing frequent borrowings and calques into Arabic – lexical and phraseological neologisms, which, to the extent that readers accept them, will enrich their language, increasing their expressive capacity. Indeed, the new era demanded a unique, expressive style in writing, marked by precise vocabulary and far from traditional resources such as assonance

and alliteration. The translators, reflecting on the norms of assimilation of foreign words, became aware of the influence of the history of the Arabic language on the linguistic decisions that were made and that they tried to respect the nature of Arabic.

However, the work of translation was expanding more and more, and it was necessary to organize it by defining its professional objectives. To this end, al-Tahtawi proposed to Muhammad 'Ali the foundation of a School of Translation (*Madrasat al-Alsun*) to teach languages and at the same time train translation professionals. Indeed, in 1835 the school was opened in Cairo. This institution turned the time of Muhammad Ali into a time of translation and "Arabization." It was able to change, in fifteen years, under the leadership of al-Tahtawi, the cultural life in Egypt. The achievements of this school and its first generation came to lay the fundamental foundations of translation in Egypt and to conquer a new stage for the Arabic language, factors that were going to mark and weave the thinking of future generations of the *Nahda*. The period of time that we have just mentioned became a record if we consider the time dedicated to translation and the volume of works and texts translated, adapted, or Arabicized.

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COVERAGE OF MEDICAL TRANSLATION AND EMPOWERMENT OF MEDICAL TRANSLATORS

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Abstract

Although specialized translation has gained increased importance for the past decades, not all of its branches (legal, medical, business, technical, etc.) seem to enjoy equal status and recognition. Medical translation is still facing the dilemma of who should perform it so as to secure an error-free target text, due to its immediate impact on the beneficiaries / users and to the life-changing or life-enhancing value of the content of the translated text. Furthermore, the relevant resources and tools available are expensive, therefore, the question of affordability being also raised. The matter is even complicated by the fact that the medical field has been developing at an unprecedented fast pace while the medical sub-fields / domains of supraspecialisation have proliferated. Under the circumstances, can we speak of fragmentation of knowledge? If so, how could medical translators be updated and build decision-making skills and resilience, and to what extent can medical translation cover all these areas?

Keywords

Medical translation; coverage, medical translators, empowerment, resources

1. Introduction

The global growth of medical industry is widely acknowledged nowadays, one of the main challenges being represented by the need for the medical and healthcare sector to comply with various requirements and regulations. Legal aspects must be taken into consideration because many of the health products and services are available on different markets in the world. For this reason, it is vital that medical documents should be translated accurately; a special mention concerns the fact that within the European Union, medical documents are translated into the country / national language, and that this is mandatory.

In this context, medical translation empirical research is intended to bring evidence from practice, and to deliver ever wider community benefits. Furthermore, despite a large and

growing body of medical science evidence, its timely incorporation into policy, practice, service provision and healthcare education remain a consistent challenge. Medical translation is no exception – in our opinion, it lags behind the fast-paced medical and healthcare sciences, not to mention the advancement of technology.

2. Diversity of medical translation needs

Medical translation is present not only in clinical practice, but also in the public health policy enhancing the enforcement of new (international) requirements and regulations. Accordingly, one of the main aims of medical translation is apply the research findings in clinical practice and public health policy making, which will secure the premise for the development of quality health services and improvement of the people health (see Figure 1).

The Australian and New Zealand Standard Research Classification system defines and describes four main areas of medical translation demand – needless to say, these areas and pathways may as well be considered independently or intersecting:

- Basic Science,
- Clinical Medicine and Science,
- Health Services Research, and,
- Public Health. [1]

Basic Science
Foundations of understanding disease. Innovations include medicines, vaccines, diagnostics, devices and tools.

Clinical Medical Science
Informs and improves evidence-based practice including diagnosis, treatment, surgery, prognosis, etc.

Health Services Research
Improved health systems and services delivering affordable high-quality care.

Public Health
Information to educate and inform policymakers, healthcare professionals and society.

Figure 1. Domains and coverage of medical translation

[3] (p. 6)

Corelating these areas with text typology, we may identify the following material to be translated in the field of medicine:

- Scientific papers and books;
- Documentation of medicine, drugs, vaccines, recent discoveries, etc.;
- Documentation of medical procedures and healthcare services;
- Documentation of clinical trials;
- Technical standards (in relation to medical devices / equipment, as, for instance, recognized by the <u>*ISO 13485 standard - Medical devices*</u> – *Quality management systems*

– *Requirements for regulatory*, which grants **translation "a vital role in the quality system of medical devices** and it specifies that there is a need to manage the translation requirements" [2];

- Regulatory standards;
- Advertising material.

Therefore, medical translation is context sensitive, and the functional approach to this type of specialized translation will secure fitness for purpose. In other words, the skopos or the purpose of translation, coupled with its function in the target culture context, determines the translation strategy and method: "What "success looks like" to key stakeholders – should be a key consideration when planning and carrying out translation" [3] (p. 7). On the other hand, even if all the four areas identified fall within the scope of medical translation, we should be aware of the fact that there is no such a thing as a "one-size-fits-all" solution to all the sub-types of medical translation and to all the related problems, even if reusables (understood as solutions to recurrent problems) are not to be discarded.

Within the functional approach to medical translation, its impact requires special consideration (see Figure 2 below):
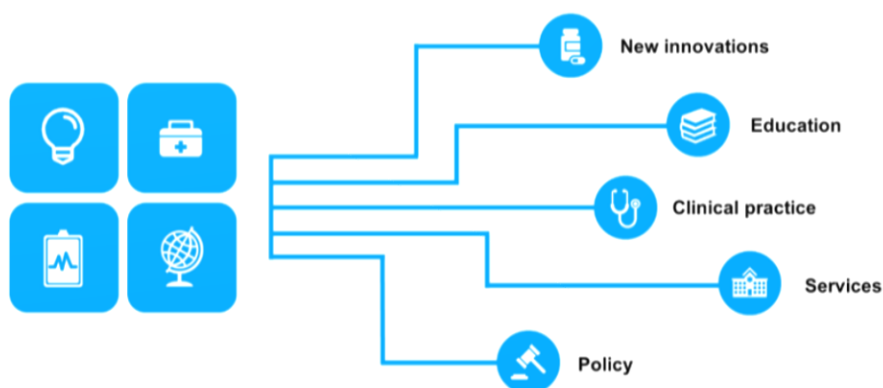

Figure 2. Endpoints of the impact of medical translation

[3] (p. 7)

On a positive note, according to Flores, the intervention of the medical translator is highly important, and the impact of medical translation can be measured in relation to
- successful communication (resulting in the patients' correct understanding of overall information, diagnosis, treatment, etc.);
- patient satisfaction with a broad spectrum of care (translation becoming a safety net);

- effective use of health services (for instance, by avoiding delays in these services provision and making them available via the translation of required documents). [4] (p. 258ff.)

On a negative note, **we highlight "the irreversible cost of medical translation" –** the real impact of a translation that is not error free "is on the lives affected and in the worst cases, irreversible damage is caused which results in life-changing problems and even death", which, implicitly, raises the question of adequately training medical translators (https://www.translateplus.com/blog/medical-translation-important-language-services/).

Among the many errors affecting not only the users of translation, but also the patients as beneficiaries of the health care products and services provision, we give the example of

the erroneous translation of the instruction manual of implanted knee prostheses. The incident occurred in a hospital in Berlin, involving 47 patients. The original text was "non-modular cemented prostheses." But they translated it into "prostheses that do not require cement." Therefore, the device was implanted without cement, causing more pain and suffering to the patients. [5]

It is not surprising or unreasonable, therefore, to agree with the numerous voices claiming that there should be zero tolerance for inaccuracies in medical translation, with particular reference to referential ones (beyond stylistic considerations).

In an attempt to identify the causes of the infelicitous (to use a pragmatic term) translation, various practitioners have spotted the following:

- Failure to employ professional medical translation services – it is rather risky to use unqualified translators or bilingual healthcare staff. Unfortunately, to the best of our knowledge, the training and certification of medical translators is still a desideratum in many countries around the globe, Romania included.
- Misuse of the appropriate terminology - the vast field of medicine and healthcare includes numerous branches, which have even proliferated lately, and medical providers have different specializations, each branch having a specific terminology. Furthermore, the issue of (constantly) updating and standardizing terminology remains a real challenge.
- The use of free, less reliable translation resources – few reliable resources seem to be available and affordable (dictionaries, glossaries, databases of medical texts). The matter is further complicated by the fact that not all medical branches are equally represented / provided for, and that multilingual resources are scarce, to say the least.
- The use of the free tools used in translation, translation systems such as Google Translate are not a guarantee of an accurate translation or of using terminology consistently. [5]

3. Availability of resources in medical translation

To exemplify and build an evidence-based mechanism, we shall list highly rated specialized dictionaries, terminology books, glossaries and style guides, which are not available for free, complemented by free online dictionaries and databases. In the former category, we have the following print materials (by categories and in chronological order):

Monolingual dictionaries:
1. *A Dictionary of Practical Medicine* (compiled between 1832 and 1858 by James Copland and Charles Alfred Lee);

2. *Dictionary and Handbook of Nuclear Medicine and Clinical Imaging* (authored by Mario P. Iturralde, 1990, reissued in 2018);

3. *Szycher's Dictionary of Medical Devices* (1995);

4. *Elsevier's Dictionary of Abbreviations, Acronyms, Synonyms and Symbols Used in Medicine* (compiled by Samuel A. Tsur (Mansoor), 1999);

5. *Dictionary of Medical Terms* (containing over 16,000 terms clearly defined; text production and proofreading - Heather Bateman, Ruth Hillmore, Daisy Jackson, Sarah Lusznat, Katy McAdam, Charlotte Regan; 4th edition, 2004);

6. *Medical Dictionary, Bibliography, and Annotated Research Guide to Internet References – Diagnostic Imaging* (authored by James N. Parker and Philip M. Parker, 2004);

7. *Medical Dictionary, Bibliography, and Annotated Research Guide to Internet References – Feet* (authored by James N. Parker and Philip M. Parker, 2004);

8. *Medical Dictionary, Bibliography, and Annotated Research Guide to Internet References – Muscles* (authored by James N. Parker and Philip M. Parker, 2004);

9. *Medical Dictionary, Bibliography, and Annotated Research Guide to Internet References – Radiation Therapy* (authored by James N. Parker and Philip M. Parker, 2004);

10. *Webster's New Explorer Medical Dictionary* (new edition 2006, digitized by the Internet Archive in 2019, over 37,000 entries, including 2,000 new terms);

11. *McGraw-Hill Medical Dictionary for Allied Health* (authored by Myrna Breskin, Kevin Dumith, Enid Pearsons and Robert Seeman, 2008);

12. *Webster's New World Medical Dictionary* (3rd edition, 2008);

13. *Jablonski's Dictionary of Medical Acronyms & Abbreviations* (6th edition, 2009);

14. *Black's Medical Dictionary* (containing over 5,000 entries, 42nd edition, edited by Harvey Marcovitch, 2010, taking pride in being the best-selling medical dictionary for over 100 years);

15. *Stedman's Medical Dictionary for the Health Professions and Nursing* (**nearly 60,000 terms and more than 1,000 illustrations, 7th edition, 2011**);

16. *Mosby's Dictionary of Medicine, Nursing & Health Professions* (9th edition, 2013);

17. *Dorland's Dictionary of Medical Acronyms and Abbreviations* (7th edition, 2015);

18. *Oxford Concise Medical Dictionary* (9th edition, edited by Elisabeth Martin, 2015, also available online);

19. *The American Heritage Medical Dictionary* (digitized by the Internet Archive in 2017, https://archive.org/details/americanheritageOOahde);

20. *Dictionary of Pharmaceutical Medicine* (authored by Gerhard Nahler, 4h edition, 2017);

21. *Dictionary of Stem Cells, Regenerative Medicine, and Translational Medicine* (authored by Frank J. Dye, 2017);

22. *Taber's Cyclopedic Medical Dictionary* (edited by Donald Venes, 23rd edition, 2017)

23. *Dictionary of Medical Terms* (4h edition, authored by Rebecca Sell, Mikel A. Rochenberg and Charles F. Chapman, 2018);

24. *Illustrated Medical Dictionary* (containing over 5,000; text under the patronage of the British Medical Association - BMA; 4th edition, 2018);

25. *Oxford Medical Dictionary* (over 250 new entries, 2020).

Encyclopaedias:

1. *A Doctor's Dictionary. Writings on Culture & Medicine* (authored by Iain Bamforth, 2015);

2. *Nuclear Medicine Imaging: An Encyclopedic Dictionary* (authored by Joseph A. Tie, 2012);
3. *CURRENT Medical Diagnosis and Treatment* (updated annually, authored by <u>Maxine A. Papadakis</u>, <u>Stephen McPhee</u>, <u>Michael Rabow</u> and <u>Kenneth McQuaid</u>, 2022).

Bilingual dictionaries:
1. *Dicționar medical englez – român* (4h edition, authored by Corneliu I. Năstase, Ion V. Năstase, Viorica V. Năstase, Vasile T. Bejenari, 1998);
2. *Dicționar medical și farmaceutic român – englez* (authored by Diana Ligia Tudor, 2016);
3. *The Medical Translator: A Dictionary of Medical Conversation, English-German* (authored by <u>Paul Blaschke</u>, 2017);

Multilingual dictionaries:
1. *Multilingual Dictionary of Disaster Medicine and International Relief. English, French, Spanish, Arabic* (authored by Sisvan William Aram Gunn, 1990);
2. *Elsevier's Dictionary of Medicine and Biology in English, Greek, German, Italian and Latin* (compiled by Giannis Konstantinidis, 2005);
3. *English - French - Italian - Romanian Dictionary of Sports, Physical Therapy, Occupational Therapy, and Other Related Terms* (containing more than 4,100 entries / more than 16,400 terms, authored by Lucian Lupescu, 2021);

Terminology / monolingual glossaries
1. *The Language of Medicine in English* (authored by Gretchen Bloom, 1987);
2. *Medical Terminology: The Basics* (authored by Corinne B. Linton, 2001);
3. *An Introduction to Medical Terminology for Health Care: A Self-Teaching Package* (authored by Andrew Hutton, 2002);
4. *Medical Meanings: A Glossary of Word Origins* (authored by William S. Haubrich, 2nd edition, 2003);
5. *Medical Terminology Demystified* (authored by Dale Layman, 2005);
6. *Medical Terminology: The Language of Health Care* (authored by Marjorie Canfield Willis, 2nd edition, 2005);
7. *Comprehensive Medical Terminology* (authored by Betty Davis Jones, 3rd edition, 2007);
8. *Medical Terminology: A Short Course* (authored by C. Edward Collins, 2007);
9. *Medical Terminology Made Incredibly Easy!* (edited by Karen Comerford and Liz Schaeffer, 3rd edition, 2008);
10. *Medical Terminology: Language for Healthcare* (authored by Nina Thierer, 3rd edition, 2009);
11. *Medical Terminology: A Programmed Systems Approach* (authored by Jean Tannis Dennerll and Phyllis E. Davis, 10th edition, 2010);
12. *Schaum's Outline of Medical Terminology* (authored by James Keogh, 2011);
13. *Medical Language: Terminology in Context* (authored by Melodie Hull, 2013);
14. *Mosby's Medical Terminology Flash Cards* (2013);
15. *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Medical Terminology: Master the Vocabulary You Need to Ace Medical Courses and Certifications* (authored by Veronica Hackethal, 2013);
16. *Quick medical terminology: a self-teaching guide* (authored by Natalie Pate Capps and Shirley Soltesz Steiner, 5th edition, 2014);

17. *CPT 2015 Professional Edition: Current Procedural Terminology* (American Medical Association, 2015);
18. *Illustrated Guide to Medical Terminology* (authored by Juanita J. Davies, 2015);
19. *Medical Language Instant Translator* (authored by Davi-Ellen Chabner, 6th edition, 2016);
20. *Medical Terminology. A Living Language-Pearson* (authored by Bonnie F. Fremgen and Suzanne S. Frucht, 6th edition, 2016)
21. *Medical Terminology Complete!* (authored by Bruce Wingerd, 3rd edition, 2016);
22. *Quick & Easy Medical Terminology* (authored by Peggy C. Leonard, 2016);
23. *Medical Terminology for Health Professions* (authored by Ann Ehrlich, Carol L. Schroeder, Laura Ehrlich and Katrina A. Schroeder, 8th edition, 2017);
24. *Medical Terminology Systems: A Body Systems Approach* (authored by Barbara A. Gylys, 2017);
25. *Medical Terminology for Health Care Professionals* (authored by Jane Rice, 2017);
26. *The Amazing Language of Medicine. Understanding Medical Terms and Their Backstories* (authored by Robert B. Taylor, 2017);
27. *The Vocabulary of Medical English: A Corpus-Based Study* (authored by Renáta Panocová, 2017);
28. *A Short Course in Medical Terminology* (authored by Judi L. Nath and Kelsey P. Lindsley, 2019);
29. *Medical Terminology for Dummies* (authored by Beverley Henderson and Jennifer Lee Dorsey, 3rd Edition, 2019);
30. *Medical Terminology: Advanced Guide to Examine Key Medical Terms More Deeply* (authored by George Criley, 2019);
31. *Mastering Healthcare Terminology* (authored by Betsy J. Shiland, 6th edition, 2018);
32. *Mastering Medical Terminology, Australia and New Zealand* (authored by Sue Walker and Maryann Wood & Jenny Nicol, 2020)
33. ***Medical Terminology: An Illustrated Guide* (9th edition,** authored by Barbara Janson Cohen and Shirley A. Jones, 2020);
34. *Stanfield's Essential Medical Terminology* (authored by Nanna Cross, Dana C. McWay and Peggy Stanfield, 2020);
35. *The Anatomy of Medical Terminology* (authored by Lewis Stiles and Stephen Russell, 3rd Edition, 2020);
36. *The Language of Medicine* (authored by Davi-Ellen Chabner, 2021);
37. *Medical Terminology – In Short Course* (authored by Wendell Toth, 2022).

Terminology / bilingual glossaries:
1. *Building a Medical Vocabulary – with Spanish Translations* (authored by Peggy G. Leonard, 11th edition, 2021).

As far as the free online resources are concerned, we have identified the following items:

Monolingual online dictionaries and glossaries
1. *European Medicines Agency – Medical Terms Simplifier,* https://www.ema.europa.eu/en/about-us/about-website/glossary

2. *Harvard Medical dictionary of Health Terms,* https://www.health.harvard.edu/a-through-c

3. *Health A to Z – NHS,* https://www.nhs.uk/conditions/

4. *Merriam Webster Medical Dictionary*, https://www.merriam-webster.com/medical

5. *Medical Dictionary by Farlex* (https://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/)

6. *Medical Dictionary (MedlinePlus)*, https://www.nibib.nih.gov/content/medical-dictionary-medlineplus

7. *Medical Dictionary Online – Gotheburg University Library,* https://www.ub.gu.se/en/databases/medical-dictionary-online

8. *Medical Dictionary – University Health Network,* https://www.uhn.ca/PatientsFamilies/Health_Information/Pages/medical_dictionary.aspx

9. *Medical Dictionary Online powered by MegaLexica!* (disspplaying information that may be available from any of the more than 40,000 publicly available dictionaries, encyclopedias, research articles and books), https://www.online-medical-dictionary.org/

10. *Medical Terms: Medical Dictionary*, https://www.medicinenet.com/medterms-medical-dictionary/article.htm

11. *Medical Terminology A thru Z,* https://globalrph.com/medterm/a/

12. *Medical Terminology Database: Dictionary & Glossary*, https://www.medicalterminologydb.com/

13. *Oxford Medicine Online*, https://oxfordmedicine.com/

14. *Taber's Medical Dictionary Online*, https://www.tabers.com/tabersonline/

15. *The A.D.A.M. Medical Encyclopedia*, https://medlineplus.gov/encyclopedia.html

16. *The Australian Medicine Dictionary,* https://www.ama.com.au/ausmed/australian-medicine-dictionary

17. *World Health Organization Unified Medical Dictionary*, https://umd.emro.who.int/whodictionary

Bilingual online dictionaries and glossaries

1. *Aalmany Dictionary of Medical Terms (English – Arabic)*, https://www.almaany.com/appendix.php?language=english&category=Medical&lang_name=ar-en

2. *The American Heritage® Medical Dictionary*, https://www.yourdictionary.com/about/the-american-heritage-medical-dictionary.html

3. *English Arabic Medical Terms Dictionary*, https://www.tbeeb.net/

4. *English – Chinese Medical Dictionary*, https://esaurus.org/

5. *English – Spanish Medical Dictionary,* https://www.medicalspanish.com/dictionary/english-spanish.html

6. *French Dictionary of The National Academy of Medicine*, http://dictionnaire.academie-medecine.fr/index.php

7. *French Medical Dictionary and Glossary Online, English Translation*, https://www.atoute.org/french_medical_dictionary.htm

8. *HSL Plain Language Medical Dictionary*, https://www.jgh.ca/care-services/obstetrics-and-gynecology/patient-education/hsl-plain-language-medical-dictionary/

9. *MSD Manuals Professional Version,* https://www.msdmanuals.com/professional

10. *The Roche Medical Lexicon (English – German)*, https://www.gesundheit.de/lexika/medizin-lexikon

Multilingual online dictionaries, glossaries and databases

1. *MedRA – Medical Dictionaries for Regulatory Activities*, https://www.meddra.org/, providing multilingual access in Chinese, Czech, Dutch, English, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Latvian, Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swedish.
2. A particular mention refers to the existence of databases compiling general medical dictionaries such as Lexicool, https://www.lexicool.com/online-dictionary.asp?FSP=C25&FKW=general-medical. The language pairs involved, having English as one of the two languages, are Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, French, Greek, Hungarian, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, Slovenian, Spanish, Vietnamese. Multilingual glossaries and dictionaries involve 9 languages at the most: *Multilingual Glossary of Technical and Popular Medical Terms,* which provides the translations of the searched term in the seven other languages, as well as an English definition of all terms (https://users.ugent.be/~rvdstich/eugloss/language.html). Romanian is not included in any of the resources made available on Lexicool.

It is also important to note that several resources for acronyms and abbreviations in English are available for free:

1. https://acronyms.thefreedictionary.com/
2. https://www.acronymfinder.com/
3. https://www.allacronyms.com/
4. https://unterm.un.org/unterm/

Conclusions

In line with Postolea, we may conclude that

Although this may not be immediately apparent in countries with a long lexicographic and terminographic tradition, where both monolingual and multilingual dictionaries / terminological databases for the technical, legal, medical, business, etc. fields are relatively common and easy to find, this reality is particularly challenging in countries where even these well-established domains are not well covered – or not covered at all – by multilingual terminological work. Many niche or lesser developed areas of knowledge do not benefit from terminographic work at all, regardless of the language in which they emerge. In all these cases of terminologically undocumented fields, translators need to embark on a difficult quest and find on their own, through their own research, the conventional translation (if any) of the source terms in their target language. [6] (p. 57)

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DEGREES OF CONCEPTUAL-METHODOLOGICAL HYBRIDIZATION IN INSTITUTIONAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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Abstract

We start from the assumption that dynamic alternatives in nowadays society are fully expressed in the discourse of social institutions. The process of hybridization played a significant role in developing the institutional discourse, which is further defined as the achievement of a more perfect communicative product by mixing heterogeneous elements of cognitive levels and language of speech thought activity. In the research, we will try to disclose those areas of intersection of discourses that clarifies the process of their hybridization, including with the support of cognitive or conceptual metaphors. The significance of the study predetermined by two factors: to start with the necessity to enlarge the theoretical knowledge of the cognitive mechanism highlighting the hybridization of discourse and, second, the necessity to expand the effectiveness of messages created and dispersed by advertisers.

Keywords

hybridization; text; context; institutional discourse

1. Introduction

The concept of hybridization is a phenomenon which can be present in various cultural domains, but not least within language. After an analysis of the origins of the term, hybridization is defined as the process by which separate and disparate entities or processes generate another entity or process (the hybrid), that shares significant traits with each of its sources, but which is not purely compositional.

From a linguistic point of view, hybridization is seen as a product, it is considered a feature of discourse, but if it is seen as a process, it is considered user behaviour, an aspect of the user's linguistic performance (Muller & Ball, 2005: 51).

Linguistic hybridization can be approached from structural, psycholinguistic, and sociolinguistic perspectives. While the structural approach is concerned with the linguistic structure of hybridization at different levels such as phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax,

text, and semantics; the psycholinguistic approach is concerned with the cognitive mechanisms of linguistic hybridization and the sociolinguistic approach is concerned with the relationships between linguistic hybridization and different social variables such as age, gender, ethnicity, culture, power, attitudes, ideologies domains of use and functions of language (Marasigan, 1983: 7).

The sociolinguistic approach to linguistic hybridization studies the social, pragmatic, and discursive functions (e.g., citation, repetition, interjection, addressee specification, underlining, clarification, elaboration, focus, attention-getting or attention-holding, personalization versus objectification, subject change, and role change) it performs for individuals as well as social groups [1].

Within the sociolinguistic approach, micro sociolinguistic approaches examine linguistic hybridity from the perspective of individual speakers of the socio-pragmatic and discursive functions of linguistic hybridity (Gumperz, 1982: 75-83), while macro sociolinguistic approaches investigate linguistic hybridity from the perspective of the larger society's perceptions of linguistic hybridity as a mode of discourse, its attitudes towards linguistic participants and their speech.

Institutional discourse analysis can also be seen as part of a general process of discourse analysis as a subdivision that aims to identify the defining features and how it succeeds in conveying a message to the target society.

2. Theoretical background - origin and significance of hybridization

The term "hybridization" was originally borrowed from the biology field, where it is used to designate the integration of genetic material of genotypically heterozygous organisms (cells) with the purpose of reproducing a hybrid organism that is characterized by heterozygosity of several types. Heterozygosity is defined as a genetic parameter that guarantees the variability of a species, i.e., the way an organism acquires genetically different properties from those where it belongs to.

Generally, the main objective of hybridization is to obtain heterosis - the genetic advantage of the hybrid over the parental forms that enhance the survivability of the species. (Gilyadov, 1986: 130).

The term "heterozygosity" is defined similarly to the sociolinguistic term "linguistic vitality", which is usually understood as the ability of a language to further develop, change or retain structural and, more importantly, functional properties (Mihalcenko, 2006: 37). We believe that this process of heterozygosity in its main biological purpose is to maintain the survival of a biological species, in case of language hybridization the main goal is to facilitate the creation of the vitality of a language [2].

Hybridisation as a linguistic phenomenon can occur at different levels of language. Sanchez-Stockhammer states that hybridisation can influence different units of language, such as sounds, morphemes, words, collocations, expressions, phrases, sentences, texts, text types and communication.

Iriskhanova. and Ivashko (2011) developed hybridization criteria that describe its sources, processes, and outcomes and suggest a detailed classification of hybridization types according to language level, actual semiotic features, degree of formal expression, etc.

To designate the process of interaction of discourses conducting to the property of heterogeneity, in addition to the term "hybridization", for instance "interference", "convergency" and "diffusion" are used. The concept of 'interference' in discourse refers to the

imposition of elements of one discourse (the included) on another discourse (the receiving), leading to their mutual association, interaction and influencing. Discourse interference is a phenomenon similar to intertextuality, for example, as implied by Kristeva (2013).

The main difference between interference and intertextuality is the unit of analysis, i.e., the discourse, totally distinct from the text, which clearly determines the choice of methods and the way the research is done. Convergence is in-essence the process by which discourses meet and intersect at certain areas [3].

As a definition of the term 'convergence', we can say that is generally used in journalism, meaning the merging of different media caused by the digitization of media domains, including the integration of both analogue and digital technologies.

The concept 'diffusion' foregrounds the interactive nature of discourses - the mutual interweaving and blurring of boundaries linking them.

The process of hybridization has at its main aim of improving the language process and achieving the effect of language as a product of language hybridization, being different from and irreducible to its constituent parts. Therefore, we consider institutional discourse to be a qualitatively new entity, being distinctive from political and marketing discourses, whose elements it borrows and adjust.

3. Discourse hybridization

Hybridization as an uninterrupted process of cross-fertilization of discourse complicates the typology of discourse varieties and prevents the development of a single taxonomy of discourses. Wodak insists on the properties of dynamism and heterogeneity essential in institutional discourse, approaching it as an uninterrupted string of interconnected discourses that conflict with each and every one in a given sociocultural context [4]. Kibrik considers that in order to advance discourse analysis as a scientific discipline it is timely to analyse combined discourses because the four major parameters of classification as the author suggests (mode, genre, functional style and formality), these parameters are autonomous of each other and they challenge particularly complex associations of different options.

The procedure of mixing discourses with all its dynamism is not unstable. Utilizing the word 'discourse order' to talk about the varieties of discourse existing in society, Foucault (1996) notes that not all discourses are as well as free and permeable.

Social practice imposes particular limitations on the common accessibility of discourses.

Fairclough (1995) is one of the sociolinguistic approaches to critical discourse analysis, when referring to modern media discourse, notes two categories of tensions that shape media language: the tension between information and entertainment and the tension betwixt public and private. Both point to the tendency toward "marketization" and "conversationalization" accordingly (Fairclough, 1995, p.10-11). The market is manifesting itself in the increasing share of entertainment in the media. To a large part, it is believed that entertainment can be more marketable [5].

Therefore, in order to endure competition, the media industry must create a large number of products as entertainment, reflecting the blurring of the limits between public businesses and entertainment in media discourse. Fairclough highlights that marketing and conversation are not only typical for the media, but have come to outline other social areas such as education, health, art, politics and so forth, which is of considerable significance to our research.

4. Extra-linguistic factors of the hybridisation of institutional discourses

The precondition for mixing the two branches of discourse: marketing and political, according to our view, is that they are both prone to falling in the same category, namely that of institutional discourse, by that we mean the discourse of institutions, as opposed to having them focus more intently on personal discourse (the discourse of personality). As a fitting yet fully nuanced way of defining institutional discourse, we will use Karasik's point of view, stating that: institutional discourse is one of the varieties of human-to-human communication, albeit cliched, where in the parties may not have knowledge of each other, however, still manage to communicate according to certain sets of rules put in place by a given society.

The process of metaphorical hybridization of the two different aspects of discourse into a single conceptualized network can be represented as a scheme that further emphasizes the conceptual integration of said aspects, marketing, as well as political. Withing the theory of mental space, expanded on by Faucon in figure 1, we can thus represent our integration scheme. So far, we have managed to clearly identify two individual input spaces – marketing and politics which, influenced by the generic space and acting as a result of the process of conceptualized integration, allow the formation of Politics as a commodity mix. Concerning the generic space, according to our beliefs so far, it contains the features of institutional discourse that is associated with both afore mentioned input spaces [6].

Further pursuing Karasik's constitutive features of institutional discourse, nine in total, we have managed to bring to light seven features regarding the marketing and political discourses, features that are relevant for explaining the emerging structure: purpose, object, addresser, addressee, instruments, workspace and procedure.

As the schematic shows, the central feature that acts as a foundation for mapping entry spaces into the mixed space, is clearly the possibility to choose and have/ chase opportunity within a given competitive context. Choice should be seriously considered/ integrated as one of the core values of democracy in the Western European space and, as a result, determine the constitutive marketing and political discourse features, as presented by Karasik and us.

5. Methodological hybridization and analysis of linguistic phenomena

The methodological approach can start empirically. Reading articles and texts gives you the opportunity to observe phenomena that can lead us to hypothesize the presence of discursive and epistemic hybridization phenomena. We are pursuing a different approach from those that aim to describe a linguistic phenomenon as it is usually treated by the linguistic phenomenon as it is usually treated by the methodology of corpus linguistics or in contrastive rhetoric, contrastive rhetoric.

According to Charaudeau (2009), in this type of approach, the problem is one of cognition and categorization. The empirical method is not the only one that can be analysed and interpreted, one can opt for both a communicative and a descriptive method. Indeed, in the case of the empirical method, the aim is the linguistic-discursive behaviour of the subjects involved in language acts [7].

Thus, a corpus is constructed according to variables that can be compared: the external and internal variables of the corpus. For Charaudeau (2009), similarities and differences belong to the characteristics of the different corpora and allow to further take into consideration the modifications or perenniality of certain discourses, their generality and specificity according to the context of production, circulation and reception.

Critical discourse analysts also usually encourage researchers to engage explicitly when it comes to verbalizing their personal interest and position regarding the issue as well as trying to be practitioners of self-critical behaviour, reflecting on their own findings across the duration of the research process. Institutional discourse analysis research often starts with a research subject or issue rather than theory or methodology. Robust contextual understandings of the dynamics of particular topics or issues (as well as the specific discourse under investigation) are intended to inform specific research design choices about theory, methodology and methods[8].

Hence, research design and methodological processes can be considerably flexible, cyclic and adaptive to the specifics of a project. A few scholars well-known have tried to point out methodological processes in an effort to strengthen rigor furthermore to provide strategies for others to use.

Even if researchers recognize and accept the many possible forms and genres of semiotic meaning, many studies tend to focus on the textual genres of discourse. We can make a connection and remember that there have, nevertheless, been significant efforts to further develop and apply methodologies to visual and multimodal discourse genres (see Rose; Machin and Mayr, for example).

Several approaches try in an explicitly or implicitly way to attempt to make connections between social phenomena at micro, meso and macro scales, mapping discourse analyses onto these scales accordingly. Fairclough form a concept of these scales as a three-dimensional model being made up of discursive events (micro), discursive practices (meso) and social structures (macro) [9].

Fairclough argued that research aimed at discourse analysis should no longer be conducted from the perspective of descriptive, interpretive and explanatory studies, as all of these are underpinned by an oscillation between different degrees of analysis.

Conclusions

In conclusion, any approach has both strengths and weaknesses and challenges in research, regardless of the field. However, discourse analysis provides investigative tools for researchers who wish to critically engage with issues that target discourse analysis, representation, power and inequality at different socio-material levels.

Therefore, in the paper presented, the main approaches in discourse analysis have been brought to attention with the aim of trying to be as close as possible to an accurate approach to the topic in question, we have referred to discourse analysis from semantic, pragmatic, syntactic and schematic, interdisciplinary as well as pragmatic ends.

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ETHICS AND PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT IN LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE TRANSLATION

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Abstract

In the practice of the translation, as in every other field of activity, we are often confronted with difficult, unusual, unprecedented situations, or outside existing or already known patterns. The current paper focuses on how to manage such situations when dealing with legal and administrative translation. What is the right position to adopt? Do ethics or professional deontology, alongside the theory of translation, sufficiently describe the way in which to address these issues? Are translators we sufficiently trained to know how to manage such a challenge? These are the just questions that to which we shall provide answers throughout this paper, by also offering some case studies for reflection.

Keywords
ethics, know-how, translational behaviour

1. Ethics and deontology versus morality

First of all, it is extremely important to recall the definitions of these concepts and to establish the theoretical framework of the issue dealt with. By looking up the French word in the *Larousse* dictionary online, we learn that this feminine noun has a double etymology, originating in the Latin *ethica* and in the Greek *ethikon*. The proposed definitions are as follows: "1. Partie de la philosophie qui envisage les fondements de la morale; 2. Ensemble des principes moraux qui sont à la base de la conduite de quelqu'un. Synonyme: morale" [1. Part of philosophy which considers the foundations of morality; 2. Set of moral principles that are the basis of someone's conduct. Synonym: moral] [1]. In *Le Petit Robert*, the same word is explained differently: "*nom féminin: Science de la morale. Ouvrage de morale. L'« Éthique » de Spinoza. Ensemble* des conceptions morales de qqn, d'un milieu. → morale. Éthique médicale. → bioéthique." (https://dictionnaire.lerobert.com/definition/ethique).

One can easily understand that between ethics and morality, as sciences, there is a close connection, ethics being based on the fundamental principles of morality. While morality establishes a scale of values to which we must refer in order to properly judge good or evil and it offers us a code of rules to follow, ethics "favorise une réflexion cognitive pour faire

face aux circonstances exceptionnelles" [promotes cognitive thinking to deal with exceptional circumstances] (Wolton, 2004) [2]. In other words, morality establishes rules for human conduct while ethics "permet la remise en question de ces valeurs et encourage leur hiérarchisation quand elles sont en conflit, également dans le but de faire le bien" [allows the questioning of these values and encourages their prioritization when they are in conflict, also with the aim of doing good] (Bernier. 2004: 56-57) [3].

It is always Bernier (2004:57) who, in his *Course on Ethics and Deontology*, evokes the reasoning of Etchegoyen (1991:79-80) [4] who regards ethics as a morality of circumstances, by advancing the idea of "morality of interest":

> "La moralité se soucie peu des circonstances, du calcul ou du temps qui passe, elle s'affirme immédiatement. L'éthique, au contraire, est un raisonnement qui parie sur le temps et choisit le long terme par rapport au court terme. Autrement dit, l'éthique se présente comme un compromis entre la morale et l'intérêt. […] . Reste à savoir si ce n'est pas une 'morale d'intérêt'" (Idem 2004: 56-57).
>
> [Morality doesn't care much for circumstances, calculation or the passage of time, it asserts itself immediately. Ethics, on the contrary, is a kind of reasoning that bets on time and chooses the long term over the short term. In other words, ethics presents itself as a compromise between morality and interest. […] . It remains to be seen whether this is not a 'morality of interest]

Bourgeault (1987: 22) [5] understands by morality the system of rules of human conduct, while ethics is rather as the result of the steps of human conduct. For Bonfils (1996: 4) [6], morality means: "l'ensemble des valeurs supérieures qui conduisent chacun à différencier le bien du mal et qui devraient fonder les conduites humaines, tout au moins pour les individus conscients de leurs devoirs et responsables de leurs actes."["… the set of superior values which lead everyone to differentiate between good and evil and which should be the basis of human behaviour, at least for individuals aware of their duties and responsible for their actions"].

To discuss deontology, we turn again to dictionary definitions. *Larousse* provides us with the following explanation: "Ensemble des règles et des devoirs qui régissent une profession, la conduite de ceux qui l'exercent, les rapports entre ceux-ci et leurs clients et le public" ("set of rules and duties that govern a profession, the conduct of those who exercise it, the relationships between them and their clients and the public" [7], *and Le Petit Robert*, presents it as "Ensemble des règles et des devoirs régissant une profession" ("set of rules and duties governing a profession" [8]. It follows that deontology can also be associated with morality, the two sciences being responsible for creating rules of conduct. The difference is between the so-called *scope*. Considering this aspect, one can easily observe that morality refers to human conduct, in general, while deontology can be considered as professional morality or the morality of the profession. While morality caters more or less generally valid rules of conduct, deontology may have its specific rules which constitute a professional code of conduct, which may differ from one profession to another.

2. Ethics and deontology of translation

After these general considerations, it is appropriate to direct our attention to the way in which these concepts, and particularly ethics and deontology, apply to translation studies. According to Godard (2001: 52) [9], interest in the ethics in translation has emerged recently, with Berman [10], in the socio-cultural context of the 1980s, in which many translators and

men of letters campaigned for the recognition of translation studies as a science, as a "field of knowledge". Marinetti (2016: 26) [11], takes stock of the main theories that have defined what is called the *cultural approach* or the *cultural turn* [12]. This ideology emerged in the early 1990s, trying to theorize translation studies and establish a translation methodology, drawing inspiration from descriptive translation studies, especially from the School of Manipulation (Hermans 1985). Among the pioneers of this theory, mention should be made of Bassnett, Lefevre and Venuti. The cultural approach is based on the theory of the Polysystem and on Toury's concept of *norms* of translations:

"[...] l'approche culturelle reflète également un changement épistémologique en sciences humaines et au-delà – avec le passage du « positivisme » au « relativisme » et aussi le passage de la croyance selon laquelle il est possible de trouver des normes universelles aux phénomènes à la croyance que les phénomènes sont influencés (sinon déterminés) par l'observateur." (Marinetti 2011:26) ("the cultural approach also reflects an epistemological shift in the humanities and beyond – with the shift from 'positivism' to 'relativism' and also the shift from the belief that it is possible to find universal norms for phenomena to the belief that phenomena are influenced (if not determined) by the observer")

The cultural turn shifts the traditional research question of "how to translate" to "why translate", "who translates", "translate what" and "translate for whom". To answer these questions, the notions of "rewriting", "manipulation" and "ethics" are introduced. According to Bassnett (2001), "The translation is, of course, a rewriting of the original text […]. Rewriting is a manipulation, carried out in the service of power, which, considered in its positive aspect, contributes to the evolution of a given literature and society. Simon (1996) addresses the question of fidelity in translation by supporting the idea of fidelity oriented towards the writing project. In the book entitled *Theories of Translation*, Rakova [13] recalls Jiri Levy's theory: *Translation as a Decision Process* (1967) [14]: "Du point de vue pratique du traducteur, à chaque moment de son travail [..], l'activité de traduction est un processus décisionnel : une série d'un certain nombre des situations consécutives - de corpus; comme dans un jeu, des situations qui imposent au traducteur la nécessité de choisir entre un certain nombre d'alternatives [..]" (Rakova 2014:154-155) ("From the practical point of view of the translator, at each moment of his/her work [..], the activity of translation is a decision-making process: a series of a certain number of consecutive situations - of corpus; as in a game, situations which impose on the translator the need to choose between a certain number of alternatives"). Rakova [13] further investigates the phenomenon of translation, and she tells us about the different theories of translations that we can refer to in the decision-making process. It is understood that any translator who has the appropriate training, and who is familiar with all these theories, could choose the best way to translate a certain text, since translation theories provide us with models of conduct in translation practice. However, it is well known that in reality, a large number of translators have never benefited from training in translation studies, being authorized to practice on the basis of other qualifications and/or other criteria. In this context, the need to relate to systems of rules is obvious and this is the reason why codes of professional ethics have been enforced. The profession of translator is becoming more and more regulated these days.

3. The translator's code of ethics

Codes of ethics are sets of rules that regulate the profession of translator. The basic principles, taken up by the codes, are more or less the same, regardless of the country or the issuing body. In what follows we overview different professional codes of ethics from

countries such as France, Switzerland, Canada, Belgium and Romania, with the aim of detecting common elements and possible specific differences. Following their analysis, we have come to the following conclusion: the common core of these legislations is built around three main axes, defined very well by the Canadian legislation as: "Duties towards the client", "Duties towards the public" and "Duties towards the profession" [15]. In other words, the codes outline the obligations of translation professionals to the client or the commissioner; to the society, in general terms; and also the obligations in relation to the profession (colleagues or organizations and associations). Before proceeding with our comparison, it should be mentioned that there is an important difference between the framework legislation of each country, with regard to the profession of translator and the codes of ethics which are, in most cases, issued by other organizations such as orders or associations. This is why the very text of the codes speaks of the obligations of "members", that is to say the translators who are affiliated with such an organization. The significant differences existing between the various codes of ethics can be justified a priori by the fact that each organization customizes its rules of procedure, by creating its own standards of professional conduct, imposed on the members.

Returning to "duties", in Quebec legislation, for example, the obligations of translators, who are part of the Order of Translators, Terminologists and Approved Interpreters of Quebec, are illustrated in Section II, and grouped into 8 paragraphs, as follows : " General provisions " ; " Integrity " ; "Availability and diligence", "Professional responsibility", "Independence and impartiality", "Remuneration", "Professional secrecy", "Conditions and procedures for exercising the rights of access and rectification provided for in articles 60.5 and 60.6 of the Professional Code and obligation for the member to provide documents to the client" [15]. By comparison, the code of ethics for translators in Switzerland contains, in the chapter entitled "General conduct", the following paragraphs: "Basic principles"; "Responsibility", "Impartiality/neutrality", "Confidentiality" – these obligations are similar to those of the Canadian legislation, contained in the chapter "Duties towards the client". The aspect that really makes the difference between the two codes is represented by the presence of a special chapter, dedicated to the "Qualifications" of translators. The text endorsed by ASTTI (Swiss Association of Translators, Terminologists and Interpreters) devotes an entire section to "Skills", "Continuing Education" and "Professional Titles" [16]. Another specificity of the Swiss code of ethics is represented by the professional structure of the members, which is more varied, including terminologists, alongside translators and interpreters. It is clear that, even if there really is a difference between the professions of translator and interpreter and that of terminologist, the assignments are adapted to cover all these professional categories. Aspects related to qualifications and continuing education are also taken up by the Belgian codes of ethics. Also, in Belgium, the legislation makes a difference between translators and interpreters and sworn translators-interpreters, the latter being authorized to practice before the courts and police stations, following a special accreditation procedure which involves taking the oath. Sworn translators are those who are generally in charge with legal translations whose recipients are state authorities. In fact, sworn translators are specialists in legal and administrative translation. Since 2020, all sworn translator-interpreters are obliged to follow specific legal training in order to maintain the status of "juror". This decision was made because current practice has shown that the knowledge acquired following the usual training of translators (translator training programme and/or practice) is not sufficient to be permitted to operate in the legal

environment. The new conditions are detailed in the RD of March 30, 2018, published in the Belgian Official Bulletin of April 27, 2018. The document also provides for the obligation of registration with the National Register of Translators and Interpreters and adherence to the code of ethics of legal experts and sworn translators, interpreters and translator-interpreters (https://justice.belgium.be/fr/services_en_ligne/registre_national_et_frais_de_justice/registr e_national/demande_dinscription_et). We can conclude that this obligation to observe the rules of professional conduct imposed by the code of ethics is a *sine qua non* condition for a professional, recognized sworn translator. In Romania, translators and interpreters are authorized by the Ministry of Justice or by the Ministry of Culture [17], based on a procedure for the recognition of academic titles and following an exam [18]. Law 178 of 1997 provides the manner in which the Ministry of Justice authorizes translators and interpreters to activate or provide services to the various state institutions as follows: The Superior Council of the Judiciary, the Ministry of Justice; the Public Prosecutor's Office of the High Court of Cassation and Justice, the National Anticorruption Directorate, the criminal prosecution bodies, the courts, the offices of public notaries, lawyers, bailiffs. With regard to the deontology of the translation profession in Romania, we observe that it includes the same main principles taken up by the European deontological codes, which target the conduct and skills of the translator: honesty, integrity, impartiality, confidentiality, training, submission to legal standards, respect for the profession, etc. Nevertheless, we have identified, in one of the Romanian codes of ethics, issued by Highlights Translations, an aspect that aims at good practices for integrity, which we shall attempt to comment in the following terms: "Traducătorul/interpretul abordează lucrările și însărcinările acceptate cu imparțialitate și obiectivitate, fără a se implica în niciun fel în tema lucrării, ci furnizând strict serviciul de traducere / interpretare, la standarde de calitate incontestabilă." [The translator / interpreter approaches the works and assignments accepted with impartiality and objectivity, without getting involved in any way in the topic of the work, but strictly providing the translation / interpretation service, at unquestionable quality standards.]. The question is also ethical: can this obligation be taken into account in all circumstances? In order to answer, we consider an example of a translation of a study document issued by the Romanian authorities and its translation into French, i.e., a Bachelor's Degree issued in 2010 for the specialization Physical Therapy. According to the above-mentioned ethical principle, the headings concerning the title awarded and the specialization could have been translated "ne varietur" as follows:

> RO: *Titlul de Licentiat in kinetoterapie [....] specialitatea Kinetoterapie*
> *versus*
> FR: *Titre de Licence/Bachelier en kinésithérapie [....], spécialité kinésithérapie* ».

Let's imagine later that the translation of this diploma will be used in a procedure for the recognition of academic qualifications and that on the basis of the documents presented, the panel will decide to grant access to the profession of physical therapist. In this case, one wonders whether the equivalence is really correct given the fact that the Romanian degree is issued by the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport while the corresponding Belgian degree is awarded by the medical schools / universities. Should a Romanian-language translator working in Belgium who knows this particularity be involved in translation? Will s/he visibly get involved in the translation, in the form of a footnote, in order to avoid a material error caused by an "ad litteram" translation. Can a "ne varietur" translation be

considered "bad" or "incorrect"?? These are questions we raise in order to learn how to translate and what will be the best approach to this type of challenge. Until a functional equivalence in the translation of terms for the physical therapist profession is made and unanimously recognized, it may be appropriate for the issuing authorities to work with translators to propose appropriate translation solutions for the study documents in question.

After closely reading several codes of ethics, we can see that before proceeding with any translation, the translator is responsible for documenting the vocabulary used, the subject covered by the document to be translated, and, of course, the purpose of use of the document and the recipient. If not, any translator who does not go through these stages enters into a conflict of interest with the provisions of the codes of ethics which provide for all these obligations, regardless of the country or the issuing body. We come back to the provisions of the code of ethics of LinguaJuris (Belgium) which, in the chapter *Aptitudes / Article 8 / Competences*, mentions the following: "a) Les traducteurs, interprètes et traducteurs-interprètes jurés n'acceptent que les tâches qu'ils sont en mesure d'effectuer avec compétence. b) S'il apparaît aux interprètes et aux traducteurs jurés que la tâche qui leur est assignée dépasse leurs capacités techniques ou linguistiques, ils proposent de mettre fin à leur engagement" [19] ["a) Sworn translators, interpreters and translator-interpreters shall only accept the tasks that they are able to perform competently. b) If the sworn interpreters and translators deem that the task assigned to them exceeds their technical or linguistic abilities, they shall offer to terminate the contract"]. Imagine a translator faced with a translation of a Romanian diploma into French. The client requests the translation into French but only indicates that the document will be used abroad, in one of the French-speaking countries, without specifying the country. In this case, what will be the conduct that the translator must adopt? If in this scenario we consider that the document to be translated is, for example, the previously mentioned diploma in Physical therapy, what is the correct rendering of the Romanian term *kinetoterapie*, knowing that it is used, only in Belgium, in different forms: *kinésithérapie*, *kiné* or *physiothérapie* (physical therapy or occupational therapy). To answer this question, we agree with Dullion (2014: 13) [20] – when faced with any terminological dilemma, the best solution in the situation in which the comparison of systems (of education in this context) is impossible or difficult, is to "énumérer des équivalents possibles hors contexte et indiquer ceux qui sont envisageables en contexte […]/ rédiger une note du traducteur pour compenser une divergence entre notions" (Idem. 2014 :13) [list possible equivalents out of context and indicate those which are appropriate in context […] / write a translator's note to compensate for a discrepancy between notions].

Conclusions

We can conclude on two main aspects: the need for continuous training and the need for standardization of the codes of ethics in translation. Alongside theory, professional ethics seeks to answer the questions generally raised by translators, concerning "how to translate?" and the way of translating or the behavior of the translator in the translation process. Given that the problem of translation is quite complex, in practice, we observe that sometimes neither the theory nor the professional ethics, existing at a given moment, are sufficiently capable of answering all the questions that have arisen in the exercise of this profession, given the perpetual evolution of the translation demand and requirements [21]. This is the reason why we consider that continuing education is the only way to provide the necessary information, to keep any practitioner in the field up to date with the latest theory and ethics.

With regard to administrative and legal documents, it may be appropriate, especially in this context of globalization, for public and educational institutions to think of collaborating with translators, in order to provide models of translations of documents issued, at least in one of the languages in circulation [22]. These models can be posted on their websites and might constitute benchmarks for translators or for any other interested person or institution, meeting the need for standardization in legal and administrative translation.

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POLITENESS, ETIQUETTE AND NON-FACE CHARACTERS IN COMPUTER-MEDIATED COMMUNICATION

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Abstract

Drawing on politeness and impoliteness approaches during ages, changes on communication styles took place, evolution of interpersonal relations adapted along time as people evolved and Face Theory, as Brown and Levinson described it, "faces" the internet and all its challenges. The article illustrates how present politeness rules may suffer changes due to the interference of internet and how language becomes more important as it deals with non-face characters hidden behind anonymity, lack of cultural background, identity and moral issues. The importance of language usage is crucial in internet era, as it remains the only communication channel, as faces disappear behind laptop or computer screens. Faces become emojis, politeness becomes visible through the number of "likes", etiquette becomes netiquette and the message is restricted to a 140 words dialogue box, as in Twitter – and the Hearer still needs to get the information from the Speaker. The study shows how ambiguity, the overuse of profanity and miscommunication may target the worst expectation: failure to comply the meaning of the message and losing virtual fragile friends.

Keywords

computer-mediated communication (CMC); politeness strategies; online interaction; language' non-face characters

1. Introduction – possible scenario

The Speaker and the Hearer are now The Writer and The Replier. Conversation is formed by words, emojis, signs, GIFs, punctuation (to imitate faces and reactions) and the faces are now images, profiles names or avatars on the front screen of the mobile phone and the laptop screen. Messages are short and fast, abbreviations are used, grammatical aspects are lost, pictures are attached, videos are played, memes are shared. And we can go on: likes on posts are given, comments are formed, replies are set, thumb-ups are sent, pictures are shared, private messages appear, tweets are loaded, re-tweets appear also, restrictions are applied, links are uploaded, heart icons and tags are more frequent than "Thank You" or "I like it"

expressions, yet conversation goes along among the two (possible) characters, with a common flow and meaning. Reactions, as the information transcends, came quickly and each and every one tends to understand what the other is trying to emphasize. At least, a third person (if lucky, identifiable by name or nickname) joins conversation and so long, the gossip spreads, everybody is focused on one or more common interactive conversational topics, social media develops, another social platform retweets everything, possibly another multi-platform messaging service comes into play, new faces appear (we have by now maybe hundreds of people connected) and then, out of the blue, something unexpected happens: one of the characters gets unfriended by the other(s). The unfriended one calls names to the others, rudeness is present, yet communication is still present, but as an impolite, but real aspect of the conversation [1]. This is merely an imaginary situation, because the characters are unknown, yet a very real one, as everybody witnessed something similar in the last years.

Since internet connected people all over the world, communication upgraded to another level – computer-mediated communication (CMC) and all its aspects knew different flavours, built and shaped in the form of online connection. Behind those screens, are real life men, women and even children, gathered by common interests, culture, mentality or grouped around some points of interest, driven to discover something new or just found themselves in social platforms they can no longer escape nor willing to escape and judging things through the new found internet reality. Similar to the lives our predecessors had. Or not? Possibly the same, but now on the internet, visible for everybody, yet faces are not shown and much faster that it was in the past.

2. Applicability of language and politeness

The basic connection that stands at the bottom of all this interconnectivity is, undoubtfully, language. Language is still "responsible" for setting the ground for human relations, it is still at the heart of every interaction, now, more than ever, since the face and eye-contact are no longer the first elements noticed. Language (and primarily English) stood its ground in this rapid development of communication, kept its main characteristics and grouped people as the interface changed. In this visual reality, language was not to be omitted, though eye-based images seem to be focus centered. "Hey", "Hello", "How are you" may still be the first words to be used when starting a conversation, whether it is a face-to-face or computer mediated one. And this is still a sign of politeness strategy used to communicate [2]. There is still a link between politeness, impoliteness and morality in people's interactions, revealing that there is something in ourselves that wants to convey to the moral order. That leads to the idea that politeness is not forgotten, but rather, the digital discourse and the different types of impolite oriented interactions adapted to new times or adapted to new type of people.

People had, across history, a tendency of being polite, as politeness has been the closest idea of what a good civilized person should represent in society. As times changed, politeness came under suspicion and the classical meaning suffered transformation and many rejected it. Nowadays, the meaning of polite carries the opposite of its traditional meaning, indicating a certain degree of insincerity and fakeness. Inauthenticity, insolence, rudeness and offensiveness are also associated to some models of politeness. But it is a matter of culture, education, gender issue when considering all these aspects as they differ from culture to culture, nation to nation and moral background to another.

Research on politeness developed rapidly over the last decades, but the concept preoccupied scholars since early times as politeness and impoliteness showed applicability to different historical contexts. And that is because politeness has always been connected with interaction between people and interactions dwelt with people and environment. Thus, not only the linguistic aspect of politeness, but the social one also is very meaningful, being present in most aspect of modern life and society. Politeness was also associated to strong emotions or actions that evolved in time, such as apologies and directives. All these aspects were related in time to people and that specific environment of that time. For example, Shakespeare used the pronoun *thou* as a marker of positive politeness while *you* was related to negative politeness. Therefore, there was a tendency to separate trivial virtues from central ones, to create an ethical behaviour, as early scholars pinned in their writings: details about how to dress, smile, ride a horse or narrate were very meaningful and stood at the basis of the concept. Another example of how society and people influenced politeness was the Romantic period, where classical aspects were brought into disrepute [3]. The Polite Person became the Frank Person, the one who never hides or moderates his/her emotions and thoughts in order to remain true to oneself. Social emulation was achieved as new tendencies appeared, such as the person who speaks in plain language. Furthermore, American model of person, being direct and open, gained success and remained for decades a central virtue or a national attitude. The idea is that it all comes down to a contrasting set of beliefs about human nature, rather than a notion of knowledge or etiquette. Politeness emerges as a multifaceted culture and history-specific phenomenon, an elusive concept that grew alongside with human race and adapted in order to keep its original value: to facilitate communication, interconnection and life.

Nowadays, as economies grew, as multiculturalism rose, as gender and social laws developed, social etiquette came as the normal natural answer. The emphasis is on protocol, business etiquette and once again, the written and unwritten rules of conduct changed one more time.

Finally, the development of internet and social online world offered premises for new styles of politeness and language use: the connection between impoliteness, morality, politeness, conflict, offence – all in the middle of digital discourse of social media. The present communication style adopts a new dimension – the online offers a wall between people and, in the same time is designated to gather people. The online society necessitates new rules of conduct, the so-called Netiquette, as these rules regard protocol for online communication such as emails, forums, blogs, comments and what else internet has come up to [4]. But politeness and language are extremely necessary, almost crucial in today's far-reaching society. Although there is no real face of the speaker and the hearer, internet and social media proposed a different type of face and general recognition, that triggers some amount of acknowledgment.

3. Social media and the rise of online communication

Social media is part of individuals daily lives, it is incorporated in their routine, it connects users with their families, friends, work colleagues and with unknown people. Moreover, the rise of online business developed ads campaigns and by sharing pictures, videos, music, articles, thoughts and opinions, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and all other platforms, including Snapchat and Telegram and many more became the channels of world communication [5].

3.1 Politeness on Facebook

Facebook is the most used social media platform of all time. With a massive audience of 2.8 billion active monthly users, Facebook has become very popular not only to individuals, but to marketers also. The purpose of Facebook is to exchange information on a variety of topics, but it also about forming, keeping or gaining an image, usually a positive one. And its main function by acquiring it is communication through language. The use of language in this informal medium is directed towards maintaining the bond with Facebook friends. One can upload a picture, gather likes, but comments and comments on shares is what is all about when going online world famous. This struggle implies some sort of politeness and, actually, without knowing, many Facebook users adopt some politeness strategies, just like well-known authors first described them [5]. A sociolinguistic behavior, with a positive and friendly attitude towards the addressee, is to be noticed, as a common element on Facebook. There are thanks, wishes, compliments, congratulations and apologies that convey to the polite meaning of the communication. There is positive and negative politeness on Facebook. The negative one is more present in the category of apologies, whereas positive politeness pervades on most comments, dubbed by affective behaviour. Of course, there is much to debate on gender issue, whether women or men mostly use positive politeness, but the present article is not going to cover this aspect, as it represents a more widely attention. Language manifests an amount of politeness on Facebook also when depicting a wide range of emotive language devices such as capital letters, overuse of punctuation, certain emoticons or multiple added letters such as XOXO or LOL or OMG or combination of letters, numbers and characters such the famous heart sign <3. Lately, chat application or platforms integrated those signs and symbols, especially to translate what users tried in the past. That came also as a recognition of some symbols as they differ from culture to culture to create a general meaning of that specific sign. For example, the "okay" gesture – made by connecting the thumb and forefinger in a circle and holding the other fingers straight, is recognized in Britain and North America as a signal to question or confirm that a person is well or safe while in parts of southern Europe and South America this is an offensive gesture [5].

3.2 Politeness on Instagram

Instagram dwells a lot with positive politeness, as comments are intended to notice or attend to one's interests and needs. The joking mechanism used in comments in order to put the hearer at ease is a frequent strategy involving politeness. As Brown and Levinson described them first, positive politeness strategies are to be frequently found on Instagram: explanation, attending to listener, exaggeration, proving interest, approval or sympathy, seeking agreement, avoiding disagreement, the use of small talk, joking, being optimistic, assuming or asserting reciprocity and giving small gifts to the listener, like understanding or cooperation [6].

Instagram uses a lot of negative politeness also, by questions, apologies, impersonalizing the speaker and the hearer or by being conventionally indirect.

The use of small comments and the over-use of hearts also indicate the amount of politeness users tend to use on Instagram [5]. After all, there are pictures this platform mainly stated as the main variable for social media.

Like Facebook, Instagram offers the possibility of hiding the real face of the user behind an avatar, a logo or other scheme, but its main function is to broadcast the face you uploaded. The general recognition comes as a reward of the polite strategy the user adopted when promoting his/her image.

3.3 Politeness on Twitter

Mostly like Facebook, Twitter consists in a language centered platform, where short messages are tweeted and retweeted in order to develop a specific idea or concept. Dealing with language and users connected outside cultural background, split by gender and nationality, new media Twitter allows positive politeness to take its well-known prize: all four politeness strategies by Brown [7] and Levinson are to be found in tweets. Bald-on record, off-record and negative politeness strategies also. The limitation to the 140 words box in a tweet is an invitation to directness between users.

3.4 Risks and misfires on social media

But misunderstanding may occur on all social media platforms. Twitter is known for its second or third tweet in order to balance the (wrong, misled) information in the first tweet. Instagram double tap may not always be the desired action nor the comments once uploaded and read can't change the speaker's intentions on Facebook [8]. No one guarantees that a second comment is read and the risk is overpassed.

Returning to the prefigured scenario from the beginning of the article, a badly-conducted conversation may lead to catastrophic endings: virtual friendships end, as language did not fulfil its purpose: to connect people. In the absence of faces, the connection between individuals rests solely on language, on politeness strategies and on online communication skills better upgraded in order to achieve the target [9]. This aspect is relevant in nowadays society and politeness issue should be taken seriously in order to maintain harmonious relations.

Conclusions

Social media and politeness go hand-in-hand. Whether a business owner or simple user, one needs a digital strategy in order to achieve the purpose he/she joined social platform(s). This strategy involves language adapted to present time, where time is essential and new communication dimension bears a development of language in the extent that it allows interferences with multiple domains. Politeness is crucial when achieving an Internet created position – that of a virtual friend. Virtual friendship seems very important in this area and the use of politeness strategies will only fulfil the user's need to be liked, shared or retweeted by a large number of followers. On the contrary, the lack of politeness, the misuse of language (in the absence of faces), the misfire of comments will only, sooner or later, lead to catastrophic outcomes, such as an unfriend action or virtual ignorance.

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LEGAL TRANSLATIONS. LEXICAL AND CULTURE-BOUND PARTICULARITIES

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Abstract

Driven by the contemporary realities demanded on the translation market which tends to impose ever increasing quality standards with respect to translators' competences on the one hand the technicalities of expert domains, on the other hand, legal language translation has acquired considerable importance regarding the study of lexical and socio- cultural items as sensitive translation-related issues that might lead to real prejudices and social dissensions, if not properly observed and transferred from the source language into the target language. Within this context we have designed a sustainable research investigation and have thus adopted methods of theoretical observation and practical analysis applied on a text corpus. Our study underpinned not only a theoretical assessment of the specific English legal lexicon but also in what degree are these aspects reflected in an applied study of English-issued official EU documents, i.e., EU Regulations, and their translated version into Romanian. In view of that, for the applied study carried out within the present research thesis we sought to implement a corpus-based analysis.

Keywords

translation; translator; law; legal; communication; language

Based on the translation-oriented perspective postulated by Cao (2007: 23) that "the nature of law and legal language contributes to the complexity and difficulty in legal translation, we further aim at highlighting particular features of legal language in terms of lexical and culture-bound particularities.

Regarding the special occurrences and the difficulties translators may face when dealing with legal language texts, Cao (Ibidem) establishes a classification of various factors which influence and may even alter the quality of a legal translated document, even if the most appropriate translation strategies and procedures have been applied. In this respect, Cao refers to the difference between legal systems and laws arguing that even though legal language is

a technical language, *not a universal technical langue, but one that is tied to a national legal system.*

Within the same climate, it is worth mentioning that a main factor that may imply translation difficulties is the difference between the two legal systems of the source and target language, this aspect being clearly emphasized by Trosborg (1991) [1] as well. Still, it is not only the peculiar characteristics of each legal system which may lead to ambiguities, but the cultural differences as well. We could say that it is due to cultural differences that specific legal systems have been developed among different societies as *language and culture or social contexts are closely integrated and interdependent* (Cao 2007: 31). Trosborg (1991:78) [1] highlights that law reflects society and that a legal system of a particular nation or a speech community is a reflection of its culture and its institutional traditions and regularities. Because of this close interaction between the legal system and the culture of a nation, legal translation between two languages becomes more difficult, while the translator is assigned the tasks of *a mediator between two intercultural situations of communication* (Croitoru 1996: 212) [2].

This view is also supported by Cao (2007: 25) who states that law is an expression of the culture, which is expressed through legal language. Legal language, like any other language use, is a social practice and legal texts necessarily bear the imprint of such practice or organizational background.

The third factor, and an essential one for our investigation, also mentioned by Cao (Ibidem), which can give rise to ambiguities in legal translation, is the linguistic dimension. At this point, Cao refers to two interrelated linguistic dimensions which can affect the translation process from a source text into a target text. Firstly, it is worth taking into consideration that legal language is an instance of LSP, thus encoding special syntactic, semantic and pragmatic rules (Sager 1990 in Cao 2007: 28) [3]. Trosborg (1991: 66) states that *the acquisition of a special language happens through explicit rules which need common language for their introduction [...].*

However, equal attention should be paid to the translators' competence and behaviour towards legal documents. In this respect, Cao (2007: 81) considers that often, *a translator has to make hard decisions within the constraints of language*. Admittedly, considering both the importance of the most appropriate translation strategies that have to be applied throughout a translation process and the translator's skills and competences in approaching legal texts we will further adopt the perspective put forward by Cao (2007) regarding the existence of translation difficulties that are likely to occur in legal documents translation. Being aware of the significance of all the previously defined factors that influence the translator during the translation process, we shall focus mainly on the lexical aspects that may generate ambiguities at various levels.

It is worth mentioning that our research is focused on both English and the Romanian translations, aiming to identify and analyse particular features of lexical and culture-bound particularities that may happen during the translation process, i.e., during the translation of English Regulations into Romanian [4].

By means of this investigation we first attempt to reveal those particular lexical and culture-specific issues that may occur during translating the source texts into the target texts. Accordingly, we shall carry out a linguistic contrastive study of the findings in terms of qualitative and quantitative forms of lexical and culture-bound particularities in the translation of EU official documents, i.e., EU Regulations.

Further on, we aim at carrying out a monolingual corpus-based investigation of Lexical and culture-specific features of the English-issued versions of Regulations as an EU Working Language, thus focusing on lexical ambiguities and socio-cultural aspects that may hinder the translating process [5]. By means of a lexical descriptive analysis, we aim at establishing specific lexical features that may occur in EU Regulations, attempting at the same time to establish how such situations are generated during the translation process.

Accordingly, the EU Regulations encompassed within our proposed corpus have been investigated in terms of synonymy and polysemy as frequent issues that may arise during the translation process [6]. We were mainly interested in the function and the meaning of the lexical items specific to the legal language, i.e., *archaic words*, *loans*, *technical terms* and *common words with uncommon meanings*. Among the most relevant results following our corpus- based analysis it is worth mentioning examples such as:

- *complaint*

According to Tiersma (2008: 16) [7] and DuVivier (1999: 63-64) [8] the term *complaint* is used in legal language as an expression of dissatisfaction. Moreover, from the *LDCE*, we learn that the noun *complaint* is defined as *a written or spoken statement in which someone complains about something* (Summers et al 2005: 271) However, legally, this term means the plaintiff's opening pleading. Thus, in *LDCE*, the noun *complaint*, under a distinct entry, refers to: *law, someone who makes a formal complaint in a court of law; PLAINTIF* (Ibidem).

Technical uses of the term *complaint* have also been identified within our analysis: *Without prejudice to the provisions of Condition 6B, where a complaint is received about the standard of Goods or Services or about the manner in which any Goods or Services have been supplied or [...], then the Commission shall notify the Supplier/Contractor, and where considered appropriate by the Commission, investigate the complaint. The Commission may, in its sole discretion, uphold the complaint and take further action in accordance with Condition 18 above.* – Regulation (EU) 2015-340: 73

- *performance*

The term *performance* is commonly defined as *the act of doing a piece of work, duty" or "how well or badly you do a particular job or activity* (Summers et al 2005: 1050); yet in legal documents, *performance* refers specifically to the accomplishment of the conditions required [9]. According to *ODL*, *performance* is regarded as *The carrying out of obligations under a contract* (Martin 2003: 362). In addition, the noun phrase *specific performance* means in contract law, according to Cao (2007: 68), *where damages would be inadequate compensation for the breach of an agreement, the contracting parties may be compelled to perform what was agreed to be done by a decree of specific performance, e.g., the sale, purchase or lease of land, or recovery of unique chattels*.

Similar meanings of the term *performance* have been encountered throughout our corpus-based analysis as well: *'performance objective' means a clear and unambiguous statement of the performance expected of the person undertaking the training, the conditions under which the performance takes place and the standards that the person undertaking training should meet; -* Regulation (EU) 2015-340: 5

- *action*

Another frequently encountered legal term is word *action*, which beyond its general meaning as *the process of doing in order to deal with a problem or difficult situation* (Summers et al 2005: 13), from a legal perspective it means *lawsuit*, i.e. *A proceeding in which a party pursues a legal right in a civil court* (Martin 2003: 9). Thus, some translation

difficulties situations may occur in situation when structures such as any *action* or *all actions* are perceived as as the process of doing something and not in terms of legal language.

Council Regulation (EC) No 744/2008 of 24 July 2008 instituting a temporary specific action aiming to promote the restructuring of the European Community fishing fleets affected by the economic crisis. - OJ L 202, 31.7.2008:1

- *party*

In General English, *party* has generally the meaning of *an organised group of people meet together, to enjoy themselves by eating, drinking, dancing* (Summers et al 2005: 1033), however, in legal language the term designates a person litigating, in such documents the term is often used in plural meaning *parties pl. n.* 1. *Persons who are involved together in some transaction.* 2. *Persons who are involved together in litigation, either civil or criminal* (Martin 2003: 357).

Upon notification to the Commission by the Member State concerned, the Commission may endorse the outline of the intended quota transfer or exchange that the Member State has discussed with the relevant Contracting Party to the RFMO. Thereupon, the Commission shall exchange, without undue delay, the consent to be bound by such quota transfer or exchange with the relevant Contracting Party to the RFMO. The Commission shall then give notification of the agreed quota transfer or exchange to the secretariat of the RFMO in accordance with the rules of that organisation. - Regulation (EU) 2015/104: 15

Based on our corpus-based analysis of the previously mentioned EU Regulations we have can highlight the fat that the most significant lexical particularities occur not only by using synonym or homonym nouns, or *legal homonyms* (Tiersma 2008: 16) [7], but also within compound nouns and noun phrases containing such constituent elements.

Based on the above applied lexical analysis models, we intended to undertake a quantitative analysis of the lexical particularities encountered within the proposed research corpus [9]. Additionally, using qualitative methods we attempted to establish the frequency rate of lexically-specific occurrences in terms of *archaic words, loans, technical terms and common words with uncommon meanings*, accordingly, figure 4 below indicates the frequency rate of typical lexical occurrences in terms of *archaic words, loans, technical terms and common words with uncommon meanings* encountered within the researched corpus [10]. The figure reveals a quantitative classification of the encountered items according to their specific lexical features.
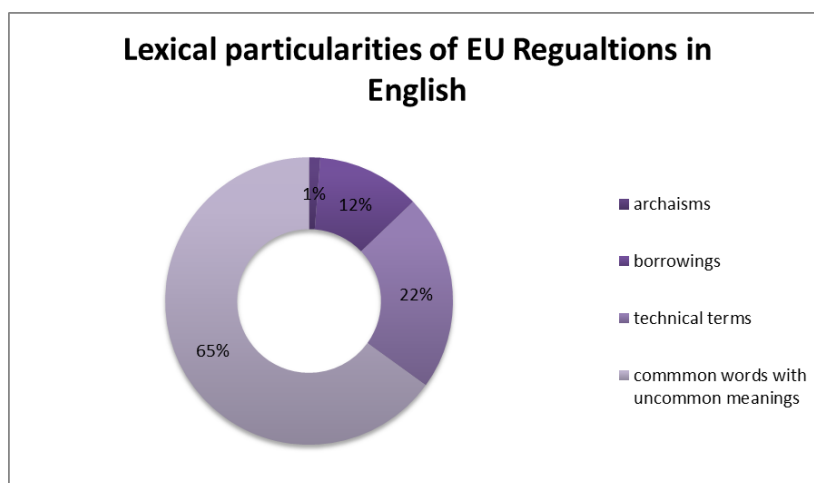
Fig. 4 – Lexical particularities of EU Regulations in English

Characterised by Cao (2007: 21) a distinctive feature of legal language, legal discourse is a complex and unique aspect in translating legal texts. Thus, *the complex legal vocabulary is a general feature typical for different language varieties in the field of legal language* (Oţăt, 2011: 204) [12], further specific features of these sub-languages indicate particular and unique aspects of the legal vocabulary. As postulated by Danet (1984: 3) [13], legal *vocabulary exhibits distinctive lexical features particular to expressing the concepts of law and*, as a consequence, it has been subjected to analysis in a number of studies. Thus, the author highlighted the following features as characteristic of the legal register:

- *technical terms*
- *common terms with uncommon meanings*
- *archaic expressions*
- *formal items*
- *unusual prepositional phrases*

According to Cao in Oţăt (2011: 204) [12], the special expressions used in legal English are difficult for non-professionals to understand, thus with the intention to better recognize and understand them, non-professionals need a process of interpretation by professionals, i.e. *the process of thawing or unfreezin*g (Ibidem).

Nevertheless, despite the efforts of simplification and *unfreezin*g prominent theorists and researchers within the field of legal language feature this area of expertise by mentioning attributes like *formality, frozen, consultative* Danet (1984: 9) [13]. Consequently, key features of the legal register and style indicate concepts such as concreteness, conciseness, and clearness of intentions and actions, a special system of clichés and stamps which lack of emotional colouring [9]. As a result, the frozen style of legal English is typically exemplified in its lexicon.

Based on theoretical arguments and practical analysis, the present section aims at proving that even though more and more people ask for the use of plain English in official documents,

most of them exhibit the lexical features of archaic words, technical terms or use deliberate vague words [14].

Conclusions

To sum up we could envisage that lexical characteristics of legal language and moreover of EU official documents are to be emphasised by the very nature of this language variety as a branch of legal English. We may conclude by stating that translation-related difficulties in terms of lexical and culture-specific issues do occur in legal language texts [15]. Moreover, most translation- related difficulties do not occur due to translation errors, but rather due to the specific features of legal language which translators have to take into consideration, acting cautiously.

Needless to say, those social, cultural and political factors also need to be taken into consideration when drafting or translating contracts.

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INSTITUTIONALIZED MARKET FEATURES IN UNIVERSITY DISCOURSES

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Abstract

We start from the assumption that University discourses must persuade the receivers to acknowledge the intended meaning so as to gain institutional prestige and therefore clients (students). To do so they need to adapt and adopt some marketing features which are most suitable to the institutional style, yet preserve the professional informational patterns: content centered on consumers and marketers that provide all necessary tools for the receivers. Therefore, market requirements are of outmost importance in establishing a clear-cut institutional discourse at the University level and marketers gain the power of persuasion in discourse deliveries. Thence, consumer requirements become the map of University deliveries, rendered through facts and data, still following a sort of delivery and style tradition.

Keywords

Institutional discourse, marketing features, University discourse.

1. Introduction

In 2013, content marketing became popular among marketers [1]. The term was used to define the marketing and business acts for designing and allot relevant and compelling meaning in order to enthral, attain, and employ well targeted groups of receivers- all with the intent of generating cost- effective receiver (re)action [1]. Market researchers use a lot of different techniques to find out what people think and do. These techniques include automated data analysis, demographic statistics, and so on. If the right techniques are used, anyone can be persuaded [2]. As in all marketing strategies, University presentations promote the relationship between the institution and consumers (receivers). It is a marketing feature to settle the persuasiveness of the institutional discourse through its main participants (University and consumers) by using common ideas and data to do so and also clarifying the informational needs. As such, institutional discourse should be adaptable and changeable to the market requirements.

2. Consumers Centered Content

Marketing is described as creating and maintaining strong client relationships in order to obtain value from customers which can be seen in two ways: the marketer's standpoint and the customer's perspective, where from the consumer's viewpoint, the content is getting what they want [1]. In other words, content marketing is ideologically consistent with marketing discourse in the sense that all participants get what they want by getting at a consensus with each other. So, each participant in University discourses will influence and interact with the needs of the others which are exactly the main points of advertisements: using a common type of ideas and information to persuade those that do not share the same ideologies. The whole idea of marketing would not exist if there was not one main goal: customers, the target audience. Additionally, content encompasses any other forms of resources that a business develops for the benefit of its target audience, including videos, blogs, podcasts, and images that are not visible on the institution's website. "The content is not simply a collection of corporate information promoting its products" [1] (p.19). A useful piece of content positions its creators as noble experts and helpful counsellors, rather than as self-centered merchants whose primary objective is to trade less for more in order to maximize profit.

So, according to content marketing theory, valuable material does not have to be about the University or its goods; rather, it should address the audience's informational demands. Establishing good connections with prospective receivers is a two-step procedure. Institutions, as marketers, are required to acquire data about the wants and mind-sets of their target receivers; then, they are required to utilize this information to develop content that demonstrates the organization is both conscious of and eager to meet these particular demands. In the words of David Scott:

"[o]nce you understand the audience very well, then (and only then) you should set out to satisfy their informational needs by focusing on your buyer´s problems and creating and delivering content accordingly. Website content too often simply describes what an organization or a product does from an egotistical perspective. While information about your organization and products is certainly valuable on the inner pages of your site, what visitors really want is content that first describes the issues and problems they face and then provides details on how to solve those problems". [3] (p. 46).

As a result, aside from the word content, the second most prevalent and pervasive phrase is informational needs. While it would be fascinating to check it objectively by counting the number of times each word appears in the discourses, we think it is this reader's subjective, intuitive reaction to the phrase's frequent recurrence that requires our particular attention. Chmielewska [1] affirms repetitions are a kind of persuasive speech and as such, informational requirements get to be a motto that the viewer is exposed to often enough that it becomes ingrained in his or her long-term memory and is associated with their subjective consumer models.

Clearly, the persuasive power of content marketing discourse is not confined to the repeating of memorable words and slogans. Chmielewska [1] suggests that content marketing is a strategy that focuses on delivering a high-value experience. Individuals assisting one another and imparting vital information benefit the community. Content marketers are convinced to embrace their new position as information producers in order to assist people in leading more fulfilling lives. Nonetheless, this cooperation with other humans does not clash with a business' financial goals. Its philosophy does not always distinguish between idealistic and material purposes, but rather blends them as a corporation social responsibility with a main purpose to create customer-centered content that marketers must concentrate

their efforts on in order to reach the market's leadership position. Only when a business offers unique most comprehensible content can it anticipate its target audience's surrender. Thus, marketers would be wise to adjust their subjective interpretations of marketing objectives. Bolinger [4] addresses its very goal accomplished by the use of straightforward language with a relatively low structure that is organized within a single unit of meaning that is readily recalled. The speech community's common property has become a natural resource that producers exploit in the vested accrual of their receivers' marketing programs.

There is little doubt that the target reader will activate the in-group knowledge about advertising as a tool for financial success. Using different methods, University discourses must attain what they desire. The hard sale and the soft sell are two well-known and long-established distinctions and methods of advertising. Hard selling elicits an immediate response. Soft selling is based on emotion rather than persuasion, and on the idea that life would be better if the product is purchased. The possessor is a mirror image of the possessed: this is a fundamental underlying foundation of all soft-selling advertisements [5]. Reason and tickle represent other ways of dealing with advertisements: reason for buying and tickling viewer's emotions, humour, and mood. Of course, University discourses must be more professional, but not too professional, efficiently organized so as to contain as much information as needed, not to get people bored, yet making them understand and acknowledge the meaning portrayed.

3. Marketers' Persuasive Power in University Discourse

The blatant pursuit of financial profit through promotional rhetoric is so ingrained in our societal representation of corporate activity that it is unnecessary to declare it clearly. As long as producers maintain a common-sense approach to the material nature of marketing, they may direct their receivers' attention to the desired meaning of their discourse; specifically, to the reason why their strategy is superior to all others. Producers, Cook [5] and Chmielewska [1] agree, should be encouraged to identify their profession with acts of social responsibility and producers, as advertisers, are only restricted by their own imaginations when it comes to choosing advertising institutional content. Nonetheless, this group's positive self-definition is contrasted with the negative identification of marketers who do not want desire content marketing to be engraved in the institution. Individuals who set discourses exercise power over the conception of a distinct speech and belief system. Furthermore, they use their discursive authority to convince the group of marketing that their mental model of marketing standards and values is no longer acceptable in the current world. Without a doubt, the persuasive power of marketing rhetoric is founded on an underlying threat: if you ever do not join us, your University/program/course will fail. In other words, it is in the best interests of all marketing and companies to embrace the concept concealed under the marketing strategy's moniker.

Marketers have a common emphasis on consumer requirements, regardless of their more specialized methods within customer-related discourse. As a result, we can presume that this concept serves as a key value that content marketers use in order to convince other marketers to join their organization. Consumer hedonism is a notion used by marketing marketers to convince their intended audience (marketers) that in order to keep loyal customers, Universities must forgo conventional tactics of marketing and avoid overt advertising. Marketers would most likely want to establish their ideology as the dominant marketing discourse in the modern day. To accomplish their goals, they use persuasive language and

arguments to convince their target audience that their ideology is the most advantageous to their interests and, hence, their own. In other words, marketing discourse seeks to achieve hegemony via acquiescence. When we examine marketing discourse from a socio-cognitive viewpoint, we can see not just how it refers to marketers' common ground, but also how they argue for a collective identity.

To promote the advantages that marketers should get from membership in the marketing group, marketing discourse makes use of the concept of tradition. Given that the free-market economy and cognitive capitalism both promote the idea of continuous human growth, it is in the best interests of businesses to be as adaptable and inventive as possible. As a result, the efficient, so desired, character of innovation is in conflict with the ineffective, thus unwanted, face of conventional marketing, leading to the idea of tradition.

According to content marketing, it is in the best interests of all marketers and organizations to abandon conventional advertising; otherwise, they risk total market collapse. Rather than that, they must follow their human inclinations and discover the truth about their aims and ambitions, in order to really focus on meeting the demands of their clients. Their commercial activity is therefore imbued with a nonmaterial, altruistic, and heroic mission: to deliver cognitive resources to people they believe would benefit from their assistance in accomplishing their own objectives. As can be seen, the content marketing persuasive discourse approaches marketers in a manner consistent with how marketers should engage their customers. By evoking the idea of a corporate hero, the creators of content marketing appeal to their target audience's aspirational wants to become more superior, distinctive, and creative. As a consequence, we might conceive of content marketing ideology as a mirror of contemporary consumer culture, which is built on both implicit and explicit forms of business marketing and individual promotion. To pamper the consumer's ego, Universities are urged to employ realistic advertising content that is based on actual human experience and serves as a resource for problem-solving. University presentations use many facts and data that are true to them so that any presumably student could count, reason and even promote the information to his/her own benefit, and needless to say to the larger institutional benefit. According to Kressand Van Leeuwen [6] integrated marketing communication began with a focus on the demands and interests of customers, supposing that the integration of its components provides value to both consumers and businesses. Today, it is a truth that the customer drives and influences the market through the language used to exert power in social practice [7] and engage the readers in a web of interactions whose transmission must be as valuable as the message [8].

Conclusions

We understand that University discourses contain some features of marketing discourse: marketing discourse employs linguistics, sociology, semiotics, and psychology in order to achieve its goal of persuading the target audience to buy the product. Of course, all these elements must be coherent and cohesive through grammatical and lexical norms so as we could have the comprehensible communication. In doing so the standards of quality assurance are also reached. As a consequence, content marketing ideology could be viewed as a reflection of contemporary consumer society, which is based both on overt and covert aspects of business marketing and personalized promotion. To appease the consumer's ego, modern marketers are encouraged to provide genuine adverts that are based on real-life human experience, centering their content on the consumers, yet keeping the professionalism

required in academic fields. Many genuine facts and data are used in University presentations so that any potential student can count, reason, and even advocate the information to his or her own benefit, and, of course, to the wider institutional profit.

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