Language Sustainability in a Changing World

Edited by

Marinela Burada, Oana Tatu and Raluca Sinu

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CHAPTER I:

MEANING AND COMMUNICATION WITHIN AND ACROSS CULTURES

Introduction

Marinela Burada

The first two papers in this chapter are concerned with language and the projection of identity in intercultural settings: while the former relates to the reconstruction of self in and through spoken dialogue, the latter considers two methods of recognizing gender identity in written discourse, and gender-determined language behaviour in oral interactions. The main focus in the last two papers is on the negotiation of meaning across cultures, specifically, on matters concerning equivalence and translation in the field of contrastive paremiology and, respectively, audiovisual translation.

Same-Sex Intercultural Relationships: Translating Polyphonic Identity in Global Britain (Alain J.E. Wolf) focuses on a particular aspect of same-gender intercultural communication: the (re)construction of one's dialogic identity via the language and culture of another. The discussion begins with a critical review of the current research on international couplehood, tackling a series of relevant notions such as intersectionality, polyphony, translated identity, linguistic hospitality, which the author then applies to the more specific context of same-sex intercultural dialogue. The empirical data informing this study derive from semi-structured interviews administered to three pairs of all-male respondents, each pair consisting of an English native and an alloglot partner. These data shed light on the ways in which the linguistic disparity between the participants leads to the identity of one to be "translated" (and, we might add, to some extent domesticated) by means of the dominant language. This is, the author suggests, a strategy that the native English speakers subconsciously resort to in order to cope with the "foreignness" in the discourse of their non-English partners, mitigating it for the benefit of other English-speaking interlocutors.

In a different but not unrelated vein, **Methods in Gender Studies** (Natalia Burenina and Elena Babenkova) tackles the matter of identity from the vantage point of Gender Studies. Premised on the view that social variables give rise to gendered language, the overarching goal of the research reported here is to identify the verbal clues which allow for gender distinction in the linguistic output of native English speakers. To

this end, two methods were used in two different research situations. The first involved a questionnaire administered to two hundred British and Russian respondents required to determine, on the basis of a pre-established set of linguistic criteria, the gender of two EL texts composed by a male and a female author, respectively. The second experiment consisted in an unstructured interview with forty-six male and female English speakers, which lend support to previous insights into gender-determined language behaviour in oral interactions.

Rooted in the linguistic sphere of contrastive paremiology, the article entitled **A Contrastive Analysis of Romanian and English Proverbs with Zoonyms** (Oana Tatu) dwells on comparing and contrasting a number of Romanian animalistic paremia and their English semantic counterparts relying on formal and semantic criteria. Therefore, proverbs are investigated from phonetic, lexical, and syntactic perspectives, as well as from a semantic viewpoint. The author also highlights the illocutionary force of the proverbs perceived as a perpetual feature that crosses cultural and linguistic barriers. As the analysis follows the behaviour of animal proverbs and zoonyms at different language levels, the author observes the occurrence of alliteration, assonance, repetition, synonymic and antonymic parallelism, of certain syntactic patterns, and so on, and concludes on the presence of a common cultural thread reflected in a common linguistic behaviour.

The article **The History of the USA in World War II Reflected in Subtitles of *Band of Brothers*** (Attila Imre) stems from the author's confessed interest in translation practice, and aims to take a closer look at some of the challenges that audio-visual translators are confronted with. The analysis relies on a corpus of 957 entries excerpted from the Romanian and Hungarian subtitles of the American series *Band of Brothers* (2001). These samples are streamlined into several categories, such as events and facts; groups of people; famous people; entries connected to WWII events; historical errors, etc., and assessed in terms of linguistic and extralinguistic accuracy. Overall, while commending the output of the two subtitlers, the author also highlights a number of translation errors occurring mainly as a result of cultural misunderstanding, in the case of culturally bound terms, or even because of temporal discrepancies, which are never to be taken lightly in translation practice.

SAME-SEX INTERCULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS: TRANSLATING POLYPHONIC IDENTITY IN GLOBAL BRITAIN

ALAIN J.E. WOLF

Abstract: Same-sex intercultural couples are involved in communicative practices which can lead to relationships flourishing, or breaking down. Previous research focuses on the cultural aspects of such relationships without much attention paid to translated discourse. Focusing on an analysis of semi-structured interviews, this article will make a contribution to research by addressing aspects of the participants' dialogic identity and the ways in which the utterances of the researched become subjected to cultural representations, leading to 'mis-translation'. Lastly, the notion of 'linguistic hospitality' will be addressed, providing the basis for the claim that same-sex intercultural dialogue can be perceived as a form of translated discourse with implications for all forms of intersectional relationships in the context of global post-Brexit Britain.

Keywords: same-sex intercultural relationships; dialogic; polyphony; identity; linguistic hospitality

1 Introduction

Over twenty years ago, Wood and Duck (1995, 13) observed that the field concerned with the personal relationships in which individuals engage 'has reduced aspects of relational life to a narrow and unrepresentative sample, i.e. heterosexual, white, middle-class, marital, monogamous relationships'. A recent answer to this narrowness of focus has been to consider the many perspectives from which same-sex relationships can be explored (see Adams and Holman Jones, 2008; Drummond, 2003; Grindstaff, 2003; Jakobsen, 1998; Morris, 2007; Yep, 2013). A list of intersections occupied by individuals is provided in the above literature and Yep (2013, 120) concludes that, as intercultural communication researchers, we should address the important notion of 'intersectionality' defined as the many categories of identity queer men

and women fall into (Yep 2013, 123). There is an important caveat, however, namely that intersectionality should not be treated 'roster-like fashion' (Yep 2013, 123), and an individual's characteristics merely listed as categories. This is because such a practice 'tends to produce disembodied knowledge of others' (Yep 2013, 123). An understanding of intersectionality as 'thick intersectionality' is required by which Yep means that 'we should attend to the lived experiences and biographies of the persons occupying a particular intersection, including how they inhabit and make sense of their own bodies' (Yep 2013, 123).[1]

This emphasis on how individuals reconcile their intersections is laudable, but the contemporary literature on queer relationships seems to have had that very tendency to list the individual's characteristics of race and gender without engaging with the nuanced embodied knowledge of the queer Other in an intercultural context (see, as illustrations of this tendency, Chan and Erby's (2018) review of queer intercultural couples in the counselling profession and Waldman and Rubalcava's (2005) description of a Sino-French relationship in culturalist/essentialist terms). When it comes to existing research on intercultural couplehood, then, the focus often seems to be on comparing and defining static national cultures 'interacting, clashing, hyphenating' (Dervin and Gao 2012, 6). As Dervin and Gao (2012, 7) observe, such studies overlook the fact that identities are discursively 'co-constructed, co-enacted and co-expressed by people'.

This paper provides both a critique of research on intercultural couplehood and a fresh look at relationships between same-sex partners. In order to do so, I will explore the three key concepts of intersectionality, polyphony and translated identity in the context of same-sex intercultural dialogue.

I shall attempt to answer two fundamental questions. In the first instance, I shall ask: 'to what extent do the concepts of polyphonic and intersectional identity characterise same-sex intercultural dialogue? A second related question will look at issues related to the process of translating the Other in the context of polyphonic identity, i.e. how do we translate and represent the Other faithfully when English is used as a lingua franca?

2 About the study: Focusing on the particular to glimpse the universal

In order to illustrate the ways in which same-sex partners reconcile the different intersections they occupy, I have analysed the dialogues of six University educated participants in the 20-40 age range by means of in-

depth semi-structured interviews. My approach to collecting these data draws on Holliday's (2010) understanding of research as 'decentred' which, he argues, (Holliday 2010, 11, citing Bhabha 1994), allows vernacular realities 'to emerge on their own terms'. This has enabled me to explore my participants' rich tapestry of identities in the context of divergent interpretations (Haugh, 2008), focusing on their lived individual experiences and attempting to 'mak[e] visible the unexpected for the purpose of revealing deeper complexities that counter established discourses' (Holliday 2010, 11).

I conducted a one and half hour semi-structured interview with a Thai-English couple who had lived together for four years. A similar interview was conducted with a Hungarian-English couple who had had a relationship for a year. The third English-Dutch couple who had lived together for under a year was interviewed on Skype for an hour. The couples were identified by means of snowball sampling (Frey et al. 2000) through university networks.

3 Intersectional and polyphonic identity

The notion of intersectionality, albeit a fairly recent concept in the field of queer studies and intercultural identity, has been studied in a great number of ways. I noted in the introduction that we should move away from an understanding of intersectionality as a mechanical listing of an individual's characteristics. In the field of intercultural communication, many researchers (Holliday 2010; Piller 2011; Dervin and Gao 2012) have sought to interpret interculturality as a negotiated and discursive negotiation of self images 'rather than using these as explanatory static elements' (Dervin and Gao 2012, 8). If we are ever to produce nuanced descriptions of thick intersectionality, it becomes crucially important that we do not start off our analysis with pre-determined categories, including those of culture and race. In Queer Theory doing so runs the risk, as Aiello et al. (2013, 101) note, of erasing 'diverse ways of being queer' in a diversity of queer contexts. A more holistic way of looking at intersectionality is one which asks questions about how individuals occupying a wide range of intersections manage to reconcile their 'repertoire of identities' (Joseph 2018), entering into dialogue with the Other. The notion of a repertoire is central here as it points to how individuals voice their allegiance through their use of language and how others translate these linguistic indices. As Joseph (2018, 17) observes, no group can be perceived as 'culturally homogeneous' and individuals' repertoires of identity are combinations of various ways of being, for example, a Christian, or a Muslim, belonging to

different denominations. So the sense of an intersectional identity is ontological, taking us back to an imagined or real past.

The second key concept I would like to introduce is that of polyphonic identity. A worthwhile point of departure here is Ducrot's (1984) idea, inspired by Bakhtin (1981), that any interaction between speakers is a staging of several voices. When speakers engage in dialogue with others, they present us with their attitudes and beliefs polyphonically. It is in this sense that any speaker's monologue includes echoes of others' contributions, and is, in effect, a polyphonic orchestrating of voices (see Wolf, 2005 for further details on the approach). It was Bakhtin (1981) in his theorising about utterance understanding who first conceived of 'dialogism' as a polyphonic relation between the discourse initiated by the 'I' and the discourse of others. All living discourse, he argued (Bakhtin, 1981, 92), even the most seemingly monologic, may in fact 'contain within it two utterances, two manners of speaking, two styles, two ''languages'', two semantic and axiological horizons' (Bakhtin, 1981, 118). In other words, the speaker's self is linguistically co-constructed and dialogically dependent on the discourse of others.

4 Examples of intersectional and polyphonic identities

The co-construction and echoing of the Other manifested itself most clearly in one of the interviews I conducted with the English-Thai couple. After I explained what the interview was about, Arran, the Thai partner, said:

> Arran: But some of the questions you ask maybe I am not quite understand. May get a bit quiet that means, can you repeat the questions? (David/Arran interview 1, 2016)

Although I as the interviewer had perfectly understood Arran's utterance, David[2], the English partner, immediately felt the need to clarify it:

> David: Just say 'I don't understand', don't get the gist of the meaning. (David/Arran interview 1, 2006)

By filtering his thoughts through the putative fears and expectations of his partner, David seemed to stage a discussion that may have taken place between them, before the interview took place. Further his rephrasing of 'I am not quite understand' by 'I don't get the gist of the meaning' had the effect of David's identity being presented as that of

Arran's linguistic guarantor. In this orchestration of Arran's concerns within David's own speech, we also get a sense of David's identity being polyphonically constructed. This may be interpreted as Arran being problematised from the very beginning of the interview as the hierarchically inferior English language learner in need of assistance. As the two reminisced about their first meeting, David tended to report the situation, ascribing attitudes and beliefs to Arran. Consider the following exchange:

> Arran: When looking for love you don't go to bar
> David: He means he wasn't looking for a relationship with a European since he'd had a bad experience. He said' I don't believe you, I think you're a butterfly, I think you're a butterfly
> Arran: But
> David: You thought I was a chancer. Developing trust was a bit tricky.
> (David/Arran interview 1, 2016)

Again here, there is a controlled polyphonic presentation of Arran's staged 'words'. Given his level of proficiency in English, it is unlikely that he himself used words figuratively like 'butterfly' and 'chancer' but these words are nonetheless ascribed to him. It is in this sense that David's 'monologues' are systematically oriented to his partner Other. David's identity then is linguistically co-constructed and his monologues, as we shall see below, are effectively unfaithful translations of Arran's original utterances.

The second couple I interviewed, a Hungarian male, Janos, and his English partner, Christopher, referred to the first time they met as full of linguistic surprises:

> Janos: One of the funny stories I remember was, you said that was the first point you picked up on, we went for a coffee and I was fumbling around in my wallet and I was like it was full of 1 and 2 ps and then I was like oh look at all of those coppers and you'd be like shocked because you hadn't expected me to know the word 'copper'.
> Chris: I think it's just a kind of very English word, kind of thing, and that you'd picked up on it oh in your accent as well, oh I've only got coppers'
> (Janos/Chris interview 2, 2016)

As the example above shows, the non-native partner is perceived as having 'mentioned' the colloquial word 'copper' rather than having authentically 'used' it, i.e. there is, for the native speaker, an appreciable difference between a word that is used by native speakers and a word that is mentioned in a foreign accent. What Chris brings to our attention here is

the polyphonic character of Janos's utterance which echoes the individuals he has heard use that word, i.e. 'you've picked up on it' so that the non-native speaker uses the word polyphonically. Language proficiency plays a central role in intercultural relationships, and participants, like David and Chris, effectively translate their partners' utterances for the benefit of other native speakers. I would now like to explore this theme further in the context of how the cultural Other is translated in intercultural relationships.

5 Translating the Other: abandonment of the first language and engagement with the second

As we have just seen, intercultural relationships can be read through the lens of translation. I would now like to offer a brief clarification of the terminology used in the field of 'Translation Studies' so that what follows may be more easily understood.

First of all, the text that one translates is commonly referred to as the 'source text' (ST) and the translated text is referred to as the 'target text' (TT). If we take as an example, Keats's 'Ode to a Nightingale' translated into French, we have the text originally written in English (Source text (ST) = Ode to a Nightingale, Source Language (SL) = English), we have the target text (TT) 'L'ode à un rossignol' in the target language (TL) = French. We also have a target audience, i.e. the French readership of the English poem which may or may not know the poem in the original version.

Now, there is an age-old tension, well-known to all students of translation theory: translators can try to be literal and faithful to the source text, or in our case the source person (see Arran), but they may end up producing a foreign-sounding, possibly unintelligible translation for the target audience. Alternatively, translators can alter what the source text or person said so as to make it more accessible or palatable for the target audience. As we have just seen, this is precisely what David tended to do. The consequence was, naturally, that an ethnocentric translation of Arran's words was produced which erased traces of Arran's foreignness. Some, like Venuti (1998), a translation scholar, have referred to such kinds of translational activity as fundamentally unethical.

The question I want to address here is how my participants' identities were translated in the context of same-sex intercultural relationships. There is a choice: either partners like David satisfy their own ethnocentric needs, producing translations of the foreign Others which erase their foreignness, or they subject themselves to what Berman calls 'l'épreuve de l'étranger' (the test of the foreign (my translation)), producing hybrid translations which consider the foreign Others in all their foreignness.

Submitting oneself to the foreign can manifest itself as a form of abandonment. In this respect, Berman (1984, 57) refers to an interview between André Gide and Walter Benjamin in which the former claims that in order to acquire a foreign language he had to distance himself from his mother tongue: 'Dans l'apprentissage des langues, ce qui compte le plus n'est pas ce qu'on apprend, le décisif est d'abandonner la sienne' (What counts most of all in learning a foreign language is not what one learns, but the deciding factor is the extent to which one is prepared to relinquish one's own, my translation). This abandonment of the first language as a necessary condition of engaging with foreignness is, Berman (1984, 58) observes, represented as a loss of the individual's 'identité propre' (a loss of one's own identity). And the question Berman poses is central not only to the field of translation studies but to that of intercultural relationships, i.e. if the relationship we entertain with 'foreignness' not only engages, but also potentially threatens our full sense of identity what must that relationship be like?

The interviews I conducted frequently illustrate this engagement with the foreign on the part of both the English speakers and their partners as an overpowering desire for the foreign that can never be quite accounted for. The desire for other cultures is represented as an emotional, a passionate attraction. David, for example, admitted that he had been attracted to Asian men for a long time ever since his stay in Indonesia:

> David: Ever since I was in Indonesia, Mowgli, the jungle book, even now it makes me feel passion. Don't know why. I went to Indonesia in 1992. Fell in love, absolutely heart-broken. I felt pure love. (David/Arran Interview 1, 2016)

But it did not take long before this engagement with the foreign and abandonment of one's own culture was described as a threat to one's own identity:

> David: But it's not without its cultural problems and misunderstandings. And I've got several gay friends who are English, Peter, Gary, Mark and Alan and when I'm speaking to them, I think, we get it, I should be with

you because the mind set is the same and yet I'm attracted to him (pointing to his partner Arran). I'm attracted to him but my mind is in tune with you (pointing to the interviewer). That for me is quite stifling sometimes. (David/Arran Interview 1, 2016)

This heartfelt account of a psychological lack of engagement with the foreign Other was perceived in other sections of the interview as an inability to 'truly' communicate via the common language used in the relationship, i.e. English as a lingua franca. David contrasted the interactions within the couple with those Arran had with his mother and friends in Thai:

David: I want that. I see you with your mother, jabbering away, vocalising your feelings and I don't get that but I find that so sorrowful, so sad.
Arran: Because I think the language, the humour, it's difficult
David: Learning English, all these nuances that we (interviewer and David) understand inherently the couple of little bits of twisting and turning. (David/Arran interview 1, 2016)

And so the non-native speaker was held partly responsible for not being proficient enough. Indeed, however advanced the English of the non-native partner may be, there was a sense that 'truly' communicating was a matter of understanding implied meaning, i.e. utterances that were not necessarily said, things that were inferred, nuances, humorous and ironical asides which take either an exceptional language learner or years of mastery to understand.

Partners responded differently to the situation. Chris said he could feel the warmth of his partner's parents even though he could not understand them. But long periods of not understanding can lead to boredom and frustration, and misunderstanding the intentions of one's partner's family members or friends can be the cause of problems which I will not go into details here as this is beyond the scope of this article.[3] Suffice to say that the level of competence required in order to achieve what David calls the 'freeness of language', i.e. recovering meaning that arises out of what speakers have implied rather than what they have merely said needs to be high and is sometimes unattainable by partners even after many years of residence in the host country.

Having said that, the language learning issues can seem to be one-sided with the responsibility for mastering English placed squarely on the shoulders of the non-native speakers living in the host country. When I asked David, Chris and Andrew if they could learn Thai, Hungarian or

Dutch so that their partners would occasionally feel on home-ground, so to speak, their responses were, respectively:

> David: it's so difficult. I haven't got the time. I'm so busy. It would be lovely if we were to live in Thailand for a couple of years and I learnt Thai as well, but (addressing his partner) you would want me to speak Thai like you speak English. But to get to that level takes ages. (David/Arran, interview 1, 2016)

> Chris: I have tried to learn Hungarian, but it's such a difficult language and as I do music and theatre, I just don't have time. (Chris/Janos interview 2, 2016)

> Andrew: The Dutch people I interact with speak English so well that it would be pointless learning Dutch. (Andrew/Nadav interview 3, 2018)

There is no sense here of wanting to abandon one's native language and learning the Other's language as a necessary condition of submitting to the foreign. The difficulty of language learning and lack of time are excuses routinely offered by speakers of English because the need to engage with foreignness through another's language may rarely be encountered in the English speaking world. No matter how much they deplore not truly getting through to their partner, they never come to the conclusion that the level of commitment to that partner may be measured in terms of abandoning their first language, learning their partner's language and having their own sense of identity threatened by that deep conversion into another linguistic horizon. English is so dominant that the non-native partners who all lived in an English-speaking context often colluded with their English partners:

> Janos: It would be nice, but I can't expect him to. It's just too high expectations. If he turned round to me and said: I don't have the intention, that's it. It's just too high, no hard feelings. (Chris/Janos interview 2, 2016)

The language learning opportunities in these relationships seem to remain in stasis with the English-speaking partners making brave, albeit ineffectual, attempts at learning the foreign language. Despite the non-native speakers' good-natured avowals, one can see how this may become a contentious issue especially if the non-native English speaking partner is charged with not having 'the freeness of the language'.

6 Concluding remarks

This article on same-sex intercultural relationships has sought to present the contributions of three couples focussing on the kind of dialogue in which they interacted. One of the conditions for successful dialogue to take place was that the participants who found themselves in a dominant situation because of their use of language learnt how to view the relationship from a decentred perspective, ceasing to perceive the Other as a definable entity. The polyphonic translations of the foreign Other were not ill-intentioned but thoughtless ascriptions were believed to create tensions between partners. This is something which this article has only just begun to touch on (see Janos' use of language). We also saw how important it was for the partners to be faithfully translated. We encountered the need to abandon one's first culture in order to subject oneself to the trial of foreignness. But one's sense of identity can be seriously threatened by such abandonment and English speakers were particularly aware of what it means to have the 'freeness of language'.

But one should not conclude on a pessimistic note. Ricoeur (2004, 19-20), in his monograph on translation, writes about community and language in these hopeful terms: 'En dépit de l'agoniste qui dramatise la tâche du traducteur, celui-ci peut trouver son bonheur dans ce que j'appellerai l'hospitalité langagière. Son régime est donc bien celui d'une correspondance sans adéquation. Hospitalité langagière où le plaisir d'habiter la langue de l'autre est compensée par le plaisir de recevoir chez soi (No matter how polemical writings may dramatise the task of the translator, he can still find happiness in what I'd like to call linguistic hospitality. Indeed, correspondence without equivalence is the translator's staple diet. Linguistic hospitality occurs whenever the pleasure of dwelling in somebody else's language is compensated for by the pleasure of putting him up in one's own home, my translation).

This kind of reciprocity we have only partly encountered in intercultural relationships mainly because the native speakers of English had not quite experienced the pleasure of dwelling in somebody else's house of language. Yet, this cosmopolitan and global calling is one which Britain is destined to embrace, albeit not without reservations. We need to remember David's account of a psychological, cognitive and linguistic lack of engagement with the foreign Other which points to a tension between the familiar reassuring local and the attractive but cognitively distant global. This tension can be held in equilibrium but disruption of the balance is never far away. Let me finish with a last paragraph of auto-ethnography (Adams and Holman 2008) to illustrate what I mean.

I live in a North Norfolk village which has retained much of its history, the Jacobean Hall and its medieval Church, a central part of community life. The village is a reflection of intersectionality: my partner and I represent the Global. We have a same-sex intercultural relationship; we were born in Essex and Provence, respectively. Despite the various intersections we occupy, we were welcomed by the Local with open arms. We take part in its various activities and because of my former training as a vicar in the Church of England, I have been asked to lead services on several occasions. The village then is a harmonious resolution of the tensions between the Global and the Local. Our polyphonic, intersectional identities have been faithfully translated so that we have produced a hybrid life-text by which newness has come into the world (Bhabha 2010).

But newness comes into the world slowly and organically. The notion of cosmopolitanism and the ability to assert one's membership of a global community beyond borders is one which I embrace with passion in my own life as a linguist practising linguistic hospitality. When cosmopolitanism, however, is interpreted as showing disregard for local communities, such as, for example, the non-payment of local taxation, or the EU's universal imposition of freedom of movement, the concept takes on an ethical dimension. The etymology of the word 'hospitality' itself is interestingly derived from the Latin *hostis*, 'enemy' (Skeat 1981). And hospitality, if abused, can turn to hostility. The biblical and ecological injunction in a post-Brexit, global context is that we should act as the stewards of our environment, looking after the local and the global in a way that leads to harmony, not discord.

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Endnotes

[1] This naturally brings to mind Appiah's (2000) understanding of translation as 'thick', that is, a translation the project of which is a 'genuinely informed respect for others'.

[2] All participants have been anonymised in accordance with the University's Ethics policy in order to protect their identity and these are fictitious names.

[3] See Robinson-Pant and Wolf's (2017) book 'Researching across Languages and Cultures' for more details about the understanding of divergent inferences and speakers' intentions.

METHODS IN GENDER STUDIES

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Abstract: The main objective of the paper is to describe the way different methods can be implemented when analysing gender connected phenomena in language and communication. In order to demonstrate the role of recipient in constructing gender identity of the text, a survey questionnaire was designed. Additionally, a method of interviewing people was used to find gender differences in the speech behaviour of native English speakers. The results of the experiment allow the authors to conclude that these kinds of research tools are objectively useful in collecting and analysing data which provide valuable factual information on personal interpretations of the gender factor in spoken and written language behaviour. Apart from this, it became quite evident that the interpretation of the results derived from both questionnaires and interviews should take into account psychological and cultural aspects of the issue.

Keywords: gender, survey questionnaire, interview, text perception, recipient, stereotype, speech behaviour.

0 Introduction

Gender studies as a multidisciplinary field of science possess a vast arsenal of methods used in the social sciences and the humanities, including interviewing, participant observation, focus group surveys, survey questionnaire, textual and content analysis. Such a variety of techniques has been caused by a proliferation of gender oriented researches in different fields of science, in general, and in linguistics, in particular. Gender has become an essential component of the anthropological approach to language material, in accordance with extralinguistic factors like social and cultural background, time/period parameters. In this respect, literary texts and poetic texts, inter alia, are of a crucial interest as they present a sufficient bulk of characteristics through which the gender factor can be traced.

From the very early stage of its development, Gender Linguistics showed great interest in studying the specificity of speech behaviour determined by the social status of the speaker. The methodology of structured interview developed by William Labov and first applied by him in New York City in 1964 (Labov 1966) appeared to be one of the most effective means of collecting sociolinguistic data. The results of Labov's interview revealed a certain correlation between a number of vernacular pronunciation forms and a social status of the speaker. What is more, women's speech behaviour appeared to be more correct in terms of normative phonetics, compared with men's, this tendency being observed in all social groups.

Peter Trudgill used Labov's methodology when studying the differences in speech patterns determined by social and gender status of respondents in Norwich in 1972 (Trudgill 1974). The results of Trudgill's survey confirmed the hypothesis of a more correct women's speech behaviour, normative grammar being the sociolinguistic variable in that research. A great number of surveys that followed were based on interviews of various types, proving them to be a very efficient tool for gathering data on gender differences in speech communication.

1 Gender differences in text perception

1.1 An overview of research papers focused on the problem of text perception

Gender paradigm constructed by means of language in a particular text is liable to spread far beyond the text boundaries, thus turning into some generalised gender marked image in the recipient's mind and rendering the main idea of the utterance which is expressed implicitly. There is little doubt that the recipient's perception of the text makes a huge contribution to constructing its gender paradigm.

For confirmation of this idea one can turn to the vast data of research papers which focused on the problem of text perception. It has been stated as obvious that perception of any text primarily involves its recognition. A reader will go through several stages: cognize means of uncommon verbalization, correlate them with their background knowledge and thus construct a new context (Simashko 1996, 22). The relevance of background knowledge in the process of regarding the semantic content of the text is also the focus of Cappelen and Lepore's (1998) paper.

According to Brudny, the process of perceiving and interpreting the text is quite a complicated mechanism, which is based upon interaction of

two major parts. One part exists directly in the text – its semantics and structure. The other part occurs in the recipient's mind and memory (Brudny 1975, 112-113). Every language bears features of cultural realia of the society it circulates in serving its culture properly.

Relative to the literary text, Vysotskaya (1983) believes that, in order to comprehend this kind of text, a recipient is supposed to acquire the following reader's skills: the ability to recreate in their imagination life pictures depicted by the author, sensitiveness to the feelings of the characters and to the emotional side of the text in general, the capacity to recognise author's intentions, the ability to conceive the logical-semantic representation of the text, and to produce personal evaluation of all text components. (Vysotskaya 1983, 233).

The phenomenon of perceiving the text as a complicated and multicomponent process is approached in the work "Text and Communication" by Kamenskaya (1990). She confirms that comprehending the text does not only consist in getting and processing the text information but also involves some preliminary stages. On this account she indicates the following main levels of the whole process: motivation, intention, recipient communicative activity and understanding the text (Kamenskaya 1990).

Accordingly, while analysing the process of perceiving the text, and the literary text in particular, we can assume the following. First, it is inappropriate to neglect language differences of the texts of different gender authors as this factor directly influences the way a reader interprets it. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the recipient's gender is not less important while understanding, evaluating the text and forming preferences concerning it. A recipient is not able to get rid of their social background, upbringing, sex. So it is a mistaken approach to talk about neutral reading: the recipient's gender influences the process of text comprehension and evaluation. In the words of Rytkonen (2000, 6-10), reading the text is a cultural activity as well as creating it. And as Cherneyko (1996, 45) remarks, life experience of a reader contributes greatly to the whole process of assessing the text.

And finally, the process under consideration is also determined by social notions or, according to Todorov (1975, 54), "common opinion", or what in the current paper we will interpret in terms of stereotypes of femininity and masculinity. There are several concepts on gender stereotypes introduced in gender studies. Among the most original works in this field is Unger's (1979) theory, which postulates that gender and its components (gender stereotypes, gender norms, gender roles and gender identity) can vary on a continuum going from extreme masculinity to extreme femininity.

The reference to the researches mentioned above can be indeed a very strong argument for carrying out an experiment to find evidence of the recipient's contribution to constructing the gender paradigm of the literary text, in general, and the poetic text in particular.

1.2 Details of the survey questionnaire aimed at determining the author's gender by the readers

We now turn to a more detailed examination of the experiment conducted. It was carried out in the form of a survey questionnaire with the main objective to determine the way in which the text author's gender can be recognised by readers.

The group of subjects comprised 200 people. The age scale for male respondents was from 17 to 50, for female respondents – from 17 to 66. Other social parameters of the respondents are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. The participants in the experiment

Nationality	University students		University teachers	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
British	23	5	-	1
Russian	140	14	12	5

The respondents were given two poetic texts in English that were unknown to them. If the given texts turned out to be familiar to them they did not take part in the experiment. The first text is Edgar Allan Poe's poem *To F*[1] (Poe 1845/1999). The second text was written by Emily Dickinson (1890/2000)[2].

The respondents' task was to guess which text was created by a man and which one by a woman. They were also supposed to give an explanation of their decision, based on the following criteria: word choice, style, grammar structures, plus a criterion of their own choice. This last one was introduced in the questionnaire to let respondents reveal their personal opinions and ideas in their own words. They were also supposed to give their comments on the given criteria (word choice, style, grammar structures). This kind of approach seems quite reasonable in the light of critical arguments expressed by some researchers regarding a survey questionnaire as a method of collecting data. They claim that a survey questionnaire of a closed standardized type makes a respondent only follow the researcher's words instead of feeling free to use their own (Voronina 2001, 97). There is every reason to accept this point of view. A closed type

questionnaire may put rigid limits to the range of ideas, arguments, points of view a respondent might wish to express. Consequently, a researcher may fail to discover a verified fact, some new approach, and may fail to see beyond the scope of their own expectations and forecasts of the experiment. So we found it important to provide respondents with an opportunity not only to choose the options given in the questionnaire, but give them a free choice to decide what they think is important in identifying gender markers in the texts. With this purpose in mind, they were also asked to express their own preferences regarding the given poetic texts. If we mark the poetic text written by the male author as Text 1 and the one by the female author as Text 2, the results of the experiment will appear as follows.

Table 2. Data of those who guessed the authors correctly

Parameters	Male	Female	Preferred Text 1		Preferred Text 2	
			Male	Female	Male	Female
Native speakers	4	11	3	3	-	7
University teachers, non-native speakers	3	6	-	3	3	3
Students, non-native speakers	7	96	1	18	5	72
Total number	14	113	4	24	8	82

Table 3. Criteria for the correct choice (M = Male, F = Female)

Parameters	Word choice		Style		Grammar structures		The respondents' own criterion	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Native speakers	2	10	1	5	1	2	2	4
University teachers, non-native speakers	3	5	3	4	1	3	1	2
Students, non-native speakers	3	69	2	72	-	18	2	17
Total number	8	84	6	81	2	23	3	23

Table 4. Data of those who failed to guess the authors correctly

Parameters	Male	Female	Preferred Text 1		Preferred Text 2	
			Male	Female	Male	Female
Native speakers	2	12	1	5	1	6
University teachers, non-native speakers	2	6	-	3	-	2
Students, non-native speakers	7	44	3	13	3	30
Total number	11	62	4	21	4	38

Table 5. Criteria for the wrong choice (M = Male, F = Female)

Parameters	Word choice		Style		Grammar structures		The respondents' own criterion	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Native speakers	1	9	1	3	1	-	2	4
University teachers, non-native speakers	1	4	-	4	-	1	1	1
Students, non-native speakers	3	26	5	30	1	-	4	11
Total number	5	39	6	37	2	1	6	16

If we analyse data from Tables 4 and 5, it is essential to emphasize that these respondents' final choice was determined by their own vision of female and male manner of writing. They were so much entrenched in it that they could not take into consideration any facts that would contradict their opinions. Nevertheless, these respondents' reasons are worth taking into account because they provide insights into the way the social and personal stereotypes of femininity and masculinity influence perceiving gender marked factors of the poetic text.

It should also be noted that respondents in Tables 4 and 5 found the following criteria as the ground for their choice: emotional value of the

texts, mood, semantics of the texts, authors' positions/points of view, intuition, idea of the texts, expressiveness, flowing syllables, authors' feelings, musicality, rhythm.

Returning to the objectives of the experiment, we can aver that it was fulfilled: according to Table 2, more than half of respondents (127 out of 200) guessed the gender of the authors correctly. As data from Table 2 demonstrates, 8 men out of 14 and 82 women out of 113 gave their preferences to the female author's text while 4 men and 24 women preferred the male author's text to the female author's.

Data from Table 4 shows that 4 men and 21 women decided they liked the male author's text, which actually was female authored, and 4 men and 38 women liked the female authored text, interpreted by the respondents as a male authored one. The following fact can be of a special interest: when giving their explanations on the choices made, some female respondents from the native speakers' group gave the following comments: "They (men) always moan about losing their women", "Love poems lamenting the loss of someone tend to be written by men". This kind of opinions can be explained by a tendency to correlate a concept of femininity with some qualities that traditionally were considered as male ones (for example, lack of tenderness and sentimentality, toughness, determination). Under the influence of the feminist movement, gender marked stereotypes were reevaluated and a process of changing gender roles was activated through social practices. The above mentioned comments were produced by British women aged from 18 to 23; they may be put down to the fact that feminist ideas were initiated and became widely spread and enjoyed great popularity in the Western part of the world much earlier than in Russia. So young British women treat the world around them according to a new system of values and concepts, where gender barriers are destroyed and stereotypes have been reconsidered.

The male respondents who guessed the authors' gender correctly justified their decision by offering the opinion that male poetry is more metaphoric and full of symbols, it is more abstract and abrupt. To their mind, female authored poetic texts are more spiritual, clearer, easier to understand and more smoothly flowing.

Female respondents from Table 2 believed that male poetry was closer to the real world, being characterised by a somewhat abrupt style, containing more verbs, and expressing passion and stormy feelings. Female poetry was seen as less complex, clear, laconic, sublime, tender, containing tragic notes, suffering, desperation, having more nouns; female poets speak about their feelings and emotions in a clear and precise ways.

In order to have a complete set of characteristics of the texts discussed we should not neglect the interpretations given by those who failed to guess the authors gender correctly. In their opinion, the male author's text (which was actually a female's) is more laconic, precise, philosophical (in the male respondents' opinion); female respondents noted that the male poets (in fact, female poets) were rather sentimental.

Having compared the interpretations given to both texts by respondents we can observe that they coincide in their features and, thus, we come to the conclusion that the texts are really marked by the mentioned characteristics.

The fact that 70% of respondents determined the authors' gender correctly gives us sufficient ground to conclude that, on the whole, a recipient is quite receptive to gender features of the text. It still leaves no doubt that individual personal features of respondents (like their cultural and social background), as well as the author's ones can justify the fact that 30% of respondents failed to come to a correct decision while identifying the texts. As for the majority of preferences given to the female text, it might be a result of its easier perception (Babenkova 2003).

2 Gender differences in speech behaviour

2.1 Review of literature on differences in men's and women's speech

The surveys aimed at studying specific features of speech communication determined by gender became extremely popular and productive against the background of feminists' activity in the Humanities, which became a separate branch of Linguistics, Gender Studies or Gender Linguistics. It should be noted that the researchers' interest in exploring peculiarities of men's and women's speech behaviour within various social strata, age groups, ethnic and culture communities has been growing so far, involving more and more scientists, enriching this scientific prospect with new facts and data (Burenina 2005).

The well-known book "Language and Woman's Place" by Lakoff (1975) is considered to be the first work mentioned in connection with the anthology of Western Gender Linguistics, in which the author defined the stereotype of a woman's behaviour. Lakoff's idea that specific features of woman's speech behaviour are explained by her dependent status in the society (Lakoff 1975) had existed for many years

as an axiom but it started to be corrected by an increasing variety of gender studies.

In the book "Men speak one way, women speak another", Bradley (1999) examines gender variations of Australian Aborigines' speech that reflects gender roles assignment existing in this particular society. A large number of surveys lead to the conclusion that in less developed communities gender differences in speech behaviour are more conspicuous (even within the quantitative paradigm) when compared with industrialized countries, because the demarcation of the men's and women's roles in the society grows weak alongside with civilisation and democracy development. At the same time, all surveys done in various speech communities in Europe and US confirm that non-standard (or vernacular) forms of pronunciation and grammar prevail in men's speech. This fact is considered to be a gender marker and explained by the hypothesis of "covert prestige" (Trudgill 1999).

In his book "How and Why Are Women More Polite: Some Evidence from a Mayan Community", Brown (1999) checks up on the hypothesis of a more polite women's speech behaviour compared with that of men's by examining language patterns used by men and women in a community in Mexico.

Holmes (1999) studies complementing as an aspect of positive politeness strategy and finds out that women in New Zealand give and take compliments greatly more frequently than men do. Like Brown (1999), she explains her findings by the dependent status of women in the society.

Quite a new object of investigation we find in the book "Cooperation and Competition Across Girl's Play Activities" by Goodwin (1999). It shows the results of the author's longitudinal research of speech behaviour of Afro-American children who played in the streets of Philadelphia. The author notes that boys' companies were structured according to a certain hierarchy with the group leader who used strong imperative to control the game, whereas girls' groups were not characterised by any hierarchy and every member of the company had an equal right to make a decision. The differences in social organisation of games in the two gender groups were reflected in the linguistic repertoires of the children.

A culture-based approach to studying gender in communication is represented in Tannen's (1990) work. She gives the following explanation of the reasons that can lead to failure in communication: a man and a woman are representatives of two different subcultures, that is why inter gender communication is structured according to the rules of

cross cultural communication which can have not only the form of
dialogue, but also of conflict.

Although the results of numerous gender surveys are not objective
enough and their conclusions can be regarded as pretentious, a
possibility to look at well-known and deeply examined linguistic
phenomena in the light of gender is considered useful: it can enrich our
understanding of language and speech communication by presenting us
with new knowledge.

2.2 Findings in the field research on gender differences in speech

The interview is a well-known and frequently used method of data
collection in Linguistics and Sociolinguistics. Within the frame of the
latter, the interview can be defined as communication with a high degree
of formality because a respondent has to communicate with a stranger. It
means that he/she has to control his/her speech more than in informal
communicative situations, such as when dealing with well-known people,
such as friends, neighbours, relatives. The interview, the results of which
will be described in this article, was done as part of the field work carried
out within the project "Gender stratification of means expressing emotions
in English" financed by the program Research Support Scheme, the Open
Society Institute, Soros Foundation (grant #108/2000). Native English
speakers were interviewed in London, Canterbury, Herne Bay, Whitstable.
Respondents were people met by the interviewer in the street or in small
shops, and who agreed to answer the questions. The age of the respondents
varied from 10 to 80 years old. Their social status varied, as well, among
them were schoolchildren, university students and teachers, museum and
small shop assistants, administrators, engineers, post-officers, retirees.

Before starting an interview a person was addressed with the
following request: "Excuse me, could you spare me a couple of minutes?"
In all, this question was addressed to 55 persons (26 females and 29
males), 9 of whom (4 females and 5 males) refused. Generally, the reason
for their refusal was that they were in a hurry.

Taking into account that all respondents were residents of Great
Britain, it is possible to say that the communication was of a complicated
character because international communication (between representatives
of different nations) was combined with the specificities of subcultures of
various age, gender and social groups.

Actually, no language or cultural barriers were felt when
communicating with women of all ages and social groups mentioned

above. The number of female respondents may not have been enough to speak about definite regularities, but some tendencies were revealed, and they confirm the following theses of sociolinguists: women's speech behaviour is more correct with respect to standardized language forms, women are more attentive to the interlocutor than men, they have more ability (or desire) to adapt their behaviour to the interlocutor (Holmes 1994).

When communicating with men, situations of language and culture barriers appeared several times. Generally, these were situations when respondents were male teenagers of 14-15 years old. Their use of a great number of non-standard forms of pronunciation and slang words and expressions caused a language barrier. The reason of a culture barrier was the lack of knowledge of English teenagers' subculture. Owing to the help of the British colleague who contributed substantially to the "decoding" of the interview transcripts, it became clear that teenagers, when answering the questions, cited the words of a TV character who was an idol of male teens in England at that time. And even if the words that constructed a phrase were comprehended, the true meaning of the expression and the reason of its use in their speech were beyond understanding.

It should be underlined that only 14-15 year-old male teenagers found the situation of being interviewed funny, giving them a chance to show off. It is important to note that the interviewed teens were accompanied by their friends, and this was a motivation for them to show their boldness, quick-wittedness, and sense of humour. It explains the bold and loud behaviour of some of them. They agreed to being interviewed rather gladly, exchanging significant glances with their company. Their replies to the questions were accompanied by jokes and laughter by both respondents and their friends.

The behaviour of female teens was quite different. After having been asked to give an interview they also exchanged glances with their company, but other feelings and emotions were visible. Gladness and delight could be seen in their eyes, awareness of their own significance because they were addressed to like adults, their opinion was taken into account as relevant scientific information. They answered the questions very carefully, with a good sense of responsibility, speaking very good standard English.

Definitely, the most dramatic differences in male and female behaviours were revealed in the age group of 12 – 16 years old. From a psychological point of view, men and women aged between 20 and 80, showed no great differences in their behaviour: respondents from both gender groups were friendly and welcoming. In this respect, students were

characterized by psychological homogeneity: both male and female students showed their understanding of significance of the survey, they communicated against a background of mutual understanding.

With respect of the linguistic peculiarities of the respondents' behaviour, it was noted that women of all age groups defined very clearly the situation of the interview as a formal type of communication and, according to the rules of sociolinguistics, they used standard English, the language style which is characterized by standard vocabulary (neutral and common literary), correct sentence structures and using the standard norms of pronunciation. Their speech contained such statements as *"That's wonderful!"*, *"I detest it I would say"*, *What you're doing is dreadful"*, *I don't agree with it"*, *"You make me very happy doing things like that"* and the like.

When answering the question "what do you say when you are angry?" women from all age groups said *"I use bad language"*, *"I may swear"*. But no one used inappropriate language during the interview.

Male respondents used rather frequently non-standard forms of pronunciation, such as h-dropping and vernacular [in] in the words like *reading, sitting,* amalgamated forms, e. g.: *"We go out an' (and) celebrate"*, *"Shout at 'em (them)"*,*"S'a'right (Say 'al right')"*, *"…'cos (because) in the English language we like to swear"*. Generally, these speech patterns were characteristic for male teens, but some male adults followed such patterns as well.

The speech of male respondents was characterized by a large number of non-standard vocabulary. Male teens used a lot of slang words and expressions, e. g. *We go "easy" and then we go "we'd better not bollock it up now, 'cos, like, we're on a winning streak"*. Some male teens pronounced swear words and expressions without restraint, demonstrating their speech behaviour at the moment of strong emotional excitement.

It is worth noting how respondents differentiated their speech behaviour when being angry. Most of them explained that linguistic means of expressing annoyance depend on their social relations with the person who irritated them. A range of speech patterns in this case is rather wide: from four-letters words to a delicate note or just disapproving silence.

But male teens were the only gender and age group who differentiated their speech behaviour according to the sex of their opponent. If the latter was a girl, and you should not beat girls, their strategy was to shout loud enough to make the girl cry, e.g.: *"Well, it it's, like, a woman, I'd just total, like, mouth at, 'cos you can't hit girls, so you give 'em as much mouth as you can to make 'em cry"*. If the latter was a boy, then threats and physical actions were used, e.g*.: "If it's a bloke you just smash*

'im up and just say: "You don't touch my mama, you don't touch my brovva, I'll kick yo' ass and then just do stuff like that." (Burenina 2002).

3 Conclusion

All this allows us to conclude that a questionnaire survey can be successfully implemented in the methodology of gender studies as it provides a researcher with a valuable factual data to analyze gender issues in accordance with real life conditions. This is especially relevant for this kind of research because gender as its basic category is liable to constant changes alongside with all developments and improvements happening in the social mind. It may therefore be of interest to quote Bock (1994, 178) saying that gender approach is not supposed to bring the society to some united model, but it aims at discovering diversity and changeability in history and in the society.

Any research is aimed to answer some questions, support or disprove some theses. But it is also considered to set a new task, mark out strategies for further surveys to come. As far as gender in communication is concerned, immediate research tasks can consist of scrupulous examination of factors that determine existence of gender subcultures.

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Endnotes

[1] Beloved! amid the earnest woes/ That crowd around my earthly path-/ (Drear path, alas! where grows/Not even one lonely rose)-/ My soul at least a solace hath/ In dreams of thee, and therein knows/ An Eden of bland repose./ And thus thy memory is to me/ Like some enchanted far-off isle/ In some tumultuous sea-/ Some ocean throbbing far and free/ With storms- but where meanwhile/ Serenest skies continually/ Just o'er that one bright island smile.

[2] You left me, sweet, two legacies,-/ A legacy of love/ A Heavenly Father would content,/ Had He the offer of;/ You left me boundaries of pain/ Capacious as the sea,/ Between eternity and time,/ Your consciousness and me

A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF ROMANIAN AND ENGLISH PROVERBS WITH ZOONYMS

OANA TATU

Abstract: This study represents a contrastive analysis of animal proverbs as instantiations of cultural praxis and linguistic manifestations of attitudinal reactions. Based on a parallel corpus of Romanian proverbs and their English semantic counterparts, the study relies on *tertium comparationis* which is, in turn, extracted from the structural and semantic spheres of paremia investigation. We therefore tackle proverbs from phonetic, lexical, syntactic vantage points, but also from the perspective of the information they carry and convey. In addition, we touch upon the illocutionary force of the selected paremiological units.

Key-words: animal proverbs, parallelism, illocutionary, paremia

0 Introduction

Proverbs represent an essential component of any culture's folk treasure, perpetuated through the ages by a general use in oral speech and in literature. Given their intrinsic cultural nature, proverbs can be perceived as frames that reveal a world-view. Actually, researchers have proved that practically all the aspects of human existence have been absorbed and expressed in paremiological form (Gordon 1968, Permyakov 1970, Kuusi 1972, Kuusi 1985).

Setting out from the importance that proverbs have to all of us, but particularly to linguists, we ground our study in contrastive paremiology, and aim at comparing and contrasting a number of Romanian and English animal proverbs included in a parallel corpus compiled with a view to observing the formal and semantic behaviour of such paremiological units. Following a brief overview of the world of proverbs and their intricate nature, we introduce the corpus and methodology, and then, in the third section, we investigate the form and structure of animal proverbs, taking as *tertium comparationis* features specific to language levels, such as: rhyme, alliteration and assonance (the phonetic level), repetition,

synonymy and antonymy (the lexical level), sentence structure (the syntactic level). In the next section, we move to the contrastive analysis of the proverbs' content, and, connected to this, we then make some observations concerning the illocutionary force of the animal proverbs included in the corpus.

1 An introduction to proverbs

As Martinet (1970) put it, proverbs are employed to express, briefly and clearly, ideas, thoughts, emotions encompassing cultural experience and tradition in a straightforward manner; further, Zouagbo (2008) pointed out that proverbs are used as a means of actualizing traditions and of ensuring the stability of cultural and social life since they represent frames of reference or cultural models; proverbs are also a sign of erudition, of displaying wisdom and experience, becoming thus instruments of power and prestige. According to Piirainen and Sherris (2015, 138), proverbs

1. offer categorization of social praxis by prototypicalization;
2. provide ornamentation of discourse by aesthetic appeal to their imagery and structure;
3. represent instantiations of cultural praxis and ensure its perpetuation;
4. idealize prototypical action through cultural authorization for guidance (by warning, advice, suggestion, etc.);
5. represent a politeness strategy and provide depersonalization of directive speech acts;
6. perform the role of discourse strategy;
7. serve as a foregrounding device in literary and social action.

As they cover so many bases and are employed quasi-generally in everyday speech as well as in literature (starting with that of the ancient Sumerians and Egyptians, the Talmud and the Bible), proverbs leave us all with the sensation of familiarity, and with the feeling that their very essence is within our grasp. However, were we to define proverbs, we would probably be at a loss for words, and we could hardly pinpoint in exact terms what proverbs mean.

In 1996, Mieder compiled a corpus of 55 popularly employed definitions for the concept of proverb, and, of these, he generated a synthetic one: *"Proverbs are concise traditional statements of apparent truths with currency among the folk. More elaborately stated, proverbs are short, generally known sentences of the folk that contain wisdom, truths, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed, and memorizable form and that are handed down from generation to*

generation" (Mieder 1996, 597). In the spirit of Lord John Russell's nineteenth century definition of the proverb, namely *"the wit of one and the wisdom of many"* (quoted in Honeck and Welge 1997, 906-907), Mieder (1996, 597) further abbreviates and refines his initial definition and concludes that the proverb must be *"wisdom expressed in a sentence"*.

In other words, proverbs may be perceived as instantaneous assertions of human behaviour, reason, values and experiences, and, naturally, of the human being *"with all its virtues and flaws"* (Blaga 2003, 312). Therefore, the paremiological units we simply call proverbs are *"familiar, fixed, sentential expressions that express well-known truths, social norms or moral themes"* (Gibbs Jr. 2001, 168).

In the same line of thought, the well-known paremiologist Arvo Krikmann, who undertook the painstaking task of typologically taxonomizing 40,000 animal proverbs and proverbial phrases in about 60 languages, points out that *"proverbs are clichés always used in fixed, settled form"*, an echo of John Lyons' view that proverbs as *"ready-made utterances, permit no extension or variation"* (1971, 177). On the other hand, as we shall see in this study, *"proverbs and proverbial expressions are short and formulaic (in terms of their euphony, characteristic syntax, forms, etc.)"* (Krikmann 2001, 8), and thus they seem to be protected by the law of stability, unlike other forms of folk manifestations (as popular songs and tales).

Generally, proverbs are approached from such vantage points as religious, formal, traditional, cultural, cognitive, psychological, etc. All of these seem to focus, on the one hand, on the formal properties and the semantic content of the proverbs, and, on the other hand, on the communicative and social role of the proverbs.

As far as the semantic content of the proverbs is concerned, one of the most representative and productive areas in terms of metaphor creation and semantic multiplicity is the semantic field of animals. In virtually all the languages in the world, animal proverbs represent a vast portion of the paremiological treasure. In these instantiations, the animal names are attached contextualized figurative and connotative meanings. Almost never will the animal name signify only the creature it designates. The zoological features possessed by the zoonyms in these proverbs will expand their area of application and become generators of creative meanings, trespassing the barriers within the Great Chain of Being to the human realm. Hence the ANIMAL – HUMAN conceptual metaphorical mapping becomes a prolific ground of meaning creation and "is of wide if not universal use, serving as a fundamental strategy to express human wisdom in a disguised manner" (Milică, 2012).

Therefore, in animal proverbs, the animal names, if they are to refer to the designated animal, they do so only informatively, since metaphorically they refer to humans. Now, this human reference is by all means contextualized and culture-bound. Sometimes, indeed, the connotative/metaphorical meaning of the words designating animals is a cultural universal but, as mentioned above, most often it is culture-specific. The metaphorical use of zoonyms often reveals culturally wide-spread attitudes to these animals, whose physical, psychological and behavioural features are linked to humans. By means of overt or covert comparisons, on mostly subjective and emotional grounds, the association between human and animal is immediate and revelatory. Hence, in proverbs, humans acquire animal characteristics, so they bark, moo, scratch, fawn, lick, etc., and this because proverbs are basically *"designed to correct someone's thoughts or behaviours, a process that requires pointing out that some ideal was not attained"* (Honeck 1997, 83)

As mentioned above, the Estonian scholar Arvo Krikman compiled a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural database comprising 40,000 texts from 60 different nations and ethnoses, mainly from peoples of the former Soviet Union, and this is probably the most extensive comparative paremiological enterprise so far. Krikmann concluded, among others, that, irrespective of regional differences, the top three groups of *"equally favourite animals"* include: 1. dog; 2. horse; and 3. neat (cow/ox), whose top ranking can be explained by their being the earliest domesticated animals. This group is followed by another one of five elements whose occurrence was observed in nearly half of the selected corpus: 4. hen/rooster; 5. wolf; 6. swine; 7. cat. 8. sheep / ram – wether. The next group completes the top 13 most frequently occurring zoonyms which make up 2/3 of all the occurrences of animal names in proverbs: 9. fish; 10. donkey and mule; 11. bird; 12. goat; 13. mouse. The following zoonyms on the list are: 14. crow; 15. snake; 16. bear. 17. fox; 18. camel; 19. hare; 20. animal; 21. frogs and toads; 22. fly; 23. lion; 24. goose; 25. eagle – all of which complete the 25 highest ranking animal terms, that make up about 4/5 of the usage of zoological terms.

Krikmann (2001) draws two main conclusions regarding this ranking: firstly, the distribution of animal names is, as he calls it, "Zipfian", given the fact that the number of the most frequently occurring words is small, the number of words of medium occurrence is larger, and the number of rarely occurring words is the largest; secondly, Krikmann points out the overwhelming predominance of domestic animals in his corpus, and this can be put down to the human's familiarity with the natural environment and his traditional occupations. Actually, the closer

and the more familiar the animal, the more prone it is to appear in proverbs and the vaster its semantic array.

A smaller corpus study, but no less rigorous, is Negreanu's (1983) analysis of a compilation of 5994 Romanian proverbs, out of which 9.83% include animal references. In Negreanu's ranking, the top 18 animals in proverbial occurrence are: 1. dog; 2. sheep; 3. ox; 4. horse; 5. duck; 6. cow; 7. pig; 8. neat (bovine); 9. wolf; 10. donkey; 11. fish; 12. bear; 13. mare; 14. mouse /fox; 15. hare/rabbit; 16. snake; 17. cat/calf/puppy; 18. goat. We notice here the prominence of two domestic animals – dog and sheep – and of one wild animal (wolf), which is certain to be accounted for by the ancestral occupation that the Romanian people have, that of sheepherding.

Therefore, we can safely say that certain zoonyms have come to prevail for either practical reasons (they are connected to the history, geography, occupational habits, etc. of a certain people) or for reasons that pertain to cultural transfer (they have been inherited as such or have been perpetuated through literary transmission). In Milică's words: *"if one cumulates the Romanian paremiological tokens with reference to bovids, equids, ovine and porcine animals, one discovers that the steady occupation of husbandry has enforced a culturally specific paremiological animal imagery, whereas the highest rankings of wolf, bear and fox highlight the typical wildlife of the region inhabited by the Romanians"* (2012, n. p.).

2 Corpus and methodology

The vantage point of the present study is that of contrastive paremiology which encompasses the synchronic comparative approach, leaving aside the diachronic approach. We will therefore dwell on comparing and contrasting a parallel corpus of proverbs, by means of identifying specific features of proverb pairs. This can only be done provided there exists a common and stable frame of reference according to which such proverbs may be classified. This common basis that serves as ground for comparison and contrast is known in linguistics as *tertium comparationis*, and can be either of formal or of semantic nature. For instance, Krikmann's afore-mentioned study relies on several semantic *tertia comparationis,* with a view to extracting semantic features of compared proverbs and achieve a typological classification of the paremiological units.

While compiling the parallel corpus, several aspects drew our attention, and opened some investigation paths. The research will follow

therefore the lines of a *tertium comparationis* contrastive study, as its frames will be, in turn, of formal and semantic natures.

For the purpose of this study, we have compiled a corpus of 152 Romanian proverbs featuring zoonyms, extracted from George Muntean's "Proverbe Româneşti" (1984) and Iuliu Zanne's "Proverbele românilor din România, Basarabia, Bucovina, Ungaria, Istria şi Macedonia" (1900); after checking their meanings, we have then found their English counterparts in Teodor Flonta's "Dicţionar de proverbe echivalente" and "1000 English proverbs".

The selection of proverbs was made according to the following criteria:

- The zoonym – in singular or plural form – should occur in a paremiological utterance, which means that only full sentences have been considered;
- The corpus includes lexical cognates since this shows the variety of paremiological expressions and sometimes enriches the connotative value (e.g. *armăsar - stallion*, *murg – chestnut horse* were considered along with *cal - horse*);
- The corpus contains all the formally distinct variants of the proverb, and excludes rephrased variants.

Even though the initial corpus included a wider selection of proverbs in Romanian covering a larger number of zoonyms, for the purpose of this study we have eventually decided to select only the paremiological units that came first numerically, and are among the ones top ranked by Krikmann (2001) and Negreanu (1983). Without aiming particularly at it, this was also a chance to check the discrepancy between the highest rankings in the two reference corpora. Hence, our corpus includes proverbs with reference to ten animal categories, eight domestic and two wild: CÂINE (dog), CAL (horse), GĂINĂ / COCOŞ (hen/rooster), BOU / VACĂ (ox/cow), MĂGAR (donkey/ass), OAIE (sheep), PORC (pig), PISICĂ (cat), VULPE (fox), LUP (wolf).

For the sake of comparison, we will also quote the first ten ranked zoonyms in proverbs as established by Krikmann and Negreanu.

Table 1. The first ten ranked zoonyms in proverbs

Krikmann (2001)	Negreanu (1983)
1. dog	1. dog
2. horse	2. sheep
3. neat [bovine animal] (cow/ox)	3. ox
4. hen/rooster	4. horse
5. wolf	5. duck
6. swine	6. cow
7. cat	7. pig
8. sheep/ram – wether [castrated lamb]	8. neat (bovine)
9. fish (general term)	9. wolf
10. donkey/mule	10. donkey

By no means an exhaustive corpus, our small parallel corpus features the following zoonymic paremiological ranking and occurrences: **1.** CAL / IAPĂ / MURG / ARMĂSAR (horse) – 33; **2.** CÂINE / CĂȚEL (dog) – 26; **3.** BOU / VACĂ (cow/ox) – 17; **4.** PISICĂ / MÂȚĂ (cat) – 13; **5.** MĂGAR (donkey/ass) – 13; **6.** VULPE (fox) – 12; **7.** LUP (wolf) – 12; **8.** GĂINĂ / COCOȘ (hen/rooster) – 11; **9.** PORC (pig) – 10; **10.** OAIE (sheep) – 5.

Given the numerical limitations the corpus falls under, obviously the ranking can be unreliable for the Romanian language, which is why the purpose of this study is not the quantitative analysis. Nevertheless, a note should be made of a rather surprising fact: Negreanu's top, resulting from one of the most comprehensive, however small-scale study in the field, does not include (in its 8 initial positions) any mention of the occurrence of the zoonym GĂINĂ / COCOȘ (hen/rooster) in Romanian proverbs, which could come as a surprise, given the popularity of this particular reference, which determined us to include it in our corpus and to check its occurrence.

Nevertheless, since statistics falls beyond the scope of this study, we will now tackle the more pertinent aspects of form and content in Romanian proverbs and their English semantic counterparts.

3 A contrastive analysis of the form and structure of proverbs

3.1 The phonetic level

Rhyme. An integral part of folk culture, proverbs go down from generation to generation and their form should commonly be such that they are easily remembered. Rhyme is therefore an element that supports the memory. As a general observation, rhyme occurs in 16 out of the 152 Romanian proverbs, and in only 5 of the English counterparts.

Table 2. Examples of rhyme and no rhyme in proverbs

Romanian	English	Rhyme/ No rhyme (English)
Cine fură azi un ou, mâine va fura un bou	He that will steal an egg will steal an ox.	no rhyme
De om roș și de cal bălan să te ferești ca de satan	Red hair; devil's hair	rhyme
La calul nărăvit pinten ascuțit.	A boisterous horse must have a rough bridle.	no rhyme
Porcul ori încotro face, lui tot noroiul îi place; din ce e nu-l poți preface.	It is hard to break a hog of an ill custom.	no rhyme
Când pisica nu-i acasă, joacă șoarecii pe masă.	When the cat's away, the mice will play.	rhyme

Alliteration and assonance. As manifestations of repetition at phonological level, alliteration and assonance serve, along with rhyme, a mnemonic purpose, and transcend the limits of zoonyms as they impact the larger unit the zoonym is part of. The two phonetic devices are certainly not mere ornamental stylistic figures, since they lend dynamism to the discourse, heightening the tone and emphasizing the significant moments. The two can be viewed as rhetorical devices that rely, for their effectiveness and for their charm, on the union of similarity of sound with dissimilarity of sense (Casanowics 1893, 105-167).

As far as identifying contextually the two phonetic devices, we may safely assume that since it has generally initial occurrence, alliteration is much more apparent to the eye than assonance, which is rarely initial. Hence, we tend to notice first what is immediately obvious to the eye, and not what is more obvious to the ear. Actually, reading aloud or "hearing" the silent reading is the best means of identifying assonances.

As for the proverbs in the corpus, there are several instances in which the two rhetorical devices are recurrent in the Romanian and the English equivalent proverbs respectively, even though they may not impact the same consonant or vowel sounds. Then, there is a striking imbalance between the occurrence of alliteration and assonance in the Romanian proverbs and their English equivalent proverbs, as illustrated below:

Table 3. Occurrences of alliteration and assonance

	Alliteration	**Assonance**
Romanian	18	2
English	6	16

This finding allows room for speculation and the first thought that may come to mind is that the prevalence of assonances in English and of alliterations in Romanian can be accounted for by Romanian being a phonetic language and English a non-phonetic one, that is, a language in which one letter or several groups of letters may sound the same.

Table 4. Examples of alliteration and assonance in proverbs

Romanian	**English**
După cum ți-e calul așa să-ți cumperi șaua. ALLITERATION	Cut your coat according to your cloth. ALLITERATION
Calul râios se scarpină de copacul scorburos. ALLITERATION	Scabbed horse cannot abide the comb. ASSONANCE
Cine doarme cu câinii, se scoală plin de purici.ALLITERATION	If you lie with dogs, you will get up with fleas. ASSONANCE
Găina bătrână face ciorba bună. ASSONANCE	Good broth may be made in an old pot. ASSONANCE
Adesea partea cea mai bună pică-n gura porcului. ALLITERATION	Into the mouth of a bad dog often falls a good bone. ASSONANCE
Vulpea părul îşi schimbă iar năravul niciodată. ASSONANCE	The fox may go grey, but never good. ALLITERATION
Pisica după peşte se prăpădeşte, dar nu şi-ar uda labele să-l prindă. ALLITERATION	The cat would eat fish and would not wet her feet. ASSONANCE

3.2 The lexical level

Often found in conjunction with syntactic parallelism in proverbs, in general, semantic parallelism becomes manifest at lexical level mainly through repetition, synonyms and antonyms. We hereby consider only the cases in which the zoonym or another lexical element belonging to the animal semantic field is involved in the lexical patterning.

Repetition. Employed from a structural perspective as cohesive device, and from a semantic perspective as means of emphasizing an idea, the lexical repetition is a recurrent pattern in animal proverbs. As the selected corpus proves, it is significantly more often used in Romanian proverbs than in their English counterparts, where repetition rather impacts other lexical units in the proverb than zoonyms.

Table 5. Examples of repetition and no repetition in proverbs

Romanian	English
Măgar s-a dus, măgar s-a întors. REPETITION.	If an ass goes a-travelling, he'll not come home a horse. NO REPETITION
Şade pe măgar şi caută măgarul. REPETITION	You look for a horse you ride on. NO REPETITION
Câine pe câine nu mănâncă. REPETITION	Dog does not eat dog. REPETITION
Porcu-i tot porc şi în ziua de Paşti. REPETITION	No fine cloth can hide the clown. NO REPETITION
Vorbeşti de lup şi lupul la uşă. REPETITION	Talk of the wolf, and his tail appears. NO REPETITION

Antonymy. Judging by its high frequency occurrence in proverbs, we presume that lexical antonymy is among the favourite lexical patterns in paremia. It is a cohesive device, and, more than that, it functions semantically as an idea-confirming device since it strengthens the basic popular belief in good and evil, and the human tendency to label or deliver verdicts on things.

Two types of antonymy have been identified in the corpus: *full antonymy* – between units perceived as opposites outside the paremiologial context; and *relative antonymy*, between units that are not normally opposites, but are set in opposition in proverbs.

Full antonymy. The cases of full antonymy that refer strictly to zoonyms are generally marked for gender in Romanian, and have as English equivalents either cases of full or of relative antonymy.

Table 6. Examples of full antonymy in proverbs

Romanian	English
Dintr-o iapă țigănească iese un cal boieresc. Și dintr-o iapă ursărească poate ieși o dată un armăsar boieresc. FULL ANTONYMY	A ragged colt may make a good horse. Wanton kittens make sober cats. RELATIVE ANTONYMY.
Vai de casa unde cotcorogesc găinile și cocoșul tace. FULL ANTONYMY	It is a sad house where the hen crows louder than the cock. FULL ANTONYMY
S-a dus bou și s-a întors vacă. – FULL ANTONYMY	If an ass goes a-travelling, he'll not come home a horse. Never send out ass and come home horse. RELATIVE ANTONYMY
Găina neagră face oul alb. FULL ANTONYMY	A black hen lays a white egg. FULL ANTONYMY

Relative antonymy. Instances of relative antonymy in proverbs are in great number, and the opposition generally relies on such semantic dichotomies as: big vs small; stupid vs clever; animal vs its natural enemy. Sometimes the antonymy will expand beyond the limits of the zoonym, emphasizing it.

Table 7. Examples of relative antonymy in proverbs

Romanian	English
Cine nu-i mulțumit c-un ou, nu-i nici c-un bou. RELATIVE ANTONYMY	He hath enough who is contented with little. He is rich enough that wants nothing. RELATIVE ANTONYMY
Mai bine un măgar care te poartă, decât un cal care te trântește. RELATIVE ANTONYMY	Better ride on an ass that carries me than a horse that throws me. RELATIVE ANTONYMY
Face din țânțar armăsar. Mincinosul cu de-a sila face musca cât cămila. RELATIVE ANTONYMY	He changes a fly into an elephant. To make a mountain out of a molehill. RELATIVE ANTONYMY
Mai bine un câine viu decât un leu mort. RELATIVE ANTONYMY	A living dog is better than a dead lion. RELATIVE ANTONYMY
Găina vecinului totdeauna-i curcă. RELATIVE ANTONYMY	All the geese are swans. RELATIVE ANTONYMY
Vulpea când n-ajunge la găini zice că sunt spânzurate. RELATIVE ANTONYMY	Fie upon the hens! Quoth the fox, because he could not reach them. RELATIVE ANTONYMY

Unde se sparge pielea de lup, cârpeşte-o cu piele de vulpe. RELATIVE ANTONYMY	If the lion's skin cannot, the fox's shall. Either by might or by sleight. RELATIVE ANTONYMY
Moartea lupului e sănătatea oilor. Moartea pisicilor, bucuria şoarecilor. RELATIVE ANTONYMY	The death of the wolves is the safety of the sheep. RELATIVE ANTONYMY

Synonymy. Although rare, the cases of lexical synonymy in animal proverbs provide a new understanding of the notion of synonymy itself, since they do not comply with the classical definition of synonymic use. More exactly, some proverbs rely on an overall impression of synonymy between units that are never synonymous outside the paremiological context. We call this situation *relative synonymy*. Such synonymic instances expand beyond the limits of the zoonym and are often syntactically marked by parataxis.

Table 8. Examples of relative synonymy in proverbs

Romanian	English
Femeia, puşca şi calul n-are crezământ. RELATIVE SYNONYMY	Trust not a horse's heel, nor a dog's tooth. RELATIVE SYNONYMY
Trei lucruri nu se împrumută: calul, nevasta şi puşca. RELATIVE SYNONYMY	A horse, a wife, and a sword may be shewed, but not lent. RELATIVE SYNONYMY
Cu calul şi cu nevasta nebătută nu faci nici pe dracul. RELATIVE SYNONYMY	A woman, a dog and a walnut tree, the more you beat them, the better they'll be. A spaniel, a woman, and a walnut tree, the more they are beaten, the better they be. RELATIVE SYNONYMY

3.3 The syntactic level

From a syntactic perspective, there are four sentence types proverbs which fall into: simple, compound, complex, and compound-complex.

Simple sentences. Given the overall role of the proverb, which is to signal the presence or absence of a certain social behaviour and to correct it, the most efficient way of achieving that is to convey the message in brief phrasings. Hence, the most prolific sentence type is the simple one, as our corpus shows it, too. Such sentences can be either

affirmative or negative, and most often the simple syntactic pattern – N1 + <Attr.$_1$> + V + N2 + <Attr.$_2$> – is preserved in the English counterparts.

Table 9. Examples of full sentence proverbs

Romanian	English
Affirmative simple sentences	
Găina bătrână face ciorba bună.	Good broth may be made in an old pot.
Vizitiul prost bate calul bun.	A bad workman blames his tools.
Armăsarul bun se vinde din grajd. Vaca bună se vinde din staul.	Good ware makes quick markets.
Pisica opărită fuge şi de apă rece.	A scalded cat fears cold water. A scalded dog fears cold water.
Negative simple sentences	
Nu pune carul înaintea boilor.	Don't put the cart before the horse.
Nu da oaia în paza lupului.	To set the wolf to keep the sheep.
Nu da oaia în paza lupului.	To set the wolf to keep the sheep. He sets the fox to keep his geese.
Două mâţe în sac nu încap.	Two bigs will not go in one bag.
Pisica cu clopoţei nu prinde şoareci. Cu doba nu prinzi iepuri.	Drumming is nor the way to catch a hare. To fright a bird is not a way to catch her. To hunt a hare with the tabor.
Nu arunca mărgăritarul înaintea porcilor.	Do not throw pearls to swine.

Complex sentences. This pattern features one main clause and one or more subclauses. As the examples below prove, a frequent stylistic feature of these proverbs is the repositioning of the subclause into initial sentence position, for the purpose of emphasis. Also, quite frequently, the subclauses are introduced by interrogative and relative pronouns as *cine* (who), *ce* (what), or interrogative adverbs *unde* (where), *cum* (how), *de ce* (why), *când* (when). The *Wh-* subclause is not always preserved as such, in initial position, in the English corresponding proverb.

Table 10. Examples of complex sentence proverbs

Romanian	English
Cine fură azi un ou, mâine va fura un bou. Cine fură azi un ac, mâine fură un gânsac.	He that will steal an egg will steal an ox.
Cine n-are cal să urce pe jos la deal.	Who hath no horse may ride on a staff.
Când latră un câine bătrân să ieşi afară.	If the old dog barks, he gives counsel. An old dog barks not in vain.
Cine vrea să-şi bată câinele, bâtă găseşte.	It is easy to find a stick to beat a dog. A staff is quickly found to beat a dog.
Ce naşte din găină râcâie la pământ. Ce naşte din pisică şoareci mănâncă.	He that comes of hen must scrape. That that comes of a cat will eat mice.
Unde puterea nu ascultă, vulpea ajută.	Either by might or by sleight. If the lion's skin cannot, the fox's shall.

Compound sentences and syntactic parallelism. In this case, the structure of animal proverbs displays several independent coordinate clauses linked by such coordinators as *şi* (and), *dar* (but), *însă* (however), *nici* (neither), *sau* (or). This is called syndetic coordination. Alternatively, the verb may be omitted from such proverbs, and the clauses are juxtaposed, this being a case of asyndetic coordination. In such instances, the implication is that there is a semantic relationship between the clauses which actually reflects in the syntactic parallelism displayed.

As a rhetorical device, structural or syntactic parallelism is employed for the purpose of foregrounding and emphasis, and *"it involves the contiguous juxtaposition of syntactically parallel elements of the proverb text, such as individual lexical items, phrases, clauses, or sentence, for the purpose of suggesting analogical relationships or comparison"* (Mac Coinnigh, 2015:122).

Table 11. Examples of syndetic and asyndetic coordination in proverbs

Romanian	English
Syndetic coordination	
S-a dus bou și s-a întors vacă.	If an ass goes a-travelling, he'll not come home a horse.
Boul se leagă de coarne și omul de limbă. Boul se leagă cu funia și oamenii cu vorba. Omul se ține de cuvânt și boul de coarne.	An ox is taken by the horns and a man by the tongue.
Nu poți fi și cu pui și cu ouă și cu găina grasă. Și sătul și cu punga plină nu se poate. Și cu porcul gras în bătătură și cu slănina-n pod nu se poate.	You cannot have your cake (loaf) and eat it.
Lupul își schimbă părul dar năravul ba. Lupul își pierde măselele, dar nu obiceiurile.	The wolf may lose his teeth, but never his nature (memory). The fox may grow grey, but never good.
Vacă pe vacă linge și porc pe porc scarpină.	One ass (mule, horse) scrubs another.
Șade pe măgar și caută măgarul.	You look for a horse you ride on. You are like the man that sought his mare, and he riding on her.
Asyndetic coordination	
Să trăiești, murgule, să pști iarbă verde.	Live, horse, and you'll get grass.
Omul la tinerețe, ca calul fără frâu.	Youth will have its course.
La calul nărăvit pinten ascuțit.	A boisterous horse must have a rough bridle.
Câinii latră, caravana (ursul) trece.	The dog barks, but the caravan goes on.
Măgar s-a dus, măgar s-a întors.	If an ass goes a-travelling, he'll not come home a horse.
Moarte pisicilor, bucuria șoarecilor.	The death of the wolves is the safety of the sheep.

The compound – complex sentence. This syntactic pattern showcases two clauses and one subclause. There are not many instances of this syntactic pattern in the Romanian animal proverbs collected in our corpus or in their English counterparts. The explanation may be that the longer the proverb, the more difficult it is to remember or reproduce it at need.

Table 12. Examples of compound - complex sentence proverbs

Romanian	English
Câinele osul nu şi-l roade şi nici pe altul nu-l lasă să-l roadă.	Like the gardener's dog, that neither eats cabbages himself, nor lets anybody else.
Cel ce nu vede Bucureştii şi nu încalecă cal alb, nu ştie ce e frumos în lumea asta.	He who has not seen Seville, has not seen a wonder.
Pe măgar să-l încarci după a lui putere, dacă nu vrei să te încarci tu în locul lui.	An ass endures his burden, but no more than his burden.
Măgarul când te loveşte să fugi să-i mulţumeşti, că mai câştigat eşti.	When an ass kicks you, never tell it.

4 A contrastive analysis of the meaning of proverbs

When it comes to their meaning, animal proverbs can generally be decoded at two levels: literally, a case in which they express a universal truth about the world of animals, their appearance, behaviour, role; and figuratively. In this latter case, proverbs rely on a metaphor, usually the "HUMAN IS ANIMAL" one, which facilitates the understanding of human affairs in the light of animal characteristics.

It is also true that different languages and cultures assign different meanings to animals in proverbial expressions. This implies that one and the same animal may not be equally conceptualized in different languages and cultures. The idea is illustrated in the following table, which showcases a statistics of the occurrence of the Romanian zoonym and of their English semantic counterparts.

Table 13. The occurrence of the Romanian zoonyms and of their English semantic counterparts

Romanian Zoonym	English		
	Same animal	Different animal	No animal
bou/vacă (ox/cow)	8	7	2
cal (horse)	18	5	10
câine (dog)	22	3	1
cocoş-găină (rooster – hen)	5	1	5
lup (wolf)	7	3	2
măgar (ass/donkey)	10	1	2
porc (pig)	6	3	1

vulpe (fox)	9	-	1
pisică (cat)	6	5	2
oaie (sheep)	4	1	-

The data shows that the zoonyms that most frequently occur unchanged in both Romanian and English are *cal* (horse); *câine* (dog); *măgar* (ass or donkey); *vulpe* (fox); *lup* (wolf). This fact is not at all surprising since the symbolical undertones of these animals are similar in the two languages and cultures, and we know this from the manner of conceptualizing these animals in Romanian and English legends, stories and folk tales.

There is a small, however significant, number of fully equivalent proverbs whose structure and meaning are exactly the same in Romanian and English; structurally, they are simple sentences, and semantically, they stand proof of the fact that *beyond inherent linguistic differences, cultures extract their folk wisdom from a common well.*

Table 14. Examples of fully equivalent proverbs

Romanian	English
Nu pune carul înaintea boilor.	Don't put the cart before the horse.
Boii bătrâni fac brazda dreaptă.	An old ox makes a straight furrow.
Boul se leagă de coarne şi omul de limbă.	An ox is taken by the horns and a man by the tongue.
Mai bine un măgar care te poartă, decât un cal care te trânteşte.	Better ride on an ass that carries me than a horse that throws me.
Ochiul stăpânului îngraşă calul.	The master's eye makes the horse fat.
Câinele bătrân nu latră degeaba.	An old dog barks not in vain.
Câine pe câine nu mănâncă.	Dog does not eat dog.
Găina neagră face oul alb.	A black hen lays a white egg.
Nu arunca mărgăritarul înaintea porcilor.	Do not throw pearls to swine.
Vulpea bătrână nu cade în curse.	An old fox is not easily snared.
Ce naşte din pisică şoareci mănâncă.	That that comes of a cat will eat mice.

5 The illocutionary force of proverbs

Even though this may fall beyond the scope of the present study, we cannot help noticing that a proverb is not a mere sequence of words that exhibit either a literal or a metaphorical meaning. Proverbs instruct, advise, warn, express doubt and exhort people to do or refrain from doing something, and they "idealize prototypical action through cultural authorization

for guidance" (Piirainen and Sherris 2015, 138). Therefore, animal proverbs are statements that function as deeds, and have illocutionary force. In other words, *"if utterances of proverbs mean what they say on the literal level but go on to expand this meaning idiomatically in texts, then they classify as indirect speech acts in the sense of Searle (1975a). I can say 'praise a fair day at night' and mean what I say about praise and days, while at the same time conveying to my general hearer a general warning which he derives from my utterance"* (Norrick 1985, 26).

It is in fact this illocutionary force that proverbs possess which is the invariant core when it comes to proverbs in one language and their counterparts in a number of other languages. While elements pertaining to phonetics, lexis, syntax or other language levels may vary from one language to another, as we have seen, the illocutionary force of proverbs does not change; what may fluctuate is its degree of strength, but, overall, the implied intention is the same.

From the perspective of acts performed by animal proverbs, we have found most of the animal proverbs included in our corpus to belong to the following classes:

Table 14. The illocutionary force of proverbs

Illocutionary force	Romanian	English
Advisory	După cum ţi-e calul aşa să-ţi cumperi şaua.	Cut your coat according to your cloth.
	Leagă calul unde zice stăpânul, măcar lupul să-l mănânce.	An ass must be tied where the master will have him.
	Boul se leagă de coarne şi omul de limbă.	An ox is taken by the horns and a man by the tongue.
	Când latră un câine bătrân să ieşi afară.	If the old dog barks, he gives counsel.
Directive (prohibitive or compulsory)	Pe măgar să-l încarci după a lui putere, dacă nu vrei să te încarci tu în locul lui.	An ass endures his burden, but no more than his burden.
	Trei lucruri nu se împrumută: calul, nevasta şi puşca.	A horse, a wife, and a sword may be shewed, but not lent.
	Nu te încrede în câinele care dă din coadă.	Dogs wag their tails, not so much in love to you as to your bread.
	Nu da oaia în paza lupului.	To set the wolf to keep the sheep.

Prompting laughter	Cată Nenea iapa, călare pe ea.	You are like the man that sought his mare, and he riding on her.
	Peste gardul mititel sare și-un cățel.	Men leap over where the hedge is lowest.
	Vulpea când n-ajunge la găini zice că sunt spânzurate.	Fie upon the hens! Quoth the fox, because he could not reach them. The grapes are sour.
	Soacra cu nora ca pisica cu șoarecele.	Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are a tempest and hail storm.
Concessive	Mai bine cap de pisică decât coadă de leu.	Better be the head of a dog than the tail of a lion. Better be the head of a lizard / an ass/ a mouse than the tail of a lion. Better be the head of a pike than the tail of a sturgeon.
	Mai bine un măgar care te poartă, decât un cal care te trântește.	Better ride on an ass that carries me than a horse that throws me.
	Mai bine un câine viu decât un leu mort.	A living dog is better than a dead lion.
	Unde se sparge pielea de lup, cârpește-o cu piele de vulpe.	If the lion's skin cannot, the fox's shall.

6 Conclusions

The analysis of the animalistic paremia in the Romanian – English parallel corpus came up with a series of findings. Firstly, at the phonetic level, rhyme was shown to be a favourite device in Romanian, and not so much in English; as for alliteration and assonance, the former is by far prevalent in Romanian, and the latter in English. Secondly, in proverbs, the lexical level is tailored to support the syntactic level, hence the abundant instances of repetition, relative synonymic parallelism or antonymic parallelism (full or relative) we have found in the corpus.

From a syntactic vantage point, we have seen that the most productive syntactic pattern in both Romanian and English is that of simple sentences, either affirmative or negative (N1 + <Attr.$_1$> + V + N2 + <Attr.$_2$>). We have also made a note of syntactic parallelism, a predominant

structural device in animal proverbs, manifested through syndetic and asyndetic coordination.

In point of meaning proper, we have analysed the cases of zoonyms which occur unchanged in Romanian and English paremia, and which show that there are certainly cases of identical conceptualization of such animals, with roots in other folkloric manifestations than proverbs;

Despite the undeniable linguistic and cultural differences, we have shown that there is an invariant, universal core of meaning and structure, by offering examples of Romanian proverbs with identical semantic and structural English counterparts. Finally, a brief mention was made of the manifestations of the illocutionary force of proverbs, seen as the constant feature that transcends language and culture barriers.

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THE HISTORY OF THE USA IN WORLD WAR II REFLECTED IN SUBTITLES OF *BAND OF BROTHERS*

ATTILA IMRE

Abstract: The present article deals with challenges of subtitling of the highly popular TV-series connected to the history of the United States of America during World War II. As reflected in the collected material (one season, ten episodes, total running time 705 minutes), there are various types of challenges: historical, cultural, linguistic, and military terminology. In our case, the subtitler must be familiar with specific historical events (the involvement of the United States of America in European warfare) or famous public figures (e.g. from politics and entertainment), including events extending beyond the actual storyline. We analyze samples connected to history and try to detect possible mistakes in the Romanian and Hungarian subtitles, as the cultural and temporal difference may offer ground for certain misinterpretations.

Keywords: subtitling quality, *Band of Brothers,* history, Romanian, Hungarian.

1 Introduction

The two World Wars have left very serious imprints in the minds of people from the beginnings. After more than a century people still return to these events, offering new insights or reinterpretations from various perspectives. Except for the landmark events (e.g. the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Pearl Harbor or Hiroshima and Nagasaki), the majority of stories have remained vivid only locally for decades.

However, since the beginning of the technological ®evolution amply described in Bowker (2002) or Gouadec (2007), resulting in the spread of multimedia products (TVs, computers), worldwide audience may access productions dealing with historical events, and the entertainment industry, in our case Hollywood, is a definite beneficiary of globalization (Cadieux and Esselink 2002).

The translation industry has also become much more diversified due to this technical ®evolution and new fields have come into being, such as *voice-over, dubbing, subtitling, surtitling* under the umbrella term of *audiovisual* (AVT) or *multimedia* (MMT) *translations* (Díaz-Cintas 2005).

Translators have also specialized in various fields in order to remain competitive on the market, soon realizing that 'pure' text-based translations rarified in the entertainment sector. Those wishing to become audiovisual translators must be familiar with the software enabling them to combine texts with audio and video editing (sounds and images), and among their skills and competences the first ones should be connected to this technological knowledge (computer literacy, translation software and audio-video editing).

A further drastic change must have been the understanding of the fact that audiovisual translations are ancillary and subsidiary to the entertainment industry, thus texts are often produced to facilitate audiovisual entertainment.

A further remark is connected to time. While text-based translations are usually allotted enough time to be carried out, this is hardly the case when localization is needed (e.g. creating dubbed versions, subtitles or surtitles), not to mention the weekly regularity of TV series.

Thus, competent translators (subtitlers) must be ready to: handle subtitling software (e.g. *SubtitleEdit, Subtitle Workshop, Aegisub* or *VisualSubSync*); render texts accompanying audiovisual products, often on a regular basis (cf. TV series) during a relatively short period of time and at regular intervals; be experts in the main topic of the audiovisual products and to be creative enough to be enjoyed by the public in the hope of future contracts; be prepared for avid competition, especially involving English to native language combination.

A final thought before we delve into our main topic refers to the status of these translators and subtitlers. While the majority of jobs can clearly differentiate professionals from amateurs, the translation industry – at least in the 21st century – is not interested in degrees but in proficiency. Once technically expert, virtually anyone can produce subtitles without 'proper' qualifications as the audience is more interested in the feeling of 'here and now' than the source of the subtitle (Dam and Zethsen 2009).

Thus, in our view, professionals may only stand out of the 'crowd' by producing quality (technical, linguistic, cultural, management, etc.) work, which takes time and expertise. Hence few professionals are willing to accept the terms applying to subtitling, not to mention that, ultimately, it is the audience who decides whether the subtitle is acceptable or not (cf.

the possibility to rate them on a 1–5 scale). Given the fact that audiovisual products can be accessed (downloaded) easily by large crowds of people, this is a more than appealing sector for fans, 'fanatics' creating *fansubs* and *fantitles*, and then instantly uploading them for worldwide access without any financial reward.

These are the reasons why we are interested in subtitles and their creators, so in the following we turn our attention to a specific case.

2 Subtitling *Band of Brothers*

The Internet Movie Database (IMDB) rates almost anything associated with audiovisual products: movies, actors and actresses, popularity, even various lists created by fans. *Band of Brothers* (2001) is a TV series that is the second top rated[1] TV show (as of September 2018), with a 9.5 rating, having one season with ten episodes with a total running time of 705 minutes.

The TV miniseries is based on Stephen Ambrose's (2001b) book written almost a decade before (1992), the second edition published when HBO aired the series in 2001.

After having watched the series in English, we traced the original DVDs released with Romanian and Hungarian subtitles and compared them with the original transcript/subtitle. A total of 957 entries have been collected into a Microsoft Office Excel file, after which the entries were categorized.

A possible mind-map of these categories is the following:

- The (US) Army – warfare (ranks, units, branches, equipment, weapons, commands, tactics and strategy, abbreviations and acronyms);
- Culture specific terms and expressions, including 'untranslatable' ones and possible adaptations belonging to "ethnographical realia" (Klaudy 2003, 206), such as food, beverages, clothes, sports, measurements, US settlements, making this category extremely diversified and even mixed with terms also belonging to history or geography;
- Language (informal, slang, swear, taboo), grammar, as well as vocabulary related entries: foreign words, body parts, jobs and tasks, health issues (e.g. various types of wounds).

The categories have been established based on the terms found throughout the subtitles, but the starting point was Vlakhov and Florin's

(1980) categorization of culture specific words (or realia) detailed in English by Klaudy (2003, 206–208), who also accepts that further categories may be added. The aforementioned Bulgarian scholars set up three large categories (geographical, ethnographical, social / political), specifically mentioning military realia belonging to the last one. However, these categories (created for different reasons and probably based on their collected samples) may overlap, or some categories may be missing, such as history, yet they seemed to be applicable to start our research.

The Romanian subtitle was created by Alexandru Gheorghia and adapted by SDI Media Group, and the Hungarian version belongs to Miklós Vincze (SDI Media Hungary). While collecting entries for our database, we selected terms which may belong to history and we could establish the sub-categories listed below: events and facts; groups of people; famous people (politics, army leaders, entertainment); further entries connected to or stemming from World War II events; historical errors reflected in the TV miniseries.

We predicted that possible issues concerning the Romanian and Hungarian renditions may stem from certain challenges, such as distance in time and experience (a considerable part of army terminology is unknown to outsiders, including the jargon, abbreviations or acronyms). While many so-called historical movies include a lot of fiction, one of the producers (none other than Tom Hanks himself) stated the following: "We've made history fit onto our screens. We had to condense down a vast number of characters, fold other people's experiences into 10 or 15 people, … I still think it is three or four times more accurate than most films like this." (Riding 2001)

We believe this was possible because "the veterans saw previews of the series and approved the episodes before they were aired" (Riding 2001), but at a certain price: World War II history is presented from the perspective of the US Army. In the following we highlight the entries connected to history.

2.1 Events, facts and places

Certain **events** are widely known both in the history of the USA and worldwide. We could track six events in the series (the number in brackets refers to the total number of occurrences in the entire series), presenting their Romanian and Hungarian translations:

Example 1

> ***D-Day*** **(15) – [**the event actually happened on June 6, 1944]
> Ro. *Ziua Z, ziua Z, ziua debarcării, debarcarea*
> Hu. *D-nap*

As all combat operations start on a 'D-Day', the majority of connoisseurs agree that letter *D* simply stands for *day*[2], while a Romanian site explains that it may also be 'deliverance', 'landing' or 'decision,' all starting with *d* in Romanian.[3] Of course, the Romanian subtitler had no issues whatsoever in translating the term, and applied the established equivalent (Z for Romanian or a word starting with *d*), while the Hungarian subtitler preserved letter *D*.

Example 2

> ***H-Hour*** **(1)**
> Ro. *Ora H*
> Hu. *H óra*

Although an important military term, we only found one instance in the entire series, and both subtitlers offered the same letter *H* referring to "The time of day at which an attack, landing, or other military operation is scheduled to begin."[4], the term being listed in the most reputable Romanian online dictionary as well, which completes the explanation by associating it with a sense of secrecy.[5]

There are two operations mentioned by name:

Example 3

> ***Operation Market Garden*** **(4)**
> Ro. *operațiunea "Market Garden"*
> Hu. *Market Garden hadművelet*

Example 4

> ***Operation Pegasus*** **(3)**
> Ro. *Operațiunea Pegas*
> Hu. *Pegazus hadművelet*

While Example 3 is easy to translate as there are other sources in Romanian and Hungarian referring to the event (September 17–25, 1944) this way, Example 4 required a conscious decision on behalf of the Romanian subtitler. As no external sources are available regarding this term in Romanian, the subtitler relied on the established translation of the mythological name. However, the Hungarian subtitler must have solved it much more easily as the term is listed in other Hungarian sources.

Knowing that English and Romanian are both Indo-European languages, the next case was clear, as *victory* is almost similar in these two languages; the Hungarian subtitler made use of explicitation, as *victory* starts with a different letter in Hungarian:

Example 5

> *V* **for Victory (1)**
> Ro. *"V"-ul victoriei*
> Hu. **gy*ő*zelem V betűjével**

The term was even used in an 'ad-hoc' expression in those days (the fragment below shows that it was introduced then), which solidified in the following years, and today May 8 is celebrated as the *VE Day, V-E Day* or simply *V Day*:

Example 6

> *V-E* **Day (3)**

En.	Ro.	Hu.
Happy V-E Day. *Yeah.* ***V-E Day?*** *Victory in Europe.* *Happy V-E Day.*	*La mulţi ani, de ziua victoriei E.* *Ziua victoriei E?!* *Victorie în Europa.* *La mulţi ani, de ziua victoriei E!*	*Boldog győzelem napját.* *Ja.* *Győzelem napja?* *Győzelem Európában.* *Boldog győzelem napját.*

The fragment clearly shows that the subtitlers had to unravel the abbreviation, and the Hungarian subtitler could only render the meaning of the original, without preserving the abbreviation.

The TV miniseries also displays certain **facts**, which offer a valuable insight into the reality of World War II and this particular age. Let us mention them in chronological order:

Example 7

> ***Thanksgiving*** **(1)** – even in *The Pacific*
> Ro. *Ziua Recunoştinţei*
> Hu. *hálaadás nap*

Although the term reflects a particular cultural element in the history of the USA, it is widely known and has proper variants in both Romanian and Hungarian, even if capitalization is not strictly followed and the translations originate from a word-for-word interpretation.

Example 8
> ***Cheerleaders* (1)**
> Ro. *majoretele*
> Hu. *Pompomlányok*

We discovered with surprise that organized cheerleading had existed in the USA since 1877, and due to WWII more and more women got involved in this free time activity. However, the following facts are more directly linked to the cruel reality of wartime:

Example 9
> ***points* (10)** – *do not have the **85 points** needed to be discharged.*
> Ro. *nu au cele **85 de puncte** necesare pentru a fi lăsați la vatră*
> Hu. *nincs meg a leszereléshez szükséges 85 **pontja***

The entire last episode is centered around *points*, which may lead to the discharge of the US soldiers fed up with war after years of fights. The 85 points are also mentioned in the book, where it is explained in detail how one could obtain them (Ambrose 2001b, 281). Even if neither Example 9 nor 10 caused any problem for the subtitlers, Example 10 requires more background knowledge:

Example 10
> ***$10,000* (2)** – *don't let your families miss out on $10,000*
> Ro. *Nu e bine să vă lăsați familiile fără 10.000 de dolari.*
> Hu. *Ne maradjon le a családotok tízezer dollárról.*
>
> *Roosevelt … pays me $10,000 a year for the rest of my life.*
> Ro. *îmi va plăti zece miare pe an, pentru tot restul vieții*
> Hu. *és egész hátralévő életemben évente tízezret tejel*

The sum refers to the life insurance paid by the US Government in case of deceased soldiers on condition that the proper documents are completed and signed, a fact little known today. Similarly, few seem to be aware that *war bonds* fitted in the US Government financial efforts to upkeep the Army. During the campaign a few heroes were sent back home to commercialize these bonds, as well-explained in the original book: "the PR man at Division HQ thought it would be a great idea to send one officer from each regiment involved in the heroic defense of Bastogne to the States for a war bond drive and other publicity purposes." (Ambrose 2001b, 199). In fact, neither subtitler offers convincing variants:

Example 11

> **war bonds (1)** *A victory that can only be won by work,* **war bonds** *and heroic sacrifice.*
> Ro. *O victorie care nu va veni decât prin* **camaraderie** *și sacrificiu.*
> Hu. *Amelyet erőfeszítéssel, áldozatokkal lehet kivívni.*

Bond is interpreted as the bond between comrades in Romanian (cf. *camaraderie*) while the Hungarian version skips the term. However, the next term is even worse in the Romanian version:

Example 12

> **will** *– Anyone who has not made out a* **will***, go to the supply office.*
> Ro. *Cine nu şi-a luat* **echipamentul***, să meargă la magazie.*
> Hu. *Aki nem írt még* **végrendeletet***, az menjen el az ellátó irodára.*

The English context (E3, 59:40) is very clear that a testament (*will*) is required before privates go to battle, correctly translated in the Hungarian version, while the Romanian subtitler misinterpreted the situation, and translated it as 'equipment' or 'gear' (Ro. *echipament*).

The horrors of the Nazi propaganda are also present in the series:

Example 13

> ***Cremating, execution chambers, ovens* (1)**
> Ro. *camere de execuție și cu cuptoare*
> Hu. *Kivégző kamrák, krematóriumok*

Both subtitlers rendered the terms correctly, although it is visible that the Romanian version is not as harsh as the original, leaving out *cremating*.

The next term is Hitler's 'birthday present', the Eagle's Nest, which denotes in fact his headquarters in Kehlsteinhaus (Berchtesgaden, Germany). It appears four times in the transcript, all being translated with the established equivalent term in both languages:

Example 14

> ***Eagle's Nest* (4)**
> Ro. *Cuibul Vulturului*
> Hu. *Sasfészek*

The place is iconic today, being on the bucket list of many, and it is interesting that, in the English transcript / subtitle, only the English term appears, without using the original German name. However, Ambrose's book and its translations contain the German term three times (*Adlerhorst*),

but all of them are misspelled: *Aldershorst* (Ambrose 2001b, 264), *Adlershorst* (Ambrose 2010, 318–19) and *Adlershorst* (Ambrose 2001a, 332).

The cause of the error in the English original may stem from the fact that it is not known (by the author or the publisher) that *Adler* means 'eagle', 'falcon' or 'hawk' in German, while the Romanian and Hungarian versions use another existing term, which unfortunately refers to different places or something completely different.[6]

2.2 Groups of people, public figures

The next category we would like to deal with is **ethnonyms** referring to (groups of) people, presented chronologically. Historically, the first group is connected to the Roman times and their enemies:

Example 15
>	*the Roman Legion, legionnaires* **(1)**
>	Ro. *legiunea romană, legionarii*
>	Hu. *római légió, légionárusok*

Example 16
>	*the Huns* **(2)**, *the Goths* **(1)** *and Visigoths* **(2)**, *the Barbarians* **(1)**
>	Ro. *huni, goți, vizigoți, barbari*
>	Hu. ***németek***, *hunok, gótok, vizigótok, barbárok*

Although these terms are easy to translate, the Hungarian subtitler replaced the term *Huns* with 'Germans' in one case. The reason may be that the original sentence refers to the Germans metaphorically (*How will you slay the Huns with dust on your jump wings?*), and there are dictionary entries where the 'Huns' refer to the First or Second World War Germans, even if it is considered derogatory and informal.[7]

Example 17
>	***Carthigians (prisoners)*** **(1)** and ***Tertius*** **(1)**
>	Ro. *Cartagina, Tercius*
>	Hu. -, *Tertius*

As Example 17 proves it again, famous historical places and names often have established equivalents in other languages as well, even if the Hungarian subtitle skips the place name (*Karthágó*). The other name is probably fictitious,[8] and the conversation is only in the transcript; the subtitlers nevertheless offered proper variants, thinking that it is a valid

Roman name (cf. the Romans conquered Carthage during the Punic Wars from 264 BC to 146 BC).[9] The best explanation we could find is that "Tertius is a stand-in name for 'generic Roman legion officer.'"[10]

Religious reference to people is also present in the series, although rather limited:

Example 18
> ***Son of Abraham* (1)**
> Ro. *e fiu al lui Abraham*
> Hu. *Ábrahám fia*

According to a dictionary definition,[11] Abraham is "the Hebrew patriarch from whom all Jews trace their descent (Gen. 11:27–25:10)", while in the series privates try to explain this way why their leader does not drink alcoholic drinks. However, the term expresses a sign of respect, which is preserved in both subtitles.

Example 19
> ***Quaker* (3)**
> Ro. *quaker*
> Hu. *kvéker*

A Quaker is "[a] member of the Religious Society of Friends, a Christian movement founded by George Fox c.1650 and devoted to peaceful principles"[12], which is a clear example for untranslatable terms, together with the following two examples. The Romanian term is the result of a 'pure' borrowing (cf. Molina and Hurtado Albir 2002, 510), while the Hungarian term is the phonetic transcription of the term.

Example 20
> ***Mennonites* (2)**
> Ro. *menonit*
> Hu. *mennonita*

Mennonites formed "a Protestant sect originating in Friesland in the 16th century and now mainly located in the US and Canada"; they believe in "adult baptism" and reject "Church organization, military service, and public office."[13] Neither the Romanian nor the Hungarian subtitlers can do anything but offer the borrowed terms.

However, the best example of the culturally bound terms is reflected in the following example:

Example 21

Cajun **(2)**

En.	Ro.	Hu.
Where are you from? Louisiana. **Half-Cajun**.	*De unde ești? Louisiana.* **Jumătate franțuz**.	*Hova valósi? Louisiana.* **Halfcajun**.

Seemingly this is one of the most difficult historical terms to render, as it is not as widespread as the previous 'untranslatables.' The ethnonym denotes in fact an Acadian, "a descendant of the Acadians deported to Louisiana in the 18th century" (Oxford online dictionary), while our synonymous term, *Cajun*, refers to "A member of any of the largely self-contained communities in the bayou areas of southern Louisiana formed by descendants of French Canadians, speaking an archaic form of French.[14]

The Romanian subtitler could choose from the following variants: *indian(că), Acadian, din tribul Cajun, Cajun*, all found in online English–Romanian dictionaries; yet, in this particular case, he opted for a term that makes it clear why the speakers switch from English to French later. However, the Hungarian subtitler was much less inspired in this case and used the original term which is incomprehensible. Nevertheless, the term is important for the fictional storyline, as the romance built on the Cajun background is not to be found in the book.

Army groups and **units** are typically formed for particular combat reasons, the largest of which – in our case – is the *European Theater of Operations* or *ETO* for short. Both subtitlers offered such generalized terms that the original one is unrecognizable:

Example 22

ETO **(1)**
Ro. *întreg dispozitivul*
Hu. *az egész 101-es hadosztály*

While the Romanian term may refer to all the troops, it lacks the specification connected to the US Army formation, although we have a valid term in Romanian as well (*teatrul de acțiuni militare din Europa*, (Cojocaru 1976, 224), even if it may be too long for a subtitle. The Hungarian term is simply inadequate, as theatres of operations are made of at least four army groups with probably more than a million soldiers, while divisions (Hu. *hadosztály*) may have no more than 25,000 men. Further groups are the following:

Example 23
> ***The Allied* (7)**
> Ro. *Forţele Aliate, aliaţi*
> Hu. *Szövetséges Erők, Szövetségesek*

Example 24
> ***Dutch Resistance* (2)**
> Ro. *Rezistenţa olandeză*
> Hu. *holland ellenállás, holland ellenálló*

Example 25
> ***Red Devils* (1)**
> Ro. *Diavolii Roşii*
> Hu. *vörös ördögöknek*

Example 26
> ***Skytrain boys* (1)**
> Ro. *Băieţii din Cer*
> Hu. *pilótákkal*

Examples 23 and 24 are translated properly, but the Hungarian term should be capitalized in Example 25, while the Romanian term is misleading: historically viewed, it refers to a British Parachute Regiment, while today it is more commonly used to refer to the Belgian football team. Example 26 denotes the troops flown to Europe by the Douglas C-47 military transport aircraft;[15] the Romanian term is a poor literal (Molina and Hurtado Albir 2002, 510) translation (and probably misleading, reminding us the Heaven). The Hungarian subtitler applies generalization and only calls them 'pilots.'

The next group contains mostly **famous people**, who were public figures connected to politics, the belligerents or the entertainment industry.

The army is represented by generals and commanders with one notable exception, as it may happen that people get to the army unwillingly:

Example 27
> ***draftee*** (a person who has been ordered by law to join the armed forces)[16]
> Ro. *încorporat*
> Hu. *berángatott*

The Romanian term is suitable ('enlisted', lacking compulsion), while the Hungarian term highlights the aspect of coercion ('dragged into').

Example 28

> **Eisenhower** - *I don't care if it's fucking Eisenhower's place.*
> Ro. *N-are decât să fie și al lui Eisenhower.*
> Hu. *Az se zavar, ha Eisenhoweré.*

The subtitles show that both subtitlers inhibited the English curse word, which may be observed all through the series. However, 'censoring' the 'unnecessary foul language' may raise ethical issues on behalf of the translator, but this is beyond the aims of the present article.

At this point of the action, Dwight D. Eisenhower is the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe (December 1943–May 1945), so a bragging private uses his name to show how contemptuous he is. While re-using his name in the subtitles is justified (viewers should be familiar with this name, as he became one of the Presidents of the USA later), the next case is different:

Example 29

> **Ike (2) –** *If I can just get Ike on the phone.*
> Ro. *Acum, nu reușesc să dau de Ike la telefon.*
> Hu. *Hej, ha felhívhatnám Ike-ot.*

US Army soldiers refer to their Supreme Commander by his nickname, yet we do not think that viewers abroad and more than 70 years later will understand how important this 'Ike' is; yet, both subtitlers borrowed the nickname.

Three further commander names are mentioned (*Montgomery,* British commander of the allied forces during the Second World War; *General Patton,* involved in the invasion of France and Germany; *Adolf,* the first name of Hitler), none of them causing translation issues.

Resounding **political** figures also appear in the series: *Roosevelt* and *Truman,* and even if only their family names are mentioned, the subtitles apply borrowing, as US Presidents are known worldwide. While Roosevelt was involved in WW II from the beginning, it was already Truman whose name is connected to the final victory marked by the deployment of the two atomic bombs.

Hitler, the name of the greatest enemy, appears 17 times throughout the series, and is preserved in the subtitles, except for one case when it is

translated as *Führer*. There is one occurrence of major German political and military leaders, and their names were either fully preserved or went through partial adaptation (phonetic borrowing marked in bold):

Example 30

> ***Hitler, Himmler, Goering, Goebbels …***
> Ro. *Hitler, Himmler, Goering, Goebbels…*
> Hu. *Hitler, Himmler, aztán **Gö**ring, **Gö**bbels.*

However, less circulated names may be difficult to render, or similar names may cause misunderstanding when used in a different cultural setting, as exemplified below.

Sirhan Sirhan is known in the USA for assassinating *Robert F. "Bobby" Kennedy,* who at the time was a U.S. Senator from New York and the brother of U.S. President *John F. Kennedy*.[17] Now let us see the original sentence and the translations:

Example 31

> ***Sirhan Sirhan* (1)**
> *He convicted Sirhan Sirhan in the murder of **Robert Kennedy**.*
> Ro. *L-a condamnat pe Sirhan **pentru uciderea lui Kennedy.***
> Hu. *Ő ítélte el Sirhan Sirhant, **Robert Kennedy** gyilkosát.*

The Romanian subtitle omits the first names, leading us to conclude that *Sirhan* killed *President Kennedy*, which is more than misleading as this case is shrouded in mystery even today.[18] The Hungarian subtitler preserves the full names, making it possible for the audience to check the identity of the names from external sources.

The miniseries also mentions a few famous figures connected to **arts** and **entertainment**. *Vincent van Gogh* is mentioned while soldiers are passing by his birthplace (Nuenen). The name of *John Wayne* also emerges when a private is bragging about belonging to the Airborne, then we witness a somewhat funny remark (E3, 26:44), which is instantly 'rewarded' with a nickname:

Example 32

    ***Groucho* (1)** – *Nice, Groucho.*
    Ro. *Bravo ție,* **Groucho***.*
   Hu. *Szép,* **Groucho***.*

Figure 1.
Groucho
Marx

The name refers to Julius Marx, one of the four Marx Brothers,[19] who was a comedian. As the physical outlook does not match the speaker (Fig. 1.), whose name is obviously not Groucho, the subtitlers should have replaced the name expressing 'a funny remark'. Interestingly, this name is an addition to the transcript, and it is not mentioned in the book.

    Rita Hayworth, coined as "The Love Goddess" in the 1940s[20], is also present in the movie version (not mentioned in the book), while the news is read to the soldiers:

Example 33

    Rita Hayworth (1)
    Rita Hayworth's getting married.
    Ro. *Rita Hayworth se mărită.*
    Hu. *Rita Hayworth férjhez megy.*
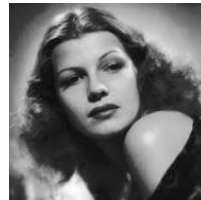
Figure 2.
Rita
Hayworth

The news is probably designed to tease the deprived soldiers; the choice of the name is sensible, as the audience in the USA probably knows her very well. In reality, Rita got married five times; first in 1937 (divorced in 1942), then again in 1943, which perfectly 'fitted her' in the storyline of the transcript. However, preserving the name in the subtitles may have much more reduced effects, as she is less known abroad after 75 years.

    The last name we should mention is *Mae West,* another sex symbol who became more famous in World War II since the Airborne called the inflatable vest-like life preserver jackets this way (due to the resemblance to her curves):[21]

Example 34
  Mae West
  *I still got my chute, my **Mae
  West** and M-1.*
  Ro. *N-am pus paraşuta şi
  armamentul din dotare.*
  Hu. *És az ernyő, **tartalék
  ernyő**, meg a fegyver.*

Figure 2. Mae West and the jacket

Example 34 shows that the Romanian subtitler skipped the term, translating only the *chute* and the *M-1*, while the Hungarian subtitler interpreted the term correctly and offered a functional equivalent ('back-up chute'). The jacket is mentioned in the book (Ambrose 2001b, 60), the Romanian translation offers 'pneumatic life jacket' (Ro. *jachetă pneumatică de salvare,* Ambrose 2010, 69) and the Hungarian translation reads 'Mae West life jacket' (Hu. *MaeWest mentőmellény*, Ambrose 2001a, 74).

2.3 Further historical (and cultural) entries

The **press** of the 1940s is represented by magazines, journals and comic strips, offering news and entertainment: *Life* (magazine), *The Saturday Evening Post, Wall Street (Journal)* and *Dick Tracy*. As the names were preserved by the subtitlers, viewers can look for further information regarding these publications from external sources.

Educational facilities are also present: *Harvard* (University, the oldest university in the USA) is mentioned twice, while *Yale* (University, the third oldest university in the USA) once, and neither subtitler offered more information about them except for their name, as these institutions are world famous today.

The United States Military Academy, where the Supreme Commander was also a cadet, is mentioned three times (*West Point*), but the subtitlers only had to borrow the name as the final storyline in Episode 2 explains what it is.

Famous **companies** signal that their products were already being produced during the war, even if we are faced with cunning product placement (Lehu 2007), as neither brand is mentioned in the book:

Example 35

> ***Ford, General Motors*** – *Say hello to Ford! And General fucking Motors!*
> Ro. *Uitați-vă bine la Ford și la General Motors!*
> Hu. *Tisztelegjetek a Fordnak és az isteni General Motorsnak.*

Example 36

> ***Nixon Nitration Works*** **(2)**
> Ro. *Nixon Nitration Works*
> Hu. *Nixon Nitrátművek*

As Example 35 contains a taboo word, we are not surprised to see that the subtitlers neglected it. However, the scene is fictitious, and the two companies must have invested a considerable sum in the production.

On the other hand, our last example is real: the *Nixon Nitration Works* is Captain Lewis Nixon's family company where the protagonist, Major Richard Winters, would be the personnel manager, and later General Manager (Ambrose 2001b, 306). While the Romanian subtitler preserves the original name, the Hungarian subtitler offers a partial translation, even if the term is used nowhere else in the Hungarian sources this way.

2.4 Historical errors

Historians and experts may detect more errors in *Band of Brothers*, but we would like to highlight two of them.

The first one is connected to the debate 'Who got first to *Eagle's Nest*?', as the series favors the version of the Easy Company reaching Berchtesgaden. In fact, even the 101st Airborne "credits the 7th Infantry with getting to Berchtesgaden."[22] Of course, the subtitlers were not in a position to correct this factual mistake which is featured in the book.

The second error is a notorious one: Episode 9 ('Why We Fight') starts with April 11, 1945, and during that day Captain Nixon says that "Hitler's dead." (53:13). The subtitlers translate the sentence without any remarks, even it is widely known that Hitler actually committed suicide on April 30, 1945.

3 Conclusions

We have seen that even if the history of WWII and the involvement of the USA in it are very well documented, certain historical events and facts may still cause problems when translated.

While the Romanian and Hungarian subtitlers did a good job in most of the cases, they still resorted to some puzzling solutions (e.g. the Kennedy assassination), produced erroneous versions (e.g. *Adlershorst* instead of *Adlerhorst*) and omitted a few terms.

Although the simple reproduction of names would be enough in the majority of cases, this is not recommended when historically important figures are involved, and the translators / subtitlers should pay utmost attention to enable the viewers to identify the person. Some names may be doomed to oblivion over time (e.g. *Rita Hayworth*?), yet the context should remain clear, for instance, why that particular name was used.

On the other hand, company names should be rarely translated, unless they operate abroad and have established equivalents, which was clearly not the case with *Nixon Nitration Works*. Our collection of terms proves that historical terms used in a cultural setting proved to be more difficult to render (e.g. *Cajun*). Yet we cannot claim that the subtitlers did a poor job, as we lack certain background information, most importantly the time allotted to carry out their task (cf. the idiom: *Haste makes waste.*). Not to mention that at the time of creating the subtitle the series was not as popular as it is today, leading to much more viewers, media attention and … criticism.

It is also clear that in the age of technology many people can produce translations and subtitles, thus quality remains the only dividing line between experts and non-professionals. In case of quality subtitles for TV series, consistency is a definite sign of professionalism, which is only possible with a terminology database of the most frequent terms appearing in various episodes. The need for electronic databases and the preservation of previous translations is further supported by the fact that the time dedicated to produce the subtitles seems to be ever shrinking. As fans tend to break many written and unwritten rules in order to create fast and cheap subtitles (fansubs, fantitles), a reasonable question to ask would be whether professionals try to live up to the technological expectations and to what extent their terminology is compatible with the current subtitle software systems.

A final challenge is the expected involvement of prospective viewers as the audience of present day TV series chooses to watch something they enjoy and/or are familiar with; more than that, English has become much more available than decades ago, thus much more criticism is to be expected on behalf of the viewers. After all, countless online resources are readily available, turning the translator / subtitler into an avid researcher as well, which is actually mentioned among their basic skills

(cf. Gambier 2009, 6–7). TV series also need persistence, to regularly follow all episodes, which might have multiple seasons.

Subtitlers and translators are also pioneers in shaping the language and language use, which is mirrored in the subtitles of *Band of Brothers* as well. We have in mind taboo words, for instance. We have seen that audiovisual products tend to be more 'catchy' than more traditional types of media (the book version), and taboo words are more often used in the transcript than in the book. While Ambrose managed to publish the book without using the most common taboo word, the transcript uses it 52 times. However, the subtitlers obviously tried to mitigate its importance, 'adjusting' the subtitles to the (un)written conventions of the target language, and without considering possible ethical issues by censoring the source text.

One of the most interesting parts of our research was to compare the book with the movie version, as this way we had a special insight into certain changes: the series contains much more swear and taboo words, fictitious romantic storylines and the discovery of product placement, to mention but a few. As our primary aim was to check the quality of the Romanian and Hungarian subtitle regarding historical terms, we hope that we were able to detect some and offer possible improvements.

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CHAPTER II:

LINGUISTIC REPRESENTATIONS.
TEXT AND CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

OANA TATU

The contributions included in this chapter display a variety of vantage points that can be subsumed to the idea of linguistic representation, with ramifications in the text-context relationship, that yield complex culture-related issues, such as the attitude towards immigrants as shown in the linguistic strategies employed to describe them, the position of academic texts within a generic typology, the perception of characters as reflected in the linguistic peculiarities of one famous fictional character, and the ways in which online bilingual dictionaries help the users differentiate among various equivalents.

Besides the fact that they have a social, political and educational role, news and newspapers offer their own version of reality while reporting on an event. Starting from here, the article entitled **Representation of Refugees in *Evenimentul Zilei*** (Gabriela Chefneux) investigates the linguistic strategies employed to represent immigrants in nine articles excerpted from the Romanian newspaper *Evenimentul zilei*. The linguistic analysis is subsumed under five categories: topic, referential and predicational strategies, metaphors, argumentation, and perspectivisation or voice. As for referential strategies, immigrants are predominantly depicted in unfavourable terms, as a mass, lacking identity. Then, metaphor-wise, immigrants are perceived as threatening, elemental forces. As far as argumentation is concerned, such articles adopt an authoritative point of view, bringing reasonable evidence to support their opinions. Finally, the official perspective is employed as legitimation strategy to reinforce the negative opinion of the readers on immigrants.

The article **Sustainable Approaches towards the Study of Academic Texts** (Ioana Carmen Păştinaru) is a plea for the importance of studying academic texts by proposing a classification of existing web-mediated academic texts, taking the website of *Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iaşi* as a point of reference, and by situating the student academic community vis-à-vis the traditional academic texts. The author makes a note of the fact that the majority of online academic texts are content-focused which means that they represent a tool to communicate

information. The idea is to position such academic texts within a distinct textual and generic typology which appears as a fundamental prerequisite to the extension of this research topic. Furthermore, as the author supports the improvement of online institutional academic communication, this paper also proposes a preliminary theoretical and applied framework for the continuation of the examination of academic texts on Romanian university websites.

In **Methods of Characterization in Benjy's Part of William Faulkner's *The Sound and The Fury*** (Aliz Farkas) the author seeks to reveal the manner in which characters are textually represented in Benjy's narrative from *The Sound and the Fury*. The analysis relies on two recurrent, easily identifiable linguistic features displayed in Benjy's speech: the use of pronouns and the illocutionary force of the characters' utterances. As for the use of pronouns, the author shows that there are 27 instances of use for the inclusive pronoun *we* covering the narrator and his sister Caddy, and none which would associate Benjy with his parents or other siblings. Then, the author turns to Benjy's stream-of-consciousness speech and identifies the utterances that are directly addressed to Benjy and their illocutionary force; the conclusion is that the analysis of speech acts proves the adverse social environment that Benjy needs to live in. The article reconfirms the genius with which Faulkner conveys information through linguistic peculiarities in the special narration of Benjy, the character who manages to convey unique messages, although he lacks speech coherence or structure.

In the realm of bilingual lexicography, **Equivalent Differentiation in Bilingual Online Dictionaries** (Raluca Sinu) reports on a survey of four bidirectional online amateur dictionaries based on the English and Romanian language pair. Starting from an actual issue that the compilers of bilingual dictionaries inevitably run up against—the partial equivalence of the source and target language lexica—the author's investigation is aimed at determining the strategies that each dictionary uses in order to provide the best TL translation of the SL language entry. To this end, the lexicographic treatment of ten tokens (five English, five Romanian) has been compared across the four general-purpose dictionaries. As the author finds, all the online dictionaries under analysis disambiguate meaning by combining various kinds of information: glosses, encyclopaedic data, usage labels, illustrative examples and grammatical information and, in so doing, they emulate paper-based dictionaries. However, the point where the online dictionaries depart from tradition is in their different ways to present the information – ways more attuned to the needs and reference

skills of present day dictionary users, on the one hand, and more in line with the capabilities afforded by the new technologies, on the other.

REPRESENTATIONS OF REFUGEES
IN *EVENIMENTUL ZILEI*

GABRIELA CHEFNEUX

Abstract: Newspapers reinforce beliefs, provide social consensus, and enable their readers to understand their lives and position in the world; they are a form of public discourse that legitimize social and moral values. Representing the world in language, they provide their version of reality, reporting or recontextualising an event (Hall 1997, Caldas Coulthard 2003). This paper aims to analyse the linguistic strategies used to represent refugees in *Evenimentul Zilei*, a Romanian broadsheet newspaper, by employing several categories, namely topic, referential and predicational strategies, metaphor, argumentation, and perspectivization.

Keywords: newspapers, representation, linguistic strategies, *Evenimentul zilei*, refugees

1 Introduction

1.1 Argument

The paper examines the way in which immigrants are represented in Romanian newspapers. To this end, it describes the functions of newspapers and the linguistic strategies they use, focusing on *Evenimentul zilei*, a Romanian broadsheet. The analysis covers nine articles, all studied on the basis of the same categories: topic, referential and predicational strategies, metaphors used, argumentation and quotations.

1.2 Newspapers

Newspapers have several roles: they help their readers to understand the world around them, inform them of events going on, provide consensus, and entertain. Nevertheless, newspapers are considered to represent rather than present the world as the events are filtered through

the journalist's perspective which is influenced by a wide range of factors – personal, political, and financial.

Hall (1997, 17) states that newspapers offer their own version of reality, and defines representation as "the production of the meaning of the concepts in our mind through language". By means of language, they create connections between objects, situations, and events in our mind, thus giving meaning to the world. Newspapers, a form of public discourse, also legitimize moral and social values, which can be entered under opposite sets: legality/illegality, moderation/extremism, order/chaos, peacefulness/violence, honesty/corruption, industriousness/idleness (Chibnall 1977). Reisgl and Wodak (2001, 7) state that newspapers may advance discriminatory practices, which may be "prepared, promulgated and legitimized".

Similarly, Caldas Coulthard (2003, 276) asserts: "News has a social, political and education role. By being exposed to news, people make connections and try to understand and explain how events reported in the media relate to society as a whole. However, news is a *report or recontextualization of an event*. News is not an objective representation of facts, but a cultural construct that encodes fixed values […] News is an ideologically framed report." Van Leeuwen (in Caldas Coulthard 2003, 276) also affirms that social practices are recontextualised by newspapers, as elements are substituted, deleted or added, depending on the goals, values, and priorities of communication.

1.3 Racism and stereotypes

Van Dijk (2011) defines racism as a "system of ethnic or racial dominance … or systematic power abuse" over other kinds of groups, such as ethnic minorities, immigrants, or refugees, while Hall (1989, 3) states that racist practices are those whose aim is to exclude certain groups from material and symbolic resources in various ways – social, political and economic.

Racism represents an illegitimate exercise of power over minority groups, and it consists of two dimensions - social and cognitive. The social dimension means that minority groups are denied or limited access to resources such as housing, employment, health care, status, knowledge or respect (van Dijk 2008), while the cognitive dimension includes stereotypes, prejudices and ideologies that justify the social discriminatory practices; newspapers represent one of the ways in which this dimension is achieved (van Dijk 2008). Stereotypes can be defined as ways of understanding the world, which come to be perceived as a way of understanding normality

and as being commonsensical (Mullany 2007, 211). They are "extremely simplified mental models which fail to see individual features, only the values that are believed to be appropriate to the type" (Fowler 1991, 92), and encourage the judgments of individuals as belonging to categories rather than being persons on their own.

Analysing racial discourse, van Dijk (1991, 129) states that it can be ambiguous and contradictory, while Sniderman and Tetlock (1986) argue that political or ideological conservatism can be sometimes interpreted as racism. Barker (1981) demonstrates that racism is now considered "politically" incorrect, and, as a result, it has found different ways of expression; for example, racial attitudes are expressed by speakers as reasonable, based on their direct experience.

1.4 Immigrants in newspapers

Migration is a concept whose definition includes political and economic factors; as such, it is difficult to differentiate very clearly between forced and economic migration, as both reasons seem to be of equal importance (Philo et al. 2013).

The status of immigrants and the way they are perceived by the population of the receiving countries is also a debated topic. The positive aspects include the fact that immigrants provide cheap labour, take the jobs that the country's citizens do not want, contribute to the receiving country's social and health insurance funds by the taxes they pay, do not incur educational expenses on the incoming country, enrich the receiving country's cultural life as they bring their own culture and traditions, and send money to their families back home, which increases the standard of living of their country of origin. On the negative side, immigrants are accused of increasing the criminality rate, being unable to adapt and representing a burden for the host country's economy because they take jobs that the country's nationals are entitled to, and claim social benefits. They are often described as criminals, liars, lazy people, who only want to take advantage of the receiving country's hospitality and are often discriminated due to their economic status, language competence, or religion (Reisgl and Wodak 2001). Delgado-Wise (2010, 175) describes immigrants as being at the "bottom of the social and economic class hierarchy in the receiving country", where they are exposed to further discrimination.

1.5 Linguistic strategies used to represent immigrants in newspapers

Reisgl and Wodak (2001, 9) define the strategy as "a more or less intentional plan of practices, including discursive practices, adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goal". Below is a list of the most frequently identified linguistic strategies encountered in newspaper articles.

Topic is defined by van Dijk (2008) as the information that is best remembered by the readers and which structures the way the events/facts included in the article are represented in our memories of every day experience. The author mentions that absent topics are also to be considered, and among them he lists immigrants' exclusion or marginalization and attitudes towards them (prejudice, discrimination, intolerance, nationalism).

Referential strategies or naming relate to the way in which the individuals or groups are referred to or addressed. According to Khosravinik (2010, 20), refugees are often identified by means of names and relations to family or group.

Predicational strategies describe the activities or actions in which the individuals are involved; if these activities are habitual, the readers will accept and sympathise with the people performing them (Khosravinik 2010, 14).

Lexicalization or semantic prosody (Hunston and Thompson 2000, Louw 1993) involves the words chosen by the journalist, which can produce strong connections in the readers' mind – for example, *illegal* which is often associated with immigrants (van Dijk 2000, 53-54)

Perspectivization or quotation patterns relates to whose point of view is presented. It reflects biases and it is very often the case that official sources or the elite are quoted (government members, politicians, the police, lawyers, NGOs, professors), who usually oppose migration while out-group members have limited access to public discourse (Van Dijk 2008, 2011, Philo et al. 2013).

Argumentation, defined as the systematic reasoning in support of an idea, can resort to ethos (the arguer presenting him/herself as a particular type of person), pathos (aiming to influence the audience's emotions) and logos (appeals to reason). When they have an unsound base, they are called fallacious arguments and these can be of three types: *argumentum ad baculum* or threatening with the stick, which resorts to intimidating rather than bringing plausible arguments; *argumentum ad hominem* or verbal attack, which challenges the antagonist's personality and character in terms of credibility, integrity, honesty, expertise, competence

rather than discuss the content of an argument; *argumentum ad populum* or pathetic fallacy which appeals to prejudiced emotions, opinions and convictions of a specific social group (Reisigl and Wodak 2001). Wodak (2009) comments on the quasi rational arguments that are used in the representation of groups in order to suggest that their social inclusion or exclusion is legitimate.

Topoi are defined by Reisgl and Wodak (2001, 24) as the concluding stage in an argument, making the connection between the premise and the claim; they are central to the analysis of "seemingly convincing fallacious arguments which are widely adopted in prejudiced and discriminatory discourses" (Kienpointner, in Wodak 2009, 320). In articles about migrants and refugees, topoi often unite around topics such as advantage/disadvantage, danger/threat, burden, law, culture, abuse, community, violence, abuse of welfare system, law, danger, invasion and natural disaster (Reisgl and Wodak 2001, Khosravinik, 2010, 17, van Dijk 2000). Khosravinik (2010, 17) identifies few positive topoi, such as humanitarianism and justice.

Presupposition, which is information taken for granted, is sometimes used to describe immigrants. Van Dijk (2008) explains that "the negative attributes of minorities may simply be stated through presuppositions - by such expression for example – delinquency among immigrants which presupposes that immigrants are delinquent". He also comments on the use of implicit and explicit meaning: "many of the negative meanings that are controlled by negative overall topics (illegal immigration, violence, drugs) will typically be expressed explicitly and thus emphasised, while our prejudice and racism will remain implicit". (van Dijk 2008)

Metaphors are defined as the figures of speech that present one action or object by referring to something else that is similar, thus making abstract or complex meanings more concrete and understandable (van Dijk 2008). Immigrants are frequently referred to as aliens, dangerous water, natural disaster, pollution, impurity, war, disease (Reisgl and Wodak, 2001), animals, army, parasites (Santa Ana 1999, 198), waves, or floods (van Dijk 2000, 48).

Hyperboles and euphemisms are figures of speech used to emphasize or de-emphasize meaning, downplay national or racist features, and highlight the immigrants' negative features (van Dijk 2008).

Extensivisation, closely related to individualization, is the presentation of the refugees' situation in a very detailed way, focusing on their features, stories, and hopes, thus conveying a more personal portrait (Khosravinik 2010, 20).

Aggregation and collectivization, the opposite of extensivization and individualization, depict asylum seekers in an undifferentiated manner, presenting them all as sharing the same characteristics. Sometimes refugees are referred to in terms of their function – entrants, new arrivals, levels (Khosravinik 2010, 13), therefore more as objects than people.

Opposition, "us" versus "them" presents immigrants as deeply different from the inhabitants of the receiving country in terms of colour, aspect, religion, language knowledge, and education. Asylum seekers are contrasted to "us" the elite, always presented in a positive way as tolerant, hospitable, rational, and humane (Khosravinik 2010, 15).

Most of the strategies described above can be employed to positively or negatively represent asylum seekers. The analysis indicates that the strategies used for positive representation are far outnumbered by the ones used for negative representation.

2 Data Collection

2.1 *Evenimentul zilei* (The Event of the Day)

The newspaper *Evenimentul zilei* (The Event of the Day) was founded in 1992, and at that time it was one of the best sold newspapers in Romania. Initially it had a popular approach, which changed to a quality one after 1997, when Ion Cristoiu, one of its best known Romanian journalists left the paper. In 2010 the newspaper had a circulation of 6,000 copies, a figure which gradually declined as the on-line edition became more popular than the printed one. The target audience is the urban, educated public.

2.2 Articles selected

In order to select the articles for the analysis, the site of *Evenimentul zilei* was accessed, then a five-month period was chosen (August 2017-December 2017), and the articles that included immigrants to Romania in the body of the article were identified. Out of the initial 15 articles, the nine articles below were selected as they were considered to be more varied and more representative:

- **Article 1** "În cel mai mare secret Iohannis, Ponta, Cioloş şi Tudose ne-au pregătit Invazia Refugiaţilor" [In the Greatest Secrecy Iohannis, Ponta, Cioloş and Tudose have prepared the Refugees'

Invasion for Us], written by Ionel Dancu, uploaded on 11 August 2017 at https://evz.ro/secret-iohannis-ponta-ciolos-tudose.html

- **Article 2** "Invazia imigranţilor: Musulmanii IAU CU ASALT frontierele României" [The Immigrants' Invasion - The Muslims STORM Romania's borders], written by Ionel Dancu, uploaded on 16 August 2017 at http://evz.ro/invazia-imigrantilor.html
- **Article 3** "Invazia Refugiaţilor: Cele două ROBINETE prin care România este inundată cu imigranţi: Klaus Iohannis şi Marea Neagră" [The Refugees' Invasion: The Two TAPS through which Romania Is Flooded with Immigrants: Klaus Iohannis and The Black Sea], written by Ionel Dancu, uploaded on 22 August 2017 at http://evz.ro/invazia-refugiatilor-doua-robinete.html
- **Article 4** "În a câta viteză l-a băgat Macron pe Iohannis" [The Category Macron Assigned to Iohannis] written by Adrian Pătruşcă, uploaded on 31 August 2017 at http://evz.ro/viteza-macron-iohannis.html
- **Article 5** "15 irakieni care au intrat illegal din Serbia, descoperiţi într-un parc, la Timişoara" [15 Iraqis Who Entered Illegally from Serbia, Discovered in a Park in Timişoara], written by Georgeta Petrovici, uploaded on 4 September 2017 at http://evz.ro/15-irakieni-care-au-intrat-ilegal-din-serbia-descoperiti-intr-un.html
- **Article 6** "Numărul imigranţilor din România a crescut cu 350% în 2017. Invazia refugiaţilor" [The Number of Immigrants in Romania Has Increased by 350% in 2017. The Refugees' Invasions], written by Ionel Dancu, uploaded on 5 September 2017 at http://evz.ro/numarul-imigrantilor-a-crescut.html
- **Article 7** "Mint, fac mizerie şi nu respectă legea. Migranţii iau cu asalt Timişoara" [They Lie, Make a Mess and Do Not Observe the Law. The Migrants Storm Timişoara], written by Georgeta Petrovici, uploaded on 11 September 2017 at http://evz.ro/migrantii-timisoara-mizerie.html
- **Article 8** "Imigraţia, instrumentul secret de control al Europei" [Immigration, the Secret Tool for Controlling Europe] written by Adrian Pătruşcă, uploaded on 26 October 2017 at http://evz.ro/imigratia-instrumentul-secret.html
- **Article 9** "Olguţa Vasilescu spune NU muncitorilor străini pe teritoriul României" [Olguţa Vasilescu Says NO to Foreign Workers in Romania] written by Dara Vîlcele, uploaded on 27 November 2017 at http://evz.ro/olguta-vasilescu-spune-nu-muncitorilor-straini-pe-teritoriul-roma.html

The articles are analysed in terms of the following five categories:

1. Topic
2. Referential and predicational strategies
3. Metaphors
4. Argumentation
5. Perspectivization or voice

3 Article Analysis

3.1 Article 1

3.1.1 Topic

The article describes the difficulties that Romania might have to overcome as a result of a possible future increase in the number of immigrants; it uses an alarmist approach, presenting the situation as a conspiracy of silence adopted by the Romanian government and various official organizations. The article criticizes the EU because it imposes rules on the member states while the Romanian government is presented as plotting against the country's citizens – there are secret resolutions, meetings whose decisions are not publicly announced, no public consultation, or, if announcements are made, they are uninformative. For instance, the activity of the committee set up to manage the refugees' situation in Romania is described as an enigma: "Activitatea acestui comitet este o **enigmă** de la înființare și până azi" (Dancu 2017a) [The activity of this committee has remained an enigma ever since it was set up]. The lexical field suggests conspiracy and reasons to panic: *in great secrecy, dangerous theory, suspicious silence, Europe was boiling, terrorist attacks in France, the verge of collapse, time bombs, gloomy perspective*.

3.1.2 Referential and predicational strategies

The refugees are depicted as possible terrorists because, from the very beginning of the article, the readers are reminded of the terrorist attacks in France. The journalist also states that among the refugees fleeing to save their lives there are also terrorists who come to Europe to bomb innocent people; the countries from where these refugees come are described as "failed states" from Africa and the Middle East: "În plus, a existat de la început pericolul și teama că printre oamenii care fug să-și

salveze viața, din state eșuate din Africa și din Orientul Mijlociu, se ascund și teroriști care vin în Europa să arunce în aer oameni nevinovați". (Dancu 2017a) [Moreover, there has always been the threat and danger that among people who flee to save their lives, from failed African and Middle East countries, there are hidden terrorists, who come to Europe to bomb innocent people].

Refugees are described as people who have no education, do not want to work or integrate, live in separate communities that become centres of terrorism and organized crime, as proven by the situation in Brussels and several French cities.

The asylum seekers are presented as a possible future threat, based on various alarming future scenarios, which have not proved to be true, as indicated by the use of the noun "possibility", the modal verb "may", and the conjunction "in case": "În cazul menținerii presiunii asupra frontierei terestre a României și țărilor vecine, există posibilitatea ca autoritățile din aceste țări să nu mai facă față situației..." (Dancu 2017a) [In case the pressure on the land borders of Romania and neighbouring countries is maintained, there is the possibility that the authorities in these country may not cope with the situation any more…].

The solution of integrating the refugees in Romania by providing them with jobs is not deemed realistic and the "advantages" [inverted commas used in the article] that the refugees could bring to Romania (EU funds, observing the obligations undertaken, favourable image, workforce) are ironically described by the journalist.

Immigrants are presented as objects that hit Romania: "Ce a lovit România din 1990 până azi" (Dancu 2017 a) [What has hit Romania from 1990 until now].

3.1.3 Metaphors

The immigrants are presented as a phenomenon that cannot be managed due to its amplitude; there are Biblical references – the Exodus – "în cel mai mare exod de după al Doilea Război Mondial" (Dancu 2017a) [the biggest exodus after World War II] and metaphors related to water: the "wave" of immigrants is absorbed by several countries that have to identify solutions to deal with "the burden of refugees".

Romania is faced with the threat of illegal immigration flows: "În anii '90 România s-a confruntat cu fluxuri de imigrație ilegală a cetățenilor din Asia de Est, în special Bangladesh și Pakistan, care doreau să ajungă în țările vest-europene" (Dancu 2017a) [In the 90s Romania faced flows of illegal immigrations of citizens from East Asia, especially Bangladesh and

Pakistan, who wanted to reach west-European countries]. Therefore, the metaphors are mainly related to water – wave, flow.

3.1.4   Argumentation

The type of argumentation is pathetic. The asylum seekers are presented as a possible future threat, based on various alarming future scenarios, which are imagined by the journalist. He tries to present the critical situation in a logical way – by referring to numbers, providing examples or lists but the overall approach is one relying on fear and threat.

3.1.5   Perspectivization

The article includes a quotation from a Romanian official and quotes from an official report issued by the government. Both indicate compassion towards the refugees' situation; however, there are many paragraphs that describe concerns related to the way in which Romania can cope with them.

3.2 Article 2

3.2.1   Topic

As the headline [The Immigrants' Invasion - The Muslims STORM Romania's borders] suggests, the article describes the immigrants' attempt to cross the borders illegally, an attempt presented as a concerted assault on Romania's border on land and sea, which conveys the feeling of thorough planning and imminent danger. The borders are "STORMED" – written in capitals by the journalist, and the immigrants force their passage more and more; the feelings of panic and alarm created by this situation are increased by the fact that Romanian customs authorities do not have the necessary equipment to manage the situation: "Autoritățile de frontieră recunosc că lucrează cu tehnică depășită". (Dancu 2017b) [The authorities admit that they are working with outdated equipment]. The phenomenon is described as part of a very large scale one, an idea supported by the figures provided: "Pe fondul invaziei imigranților în Europa, polițiștii români de frontieră au prins în primele șase luni ale acestui an 2.474 cetățeni străini care au încercat să treacă ilegal frontiera de stat." (Dancu 2017b) [Against the background of the immigrants' invasion in Europe, during the first six months of this year, the Romanian border police officers have captured 2,474 foreign citizens who were trying to cross the border illegally].

Immigrants crossing Romania have become a source of small businesses for some Romanian citizens who have taken money from the immigrants in exchange for forging passports or driving them to the border.

The lexical field is characterized by the use of repetition and enumeration; the adverb illegally is often used, as are many figures and dates, which indicate the journalist's wish to convey the feeling of objectivity. The countries the refugees are leaving are listed in detail: "Toți aceștia [străini] au provenit din Irak, Siria, Pakistan, Afganistan, Iran, Turcia, India, Kosovo, Bangladesh și Palestina." (Dancu 2017b) [All of them come from Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, Afganistan, Turkey, India, Kosovo, Bangladesh and Palestine].

3.2.2 Referential and predicational strategies

Immigrants are represented as a burden for Romania "toți rămân în țară pe perioada desfășurării procedurilor legale în materie, timp în care primesc și asistență plătită de statul român". (Dancu 2017 b) [they all stay in the country during the legal procedures, period during which they also receive assistance paid by the Romanian government].The use of "also" is worth noticing, as it suggests that immigrants receive far more benefits from the government than the ones described in the article.

Asylum seekers are presented as a record capture, which reminds readers of wild animals, or as a source of money for dishonest Romanian citizens. Immigrants are involved in illegal activities - they live in illicit camps, sleep in public places, or wonder "freely" in parks.

3.2.3. Metaphors

Immigrants are described as invaders, storming Romania's borders, and attacking it by land and sea. They are barbarians who attack the country and, to the authorities, they are a capture, a word used within inverted commas by the journalist.

3.2.4. Argumentation

The journalist uses more argumentation types, as he combines pathos and logos. The figures, dates, and facts presented indicate the appeal to reason, while the referential strategies and the metaphors used suggest the journalist's appeal to feelings, mainly of panic and menace.

3.2.5 Perspectivization

The article includes two quotations, both from official sources; a direct one from a Border Police report, which states that the detecting equipment is obsolete and inefficient, and an indirect one, which states that the police are not worried yet about the situation.

3.3 Article 3

3.3.1 Topic

The article is a part of a series published by *Evenimentul zilei*, whose purpose is to draw the readers' attention to the danger posed by the immigrants: "Semnalul de alarmă tras de „Evenimentul zilei" în serialul dedicat invaziei imigranților a fost confirmat duminică seară, când alți 70 de sirieni și irakieni au încercat să ajungă ilegal în România prin Marea Neagră. (Dancu 2017c) [The alarm signal triggered by *Evenimentul zilei* in its series devoted to the immigrants' invasion was confirmed on Sunday evening, when 70 more Syrians and Iraqis tried to enter Romania illegally from the Black Sea].

The article comments on the increasing number of immigrants who are trying to enter Romania by sea and makes predictions about the future situation; the country is presented as a likely immigration target due to the result of the recent changes in Europe and to Romania's geographical and political conditions, and president Iohannis is accused of accepting far more immigrants than the country's actual capacity. The last part of the article describes the huge amount of money that Romania spends on refugees: "**Milioane de euro pleacă din România" [Millions of Euro are leaving Romania].**

The lexical field is characterized by words related to warning, threat, and water: *alarm signal, illegal, wall, to block, tap, flood, sea, waves*.

3.3.2 Referential and predicational strategies

The immigrants are referred to by their nationality and are often associated with adjectives such as *illegal* or *clandestine*. They are so desperate to enter Romania, that they risk their life in the attempt of crossing the Black Sea. The journalist uses positive referential strategies as he offers details about the refuge seekers and describes them in a more compassionate manner: *"70 de persoane la bord (35 de bărbați, 23 de copii*

și 12 femei) (…) toți migranții clandestini sunt din Siria și Irak țări măcinate de războaie." (Dancu 2017c) [70 people on board, 35 men, 23 children and 12 women (…) all the clandestine migrants are from Syria and Iraq, countries worn out by wars].

However, the article suggests in an indirect way that immigrants should be forbidden entry to Romania as indicated by the position of "no" in the sentence below: "Imigranții sunt preluați pe teritoriul României pentru cercetări și nu sunt întorși din drum, pe mare, înainte să intre în apele românești." (Dancu 2017c) [The immigrants are taken over on Romania's territory for investigations and are not sent back, by sea, before entering Romanian territorial waters].

3.3.3 Metaphors

Immigrants are presented as invaders and water dropping or running through taps. The two "TAPS", the journalist's capitalization, which flood Romania are the immigrants and the Romanian president.

3.3.4 Argumentation

The argumentation appeals to reason and feeling. The appeals to reason are illustrated by the many figures used in the article (number of refugees, amounts of money spent by Romania), and the quotes from external sources: "Fenomenul a fost confirmat și de cotidianul „The Times", cel mai vechi ziar britanic" (Dancu 2017c) [the phenomenon has also been confirmed by The Times, the oldest British newspaper). The feeling generated by the article is alarm, Romania's government and president are presented as unable to take the right decisions, and the migration phenomenon is like water that cannot be controlled.

3.3.5 Perspectivization

Only official sources are quoted: The International Organization for Migration warning about a possible crisis situation, and Romania's Minister of Foreign Affairs Minister, Teodor Meleșcanu, who offers information about the funds to be spent for immigrants.

3.4 Article 4

3.4.1 Topic

The article criticizes the EU, Emmanuel Macron, the French President, and Klaus Iohannis, the Romanian president, both accused of neglecting their own people's interest in favour of illegal immigrants. The article uses very strong language and is structured in antithetical paragraphs.

The immigrants from EU countries such as Poland and Romania, called "relocated workers" and described as hard-working and highly appreciated on the labour market, are opposed to the immigrants from Muslim countries, who do not work or even commit crimes and take advantage of the social benefits provided by the French government. The former are not supported, while the latter are highly favoured and encouraged by the French president: "In Franţa, numărul TOTAL al muncitorilor detaşaţi din alte state ale Uniunii Europene este de 286.000. După cum o arată şi numele, ei muncesc. Mai ales în construcţii, în industrie şi în agricultură. Şi o fac bine şi ieftin, de vreme ce au mare căutare pe piaţa europeană a muncii. Lucru care pe Emmanuel Macron îl deranjează teribil". (Pătruşcă 2017a) [In France the total number of workers relocated from other EU states is 286,000. As the name indicates, they work. Particularly in construction, industry, and farming. And they are doing it well and cheap, since they are in high demand on the European labour market. This bothers Emmanuel Macron terribly].

The next attack is launched at the EU and the EU states that support Macron's policy in an obedient way, which in the journalist's opinion limits the freedom of the labour market. The EU is presented as having no logical basis, breaking the very principles of the free market. *"*UE a ajuns o dihanie ideologică bizară, care de mult nu mai încape în nici o minte... O himeră". (Pătruşcă 2017a) [The EU has become an odd ideological behemoth, which, for a long time now, has been beyond comprehension… A chimera.]

The EU divides its member states into first and second hand ones. Romania, belonging to the latter category, will be only a market for "first hand" countries' products and will have to accept "ideological products" as well – the examples being politically correct attitudes or the LGBT agenda.

Finally, Iohannis is criticized for obediently adopting Macron's policy: "în alaiul de lideri care a îmbrăţişat planurile comunistoide ale lui Macron se află şi Iohannis" (Pătruşcă 2017a) [the retinue of leaders who adopted Macron's communist-like plans also includes Iohannis]. The

Romanian president does not protect the country's citizens, adopts out of stupidity and servility proposals that run counter Romania's interests, breaks his promises to other countries, is a stupid German and a servile Romanian: "cu promptitudine săsească și entuziasm dâmbovițean", (Pătrușcă 2017a) [with Saxon readiness and the enthusiasm characteristic of the Dambovita area]. The article accounts for this state of things by blaming the country's rulers, called "cozi de topor" [henchmen and stooges].

3.4.2 Referential and predicational strategies

The journalist uses very strong words to describe politicians and immigrants. Thus, the French president is presented as "micuțul[ui] căprar francez, jalnic epigon al lui Bonaparte, care nu și-a ascuns ambițiile de a se plasa în fruntea mișcării de reformare a UE" (Pătrușcă 2017a) [the small French corporal, a pathetic descendent of Bonaparte, who did not hide his ambition of becoming the reformer of the EU]. Similarly the Romanian president is depicted as a servile person, ready to do anything to please EU leaders.

The article differentiates between legal and illegal immigrants; the former group includes Romanian immigrants, who are hard-working and honest, while the latter group includes illegal immigrants who are criminals and terrorists, have no education and do not want to work: "Ei [imigranții ilegali] nu muncesc. Nici nu învață. Ocupația lor este tocarea ajutoarelor sociale, cu care statul francez este foarte generos. Uneori (una nu o exclude pe alta), jefuiesc, violează, pun bombe, împușcă, strivesc cu mașina, taie beregăți." (Pătrușcă 2017a) [They – the illegal immigrants - do not work. Neither do they study. Their job is to spend social benefit money, with which the French state is very generous. Sometimes (one does not exclude the other) they steal, rape, bomb, shoot, crash cars, cut throats].

3.4.3 Metaphors

The two presidents are presented in historical (Napoleon) and geographical (the Dâmbovița river) terms, while the EU is depicted as a machine run by scheming politicians.

3.4.4 Argumentation

The journalist resorts to nationalist, racial and sexual prejudices. He verbally attacks the French and Romanian presidents as well as EU and Romanian politicians. He presents his arguments in an apparently commonsensical way but this approach is contradicted by the terms he uses and the way in which the article is organized. Apparently, the journalist provides answers to questions that are of interest to everybody in Europe, but the answers appeal to feelings of hate and disdain. He also uses verbal attacks and very strong language.

3.4.5. Perspectivization

No sources are quoted in this article, the journalist presenting only his perspective. The end of the article includes a quotation intended to reflect the perspective of an ordinary Romanian, but this is not a real one, being concocted by the author of the article, who speaks on behalf of all the commonsensical and well-meaning Romanian citizens: "'Cum ar putea fi obligate statele de mâna a doua (printre care, vai, şi România) să accepte această stare de lucruri mizerabilă?', este întrebarea de bun-simţ ce se naşte în mintea oricui. Răspunsul este şi el de bun-simţ: 'Prin cozile de topor din fruntea ţării. Ca şi până acum.'" (Pătruşcă 2017a) [How could the second class states [among which, alas, Romania too] be obliged to accept this despicable state of things? is the common-sense question arising in anybody's mind. The answer is also commonsensical: By means of the stooges ruling the country. As it has happened all along].

3.5 Article 5

3.5.1 Topic

The topic is illegal border crossing, an increasing phenomenon, indirectly presented as encouraged by the Serbian police border. "Migranţii continuă să treacă nestingheriţi graniţa cu Serbia şi sunt prinşi tocmai la Timişoara." (Petrovici 2017a) [The Immigrants continue to cross the Serbian border freely and are caught only in Timişoara]. The article also warns against helping illegal immigrants to cross the border.

3.5.2   Referential and predicational strategies

The immigrants are referred to by their nationality (they are Iraqis), status (migrants), and number (high). They are involved in illegal activities – they "continue" crossing the borders, lie, claim to be Iraqi but have no papers, refuse to be videoed, and try to avoid the police. The positive strategy used in the article is the personalization of the group where there are eight men, two women and five children. This group is presented at the beginning of the article as another large group discovered by the police, and its size is specified only at the end of the article, a strategy that makes the readers believe that the number of immigrants is far greater than in reality.

3.5.3   Metaphor

There are no metaphors in this article.

3.5.4   Argumentation

The journalist appeals to logos and, to a very small extent, to pathos; he presents facts and regulations and appeals to the readers' feelings when he describes the structure of the group and the fact that they are tired and sleep near the only heating source they could find.

3.5.5   Perspectivization

The article includes three quotations – two direct ones (from the person who discovered the group and from the police spokesperson who describes how the authorities deal with such situations), and an indirect quote from unnamed police sources, warning against giving lifts to strangers.

3.6 Article 6

3.6.1   Topic

The article presents the increasing number of asylum seekers who are trying to enter Romania, and then moves to a wider perspective, discussing Poland's situation and EU regulations. The European countries are depicted as worried about the quotas of immigrants they will have to accept. The article abounds in figures: "the number of immigrants in

Romania has risen by 350% in 2017", "87 illegal immigrants", "150 Syrian refugees", "70 illegal immigrants from Syria and Iraq", "a total of 226 immigrants who tried to reach Romania by sea over a period of 30 days", "51 immigrants more", "12 Afro-Asian citizens", "1,437 immigrants who tried to enter Romania illegally over the first six months of this year", "another 7000 refugees accepted by Romania as the result of the compulsory quota", "3 million of refugees in Turkey".

3.6.2   Referential and predicational strategies

The immigrants are referred to by their nationality and numbers, the adjective *illegal* being often used. They are less than human: Romania "swallows" them and the authorities "fish" them out of the Black Sea. Immigrants are a threat, as suggested by the numbers provided in the article; they are also a burden for Romania, a country that has already exceeded the quotas allotted by the EU and spending even more to assist "all" the refugees.

The asylum seekers are associated with crime and violence: they cross the borders illegally, do not observe rules, they have to be stopped by the border police with fire shots, and even then they do not stop their cars, wounding policemen and crashing police cars. They are also presented as dishonest and ready to do anything for money; as a result of a EU ruling, they no longer flee from the authorities as they hope to make money. "Așa s-a ajuns ca scopul imigranților s-a transformat brusc: dacă înainte încercau să se ascundă de autorități, acum își doresc să fie descoperiți ca să ajungă în siguranță pe continent." (Dancu 2017d) [Thus the immigrants' purpose suddenly changed: while before they were trying to flee the authorities, now they want to be discovered so that they reach the continent safely].

The predicational strategies are thus related to fleeing, hiding, concealing their true identity, entering countries illegally, disregarding the laws, sleeping in parks.

3.6.3   Metaphors

Refugees are presented as a danger for the country – they are *weapons* and *waves* that hit the country; "al treilea val" [the third wave]*,* "Este a treia rafală de imigrație ilegală pe Marea Neagră" (Dancu 2017d) [This is the third blast of illegal immigrations in the Black Sea].

3.6.4 Argumentation

The arguments appeal to reason and fear. The many figures provided aim to persuade the reader that the only logical solution would be to forbid immigrants to enter the country; this attitude is indirectly supported by the journalist presenting Poland's example, whose prime minister has refused to accept EU quotas.

3.6.5 Perspectivization

All the voices quoted are official sources. There are indirect quotations from European newspapers, adopting the same perspective as the author of this article, one from the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs and a direct quotation of Beata Szydlo, the Polish Prime Minister who refuses to accept immigrants to Poland.

3.7 Article 7

3.7.1 Topic

The article describes the strategies used by immigrants to reach Western Europe – their entering Romania, the way they deal with the authorities, the plans they resort to in order to leave the country. The lexical field abounds in words related to crime: *trick, fraud, escape authorities, stealthily, clandestine, monitor, send to court, increased security*.

3.7.2 Referential and predicational strategies

Immigrants are referred to in a neutral way – "immigrants" and "asylum seekers". However, the activities they are engaged in are all negative; the headline of the article describes them as people who make a mess, do not observe the law, and storm cities. They lie to the police, when caught by authorities they request asylum, which is actually a trick to buy time and to get decent accommodation, run away from the police. They are picked from the streets and parks (a passive construction which indicates that they are at the authorities' mercy), camp in forbidden places which they leave full of garbage, and do not care at all about the rules of the country where they are staying: "Indiferent de locul unde au oprit, lasă în urma lor o mizerie de nedescris, nedând doi bani pe regulile țării în care se află", spun polițiștii". (Petrovici 2017b) [Wherever they stop, they leave a

huge mess behind, not giving a damn about the rules of the country they are in].

They are also presented as cheats: they request asylum in Romania but have a totally different purpose in mind, to surreptitiously leave the country in which they falsely declared they wanted to stay. Their very reasons are thus questioned as they are cheats and liars and actually have money, which implies that they should not resort to Romanian financial assistance. "Cazați în centre pentru refugiați din țară, ajung în vest cu un singur scop: să părăsească clandestin țara în care au mințit că vor să rămână. Nu duc lipsă de resurse pentru a-și atinge scopul." (Petrovici 2017b) [Accommodated in refugee centres in the country, they come to Western Europe with one purpose only: to clandestinely leave the country in which they lied that wanted to stay. They do not lack resources to reach their aim].

3.7.3 Metaphors

Immigrants are presented as invaders, who storm Romanian cities and take advantage of Romanian hospitality by lying and cheating.

3.7.4 Argumentation

The arguments appeal to pathos and reason. The many numbers provided aim to persuade the readers that the presentation is objective, but the feelings aroused by the article are of anger and contempt against immigrants. Their actions suggest that they do not deserve official assistance.

3.7.5 Perspectivization

The two direct quotes included in the article come from official sources; the former from a general source, 'a police officer' who criticizes the immigrants' behaviour, and the latter from the spokesperson of the General Border Police Inspectorate who emphasises that immigrants have to be closely monitored by the police. Both sources present immigrants as cheats and liars, and speak about measures taken to prevent them from entering the country. The third quote is indirect, it is vaguely attributed to one of the newspaper's sources, and presents the same negative attitude towards immigrants.

3.8 Article 8

3.8.1 Topic

The journalist's aim is to persuade his readers that immigration is used by the EU to limit civil rights and control EU states tightly, the immigrants being presented as reasons invoked by the EU to achieve these ends: "Imigrația și pericolul de terorism pe care îl provoacă sunt așadar pretextul perfect pentru amestecul din ce în ce mai grosolan și mai fără fereală al statelor și al UE în viața privată a cetățenilor. **Sunt sperietorile ideale pentru a justifica restrângerea dramatică a drepturilor civile și un control cu mână de fier.** Mai grav de atât, măsurile polițienești sunt îmbrăcate în haine ideologice." (Pătrușcă 2017b) [Immigration and the terrorist danger it causes are therefore the perfect pretext for states and EU to interfere in the citizens' private life in an increasingly rough and direct way. They are the ideal scarecrows to justify the dramatic restraint of civil rights and an iron-fist control. Worse than that, the police measures are disguised under ideological pretexts].

The journalist criticizes the failure of the EU ideals and the illogical European regulations which aim at promoting a wrong ideology; actually the EU is described as a "monstruous" coalition, a "hallucinant continental complicity".

3.8.2 Referential and predicational strategies

All the main arguments in favour of refugees – economic, social and humanitarian – are presented as false. The refugees do not want to work, which could have been the solution to the demographic explosion they caused in Western Europe or, the few that do, have no training. Instead they take advantage of welfare money while those given a job use it for terrorist purposes. Immigrants have no desire to socially integrate and, as the journalist ironically writes, do not wish to multiculturally enrich their new communities with songs, games, or art. On the contrary, they live in enclaves where the incoming country's laws are no longer observed, where the Islamic canonical law is applied and which have turned into no-go zones for the local police.

Finally, the humanistic ideal has also proven to be false as the refugees do not leave their country because of war but for economic reasons. "Potrivit Eurostat, 4 din 5 imigranți intrați în Europa în prima jumătate a lui 2015 (apogeul crizei imigrației) nu erau din Siria" (Pătrușcă 2017b) [According to Eurostat, 4 out of 5 immigrants who entered Europe

during the former part of 2015 (the climax of the immigration crises) were not from Syria].

Actually immigrants represent a big threat as many of them are actually terrorists, whose declared aim is to destroy the West: "Francezii, la fel ca majoritatea europenilor, s-au obișnuit să trăiască sub teroare, și nimeni nu are interes să schimbe lucrurile" (Pătrușcă 2017b) [The French, like most Europeans, have become used to living under terror and no one wants to change the situation.].

Immigrants are used by the EU leaders to limit civil rights, and are presented as lazy, uneducated people, who take advantage of social assistance and are involved in criminal activities, they do not observe the country's laws, attack peaceful citizens, assault and rape women.

3.8.3 Metaphors

The EU is presented as a nightmare and a monstruous coalition, while Europe is overtaken by immigrants.

3.8.4 Argumentation

The article is structured as a series of questions and answers with the ideas that the journalist wants to emphasise written in bold. The type of argumentation apparently appeals to reason - as indicated by the facts provided and numerous sources quoted but it actually appeals to fear, as the current situation in Europe is presented as a huge conspiracy orchestrated by the EU leaders.

3.8.5 Perspectivization

Most of the quotes are partial ones and all the voices in the article are official sources, supporting the journalist's theory: Gilles de Kerchove, UE antiterrorism coordinator, Mikael Cederbratt, member of the Swedish Moderate Party, The French Home Affair Minister, The European Commissar for Digital Society, The European Commissar for Security, the American Home Security Secretary; they all speak against immigrants and in favour of censorship and strict information control.

3.9 Article 9

3.9.1 Topic

The article is a long quotation of Olguța Vasilescu, Minister of Labour, who presents the reasons why immigrants should not be employed in Romania: they are more expensive than Romanian employees, take the Romanians' jobs, and there is no logical reason why they should be favoured over Romanian citizens. Finally, she declares that the Romanian government is open to any suggestions from companies as long as the aim is to employ Romanian citizens.

3.9.2 Referential and predicational strategies

The immigrants are presented as jeopardizing the jobs of Romanian citizens and as possibly receiving higher salaries than Romanian citizens who do the same job. They are referred to in terms of their nationality - the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine and Asian countries.

3.9.3 Metaphor

There are no metaphors in this article.

3.9.4 Argumentation

The whole article is organised as a list of reasons aimed at persuading Romanian employers not to give jobs to immigrants, the arguments being financial, economic, social, political and humanistic. The author appeals to reason and feelings.

3.9.5 Perspectivization

The whole article is a selection of quotes from the speech given by the Minister of Labour. The reporting verb is *explain*: "Ministrul Muncii, Olguța Vasilescu, a explicat astăzi de ce nu este de acord ca firmele românești să angajeze muncitori din Africa, Moldova sau Ucraina". (Vîlcele 2017) [The minister of Labour, Olguța Vasilescu, explained today why she does not agree with Romanian companies employing workers from Africa, Moldava or Ukraine].

4 Conclusions

4.1 Topic

The nine articles can be grouped under two classes – the presentation of the refugees from a national perspective (articles 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9) and from a more international one, which is actually used by journalists as a way of criticizing Romanian and EU politicians (articles 1, 4, 8). The first category mainly presents the way in which Romania is negatively affected by the refugees, while the latter condemns the way in which Romania, foreign governments, and the EU deal with the situation, presented as a universal conspiracy, a way of limiting civil rights or disregarding individual country's interests.

4.2 Referential and predication strategies

The refugees are usually associated with words such as illegal or terrorists, and they are frequently referred to in terms of their nationality and number. They are generally presented in a negative way: lazy, uneducated, breaking the law, unwilling to integrate, cheating and lying. In several cases they are described as having money and taking advantage of their status to obtain more advantages; they are sometimes presented as economic not political asylum seekers. Immigrants are a burden for the receiving country and their very status is questioned. They are referred to as objects that Romania has to swallow or fish from the water, and are often associated with threat, burden and danger. The activities in which they are involved are mainly illegal and cause problems to the police and officials, while putting a big burden on the finances of the country.

The only individualization strategy is the reference to the group structures – how many men, women and children. The two favourable strategies encountered are appeals to humanity (immigrants have a difficult life and come from countries torn by war), and the reference to the women and children in the groups. Nevertheless, these strategies are used only in 3 out of the 9 analysed articles.

4.3 Metaphors

The metaphors that are most frequently encountered in these articles refer to water – a natural phenomenon that is difficult to stop, or barbarians attacking, or storming the borders of the countries. There are recurrent images referring to floods: taps continually dripping, waves,

water; or to violence: a storm of bullets, storm the cities. Immigrants are often associated with threat, burden and danger.

4.4 Argumentation

Apparently journalists appeal to arguments based on reason, as most of the articles provide numbers, dates, places, and references to other sources. Nevertheless, they mainly appeal to the readers' feelings of panic, fear, danger and threat.

4.5 Perspectivization

The voices heard in the articles are exclusively official ones - police officers, customs officers, authorities, politicians and EU representatives, foreign publications and news agencies, all arguing against immigrants. These sources are used as a legitimation strategy in order to strengthen the readers' opinion that immigrants should not be protected by the country's laws.

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SUSTAINABLE APPROACHES TOWARDS THE STUDY OF ACADEMIC TEXTS

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Abstract: This paper aims at emphasising the importance of the study of various types of academic texts, by (1) situating the student academic community vis-à-vis the 'educational' academic texts, and (2) examining the wealth of existing academic texts on university websites. On the one hand, the absence of a mandatory course on academic writing in the first year in all fields of study in Romanian universities contributes, to a certain extent, to students' loss of focus and poor performance. On this account, a survey has been carried out to measure students' understanding of and familiarity with the most common 'educational' text types. As the outcomes indicate an overall below-average correct response rate, this paper claims such a course should be a requisite from as early as the first year of study. On the other hand, students' frequent exposure to the institutional academic language on university websites comes to contradict the scholarly neglect of the study of such texts. This issue has been addressed by proposing a far-reaching classification of texts starting from Reiss' (2000) most recent typology of focused texts, supported by the provision of concrete examples, taking the website of *Alexandru Ioan Cuza* University of Iasi as a case in point.

Keywords: text typology, academic texts, institutional academic language, university websites

1 Introduction

Linguists have been concerned with describing and analysing *academic texts* even before the written or spoken formats began being rivalled by their counterparts, the web-mediated text types. Important contributions to the study of academic texts belong to Swales (1990) who has developed a seminal model of genre analysis, in which he has included, among others, research articles, abstracts, grant proposals, theses and dissertations. Another important contribution comes from Biber (2006) who has been involved in the investigation of written and spoken

academic registers encountered by students (e.g. catalogues, course syllabi, handbooks, programme web pages). He has examined the academic registers from several different (mainly) linguistic perspectives, which are then interpreted in functional terms, resulting in an overall characterization of the typical kinds of university language. More recent contributions regarding the development of the central disciplinary genres relate to thesis acknowledgements, doctoral prize applications and bio statements (Hyland 2011), book reviews (Römer 2010), or grant proposals (Connor and Upton 2004).

As far as the academic texts on university websites are concerned, Ferraresi and Bernardini (2013) objectively notice that "the wide range of texts used for everyday communication between higher education institutions and their stakeholders, which are likely to feature prominently on university websites […] have so far been largely neglected as objects of study compared to the more central disciplinary genres" (2013, 54).

The typologies presented so far take account of the academic texts in the strict way of *educational works* (Reiss 2000), or *instruction* (EAGLES[1] 1996). Some scholars have also included the *academic conversation* genre (interchangeable with 'academic register', if academia is considered an occupational field) including a variety of "casual hallway chats, lectures, conversations between teachers and students in and out of class, e-mail, memos, scholarly papers, books" (cf. Bhatia 1993, in Trosborg 1997, 7). But although the educational/instructional/disciplinary typologies embrace the fundamental types of texts operating in higher education, one cannot disregard the narrowness of such approaches with reference to university websites, "probably due to their subservient 'housekeeping' function" (Ferraresi and Bernardini 2013, 54).

With the aim of emphasising the importance of the study of various types of academic texts, the following sections will stress the importance of various approaches towards the study of academic texts, by (1) situating the student academic community vis-à-vis the traditional academic texts, and (2) proposing a classification of existing web-mediated academic texts, taking the website of *Alexandru Ioan Cuza* University of Iasi as a case in point, not before looking over the literature review on web-mediated texts of the academic environment.

2 Educational academic texts

In a broad sense and to a lot of people, academic texts are equal to *educational* academic texts. In their online course *English for Academic Studies*, developed by expert contributors from leading world universities

(fourteen universities in the UK, plus nine others worldwide), Epigeum[2], founded and chaired by David LeFevre, includes six major types of academic texts: textbooks, essays, theses, research articles, case studies, and reports.

It is imperative to have a course on academic writing meant to help students learn to communicate clearly and effectively and to get them familiarized with the different types of academic texts they are challenged with at least during their university years. While there are some universities abroad which set a good example in making this programme a requirement of every first-year student in every field of study, the current situation in Romania shows that most universities tend to select their target students, meaning that the academic writing course is provided either only to their students in Humanities, or to their doctoral students.

In support of the argumentation advocating for the need of students' adjustment to various types of academic texts from as early as their first year of study, a survey on this subject has been initiated and the following steps have been considered in the planning of the survey:

Step 1. Identifying the objectives

General objective: to measure students' understanding of and familiarity with several academic genres/text types from a text linguistic perspective.

Specific objectives: to check students' skills in distinguishing various academic genres/text types in terms of their structure, audience, and purpose; to check students' vocabulary (words describing texts) and information relating to the academic genre/text type; to check students' knowledge with reference to the purpose of citation.

Step 2. Designing the survey

The strategy of the survey design takes into consideration the number of questions so that it should not take longer than ten minutes to complete; the use of plain, simple language accessible to students in all areas of study; the use of a mixture of types of questions; the use of clear sections and subsections structuring the survey.

The survey consists of ten (10) questions divided into three (3) sections: the first section includes seven (7) questions relating to the *structure*, *audience*, and *purpose* of academic genres/text types; the second section includes two (2) questions referring to vocabulary and information knowledge about the academic genres/text types; and the third section consists of one (1) question concerning the purpose of citation. The constituent questions of the survey are inspired from the Epigeum online course *English for Academic Studies* (and translated into Romanian), where the different types of academic texts are discussed and exemplified

through interactive exercises (the complete questionnaire may be consulted in the Appendix 1– *Survey on Types of Academic Texts*, English version).

Eight (8) out of ten (10) questions are multiple choice questions, one (1) is a checkbox question (multiple choice, multiple answer type) and one (1) a multiple choice grid. The survey was created in Google forms so that it can be stored online and its results accurately analysed. Two mandatory questions about the respondents' level of study and year of study were included, as well as an optional question regarding their field of study.

Step 3. Carrying out the survey

The survey (in Romanian) was sent by electronic mail to students in all fields, years and levels of study in several Romanian universities, and also distributed through social media.

Step 4. Analysing the findings

The survey has received 765 responses (over a time span of twelve days, which gives an indication of the students' interest in the topic). Figure 1 below outlines the distribution of responses according to the students' level of study, while Figure 2 shows the distribution of responses according to the students' field of study. As we may see, most of the responses come from bachelor students (66.4% of them), but also from master students (23.1%), and doctoral students (10.5%). The respondents are mostly students in Humanities and Social Sciences, but also in Natural and Formal Sciences.

Figure 1. Respondents' level of study
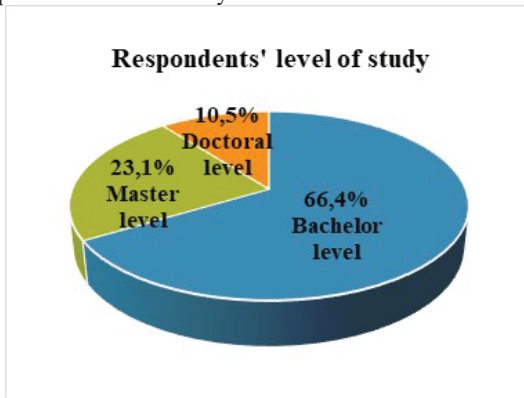
Figure 2. Respondents' field of study
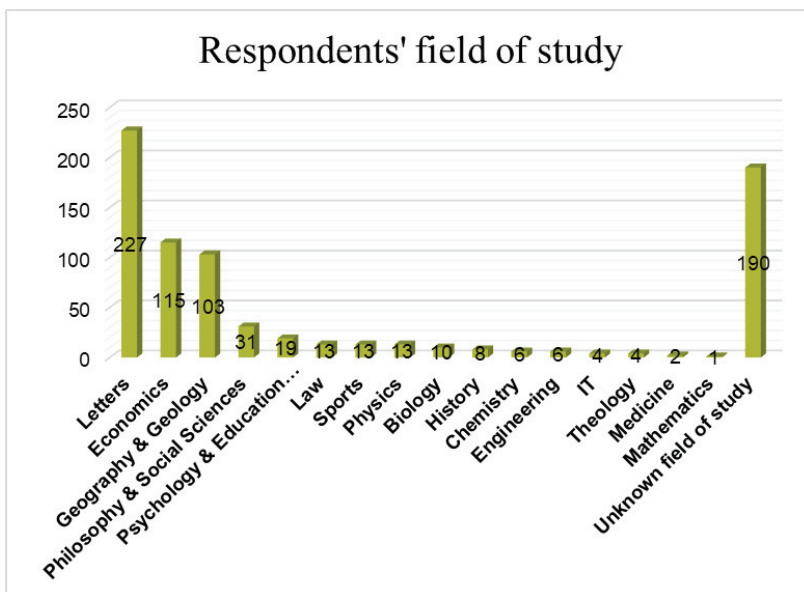
The questions with a less than 50% correct response rate relate to:

- the purpose of case studies (16.2% correct response rate);
- the purpose of writing essays (34.6% correct response rate);
- the structure of essays (35.4% correct response rate); and
- the factor of audience in academic texts (36.7% correct response rate).

At the opposite end, the questions with a high percentage correct response rate concern:

- the purpose of textbooks (94.4% correct response rate);
- the purpose of citation (64.9% correct response rate);
- the structure of a research article (54.1% correct response rate); and
- the meaning of *tone* in the academic genre/text type (51.8% correct response rate).

The *multiple choice/multiple answer* type of question relating to the structure of theses (bachelor's, master's, doctoral) enjoyed an overall

15.6% correct response rate (meaning that only 15.6% of respondents included all the suggested components in the structure of theses). More precisely, the conclusions were considered to be part of a thesis (bachelor's, master's, doctoral) by 94.4% of respondents, the introduction by 92.8%, the background by 78.3%, the discussion/interpretation of results/findings by 73.9%, the results/findings by 71.9%, the literature review by 66.8%, the research design/methodology by 49.8%, and the recommendations by 26.7% of respondents.

The average correct score per level of study, as indicated in Figure 3 below, is of 4.73 at doctoral level, 4.38 at master level and of only 3.77 at bachelor level, all out of 9 points (only the multiple choice and the multiple choice/multiple answer questions were considered in this evaluation, the multiple choice grid being analysed separately). The overall average correct score of 4.01 out of 9 points, at such a high student response rate, reveals an alarming condition of the current grasp of academic text types by the Romanian student community.

Figure 3. Average correct score per level of study
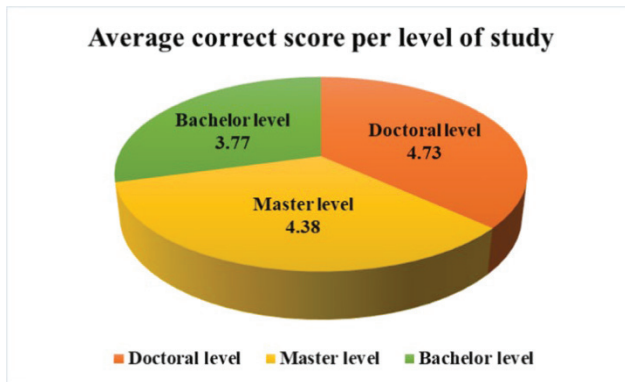
On the other hand, the multiple choice grid includes an inventory of different types of academic texts (in the first column) which need to be paired with the pieces of information characterizing them (in the second column). Out of the six types of academic texts, theses and dissertations are correctly recognised by 59.4% of respondents, textbooks by 40.2%, case studies by 37.1%, research articles by 34.2%, reports by 25.7%, while essays are distinguished by only 22.4% of respondents.

By way of conclusion, students' illiteracy with regard to academic text types may result in serious consequences, making them struggle

through their studies or even lose focus. Or, in line with Beaugrande and Dressler's (1981, 182) principle of mediation, the greater their effort of processing the types of academic texts, the greater the mediation and the lesser their performance in their field of study. In order to improve the situation, an immediate action plan should stand as a priority for the Romanian universities so as to integrate the course of academic writing in the curriculum in all areas of study, if at all possible during the first year of study.

3 Academic texts on university websites

3.1 Previous studies

University websites have attracted the attention of several researchers whose work has focused on classifying and analysing various text types and genres identified in the academic online environment. According to Dalan and Sharoff (2016), this variety of genres and text types makes university websites "a sort of a colony of genres that deserves to be further studied in terms of its textual functions" (2016, 62). The current study itself, which is part of a broader research which focuses on the textual and functional analysis of the online academic course and programme descriptions in Romanian, as well as of their translations in English, is a continuation of the work initiated by the University of Bologna in a consortium of European universities to create resources for academic course contents to be published on university websites (Bernardini et al. 2016).

In the same line of thought, Gesuato (2011) compiles a corpus of 100 Academic Course Descriptions covering ten disciplines, and classifies them according to their content, semantic-syntactic features and tone of the text. Her findings show that the course descriptions are informational-regulatory texts sharing both the referential and the conative functions. She observes the clear structure of course descriptions, characterized mostly by the use of the simple present, *will*-future and impersonal forms of address.

Afros and Schyer (2009) examine the genre of syllabus, focussing on the properties of intertextuality and interdiscursivity in a corpus of ten paper-based and web-mediated syllabi offered at US universities. The aim of their study is also to illustrate how the two properties are used to support links between various academic genres and discourse communities. Their results show that the syllabus is a tool used by instructors to manifest their membership in multiple discourse communities and to

socialize students into them. Finally, they claim that, despite the difference in interactivity, the paper-based and web-mediated syllabi are instances of the same genre, sharing a common set of structural and discursive features.

In her study on the "About us" sections in a corpus of British and Indian university websites, Caiazzo (2011) is concerned with the use of the first person plural pronoun "we", a common identification and communication strategy in the business and corporate world, re-contextualized in the institutional language of university websites. Following a discourse analytic approach to her research, the findings suggest that universities tend to be presented as corporations, including their staff and excluding their readership, communicating their identity by means of what the institution "is", "has", and "offers". Caiazzo also identifies different practices for the use of "we" in the construction of the institutional identity in the British and the Indian universities: "we" as a defining feature in the British universities vs. "we" with a marginal role in the representation of the Indian universities.

Nielsen and Askehave (2005) dedicate their study to the extension of the functional genre model to non-linear, multi-modal, web-mediated documents, providing a characterization of the homepage as a web genre. They claim that the World Wide Web is an integrated part of web genres, rather than a contextual feature, which "adds unique properties to the web genre in terms of production, function, and reception which cannot be ignored in the genre characterization" (Nielsen and Askehave 2005, 125). They justify the choice of this particular genre by being an exclusively web-generated genre, which came into existence with the emergence of the World Wide Web, as well as by being among the first web-generated texts to have reached genre status. They remark the duality inherent in the homepage, i.e. it introduces the user to the general content of the website and it functions as the official gateway of the website. Using the homepage to exemplify their theories, they perform a thorough analysis of the communicative purpose, move structure and rhetorical strategies, according to Swales' three-level model (1990), and show how they are realised in web documents (this is the traditional reading mode), to which they add the hypertextual mode (the navigating mode) to all levels of analysis, creating thus a two-dimensional genre model.

Morrish and Sauntson (2013) consider the mission statements of several UK universities to investigate what they represent and communicate. Their corpus analysis includes word frequencies and collocation analysis, which together provide an overview of the main themes, discourses and ideologies. Their findings suggest that mission statements are dominated by neoliberal discourse through which universities seek marketisation,

commodification and globalisation. What is more, students are presented as consumers, units of profit and products of universities at the same time. Finally, mission statements, which result in discursive uniformity and standardization, are clearly identified as a genre with regard to their thematic components and discursive similarity.

Several studies of institutional academic English have been carried out using various online corpora consisting of webpages of European universities, namely on phraseology in native and lingua franca (Ferraresi and Bernardini 2015), lexical bundles, stance expressions, personal style in the institutional academic English used in Italy (Bernardini, Ferraresi and Gaspari 2010), (semi-)modal verbs (Ferraresi and Bernardini 2013), the use of 'movement' metaphors on university websites (Nasti and Venuti 2014), as well as degree programme descriptions in terms of a range of parameters including topic(s), function(s), argumentative moves, typical phraseology and stance (Bernardini, Ferraresi and Gaspari 2009).

3.2 Types of academic texts on university websites, according to Reiss' typology

Based on Karl Bühler's classification of language functions, Reiss (1976) suggests a similar division of communicative situations with three corresponding text types: the *informative* texts which aim at communicating facts from the real world (news, knowledge, information, arguments, opinions, feelings, judgements, intentions etc.); the *expressive* texts which represent creative compositions in which the artistic component is predominant; and the *operative* texts which aim at inducing behavioural responses on the part of the readers. Later, she proposes an updated classification of texts according to their dominant function, agreeing that "the whole of a text will not always be dedicated exclusively to a single form" (Reiss 2000, 25). Reiss' (2000) new text typology, which also provides a comprehensive list of textual genres for each type of texts, consists of content-focused texts, form-focused texts, appeal-focused texts, and audio-medial texts.

Starting from Reiss' typology of *focused* texts and their subsequent genres (the first two columns in Table 1 below), a far-reaching taxonomy of existing online academic texts of the 'macro-genre of institutional academic language' (Ferraresi and Bernardini 2013) will be provided with examples extracted from the Romanian version of *Alexandru Ioan Cuza* University of Iasi website, which is the 3rd ranked university website in Romania according to both *uniRank University Ranking*[3] and *Webometrics*[4] in March 2018.

The types of audience to which the academic texts are addressed have been divided into members of the general public, informed lay people (i.e. graduates), professional people (i.e. people working in the higher education sector), specialists (i.e. peer researchers and teaching staff working at *Alexandru Ioan Cuza* University of Iasi), and students, in line with the EAGLES Guidelines (1996). The type of audience to which each variety of text is addressed is marked in column four.

Table 1. Classification of online academic texts, according to Reiss' typology

1. Type of text	2. Genre	3. Variety. Examples	4. Type of audience
Content-focused texts	press releases, news reports	- events: ***Târgul ofertelor de practică, voluntariat și internship în domeniul asistenței sociale*** *Departamentul de Sociologie și Asistență Socială din cadrul Facultății de Filosofie și Științe Social – Politice a Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iași vă invită să participați vineri, 9 martie, 2017, la „Târgul de oferte de practică, voluntariat și internship în domeniul asistenței sociale". [...]*	students
		- university news and press releases: ***Medalii de aur, argint și bronz pentru UAIC la concursul internațional de matematică SEEMOUS 2018*** *5 studenți ai Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iași au obținut medalii de aur, argint și bronz la Olimpiada Internațională de Matematică – SEEMOUS [...]*	all types of audience

		- news and press releases from local media posted on university website: **Studentul de aur din Iași! A obținut punctaj maxim la Olimpiada Europeană de Matematică** *Ovidiu Neculai Avădanei, student al Facultăţii de Matematică de la Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iaşi (UAIC), a obţinut trofeul Olimpiadei Sud-Est Europeană de Matematică (SEEMOUS) [...]*	all types of audience
		- thematic/departmental news: *Primul apel de proiecte în cadrul noului fond pentru cooperare regională transfrontalieră și transnaţională - granturile EEA şi ale Regatului Norvegiei [...]*	specialists
		- newsletters *Newsletter ASD (Asociaţia Studenţilor la Drept) aprilie/mai 2015*	all types of audience
		- admission *Înscrieri: 10-12 septembrie 2018 / selecţie și rezultate 13 septembrie*	all types of audience
		- current vacancies *Centrul de Studii Europene organizeaza concurs pentru ocuparea urmatoarelor posturi didactice si de cercetare [...]*	members of the general public, informed lay people, professional people, specialists
	comments	- blog (rarely used) (360.uaic.ro) **Concurs foto: #eusuntUAIC** *În luna mai, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din*	students

		Iași își invită membrii comunității de pe Instagram să împărtășească din specificul vieții de student UAIC.	
	commercial correspondence	---	---
	inventories of merchandise	- notice of intended procurement of goods: ***Invitatie de participare pentru achiziție de bunuri*** *Denumire produs: Antivirus Bitdefender Total Security 2018 sau echivalent, min.10 dispozitive/min.3 ani; 10 buc. [...]*	specialists
		- the day's menu at the university cafeterias: *CIORBĂ RĂDĂUȚEANĂ (pulpe pui-produs congelat, gluten, smântână, țelină)*	specialists, students
	operating instructions, directions for use	- visual identity guide: *Manualul de identitate își propune să stabilească maniera consecventă de folosire a brandului Universității cu scopul de a forma o identitate puternică, substanțială și distinctivă.*	all types of audience
		- student-directed instructions/ information (on available scholarships, accommodation, other facilities on campus) *Informații despre căminele universității, tarife și condiții de cazare. Află cum te poți caza într-unul dintre căminele UAIC.*	students
	patent specifications	---	---
	treaties	- collective agreement: *Contractul colectiv de muncă la nivel de grup de unități din sectorul de activitate învățământ superior și cercetare*	specialists

		- inter-institutional agreement: *Erasmus + Programme, Inter-institutional agreement 2017-2021, Key Action 1 , Mobility for learners and staff, Higher Education Student and Staff Mobility*	specialists
	official documents	- founding document: *Noi Alexandru Ioan I Cu mila lui Dumnezeu și voința națională Domnul Principatelor Unite Moldova și Țara Românească Considerând că regulamentul instrucțiunii publice din anul 1851 prevede pentru învățământul superior din Moldova înființarea a patru facultăți și anume: de Filosofie, de Drept, de Teologie și de Medicină; [...]*	all types of audience
		- strategic plan: *Planul strategic de dezvoltare institutionala 2016-2020*	specialists
		- university charter (including thematic rules and regulations, e.g. on ethics, organization, etc.)	specialists
	educational works	- Course Catalogue	students
		- Student Guide	students
		- textbooks (very rare, on student portals)	students
		- case studies (very rare, on student portals)	students
	non-fiction books	---	---
	essays	- testimonials *Nu aș fi unde sunt astăzi dacă nu m-aș fi format la școala de asistență socială de la Iași. Am pășit timid cu multe emoții și temeri [...]*	all types of audience

		- rector's message *Bine ați venit la Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iași, prima instituție de învățământ superior din România!*	all types of audience
		- 'university presentation', 'university history', 'mission and vision' columns	all types of audience
	reports	- thematic reports (e.g. report on research, internationalization, student affairs, etc.): *RAPORT DE CERCETARE Așteptările angajatorilor din zona de N-E privind competențele absolvenților UAIC și colaborarea cu mediul universitar*	specialists
	theses	- abstracts of PhD theses: *The thesis brings contributions in two fields, automated malware detection and classification algorithms. The main target of my research was to build from the grounds-up a state of the art automatic malware detection framework [...]*	specialists
	specialized literature	- research articles published in university annals *Analele Științifice ale Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iasi, Seria nouă de Sociologie și Asistență Socială (ISSN 2065 - 3131, print; ISSN 2066 - 8961 online)*	specialists, students
Form-focused texts	literary prose	- motto (quote): *Science is a way of thinking much more than it is a body of knowledge. Somewhere, something incredible is waiting to be known.*	all types of audience
	imaginative prose	- motto (anecdote): *Nevasta măcelarului crede*	all types of audience

		că porcii se compun exclusiv din antricoate. *(http://www.math1976-uaic.ro/index.html)*	
	poetry	- motto (quote): *un gand care ne-a venit, avere de D-zeu nouă dată și de noi nedesparțită, să-l arătăm curat și altora…*	all types of audience
Appeal-focused texts	advertising	- advertisements (poster) in local newspapers: *Bun venit la UAIC*	all types of audience
		- advertisements (video) in local TV stations: *Caravana UAIC ajunge în peste 150 de licee din țară pentru a prezenta elevilor oportunitățile de studiu. Pe 15 noiembrie ajunge în Botoșani*	all types of audience
		- banner: *Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza din Iasi" (UAIC) organizează, în perioada 23 – 26 martie 2017, "Zilele Porților Deschise", un eveniment dedicat elevilor din clasele IX-XII, cu scopul de a se familiariza cu universitatea și activitățile acesteia.*	all types of audience
	publicity	- university presentation brochures: *Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași – Founded 1860 – Where Dreams Become Bright Careers*	all types of audience
		- conferences, symposia, etc.: *Simpozionul național „Catolicii din Moldova și Centenarul Unirii de la 1918"*	specialists, students

		- exhibitions: *Expoziția „Flori de toamnă", ediția a XLI-a, Grădina Botanică Iași*	all types of audience
		- thematic fairs: *Târg de Turism și Tradiții Moldovenești, organizat de studenții de anul I de la Facultatea de Geografie și Geologie, specializarea Geografia Turismului,*	specialists, students
		- titles/awards ceremonies: *Andrei Pleșu, Doctor Honoris Causa al UAIC*	specialists, students
		- book launches: *Lansare de carte: Restituiri din domeniul slavisticii, de Petru Caraman*	all types of audience
		- museum guided tours, university group visits: *Vizite la Muzeul Universității.* *Vino în turul Universității.*	all types of audience
		- open lectures for pupils: **Cursuri deschise pentru elevi** *Nu trebuie să aștepți un an sau doi până să mergi la primul curs din viața ta de student. Facultățile noastre au pregătit cursuri demonstrative special pentru tine.*	students
	preaching	---	---
	propaganda	- rector's managerial plan: *Proiect de management pentru candidatura la funcția de rector al Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iași 2016-2020*	specialists
	polemic	- debate: *Dezbatere: Știri false și post-adevăr. O nouă lume?*	specialists, students
	demagogy	---	---

	satire	---	---
Audio-medial texts	radio and television scripts	- transcripts of 3MT competition	specialists, students
	texts combined with music	- transcripts of "Gaudeamus Igitur"	specialists, students
	stage productions	- Alma Mater Iassiensis" TV show series	all types of audience

All the genres suggested by Reiss in her typology of *focused* texts (Reiss 2000) have been preserved in column two, even if unavailable on the university website, in order to illustrate the presence or the absence of such texts. As a general observation, very few genres could not be identified, such as the commercial correspondence, patent specifications and non-fiction books from the content-focused texts; preaching, demagogy and satire from the appeal-focused texts.

The varieties of texts included in column three of Table 1 above have been categorized according to their dominant communicative function. The university website is a rich pool of academic texts, which usually share several functions. For example, although "Alma Mater Iassiensis" TV show series are audio-medial texts, they are also bound to promote the university image, therefore they share features of appeal-focused texts.

It may be remarked that the overwhelming majority of online academic texts are represented by the content-focused texts, which means that the Romanian university website is mainly a tool *to communicate information*. Eleven out of the fourteen content-focused genres are present on the sampled university website, expounding a wealth of twenty-eight text varieties. As one can note, the lead position is portrayed by varieties of press releases and news, while the educational works occupy a middle-of-the-road position in this online environment. The content-focused texts are observed to be targeted at a well-balanced audience: some text varieties address only students, others only specialists, while more texts of general interest address all types of audience. It is rarely the case of such texts to exclude students from their target public (see "current vacancies" which aim at all types of audience, except students). At the same time, only four out of the seven appeal-focused genres are held accountable for fourteen varieties of texts whose functions are *to impress, to convince* and *to attract*, usually being addressed to all types of audience, rarely only to students and specialists (see "conferences" and "awards ceremonies"). The presence of form-focused texts (barely occurring as "mottos") is insignificant, their role being to create a framework for the content-focused texts, while the audio-medial texts are sporadic, some of them (see

both the 3MT competition and "Alma Mater Iassiensis" TV show series) adding to the appellative function of the whole realm of texts.

4 Conclusions

The main aim of this paper has been to emphasize the importance of the study of the various types of academic texts in general, and academic texts on university websites in particular, which, with a few exceptions, have not been given much scholarly attention, at least in Europe. At the same time, this paper has intended to create an introductory theoretical and applied framework for the continuation of the examination of academic texts on Romanian university websites, especially of programme and course descriptions as a *sui generis* genre within the academic type of texts, for the ultimate purpose of improving the online institutional academic communication. Therefore, their positioning within a distinct textual and generic typology (see "course catalogue" which falls into the category of content-focused texts, namely educational works), next to the other existing genres published in the academic online environment, is fundamental for the extension of this research topic.

Although the classification of online academic texts with examples extracted from one of the best Romanian university websites is quite comprehensive from the viewpoint of the website content, we acknowledge the research limitations. For example, for a full-fledged understanding of academic texts on university websites, other functional classifications of texts may be applied, such as Hatim and Mason's (1990) text typology based on contextual focus, Nord's (2007) typology on communicative language functions, etc., as well as different approaches to such texts (word-based corpus analysis, comparison to parallel texts from native English sources, etc.). Furthermore, for the purpose of this research topic, more Romanian university websites could be analysed in order to provide a more extensive perspective on the amount that each text-type weighs compared to the others, and thus argue for the main communicative function of such texts.

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Endnotes

[1] The Expert Advisory Group on Language Engineering Standards (EAGLES 1996) is an initiative of the European Commission, within DG XIII *Linguistic Research and Engineering* programme. EAGLES, headed by John Sinclair, outlined a typology of texts and set up standards for very large-scale language resources (such as text corpora, speech corpora) (retrieved March 2018 from http://www.ilc.cnr.it/EAGLES96/home.html).

[2] Epigeum is the leading provider of online courses (retrieved March 2018 from https://www.epigeum.com/epigeum). Epigeum, acquired by the Oxford University Press in 2015, is used by 250+ universities globally (retrieved March 2018 from http://www.imperial.ac.uk/people/david.lefevre).

[3] A web-based *non-academic* University ranking based upon the popularity of the university websites in terms of traffic, trust and quality link popularity (retrieved March 2018 from https://www.4icu.org/).

[4] The largest *academic* ranking of Higher Education Institutions based on their web presence and impact (retrieved March 2018 from http://www.webometrics.info/en)

Appendix 1 – SURVEY ON TYPES OF ACADEMIC TEXTS, English version

Section 1: Understanding genres/types of academic texts - structure, audience and purpose

Sub-section 1. Purpose

1. Students write essays:
   - to provide information in a field of study
   - to demonstrate understanding for the purpose of assessment √
   - to share the results of their own research
2. A case study is mainly:
   - an argumentative text
   - a descriptive text √
   - a narrative text
   - an informative text
3. The purpose of a textbook/coursebook is:
   - to encourage students to practise in a field of study
   - to share the results of an extensive research project
   - to present and explain information on a topic √

Sub-section 2. Structure

4. An essay starts with:
   - information about the author (student)
   - a statement of aims
   - background information to contextualise the topic √
   - bibliography
5. A summary of a piece of research is the first part of:
   - an essay
   - a textbook
   - a research article √
   - a case study
   - a report
6. The structure of a thesis (bachelor's, master's, doctoral) is likely to include the following *(you may select several components):*
   - Introduction √
   - Background √
   - Literature Review √
   - Research Design/Methodology √
   - Results/Findings √
   - Discussion/Interpretation √
   - Recommendations √
   - Conclusion √

Sub-section 3. Audience

7. The tone and language in a textbook depend on:
    - the audience √
    - the author
    - the topic

Section 2: Understanding vocabulary (words describing texts) and recognising information relating to the academic genre/text type

8. If one text is serious and another is funny, they can be described as being different in:
    - context
    - interpretation
    - tone √
    - structure

9. Match the text types on the left-hand side to the statements on the right:
   1. Textbooks   A. These are written for readers who have expert knowledge of a topic.
   2. Essays   B. These could be 80,000 words long for PhD students.
   3. Theses (BA, MA, PhD)   C. This is a good place to start your research.
   4. Research articles   D. They describe changes or developments, e.g. within a company or social group.
   5. Case studies   E. Access these to find out about writing in your discipline.
   6. Reports   F. These show the importance of a piece of research.

Section 3: Understanding the purpose of citation

10. In a thesis (bachelor's, master's, doctoral) the purpose of citation is:
    - to make known the names of specialists in a field of study
    - to add support to his/her own argument √
    - to prove knowledge of theories in a field of study

Methods of Characterization in Benjy's Part of William Faulkner's *The Sound and The Fury*

Aliz Farkas

Abstract: The present paper discusses the textual representation of individual behaviour, more exactly the way the different characters are constituted through their own utterances and behaviours in Benjy's section. In organizing the material, I draw on Jonathan Culpeper (2014) and Jonathan Culpeper and Carolina Fernandez-Quintanilla (2017). I will focus on two identifiable linguistic properties of the narrative on which the reader can rely in order to "read" the characters' and the narrator's attitudes which are brought to the fore: the use of the pronoun system, and the illocutionary force of the characters' utterances. In my analysis of the illocutionary acts occurring in Benjy's section, I draw on John R. Searle's theory of speech acts, more specifically on his theory of the illocutionary force of verbal utterances (i.e. the speaker's intention in formulating his/her utterance), and his taxonomy of illocutionary acts (1976).
Key words: William Faulkner, *The Sound and the Fury*, linguistic criticism, pragmatics, speech acts.

1 Introduction

Since literary characters are part and parcel of the fictional world represented in the texts, and this fictional world is shaped by the author, through his text, on the one hand, and the reader's meaning-seeking consciousness on the other, it is reasonable to assume that characters are also co-created by author and reader alike. Acknowledging the constructed nature of literary characters, Willie van Peer (1988) encourages investigations into the textual side of characterization:

"Characters, it can hardly be denied, is what readers infer from words, sentences, paragraphs and textual composition depicting, describing or suggesting actions, thoughts, utterances or feelings of a protagonist. Thus the linguistic organization of a text will predetermine to a certain degree the kind of 'picture' one may compose of a protagonist. Therefore, the

particular *forms* by which this is achieved need to be studied in detail."
(1988, 9)

The present paper is part of a larger study which seeks to reveal the
ways in which characters are textually represented in Benjy's section.
Benjy's narrative differs from most fictional narratives in that – as a
corollary of his mental deficiency - the first-person-narrator lacks the
ability to organize his material into a coherent story, to recognize cause
and effect relationships between events, or to interpret other characters'
utterances and behaviour. He limits himself to reporting the events in a
very simple and straightforward manner, in a stream of consciousness
narrative mode, not distinguishing between the events of the narrative
present and the memories triggered by these in his mind. The task of
making sense of the fragmented narrative is assigned to the reader.
Similarly, the readers are expected to interpret the characters for
themselves drawing on the clues provided by the simple-minded narrator.

Jonathan Culpeper (2014) distinguishes three main types of textual
characterization clues: explicit, implicit, and authorial clues. Explicit clues
are instances of self-presentation (the narrator or the character verbally
revealing something about himself/herself), or other-presentation (the
narrator or another character revealing something about the character in
question) (2014, 167). However, instances of other-presentation always
have a self-presentation reading, too, "since the statements which work
towards characterizing others implicitly reveal the characterizer's own
values." (Culpeper and Fernandez 2017, 105-6)

Instances of self- or other-presentation are very rare in Benjy's part.
The reader is hardly ever told anything about the characters' appearance or
personality, let alone their feelings, and this is true even for the narrator.
But this reticence in characterization has its well-established function in
the narrative: it strengthens the narrator's childlike, naive perspective by
not insisting on details that are obvious for him such as the other
characters' identity or their appearance. Under these circumstances, what
the narrator does say about the others gains more significance since these
features are either so blatant or so important to him that in contrast to
many other things they must necessarily be mentioned.

Implicit clues require more interpretive involvement on the reader's
part, since they come in the form of factual description of the acts and
behavior (including verbal behavior) of the character, and "we have to
infer character information from linguistic behavior." (Culpeper 2014,
167) This interpretive process is very similar to the one we perform in our
everyday life when we are constantly creating and modifying our mental
models of others by observing their acts and behavior, and satisfactorily

integrating every piece of incoming information in the model. Benjy's narrative abounds in such implicit clues awaiting for the reader's interpretation. Since the narrator limits himself to objectively reporting other characters' behavior and utterances, it is up to the reader to figure out the personality and motivations of different characters by piecing together the information offered by Benjy. However, there is a key aspect of character creation inherent to the narratorial position itself: the right to select from the undifferentiated stream of life the events that become part of the narrative. Despite the narrator's great discretion in overt characterization, his careful selection of the material to be presented plays a crucial role in the mental model of the characters that the reader creates by way of inferences.

Apart from explicit and implicit clues, there is another category that Culpeper calls "authorial clues" (2014, 164) consisting of stage directions in plays and instances of intermingling between narrative and authorial voice in third person narratives. Since Benjy's is a first person narrative, I did not expect to find instances in which the authorial voice interferes with Benjy's narrative voice – and this expectation was confirmed by my analysis of the narrative.

2 Implicit clues of textual characterization in Benjy's part

As pointed out above, implicit clues are more dependent on the reader's interpretive work than explicit ones. The reader can discover them by observing the characters' behavior, their attitude to one another, and the linguistic choices they make when verbally interacting with one another.

There is a number of identifiable linguistic properties of the narrative on which the reader can rely in order to "read" the characters' and the narrator's attitudes towards one another, two of which I would like to point out: the use of the pronoun system, and the illocutionary force of character utterances.

2.1 Benjy's use of the first person plural pronoun "we"

In this section I will discuss one aspect of pronoun use, namely Benjy's use of the pronoun "we", as I consider that it is indicative of which other characters of the novel he associates himself with. There are 141 instances of the use of the pronoun "we" in Benjy's narrative, more exactly, in that part of the narrative which consists of Benjy's own words and not of the other characters' quoted utterances. Almost half of these (62 out of the total 141 first person plural pronouns) appear in the memory

scenes, including Benjy and his siblings, as well as the children of the Gibson family. This suggests that Benjy's sense of belonging to others was stronger in his childhood when he could genuinely feel that he was part of the small community formed by the Compson and the Gibson children. Whatever action the children are taking, it is reported by Benjy as being taken by "we," as a compact, yet undifferentiated group of children always ready to follow the initiative of one strong-willed member. The frequent repetition of the pronoun "we" is particularly striking in the following sentence taken from one of the memory fragments relating the evening of Damuddy's (the narrator's grandmother) death: "Then we quit eating and we looked at each other and we were quiet, and then we heard it again and I began to cry." (29)

At this point in the narrative, the children are dining in the suspensive atmosphere of the Compson household, where they can clearly sense that something very unsettling is taking place, and their anxiety is further aggravated by the awkward behavior of the adults (Mr. Compson and Dilsey) who try to sooth them by repressing any tentative enquiry on their part. This sentence is a good example of the way in which strong dramatic impact is achieved with only a few simple, ordinary words. In a way, the dramatism of the sentence is built through the pronouns used in it. Tension increases with the repetition of the pronoun "we," as the subject of every act in the sentence, and culminates in the phrase "I began to cry," suggesting that the narrator is the first to intuit the tragic significance of the unsettling atmosphere surrounding the family.

The pronoun "it" is also curiously used in this sentence. It seems to be an anaphora, the antecedent of which is missing and only retrospectively substituted by the reader, who can reasonably hypothesize that the "it" in the phrase "we heard it again" must have triggered the series of events presented in the sentence.

The pronoun "we," including Benjy and the other children, frequently occurs accompanied by verbs of senses, especially the verb "hear." The phrase "we could hear" appears no less than six times on page 83, with two more occurrences on the following page, relating to events happening in the evening when the narrator's name was changed from Maury to Benjamin. The objects of the phrase "we could hear" are most often "the roof and the fire," occasionally complemented with object pronouns (them) or proper names (James, Versh). I interpret the narrator's insistence on extending his own perceptual experiences to other members of the family by the use the inclusive pronoun "we" in subject position as the expression of his strong desire to belong to his family to the extent that

every experience, even the most intimate one such as physical perception, is a shared experience.

In the final scene of Benjy's section, as the children are about to fall asleep after the troublesome day of Damuddy's death, Benjy reports for the last time what the Compson children (the referents of the first person plural pronoun "we") could perceive about the world: "We could hear us. We could hear the dark." (92) The repetitive structure of these consecutive sentences evokes the pattern and content of the much repeated "we could hear" phrase discussed above. However, this time not only the subject of the verb "hear" consists of an inclusive pronoun ("we") but the object of hearing is also an inclusive pronoun ("us"). In this short sentence perceiver and perceived merge in an act of self-reflection. The subsequent sentence takes this process of turning inward one step further in the direction of regression into the womb with its synesthesia by combining the sense of hearing with a negative visual sensation ("we could hear the dark"), where the perceptual capabilities of the subject ("we") are limited to the sense of hearing and the subject – just as the fetus with its inchoate senses – perceives all stimuli through the only perceptual channel available to him, namely hearing.

Apart from the cases discussed above, where the pronoun "we" used by the narrator includes all four Compson children, and occasionally some of the Gibson children as well, there is a significant number of occurrences in which "we" is used by the narrator to associate himself with his sister, Caddy. There are 27 such uses of the inclusive pronoun "we," and, curiously enough, there is none which would associate Benjy with any of his other siblings, Jason or Quentin. This uneven distribution of the first person plural pronoun with regard to his siblings (more precisely, its exclusive use with reference to Caddy) suggests that the only sibling Benjy had a real, close bond with, and with whom he got involved in joint activities was his sister, and that he had very little interaction with his two brothers.

Similarly, Benjy very rarely associates himself with his parents, consequently there are only a few occurrences of the pronoun "we" including them. The only event he and Mrs. Compson experienced together was the carriage ride to the cemetery in the first part of the narrative, where there are four pronouns "we" including the two of them, all of them appearing in the context of maneuvers T.P. performed with the carriage: "We went through the gate." (10-11); "We began to turn"; "We stopped"; "We went on". (11) Apart from this event, there is only one occasion on which Benjy and his mother are included in the pronoun

"we," this time accompanied by Mr. Compson – this is the only time when Benjy and both his parents are referred to as "we."

Interestingly enough, the only time when Benjy associates himself with his parents by using the inclusive pronoun "we" is exactly the time when he dissociates himself from Caddy intuiting her sexual transgression that irreversibly changed the course of events and deprived him of Caddy's reassuring presence forever. In this particular instance, Benjy and his parents are at home, anxiously waiting for Caddy to return: "We could hear Caddy walking fast. Father and Mother looked at the door." (84) Caddy, who had been so often associated with Benjy through his use of the pronoun "we," is no longer referred to by this pronoun, as the following excerpt clearly demonstrates:

> "Caddy came to the door and stood there, looking at Father and Mother. Her eyes flew at me, and away. I began to cry. It went loud and I got up. Caddy came in and stood with her back to the wall, looking at me. I went toward her, crying, and she shrank against the wall and I saw her eyes and I cried louder and pulled at her dress. She put her hands out but I pulled at her dress. Her eyes ran." (84)

This simple shift in the use of the pronoun "we" from including Benjy and Caddy to including Benjy and his parents linguistically marks the major change in Benjy's destiny: he is about to lose his main loving caregiver, his beloved sister, and be transferred under the custody of his parents with whom he has very little in common.

There are three other persons in Benjy's narrative with whom he associates himself – as the use of the inclusive "we" once again testifies, - namely his three consecutive caretakers coming from the Gibson family: Versh, T.P., and finally Luster. The total number of occurrences of the pronoun "we" with reference to these persons is 42, out of which 6 include Versh, Benjy's first caretaker, 13 include T.P., the second, and most of them include Luster, the caretaker in charge in the narrative present. The vast majority of the pronoun "we" in subject position is accompanied by the verbs of movement "went" and "came," so that in 25 cases out of a total of 42 where "we" is the subject, the activity reported by the narrator consists in their moving around the Compson estate. With Luster, the movement suggests a sense of limitation because of the notion of "fence" attached to it in repeating the phrase "we went along the fence" several times (pages 1, 2, 62, 65).

2.2 The illocutionary force of character utterances addressed to Benjy

There are two ways in which the other characters' interactions with the narrator are linguistically represented. One of these is the indirect interaction, when the addresser of the utterance does not directly interact with the narrator, and the interaction is mediated through a third person. In other words, these are occasions when Benjy is referred to as "he" despite the fact that he is present in the communicative situation. On these occasions other characters usually enquire about the reason of his plaintive noises or they give orders or commands to be performed by him with the help of a mediator.

As Mick Short (2005) points out, this use of the third person pronoun in the presence of the person concerned carries derogatory connotations:

> "One strange use of the pronoun system in English is the reference to people present in the speech situation by the third-person pronoun. This occurs where it is assumed by the interlocutors that some other person is of such an inferior status as to debar him from making a reasonable contribution. One example is the way in which many parents talk over their children; another is where interlocutors talk about people with disabilities as if they were not there […]" (2005, 152)

This type of interaction is rather common with Benjy, all the characters who show any degree of interest in him are involved from time to time in such interactions either as initiators or as mediators.

The other type of linguistically analyzable character interaction consists of utterances directly addressed to the narrator. In comparison with the one discussed above, in this type of interaction the initiator at least acknowledges the narrator's status as a person capable of comprehension and reasonable reaction.

In this section, I will discuss my analysis of character utterances directly addressed to the narrator. I consider that the frequency and the way in which other characters engage in interaction with the narrator are important methods of characterization.

My analysis involves both quantitative and qualitative components. The quantitative indicator of character utterances addressed to the narrator can be easily computed by grouping the utterances according to the characters employing them in initiating transaction with the narrator, and then merely counting how many such utterances there are in each case. Although such an indicator is useful in assessing the frequency with which

the character in question is involved in transaction with the narrator, a thing which might also shed light on the character's significance in the narrator's life, it does not reveal the quality of their relationship.

In order to get a qualitative indicator of the character-narrator verbal transactions, I will draw on John R. Searle's theory of speech acts, more specifically on his theory of the illocutionary force of verbal utterances (i.e. the speaker's intention in formulating his utterance), and his taxonomy of illocutionary acts. Searle (1976) formulates his views on illocutionary acts in the following way:

> "If we adopt illocutionary point as the basic notion on which to classify uses of language, then there are a rather limited number of basic things we do with language: we tell people how things are, we try to get them to do things, we commit ourselves to doing things, we express our feelings and attitudes and we bring about changes through our utterances. Often, we do more than one of these at once in the same utterance." (1976, 22-3)

Accordingly, his taxonomy of illocutionary acts includes the following five categories: representatives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declarations. *Representatives,* in Searle's conception, are used "to commit the speaker (in varying degrees) to something's being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition." (1976, 10) The items belonging to this category are all subject to the true/false dichotomy. The class of representatives includes such acts as stating, suggesting, hypothesizing, boasting, complaining, concluding, or deducing. *Directives* "are attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something" (1976, 11), and they employ acts as invite, suggest, insist, ask, order, command, request, beg, plead, pray, invite, permit, advise, dare, defy, or challenge. *Commissives* are "those illocutionary acts whose point is to commit the speaker to some future course of action," (1976, 11) such as promise, pledge, challenge, bet, threaten, offer, dare, vow, or warn. *Expressives* are employed "to express the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content" (1976, 12). Such acts are used to thank, congratulate, apologize, condole, deplore, or welcome. Finally, in the case of *declarations* "the successful performance of one of its members brings about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality, successful performance guarantees that the propositional content corresponds to the world" (1976, 13). In other words, in the case of declarations the act is consumed by the utterance being articulated by the right person (i.e. the person who is in the position to perform such verbal acts), as it is in the following phrases "I

resign," "You're fired," "I excommunicate you," "I christen this ship," "I appoint you chairman."

After having collected all the other characters' utterances addressed to Benjy and having grouped them according to the characters' names, I could see that there were nine characters in the section who directly addressed the narrator at some point. One character, Quentin, the niece, did so only once in the whole narrative, and even on that single occasion she did so as an act of putting Benjy to shame: "You old crazy loon" (58). The other eight characters addressed the narrator repeatedly, the number of illocutionary acts produced by them ranging between 5 and 170. Table 1 below shows the distribution of illocutionary acts addressed to Benjy by different members of the Compson household.

Table 1: Distribution of illocutionary acts addressed to Benjy by different members of the Compson household (A=Caddy, B= Mrs. Compson, C= Mr. Compson, D= Luster, E=T.P., F= Versh, G= Dilsey, H=Frony). The number in the cells shows the number of illocutionary acts performed by the character identified by name at the top of each column.

Types of illocutionary acts		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Representatives	stating	23	1	1	53	23	6	4	-
	predicting	2	-	-	7	2	-	-	-
Directing	ordering	24	3	2	41	15	7	6	2
	silencing	17	6	-	20	11	-	3	3
	suggesting	1	-	1	5	7	2	3	-
	asking	20	-	1	10	8	3	-	-
Commissives	promise	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	offering	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
	threatening	-	1	-	7	-	1	-	1
Expressives	scolding	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-
	shaming	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	1
	reproach	-	-	-	14	1	-	-	-
Total number of acts		99	11	5	170	68	19	16	7

I categorized the items according to Searle's taxonomy to see the range of illocutionary acts employed by different characters when interacting with the narrator. Out of the five types of illocutionary acts described by Searle, I could identify four in Benjy's narrative, the only missing category being the category of declarations. The different types of acts within the remaining four categories are not very numerous. I could identify two types of representatives, namely, stating and predicting. The

category of directing comprises acts of ordering, suggesting, and asking, and I decided to complement this category with another act that I named silencing. This, in fact, is a variation of ordering, but since the act of silencing plays such an important role in the Compson household and the instances of silencing are so numerous, I treated it as a separate class of illocutionary act. Three types of commissives are used by the characters, these being acts of promise, offering, and threatening. The number of expressives identifiable among the speech acts is also three, all of them expressing negative emotions, namely, scolding, shaming, and reproach.

In counting and categorizing the speech acts produced by different characters, I did not treat each and every complete utterance as a separate item. Whenever a certain character produced two or more speech acts of the same type (e.g. two consecutive stating acts), I considered the second as the extension of the first one and counted them as one.

Since the present time level involving Luster as Benjy's caretaker is the vastest in the narrative, it is not surprising that Luster should address the narrator more frequently than all the other characters, his total number of speech acts addressing Benjy amounting to 170. Luster's speech acts cover all the illocutionary act types identifiable in the narrative with the only exception of the commissive act 'promise,' and this way his repertoire of speech acts is the most varied of all the characters. The speech act most consistently used by Luster is stating (53 instances), which shows how keen he was on explaining to Benjy what was happening and why at different moments of the narrated events. The second most numerous speech is 'ordering' (41 instances) complemented with the act of silencing (20 instances).

Luster is the one who tends to use the commissive act of threatening more often than anybody else among the characters (7 instances), and he also uses the whole range of negative expressives (scolding, shaming, and reproach) on a regular basis.

Caddy is the second character in terms of number of speech acts addressed to Benjy, although she is only present in the memory fragments; this shows her dedication to maintain genuine verbal communication with her mentally impaired brother. The most frequent kind of speech acts she makes use of consists of ordering (24 utterances) and an almost equal number of silencing (17 instances) out of a total number of 99 speech acts. Like Luster, she also uses stating quite often (23 instances) as a way of putting her brother at ease by explaining what is happening and why. The most distinctive feature of Caddy's illocutionary performance is the relatively high number of asking acts (20 instances), as well as promising acts (11 instances) – she is the only person who makes promises to her

brother. It is interesting to note that, even if Luster's speech acts are more numerous (170 vs. Caddy's 99), Caddy asks Benjy twice as many questions than Luster (20 vs. Luster's 10). This reflects a greater effort in trying to elicit responses and establish real communication and a deeper concern with what her brother might have to say in different situations. Besides, if we look at the types of question that the two of them employ, we can see that while Luster's questions are frequently rhetorical questions uttered in an irritated tone of voice, e.g. "Why can't you hush." (p. 65); "Dont you reckon folks gets tired of listening to you all the time." (p. 65), the majority of Caddy's questions are genuine, in the sense that she would really like to have an answer from Benjy and she even tries to make guesses in this respect ("What is it. What are you trying to tell Caddy" (p. 5); "What is it. Did you think it would be Christmas when I came home from school. Is that what you thought" (p. 6).

The promises that Caddy makes to her brother also reflect her deep concern with Benjy's state of mind. She uses promises for a variety of purposes ranging from simply reassuring Benjy that she will soon join him again, e.g. "I'll come back in a minute." (p. 6), to promising him not to do a certain action that she knows would upset her brother, e.g. "I'm not going to run away." (p. 21-2), or promising not to repeat an action that has already upset Benjy, e.g. "I wont. I wont anymore, ever. Benjy. Benjy" (p 58). When making her promises, Caddy uses the pronoun "I" in subject position, but on one occasion she repeatedly refers to herself by her name: "Caddy's not going away. See here." [...] "Of course Caddy wont. Of course Caddy wont." (p. 51)

This way of referring to self-using grammatical means other than the first person pronoun (e.g. proper name or a noun such as "mother," "father") is a well-documented phenomenon among grown-ups interacting with toddlers. The obvious reason for this is to facilitate the toddler's understanding of the situation at an age when s/he is not yet capable to grasp the shifting nature of the pronoun "I." The curious thing about Caddy's similar practice is that at that time Benjy was about 10 (Stewart and Backus 1958, 44), an age at which he could hardly be regarded as a toddler. What becomes obvious here is that Caddy does not regard Benjy as an equal; rather, their relationship can be described more in terms of an adult-child relationship.

The other members of the Compson family only occasionally address Benjy directly. In contrast to Caddy, who addresses Benjy making use of almost 100 speech acts, the other two siblings, Quentin and Jason, never initiate verbal transaction with their youngest brother. Even their parents are astoundingly passive in this respect. Mr. Compson has 5

utterances addressed to Benjy, while Mrs. Compson has 11. Mr. Compson's utterances almost all fall into the category of directing illocutionary act, including ordering (2), suggesting (1), and asking (1), complemented with an example of the representatives category (stating).

Mrs. Compson's illocutionary acts are very limited in range: out of the 11 utterances 9 are directing acts, the remaining two consisting of a stating and a threatening, i.e. "If you dont be good, you'll have to go to the kitchen." (p. 3). More than half of the total 11 utterances produced by Mrs. Compson are attempts at silencing Benjy – this seems to be Mrs. Compson's main preoccupation regarding Benjy. Her irritation and impatience with Benjy's wailing is underscored by her including a time component in her utterances: "Stop that, now." (p. 3); "Hush. Right this minute." (p. 73); "Hush this minute." (p. 78)

Except for Caddy, all the other members of the Compson family are easily surpassed by any member of the Gibson family with respect to the verbal transactions initiated with the narrator. We could see above how Luster is by far the most actively engaged in speaking to Benjy, which is quite understandable considering that, being Benjy's caretaker, he virtually spends every minute of the day with him. We can also see, however, that the frequency of verbal interaction does not necessarily entail an amiable relationship between the two of them; in fact, Luster demonstrates a great deal of hostility in his acts of threatening, shaming, scolding, and reproach - speech acts that he seems to master much better than any other character.

The other caretaker before Luster, T.P. produces 68 speech acts addressed to Benjy, and the previous caretaker, Versh - only 19. The bulk of the speech acts formulated by these two caretakers falls in the categories of representatives (stating, predicting) and directing (ordering, silencing, suggesting, asking) with occasional acts of threatening, scolding and reproach.

Dilsey, one of Benjy's main protectors apart from Caddy, relatively rarely addresses Benjy in a direct manner. Her 16 speech acts fall almost exclusively in the category of directing (ordering 6, silencing 3, suggesting 3), with 4 examples of representatives (stating). This distribution of speech acts suggests a pragmatic attitude to dealing with the narrator: Dilsey focuses on getting Benjy to cooperate so that she can get things done as quickly as possible. It is worth noting that Dilsey never uses negative speech acts, such as threatening, shaming, or scolding when she talks to Benjy. This is not the case with Frony, her daughter, who - although not one of Benjy's appointed caretakers – sometimes has to manage his disturbing presence. Out of the total number of speech acts that Frony produces, we can find 2 instances of ordering, 3 of silencing, but also a

threatening and a shaming act, these speech act choices suggesting a rather impatient and even hostile attitude on Frony's part towards the narrator.

3 Conclusions

Rather than relying on explicit clues of textual characterization such as the ones discussed in the introduction, the first narrator of the *The Sound and the Fury* prefers to use implicit clues that need to be discovered and interpreted by the reader, thus requiring a greater involvement on the reader's part. One such implicit clue consists in the use of the inclusive pronoun "we" - a strategy through which the narrator suggests the other characters he associates himself with. The most frequent occurrences of this pronoun appear in the memory fragments where Benjy makes reference to himself as part of the community of children consisting of his siblings and some of the Gibson children. Interestingly enough, apart from these cases, out of all Benjy's siblings it is only Caddy that he frequently associates himself with - as the use of the pronoun "we" shows. This uneven distribution of the first person plural pronoun with regard to his siblings (more precisely, its exclusive use with reference to Caddy) suggests that the only sibling Benjy had a close bond to, and with whom he got involved in joint activities was his sister. Conversely, he had very little interaction with his two brothers.

His relationship with his parents is not very different from the one with his brothers. The analysis of the occurrence of the personal pronoun "we" including Benjy and Mr. and Mrs. Compson reveals that the occasions when the narrator associates himself with his parents are extremely rare.

My analysis of the illocutionary acts of the utterances directly addressed to Benjy by other characters reveals that only a few characters attempt to initiate genuine interaction with the narrator. If we look at the number of such utterances, we can see that Luster, his 'present time' caretaker, is by far the most actively engaged in initiating interaction with Benjy. However, if we consider the distribution of the different speech acts, it becomes clear that Luster's intentions are not always good when addressing Benjy, for there is a considerable number of speech acts formulated by him that fall into the categories of threatening, reproaching, scolding, and shaming. Caddy's attitude towards the narrator seems to be the most positive one. She formulates an impressive number of utterances none of which could be considered as negative, and she is the only character who addresses questions reflecting a genuine interest in her brother's state of mind. The analysis of speech acts once again proves that

the Compson parents hardly ever engage in direct interaction with their mentally disabled son.

Thus, both the distribution of the inclusive pronoun "we" and the analysis of other characters' utterances addressed to Benjy genuinely reflect the adverse social environment surrounding the narrator.

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EQUIVALENT DIFFERENTIATION IN BILINGUAL ONLINE DICTIONARIES

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Abstract: The main reason for consulting a bilingual dictionary is to find out the target language equivalents of the source language lexical items. However, as argued by Zgusta (1971, 329), in most cases it is not enough to indicate the equivalents "first because most of them have a multiple meaning of their own, and second because they are only partial equivalents of the entry-word". This is why users often need support in identifying the most suitable translation option. For this purpose, bilingual dictionaries have traditionally made use of various elements, such as glosses, labels, metalinguistic information, examples, etc. (cf. Svensén 2009, Adamska-Salaciak 2015). The aim of this paper is to determine to what extent online bilingual dictionaries (with the language combination English and Romanian) follow this tradition. This examination will serve to test several hypotheses about the entry of online bilingual dictionaries, such as the tendency to resort less and less to usage labels, or the increasing focus on providing more contexts as the main tool to disambiguate among equivalents.

Keywords: bilingual dictionary, online dictionary, equivalent, gloss, example, label

1 Introduction

As argued by Zgusta (1971, 312), the main task of the bilingual lexicographer is "to find in the target language such lexical units as are equivalent to the lexical units of the source language, and to coordinate the two sets". Because of the anisomorphism of languages, absolute equivalence is almost impossible, except for the scientific domain, which is why the author believes that it is not sufficient to indicate the possible equivalents, as the user may often require more information in order to be able to identify the most appropriate translation from among the available equivalents.

This paper looks at the way in which online bilingual dictionaries (including the language pair English and Romanian) differentiate among equivalents in an attempt to see whether they diverge from paper dictionaries in this respect. After introducing the issue of equivalence and equivalence differentiation in general bilingual dictionary, we will focus on a small-scale case study dealing with four online dictionaries (English – Romanian and Romanian – English) and the means they employ to distinguish among equivalents.

2 Equivalent differentiation

In the entry of a bilingual dictionary the most important component is represented by the equivalents, i.e. the counterparts in the target language (TL) of the lexical items in the source language (SL). These equivalents help describe the meaning(s) of the SL item into the TL. In the presence of multiple meanings, as it is the case most often in general dictionaries, lexicographers resort to enriching the dictionary entry with additional components which are "indispensable" because they lead the user towards "the right translation equivalent more quickly" (Vrbinc 2011, 72). In other words, equivalent differentiation may be defined as "a more detailed specification of usage and shades of meaning in order to guide the user towards the correct equivalent" (Svensén 2009, 261).

For Svensén (2009, 262), equivalent differentiation or discrimination "can be done by means of several types of indication: glosses, indications of context, indications of marking (labels), metalinguistic information and encyclopedic information" or a combination of these indicators, i.e. equivalent differentiation by co-operation, whereas Zgusta (1971) points mainly at glosses, labels, examples and grammatical information. According to Adamska-Sałaciak (2015, 157), these components supplying semantic information, which she calls "supplementary meaning-elucidating strategies" (2015, 157), may take "the form of a gloss (following the equivalent, enclosed in parentheses, usually italicized), a usage label (placed before the equivalent, in parentheses, often abbreviated), or an explanatory note (situated outside the entry proper, usually in a box immediately below it)"; according to the author, even "a well-chosen example of usage" can help disambiguate among equivalents. In what follows we will look at these components from a theoretical point of view, define them and highlight the role they play in differentiating among possible translations.

Before we begin, it should be noted that, when discussing equivalent discrimination in bilingual dictionaries, authors take into consideration the target audience of the dictionary, differentiating between

L1–L2 dictionaries and L2–L1 dictionaries: in an L1–L2 dictionary "a typical aim of consultation is to establish what foreign-language word or expression will be the best translation of a given mother-tongue item. […] It follows that the function of explaining meaning is more relevant to the L2–L1 than the L1–L2 dictionary: in the case of the latter, understanding what the SL (L1) item means can be taken for granted" (Adamska-Sałaciak 2015, 144). Bidirectional dictionaries are generally considered more economically viable, but monodirectional bilingual dictionaries are prevalent. In amateur online lexicography, it is difficult to determine the target audience because the amateur lexicographers rarely provide any explicit information about the product they created (target audience, size, structure, etc.). On the other hand, bilingual paper dictionaries published in Romania are - based on what the lexicographers say and on the way the entry is constructed - mostly monodirectional, supplying most of the additional information exclusively in Romanian.

2.1 Glosses and examples

In Svensén's (2009, 262) view, "a gloss often consists of an expression that has a certain (content-)paradigmatic relationship to the expression of which the meaning is to be specified, for instance a synonym". The author states that glossing can be done using: a (near) synonym; a short SL paraphrase of the particular sub-sense of the lemma; a hyperonym of the lemma or a hyponym. In all the examples he provides, glosses are placed before the equivalent and they are provided in L1, the native language of the users. Svensén tries to clearly separate glosses from *indications of context*, the latter referring to the "typical textual surroundings of a certain expression", encompassing "one or more context partners of the expression concerned" (2009, 263). However, most of the instances that he calls indications of context, Zgusta (1971) and Adamska-Sałaciak (2015) treat as glosses.

Referring to the use of glosses, Zgusta (1971, 329) states that "they specify to which part of the entry-word's multiple meaning the respective partial equivalent belongs, and thereby also disambiguate its own multiple meaning." A gloss may take the form of an explanation, an explanatory equivalent, a disambiguating synonym, etc., which determines Zgusta (1971, 330) to say that "it is not very important to give too much attention to the form of these glosses". On the other hand, Adamska-Sałaciak (2015, 157) believes that it is not so much the content[1] which makes a gloss, "but the function, the placement (after the equivalent, in parentheses), and the typography (italics)".

In addition, Zgusta (1971, 331) claims that glossing also incorporates "the Latin terminology which is added in some dictionaries to the botanical and zoological (and only rarely to other) terms". This can also be classified as encyclopedic information, which will be discussed in section 2.3 below.

Based on the examples provided, what Svensén (2009, 263) classifies as indications of context, under the form of indications of collocations, is not always considered as such by other metalexicographers. For instance, Zgusta's (1971) position is more nuanced, the author states that "there is a considerable amount of overlapping between glosses and examples": he believes that the words in parentheses can be considered either glosses, if the dictionary is intended for LI speakers, or examples, if it is meant to help L2 speakers produce L1 sentences. The author concludes that "the example disambiguates and/or specifies the meaning in about the same way as the gloss" (Zgusta 1971, 337).

Moreover, Zgusta (1971, 337) distinguishes between examples and glosses based on their level of concreteness, the more concrete they are, the more they can be considered examples of usage, "exemplifying a case of a typical combination of words in which the […] equivalent can occur"; whereas if they are more abstract they rather function as hyperonyms, so as glosses. Also, he mentions that another difference between a gloss and an example is that "the gloss should be given in the language familiar to the user, the example naturally in the language foreign to him" (1971, 337).

Atkins and Rundell (2008, 213) refer to TL gloss as the bilingual lexicographer's solution when there is no direct translation and no near-equivalent. The authors argue that "in bilingual entries, your objective is to give users a clear idea of the safest direct translation of the headword, of where the boundaries of that translation lie, and of other TL expressions that could come in handy in translating the headword or expressing the concept underlying it. (2008, 501-503). They distinguish between two types of sense indicators: a specifier and a collocator[2]. The former can occur both in monolingual and bilingual dictionaries and "can contain many different types of information, including superordinates, synonyms, cohyponyms, typical modifiers, paraphrases, and so on" (2008, 216), while the latter, found mainly in bilingual dictionaries, "is a word chosen to represent a 'lexical set', i.e. a group of words belonging to the same wordclass and similar in meaning" (2008, 217). Collocators are given in L1 in some bilingual dictionaries and in L2 in others.

For Adamska-Sałaciak (2015, 159) examples differ from all the other devices of equivalent discrimination because, in general, they are an

implicit way of conveying semantic information: "Most examples support information given earlier in the entry, but some expand on it or qualify it, usually by introducing important exceptions, for example by showing that in certain circumstances a different translational equivalent is needed, or that the headword is sometimes omitted in translation."

In the category of examples, Zgusta (1971) includes idiomatic or set expressions, proverbs and similar dicta, to which we might add other complete or partial sentences.

2.2 Usage labels

Marking is common to both monolingual and bilingual dictionaries. It is performed with the help of labels (usually under abbreviated form in paper dictionaries), whose purpose is "either to provide information about a single lexical item or, by providing this information, to differentiate between the item concerned and other items of the same kind" (Svensén 2009, 317).

In Zgusta's (1971) opinion, labels are very similar to (specifying) glosses; what sets them apart is, first, their form: "whereas the form of the glosses is free and can vary from one partial equivalent and one entry to another, according to the lexicographer's decision, the number and the form of the labels must be decided upon before the main work on the dictionary itself begins" (1971, 331), and labels should be used consistently throughout the dictionary. Second, they differ in point of purpose: glosses always disambiguate, while labels only sometimes disambiguate; most frequently "they simply inform the user about a descriptive fact of language" (1971, 332).

For Atkins and Rundell (2008, 232), "labelling in bilingual dictionaries is twice as complex as labelling in monolingual dictionaries, since both a SL example and its TL equivalent need to be labelled if they are not 'unmarked'". The authors (2008, 497-498) underline the role of labels in bilingual dictionaries, i.e. to clarify, listing several situations in which clarification might be needed, such as: (1) "the label functions as a sense indicator for the benefit of the SL speaker where the headword or phrase is polysemous"; (2) "it warns both types of user when an item does not belong to the default 'unmarked' general language"; (3) "it indicates a non-literal interpretation of the item it attaches to, thus reassuring users that the translation can be used in the same way". In their opinion, "the more SL collocates you put in, the easier it will be for people to choose from among several unfamiliar translations the one most likely to match the TL collocates" (Atkins and Rundell 2008, 470).

2.3 Metalinguistic and encyclopedic information

Metalinguistic or grammatical information refers either to an indication of part-of-speech membership or to explicit constructional information (cf. Svensén 2009, 265). Atkins and Rundell (2008, 221) talk about offering guidance to the dictionary user under the form of wordclass markers, construction information and grammar labels.

Zgusta (1971, 340) believes that examples can also be used to supply grammatical information. An example has the advantage of being more specific than metalinguistic information and, as such, it can be more "telling" and easier to understand than a grammatical rule. However, the author warns against the danger of examples being over-specific, recommending lexicographers the use of short contexts only.

Another means of equivalent differentiation is represented by encyclopedic information, which can prove helpful when dealing with culture-specific concepts (cf. Svensén 2009, 265). According to Vrbinc (2011, 68), encyclopedic information can come in various forms, such as encyclopedic notes, encyclopedic labelling, an encyclopedic section or illustrations, and even as field or subfield labels or short phrases.

Among the other devices of equivalent discrimination mentioned in the literature we find notes, which, for Adamska-Sałaciak (2015, 158), "arbitrate in questions of usage, for instance, by helping to distinguish between near-synonyms, by highlighting the headword's irregular grammatical behaviour, or by warning the language learner against mistaking false friends for bona fide equivalents". Also, non-lexical material, which includes in-text graphic illustrations and photographs, and extra-textual materials (usually located in the dictionary back matter) like tables, organigrams, and charts (cf. Atkins and Rundell 2008, 506).

As stated by Svensén (2009, 265), equivalent differentiation can also be done by co-operation, that is, using a combination of methods, as illustrated in Example 1.

Example 1
inform[1] **I** *vt* **1 (of)** a informa, a înştiinţa (despre, de); a anunţa, a comunica, a face cunoscut (*cuiva, ceva*) **2 (with)** *fig* a insufla, a inspira (*cu ac.*), a umple (de) **II** *vi jur* a da informaţii; a face un denunţ; **to ~ against smb** a denunţa/*F*→ a turna pe cineva (Source: DER)

Example 1 above, extracted from a paper English-Romanian dictionary, makes use of several means of equivalent differentiation such as grammatical information (part of speech and constructional information), examples and usage labels (*fig., jur., F* = colloquial).

3 Equivalent discrimination in online dictionaries

In order to identify the devices used in online bilingual lexicography for equivalent differentiation, we conducted a small-scale survey of four online dictionaries which we believe are created in Romania. As stated by Sinu (2019, 228), in Romania "online lexicography is still exclusively collaborative", but amateur lexicographers offer little or no information about the team or the motivation behind the lexicographic projects. Given this context, we selected dictionaries hosted by servers in Romania, considering this to be an indication of their origin. The dictionaries we looked at are dictionarenglez.ro (D1), dictio.ro (D2), ro-en.gsp.ro (D3), hallo.ro (D4), both the English-Romanian (ER) and the Romanian-English (RE) ones. We sampled the entries for ten lemmata, five in English: *become* (verb), *pound* (noun, cultural item, or verb), *child* (noun, irregular plural)*, active* (adjective)*, because* (conjunction)*,* and five in Romanian: *conduce* (verb), *leu* (noun, also cultural item), *femeie* (noun), *clar* (adjective, adverb), *despre* (preposition). They illustrate the similar lexical classes in both cases, only one word is functional in each list, and they have more than one possible equivalent. In examining the entries we had in mind the following devices for equivalent differentiation: glosses, examples, labels, grammatical information, encyclopedic information (which occurs in the case of cultural elements). In what follows we will discuss each of the dictionaries and present the means of equivalent differentiation they employ, illustrating them with examples[3] from the entries.

3.1 dictionarenglez.ro (D1)

D1 uses short glosses, and the Romanian words have no diacritical marks, as shown in Example 2 below.

Example 2
a. pound **verb** a bate (cu pumnul etc.)
b. conduce **verb** (*spre un tel*): to conduct
　　　　　　　(*ca presedinte*): to preside
c. clar **adjectiv** (*limpede*): clear
　　　　　　　(*simplu*): plain
　　　　　　　(*transparent*): limpid

As pointed out earlier, there is a thin line between what is considered a gloss and an example in 2a (*with the fist*). According to Zgusta, the element between parentheses is a gloss only if the dictionary is

intended for English people learning Romanian, for which there is no evidence. Moreover, it is rather concrete, which would also justify treating it as an example. However, the structure of each entry in D1, with the equivalent section clearly separated from the examples section, indicates that the authors did not think of the additional explanation provided in parentheses as an example. In the Romanian-English dictionary, the glosses are placed in front of the equivalent, under the form of short SL explanations in 2b (*towards a goal, as president*) or of near-synonyms in 2c.

There are also phrases and full sentences (affirmative, negative, interrogative, imperative) used as examples in all of the ten entries examined here.

Example 3
a. become   what has *become* of him? = ce s-a intamplat cu el?
                yellow *become*s you = galbenul iti sta bine
                it does not *become* you to weep = nu-ti sta bine sa plangi
b. child   be a good *child* ! = fii cuminte!
c. conduce   a *conduce* o armata = to command/lead an army

In 3a *become* is illustrated in a question, then in an affirmative and a negative sentence; in 3b an imperative sentence is provided as example; 3c illustrates the use of a phrase. In the entry for *femeie*, there are several incomplete words: *femeie batran* [old/aged woman] instead of *femeie batrana*, *femeie cu experient* [woman with a past] instead of *femeie cu experienta*, *femeie maritat* [married woman] instead of *femeie maritata*. This appears to be the result of a programming mistake, and was encountered only in this example.

Labels are usually abbreviated, e.g. *mil., fig., pop., zool., fam.,* etc., but no explanations or list of abbreviation is provided. By contrast, the part of speech is indicated in full in Romanian in both dictionaries, e.g. *substantiv* (*masculin/feminine/neutru* – for the Romanian nouns)*, adjectiv, conjunctie*, the same is true for the behaviour of verbs: *verb tranzitiv, verb intranzitiv, verb reflexiv* (transitive, intransitive, reflexive verb)*.* However, certain types of grammatical information are presented in abbreviated form, without further explanations, as illustrated in 4a (*tr. = trecut = past tense, part. tr. = participiu trecut = past participle*), and 4b (*pl. = plural*) below. The English-Romanian dictionary also provides constructional information under the form of combinations with prepositions (see 4c).

Example 4
a. become **verb intranzitiv** a deveni#tr. became, part. tr. become
b. femeie **substantiv feminin** (*femeile pl*): women
c. pound **verb intranzitiv** (*at*): a trage (asupra)
                                    (*along, on*): a inainta cu greu

For the two cultural items included on the list, encyclopedic information is provided under the form of a gloss in the case of *pound* "livra, pfund (0,453 kg)", from which the user learns the value of the pound in the metric system. As for *leu,* the encyclopedic information is included in the explanatory equivalent: "Rumanian coin and monetary unit".

3.2 dictio.ro (D2)

The glosses in D2 are very short and not very frequent, they occur only in the English-Romanian dictionary, being placed after the equivalent item. In 5a the gloss is an addition meant to specify the exact meaning of an otherwise polysemous word in Romanian, in 5b and 5c, there are near-synonyms (*child, active*).

Example 5
a. <u>pound</u> *[substantiv]* liră (sterlină)
b. <u>child</u> *[substantiv]* fiu (copil) *[m]*
c. <u>active</u> *[adjectiv]* deştept (activ) *[adj. m.]*

D2 provides no contexts or labels, which makes it difficult for the Romanian users to choose the most appropriate English equivalents. For example, in the entry for *conduce*, *drave* (given as a variant of *drove*) has no label, although it is marked archaic in monolingual dictionaries[4].
The part of speech information is given in Romanian, in full after the lemma and in abbreviated form after each equivalent (see Example 6 below), e.g. *verb + vb., propoziţie + prep., conjuncţie + conj.*, etc. Gender information for Romanian nouns is abbreviated, but by clicking on the abbreviation the user can see the full label too, e.g. *f* - feminine, etc. The translations of *active* into Romanian are marked as *adj.m.* = adjective, masculine, which is unnecessary for Romanian users, because adjectives are usually lemmatised in the masculine form, and they can distinguish the masculine from the feminine form. It could be helpful for the English users, but if the dictionary were also intended for English users, the grammatical information should have been given in English (as well).

Example 6
to pound *[verb]*
a pisa *[vb.]*
a făcălui *[vb.]*

For the Romanian-English dictionary, most of the verbal equivalents of *conduce* are accompanied by the past and past participle form, even the regular verbs where the two forms are identical. There is no constructional information.

As for encyclopedic information in the case of cultural terms, none is valid for *pound*, although the equivalent *livră* is given, while for *leu*, the explanatory equivalent (i.e. Romanian coin and monetary unit) incorporates the extralinguistic information.

3.3 ro-en.gsp.ro (D3)

The search for a lemma in D3 returns many different results organized as a table with a variable number of columns. Glosses and labels share the same column, while the grammatical information, when available, is presented in a different column. The glosses are marked after the equivalent, in Romanian, as illustrated in Example 7 below. They consist of short L1 explanations (7a, *playing too aggressively and incorrectly*) or contextual clues (7b-d, *a law, a car, about sounds*)

Example 7
a. to pound on the piano | a chinui pianul | cântând prea violent şi incorect
b. to become operative | a intra în vigoare | o lege
c. a conduce cu prudenţă | to go slow | o maşină
d. clar | bright | despre sunete

There is no separate column for examples, because the first column presents the headword both independently as well as in various contexts, for example *to become a fixture / a mere vegetable / a pray to / airborne / acquainted / curly / deaf / embarassed / established,* etc. are all separate results for *to become*. Sometimes the entry word/phrase column includes unrelated words which share the same group of letters, e.g. the list of results for *leu* is made up of **leu**cemie, **leu**rdă, **leu**cocită, **leu**coplast, **leu**ştean, b**leu**, etc., which are totally unrelated words. The same is true for *active* which also returns results such as *attr**active**, attr**active**ness, inter**active**, retro**active***, etc.

Usage labels are provided in full, in a different column, after the equivalents, e.g. *lingvistică* [linguistics]*, informatică* [computer science]*,*

argou [slang]*, rar* [rare]*, jignitor* [offensive]*, figurat* [figurative]. The labels in Romanian specify whether they apply to the lemma or to its equivalent, e.g. *argou în limba engleză* [slang in English]*, familiar în limba română* [colloquial in Romanian]*, învechit în limba engleză* [old-fashioned in English]*,* etc.

As for grammatical information, there is no part of speech indication or other constructional guidance offered separately, except for verb conjugations. However, the result list contains examples as well, which can be seen as a source of grammatical information, e.g. the irregular plural form of *child* is lemmatized separately, but it is also present in phrases and sentences, as illustrated by the selection of search results in Example 8 below.

Example 8
children | copii
Children need a lot of love. | Copiii au nevoie de multă afecțiune.
children of fifteen and over | copil de cincisprezece ani și peste
Children will be children. | Copiii tot copii.

Also, most verbs have links to full conjugation (past, present, future).

3.4 hallo.ro (D4)

Similarly to D3, the search for a lemma in D4 returns several results, including items formally related to the original lemma and their translations. It is worth mentioning that the English results always occupy the left column, and the Romanian the right one, regardless of the direction of the search. The glosses are used more often after the equivalent, under the form of short source language explanations, see Example 9a-b (*about volcanos, about laws, electricity, about a runner – the group*).

Example 9
a. active | activ (d. vulcani, etc.)
active | în vigoare (d. legi, etc.)
b. to transmit | a conduce (curentul electric, etc.)
to lead the field | (d. un alergător, etc.) a conduce (plutonul)

Examples of use consist of partial or full sentences, listed as part of the results, as illustrated in Example 10.

Example 10
a separate appointment for each **child** | o întâlnire separată cu fiecare **copil**
he drew the **child** towards him | îl trase pe **copil** după el

D4 makes use of labels under abbreviated form, but a list of labels in abbreviated form is provided, e.g. pop. [familiar], peior. [pejorative], ch. [Chemistry], jur. [Law], şcol. [school], fig. [figurative], constr. [Constructions], arg. [Slang], arhit. [Architectural], etc.

There is no part of speech marking, but there is information about irregularities, e.g. *child* [pl.: children]; *become, became, become*; femeie | woman [pl.: women]; constructional information, e.g. because | din pricina [+G]; or grammatical explanations, e.g. (în prop. dubitative, interogative sau cu caracter argumentativ) **despre** (adesea nu se traduce) [*in interrogative or argumentative sentences, often not translated*].

Example 11
a. the Lionheart | Richard-Inimă-De-Leu (rege al Angliei, 1189-1199)
b. The Lion King | Regele Leu (film de desene animate produs de Walt Disney)
c. pound | liră (unitate monetară în Marea Britanie, Australia, Egipt, Irlanda, etc.)
d. pound | funt (453,6 g)

The dictionary provides encyclopedic information. For instance, among the results for *leu* there are: a historical character whose Romanian equivalent is accompanied by historical data (11a), and the title of a Disney movie, along with an explanation (11b). Also, in 11c the equivalent is followed by an encyclopedic gloss (*monetary unit in Great Britain, Australia, Egypt, Ireland*), while 11d gives the value of the pound in the metric system.

4 Findings and conclusions

Based on our survey, we can conclude that D1 and D2 are closer to the structure of a paper dictionary: lemma + lexicographic treatment of the lemma, grouping all the equivalents and examples available under one lemma; in contrast, D3 and D4 display a different structure: the lemma is repeated either separately or in a context (phrase, sentence), and each occurrence represents a distinct search result which might be unrelated to the initial lemma. Although D1 and D2 resemble a traditional dictionary, they use no numbering system for the equivalents: each meaning is presented on a different line. It should also be mentioned that, with the exception of examples, all the other equivalent differentiation elements are in Romanian, supporting our assumption that the dictionaries are meant for

Romanian users, as "the metalanguage should always be the target users' mother tongue" (Vrbinc 2011, 70).

As for the means of equivalent differentiation we examined, all of them are used more or less frequently by the dictionaries under investigation, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Devices for equivalent differentiation

Means of equivalent differentiation	D1	D2	D3	D4
Glosses	√	√	√	√
Encyclopedic information	√	-	√	√
Labels	√	-	√	√
Examples	√	-	√	√
Grammatical information	√	√	√	√

As far as glosses are concerned, the results are synthesized in Table 2 below. Thus, we noticed that all the four dictionaries use glosses in Romanian, most of them after the equivalent and signalled by parentheses, similarly to paper dictionaries, with the exception of D3. Three of the dictionaries use diacritical marks in the Romanian text, and the most common abbreviation is *d.*, which stands for "despre" (about, of).

Table 2. Glosses

Glosses	Language	Position	Presentation	Text
D1	Romanian	before the equivalent in the RE dictionary, mostly after the equivalent in the ER dictionary	in parentheses	no diacritical marks uses abbreviations (*e.g.* d. stil = about style)
D2	Romanian	after the equivalent	in parentheses	with diacritics
D3	Romanian	after the equivalent	on a different column	with diacritics no abbreviations
D4	Romanian	after the equivalent	in parentheses	with diacritics uses abbreviations (*e.g.* d. scris = about writing)

Related to glosses, we can also discuss encyclopedic information, which occurs as a type of gloss for cultural terms, providing the user with additional information (historical, geographical, about the metric system, etc.). With the exception of D2, encyclopedic information is present in all the dictionaries, and shares the features of the other glosses, as illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3. Encyclopedic information

Encyclopedic information	Language	Position	Presentation	Text
D1	Romanian	after the equivalent	in parentheses	no diacritics
D2	-	-	-	-
D3	Romanian	after the equivalent	on a different column	with diacritics no abbreviations
D4	Romanian	after the equivalent	in parentheses	with diacritics

In the case of examples, we examined their place and their form. Excluding D2, all the dictionaries use examples to clarify the meaning of the equivalents. The examples are located either in the entry (in D1) or they are part of the list of results (D3, D4). Both phrases and (partial or full) sentences are used to illustrate the lemma.

Table 4. Examples

Examples	Location	Text
D1	in the entry	no diacritics phrases, partial and complete sentences incomplete words
D2	-	-
D3	in the list of results	with diacritics phrases, partial and complete sentences
D4	in the list of results	with diacritics phrases, partial and complete sentence

Labels are also to be found in most dictionaries (except for D2). They are given in Romanian, usually after the equivalent, unlike the situation found in paper dictionaries (see Table 5). Labels are displayed in parentheses in abbreviated form. A special case is D3, where labels occupy the same columns as glosses. Moreover, labels are given in full,

mentioning whether they apply to the Romanian or to the English word, if the lemma and its equivalents belong to different varieties of the language.

Table 5. Labels

Labels	Language	Position	Presentation	Text
D1	Romanian	before the equivalent	in parentheses	abbreviated, no list of abbreviations
D2	-	-	-	-
D3	Romanian	after the equivalent	in a different column	in full
D4	Romanian	after the equivalent	in parentheses	abbreviated, with a list of abbreviations

The last device of equivalent differentiation we discussed is grammatical information. In most cases it consists of part of speech indication (D1 and D2), constructional information (D1, D4), and the paradigm of verbs and nouns, especially when irregular (D1, D3, D4). As mentioned in Table 6 below, they are located either in the entry or in the list of results, either at the beginning of the entry or after the equivalent.

Table 6. Grammatical information

Gram. info	Language	Type	Position and presentation
D1	Romanian	part of speech	at the beginning of the entry, in full
		constructional information (prepositions)	before the equivalent
		paradigm	part of the equivalents
D2	Romanian	part of speech	at the beginning of the entry, in full after each equivalent, abbreviated
		gender information for nouns and adjectives	after each equivalent abbreviated and in full
D3	Romanian	conjugation for verbs	on the last column
		irregular paradigm for nouns	part of the list of results

D4	Romanian	irregular paradigm for nouns/verbs	part of the list of results
		constructional information (prepositions)	after the equivalent, abbreviated, no explanation for the abbreviations
		grammatical explanations	before the equivalent, in full

Comparing them to their paper counterparts, we can observe that the online dictionaries we examined preserve many of the features of the former in terms of equivalent discrimination devices. For example, the abbreviated form of usage labels or of the grammatical information in paper dictionaries is due to the space constraints affecting such dictionaries, but there is no real reason for the use of abbreviations in the online medium.

As for our hypotheses, three of the four online dictionaries resort to usage labels consistently, two of them in abbreviated form. In connection to examples, the situation is less clear: D3 and D4 provide many contexts featuring the lemma, however, they cannot be considered part of the entry in the traditional sense, but rather results of the search. Thus, although there is a tendency to provide more and more examples to help disambiguate among equivalents, only D1 offers them as part of the traditional entry; D3 and D4, on the other hand, supply results under the form of phrases and sentences including the lemma, but they also provide results semantically unrelated to the search.

It can also be noted that the treatment of grammatical information is inconsistent from one dictionary to the other: it is only implicit in D3, where users can find out the conjugation for verbs or can learn about the behaviour of a particular lemma from examples of usage, but a simple indication like part of speech is not specified. In the other three dictionaries, the grammatical information is explicit: part of speech, constructional guidance or grammatical explanations.

To conclude, amateur online bilingual dictionaries in Romania do include many elements which help users differentiate among equivalents. This type of dictionaries seems to be in a transitional period because, in addition to the features they preserve from traditional paper dictionaries, new ways of presenting information are emerging to support dictionary consultation, and serve the needs of online users.

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Endnotes

[1] A gloss can be expressed by a hyperonym, a fully-fledged definition, a synonym, a hyponym, a typical collocate, an indication of the relevant semantic field, in other words "anything that might help the user grasp the SL meaning" (Adamska-Sałaciak 2015, 157).

[2] Collocator is not the same as collocates and they should not be confused.

[3] The examples given are simplified, they do not represent the full entries, and are used only to illustrate different types of equivalent diferentiation.

[4] **drave** in American = *Archaic* drive (cf. Collins English Dictionary online)

CHAPTER III:

NATIVE LANGUAGE EXPLORATIONS

INTRODUCTION

RALUCA SINU

The present chapter brings together contributions which concentrate on different aspects pertaining to the structure of natural languages. The focus of the papers included here is wide-ranging covering various levels of language, from syntax to phonology, through explorations of aspects such as the class of the demonstrative partitive in Romanian, the behavior of manner of speaking verbs in English, the Romanian *perfect simplu* tense, negative concord problems in Romanian and English, and the evolution of the Spanish "th" sound.

On the Partitive Uses of 'de', 'din' and 'dintre' in Modern Spoken Romanian. The Demonstrative Partitive (Mihaela Tănase-Dogaru) examines three constructions in Modern Spoken Romanian, namely 'unul dintr-ăla' (one.MASC.SG.DEF of that.MASC.SG.DEF) / 'una dintr-aia' (one.FEM.SG.DEF), unul din ăla' (one.MASC.SG.DEF of that.MASC.SG) / 'una din aia' (one.FEM.SG.DEF of that.FEM.SG.DEF) and 'unul de-ăla' (one.MASC.SG.DEF of-that.MASC.SG.DEF) / 'una de-aia' (one.FEM.SG.DEF of that.FEM.SG.DEF), which the author describes as "puzzling". The reason behind this description is that, when used in partitive contexts, these structures – which she calls demonstrative-partitive constructions – seem to violate the partitive constraint. The paper starts with a crosslinguistic presentation of the issues of partitivity and pseudopartitivity, with examples from various languages, such as Swedish, Finnish, Latvian, Russian, French, Spanish, etc. By discussing the partitive constraint and anti-uniqueness, the author draws attention to the Romanian context, signalling, with the help of corpus examples, the emergence of the partitive preposition "de" in the above mentioned constructions used in Modern Romanian.

Moving to the class of verbs, **On Manner Conflation: The View from Manner of Speaking Verbs** (Irina Stoica) tackles the behavior of Manner of Speaking Verbs, in an attempt to provide an explanation for their seemingly variable bahaviour in terms of extraction from the clausal complement and of complementizer omission. The author discusses manner of speaking verbs in contrast to speech act verbs, stating that the

former focus on the physical properties of the emitted sound, while the latter emphasize an act of communication. Then, she presents manner of speaking verbs as indeterminate roots and, in the end, as verbs of creation. The conclusion reached is that manner of speaking verbs sometimes behave as either manner verbs, thus allowing both extraction and complementizer omission, or as verbs of implicit creation, with a focus on the emitted sound, which affects their syntactic behavior, banning extraction and null C.

"Perfect" Translations (Nadina Vişan) deals with the evolution of the Romanian Perfect from the point of view of the Grammaticalization Theory, based on the translation into Romanian of the narrative values of the English Past Tense Simple. By surveying the use of the Romanian *perfect simplu*, the author underlines a change in the norm: while initially the Romanian *perfect simplu* was recommended as the tense of storytelling, over the last decades its use has decreased considerably in favour of the *perfect compus*. This observation is supported by both examples from contemporary translations and with the help of various tests (substitution test, 'reverse order' test, coordination test). The author's opinion is that *perfect compus* has grammaticalized into a preterite, and that it stopped functioning as a mere "perfect" in Romanian. Moreover, she believes that it is about to completely replace *perfect simplu* in Romanian written narratives, with the exception of *verba dicendi*. The fact that the latter tense is still in existence is the consequence of Romanian readers being exposed to it in fairy tales, and of the editors' view that it can be used as a synonym of the former for stylistic purposes, namely in order to avoid repetition.

From a contrastive point of view, **Negative Concord Problems in Conference Interpreting** (Mihaela Zamfirescu, Roxana Petcu) approaches the topic of negative concord and its impact on the job of translators in general and of interpreters in particular. The first part of the paper reviews the most important aspects of negative concord with reference to strict negative concord languages, like Romanian or Czech, and to non-strict negative concord languages, such as Spanish and Italian. The authors present and discuss the various types of negative concord, paying special attention to English and Romanian. The aim of the second part is to highlight some of the potential problems that conference interpreters working with the language pair English-Romanian might encounter when dealing with negative concord. After analysing various English language examples and their possible interpretations into Romanian, Zamfirescu and Petcu conclude that it is important for interpreters to be familiar with the issue of negative concord in order to be

able to understand correctly and to convey without distortions the situations where this grammatical construction occurs.

Dealing with the phonological level, **Spanish "th" Sound: The Result of Language Contact?** (Ana Drobot) investigates the emergence of the Castilian θ sound, reviewing all the theories that have been put forth to explain the existence of the Spanish equivalent of the English "th" interdental fricative. The author adopts a diachronic approach in her attempt to determine whether this sound is the result of language contact between Spanish and another language, such as English or Greek. She explores academic sources as well as popular science, and concludes by drawing attention to the fact that, irrespective of its origin, the *theta* sound in Spanish can pose real challenges to language learners.

On the Partitive Uses of 'de', 'din' and 'dintre' in Modern Spoken Romanian. The Demonstrative Partitive

Mihaela Tănase-Dogaru

Abstract: The present paper investigates three puzzling constructions in Modern Spoken Romanian: 'unul dintr-ăla' (one.MASC.SG.DEF of that.MASC.SG.DEF) / 'una dintr-aia' (one.FEM.SG.DEF), unul din ăla' (one.MASC.SG.DEF of that.MASC.SG) / 'una din aia' (one.FEM.SG.DEF of that.FEM.SG.DEF) and 'unul de-ăla' (one.MASC.SG.DEF of-that.MASC.SG.DEF) / 'una de-aia' (one.FEM.SG.DEF of that.FEM.SG.DEF). By being used in partitive contexts, the constructions seem to violate the partitive constraint (Jackendoff 1977) and anti-uniqueness (Barker 1998), according to which partitives can only refer to a set-subset relation. The paper analyzes these constructions, which it calls 'demonstrative-partitive constructions', and attempts to offer a solution to this puzzle by claiming that Modern Romanian speakers' partitives can cover both set-subset relations and type-subtype relations.

1 Introduction

The paper is concerned with a syntactic and semantic analysis of the constructions in (1a-c):

(1)   a. Am o săptămână dintr-aia[1].
       Have.1st.SG.PRES a week.FEM.SG. of-that.FEM.SG.
       'I'm having one of those weeks'
    b.Telefonul A8 2018 are focalizare din aia, gen portret?[2]
      Phone.DEF A8 2018 has focalization.FEM.SG of that.FEM.SG, type portret?
      'Does the A8 2018 phone have that kind of portrait focalization?'

c. vreau să-mi fac acasă o remorcă auto una de aia să pot să trag o mașină
după mine[3]
Want.1st.p.SG.PRES to-I.CL.DAT make home a trailer auto one of
that.FEM.SG SUBj can SUBJ drag a car after me
'I want to build at home one of those auto trailers to be able to drag a car
after me'

The constructions involve prepositional partitive and pseudopartitive
patterns of the type in (2), which are typical for Romanian (pseudo)partitivity:

(2)　　a.　　N1 dintre N2
　　　　　　　N1 from-among (of) N2
　　　　b.　　N1 din N2
　　　　　　　N1 from (of) N2
　　　　c.　　N1 de N1
　　　　　　　N1 of N2

However, all the partitive and pseudo-partitive constructions in (1)
violate anti-uniqueness (Barker 1998), according to which the second
nominal in a partitive structure must be non-unique. In other words, proper
partitivity must denote a proper set-subset relation.

In what follows, we will review the main features of partitive
constructions, which will help us to shed light on these puzzling facts.

2 Partitivity and pseudopartitivity crosslinguistically

In the case of English, the kind of syntactic constructions the paper
is concerned with have been classified as (starting with Selkirk 1977; see
also Jackendoff 1977 a. o.):

(i) standard partitives
a group of the students
a bottle of the wine

(ii) pseudo-partitives:
a group of students
a bottle of wine

Pseudopartitives are expressions that refer to an amount of some
substance rather than to a part / subset of a superset. The difference
between partitives and pseudopartitives is observable in many natural
languages. It can be reflected syntactically in various ways (see
Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001, Hankamer and Mikkelsen 2008). There may be

different strategies: a) juxtaposition (3a); b) a linking morpheme/prepositions (3b); c) case-marking (3c).

(3)   a. en kopp te (Swedish)
         a cup tea
         'a cup of tea'
         b. o ceașcă de ceai (Romanian)
         a cup of tea
         c. säkki perunoita (Finnish)
         sack.nom potato.prtv
         'a sack of potatoes'   (see Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001)

The Baltic and (most) Slavic languages use the genitive case for the second nominal, as in (4):

(4)   a.   stakan soka (Russian)
               glass.nom juice.gen
               'a glass of juice'
       b.   glāze tejās (Latvian)
               glass.nom tea.gen
               'a glass of tea'

Germanic languages (German, Danish, Swedish, Dutch) have developed two main types of constructions, which replaced combinations with genitives: analytical constructions (generally restricted to proper partitives 5a) and juxtaposition (for pseudopartitives 5b).

(5)   a.   ett glas av det goda vinet (Swedish)
               a glass of the good-the wine-the
               'a glass of the good wine'
       b.   ett glas vin
               a glass wine
               'a glass of wine'

Romance languages show preference for analytical pseudopartitives (6 a, b), i.e. employing the preposition *de*, probably because of the identification of the partitive and genitive value (6 c, d) (see Tănase-Dogaru 2018).

(6)   a.   un verre de vin (French)
               a glass of wine
       b.   una copa de vino (Spanish)
               a glass of wine

    c.   un frère de Jacques (French)
          a brother of Jacques
    d.   un hermano de Juan (Spanish)
          a brother of Juan

The next subsection will take a look at semantic and syntactic differences between partitive and pseudopartitive constructions.

In so doing, I will start from the assumption that the standard partitive construction encodes the part-whole relation by way of comparing the size of two objects (see Hoeksema 1996, Vos 1999, Cornilescu 2006, a.o.). The interpretation of the standard partitive is constrained by two properties: the partitive constraint and non-uniqueness (see Jackendoff 1977, Selkirk 1977, Abbott 1996, Hoeksema 1996, Vos 1999, Cornilescu 2006, a.o.). It is to these properties that the next section turns.

2.1 The partitive constraint and anti-uniqueness

Syntactically, in Romance, standard partitives contain two nominals, the second of which is introduced by a partitive preposition. The first nominal is either a determiner or a pronoun. For English, the partitive preposition is 'of', the equivalent of which in Romance is 'de'. The exception is Romanian, where 'de', as shown in Tănase-Dogaru (2009, 2013, 2018), is a pseudopartitive preposition.

(7)   a.   two (of the) students (English)
       b.   deux des (de les) étudiants (French)
             two of-the students
       c.   Due degli (de gli) studenti (Italian)
             two of-the students
       d.   *doi de studenți / *doi de studenții mei
             two of students / two of students-the my
             'two of my students'
       e.   doi dintre studenții mei
             two of-among students-the my
             'Two of my students'

The standard partitive construction encodes the part-whole relation by way of comparing the size of two objects (see Hoeksema 1996, Vos 1999, Cornilescu 2006, a.o.). In (7), what is being compared is the cardinality of two sets: the set designating the whole and the set designating the part (see Cornilescu 2006).

The interpretation of the standard partitive is constrained by two properties: the partitive constraint and non-uniqueness (see Jackendoff 1977, Selkirk 1977, Abbott 1996, Hoeksema 1996, Vos 1999, Cornilescu 2006, a.o.).

Starting with Selkirk 1977 and Jackendoff 1977, it has been noticed that an NP embedded in a partitive should be definite for the partitive construction to be grammatical, i.e. it should be headed by the definite article, a demonstrative or a possessive (see also Abbott 1996).

(8)   a. many of these books, three of your apples, some of the pencils
        b. *many of all books, three of no apples, some of many pencils
                                                      (Abbott 1996)

Therefore, starting with Jackendoff (1977), partitives have been seen as restrained by the 'partitive constraint', which has long been seen as definiteness effect in that the determiner of N2 must be definite.

(9)   a. the partitive constraint = the determiner of N2 must be definite
        b. a few of those bottles of wine brought by John
        c.*a few of some bottles of wine brought by John

There are, however, examples where a partitive N2 is preceded by a determiner which is not definite:

(10)   a. Any of several options are open to us at this point. (Abbott 1996)
        b. This is one of a number of counterexamples.

Therefore, Ladusaw (1982) reformulates the partitive constraint as in (11):

(11)   The second nominal in the partitive structure denotes an individual.

The second property constraining the interpretation of standard partitives is non-uniqueness or anti-uniqueness (see Barker 1998). The partitive relation is one of inclusion, i.e. x<y, and not x≤y, since the part is always smaller than the whole. This constraint excludes quantifiers like *both* and *all* from standard partitives.

(12)   a.   many of them
        b.   both of them (not a partitive structure)

Syntactic differences between pseudopartitives and partitives proper relate to extraposition and extraction facts. In contrast to partitives,

pseudopartitives allow low-attached modifiers to extrapose (Stickney 2009, 54):

(13)   a. A number of (the) questions concerning electromagnetism were asked.
        b. A number of (*the) questions were asked concerning electromagnetism.

In contrast, the 'of-phrase' cannot be extracted from the pseudopartitive (14), but can from the partitive (15) (Selkirk 1977, 304).

(14)   a.   A lot of leftover turkey has been eaten.
        b.   *A lot has been eaten of leftover turkey.
(15)   a.   A lot of the leftover turkey has been eaten.
        b.   A lot has been eaten of the leftover turkey

There is, therefore, an intuitive difference in meaning between regular partitives and pseudopartitives: whereas regular partitives refer to a subpart of a whole or a subset of a previously established set, pseudopartitives refer to a portion of some substance, collection, or kind (see Hankamer and Mikkelsen 2008). In a pseudopartitive, the first nominal establishes the unit of measurement and the second nominal designates the type of substance or entity that is being measured (Lőbel 1989, 155; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001, 526–527; Schwarzschild 2006, 81; Hankamer and Mikkelsen 2008, 5).

To sum up, there are both semantic and syntactic differences between partitives and pseudopartitives. Partitives are regulated by the partitive constraint and consist of two full DPs.

3 Partitive 'de' and genitive 'de'. The emergence of partitive prepositions in Romanian

In Romanian, the 'part-of' relation is expressed by means of the prepositions 'dintre' (from among), 'din' (from) and 'de' (of). These different prepositions c-select NPs with different syntactic properties: 'dintre' c-selects definite plural NPs, while 'de' c-selects mass nouns or bare plurals.

Expressions conveying the 'part-of' relation can be classified as (see Tănase-Dogaru 2009, 2013):

(16)   (i) partitive expressions:
        a. 'dintre' partitives:
        o parte dintre studenți
        a part from-among students

'a part of the students'
unul dintre studenții lui
one from-among students-the his
'one of his students'

b.'din' partitives
o parte din vin
a part from wine
'a part of the wine'
o sticlă din vinul acela
a bottle from wine-the that
'a bottle of that wine'

(ii) pseudo-partitive expressions
    o bucată de pâine
    a piece of bread

With partitive constructions, N2 denotes a definite or delimited domain, while with pseudo-partitive constructions N2 refers to an indefinite or unrestricted domain: 'dintre' partitives always select a definite plural DP, while 'din' partitives select both definite plural DPs (*o parte din studenți / a part of students*) and mass nouns (*o parte din apă / a part of water*).

From a comparative perspective, i.e. of Romanian with other Romance languages, it has been observed (see Cardinaletti and Giusti 2006) that Romanian lacks the partitive construction. This claim should be understood in the sense that Romanian does not use the preposition 'de' for standard partitives, while Italian and French do.

(17)   a. J'ai vu deux de ces garcons. (French)
            'I've seen two of these boys'
        b. Ho visto due di questi ragazzi. (Italian)
        (I) have seen two of these boys
            'I've seen two of these boys'
        c. Am văzut doi dintre / *de acești băieți.
        (I) have seen two among / *of these boys
            'I've seen two of these boys'.

'De' is the oldest partitive preposition in Romanian. Partitive 'de' is attested in old Romanian before partitive 'din' is formed out of 'de' (of) and 'în' (in) (see Tănase-Dogaru 2009, 2013, 2018):

(18)   a. una de sâmbete[4]
            one of Saturdays

b. carele de noi
which-the of us
'which of us'

Gradually, partitive 'din' replaced partitive 'de':

(19)   Aici vede omul adesea dealuri, din care unele sunt cu păduri[5]
Here sees man.DEF often hills, from which some.DEF are with forests
'Here you can often see hills, some of which are full of forests'

In modern Romanian, there is a competition between partitive 'din' and partitive 'dintre' which is formed out of the combination of two prepositions: 'de' (of) and 'între' (among) (see Nedelcu 2007).

Romanian grammarians generally argue in favor of the view that partitive 'din' loses ground in favor of 'dintre', since 'din' is believed to be the older of the two (see, for instance, Nedelcu 2007 and the references there). This competition can be explained by the fact that 'dintre' and 'din' both select definite plural DPs. However, 'din' differs from 'dintre' because it can also select mass nouns:

(20)   a. O parte din / dintre studenți sunt furioși.
a part from / from-among students are furious.
'a part of the students are furious'
b. O parte din / *dintre vin s-a vărsat.
a part from / from-among wine se-has spilled
'a part of the wine has been spilled'.

As already stated, what sets pseudo-partitives apart from partitive constructions is the fact that they take a NP-complement, i.e. N2 denotes an indefinite or unrestricted domain:

(21)   a. o parte dintre studenții mei au plecat
a part from-among students-the my have left
'a part of my students have left'
b. o parte din studenții mei au plecat
a part from students-the my have left
'a part of my students have left'
c. o parte de studenți (*i mei au plecat)
a part of students-*the my have left
'a part of my students have left'

As already mentioned, 'de' was used with a (standard) partitive value in Old Romanian. Partitive 'de' is attested in Old Romanian before partitive 'din' is formed out of 'de' (of) and 'în' (in):

(22) Deaci de vă veți pocăi și carii vor face bire să-i dau parte de împărăția mea
      și raiul și blagosloviia mea[6]
      so if you will repent and which will do good subj.-him give part of
      kingdom-the my and heaven-the and benediction-the my
      'So, I will give a part of my kingdom and heaven and benediction to those
      of you who will repent and do good deeds'

Therefore, in older stages of Romanian, the partitive was encoded
by means of the preposition 'de'; gradually, the two specialized partitive
prepositions 'din' and 'dintre' have emerged and 'de' has been confined to
the domain of pseudopartitive constructions.

In Latin, the partitive is a value of the genitive case as in (22); the
inflectional partitive has been gradually replaced by prepositional means
of indicating the part-of relation. One can speak about a surviving partitive
value in French as in (23), where 'du' is a partitive article. In Romanian,
the plural indefinite article can have a partitive value as in (24) (see
Dicționar de științe ale limbii 1997).

(23) parum frumenti
      little wheat.GEN
      'very little wheat'
(24) boire du lait
      drink part. milk
      'drink (some) milk'
(25) mănânc niște pâine
      (I) eat some bread
      'I'm eating some bread'

In Latin, the structure corresponding to present-day Romanian
pseudopartitives consisted of a Nom.N1 + GenN2 sequence. This
inflectional genitive seems to have evolved into a prepositional genitive.

(26) a. cadus vini   (Pl. Am. 429 quoted in Spevak 2014, 99)
      cask wine.GEN
      'cask of wine'
      b. mica salis (Cato, Ag. 70,1, quoted in Slușanchi 1994, 57)
      grain salt.GEN
      'grain of salt'

The Partitive Genitive is related to 'the quantity to which one can
operate a partitioning' (Slușanschi 1994), signaling the notion of
divisibility (in the sense of Borer 2005) encoded by the Number Phrase /
Classifier Phrase.

(27)   pars militum (Commentarii de Bello Gallico, Book 5.30-32, quoted in
        Williams and Nousek 2012, 106)
        Part.NOM soldier.GEN.PL
        part of the soldiers'

        Therefore, there seems to be a close correlation between the
genitive case and the partitive, going all the way back to Latin. Briefly,
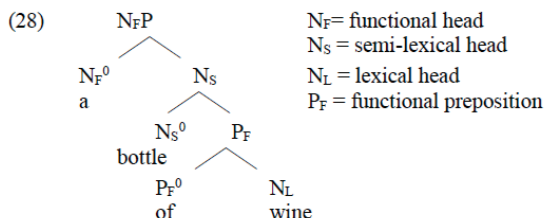Latin did possess pseudopartitives, all of which involved a NomN1 +
GenN2 sequence.
        Prepositional genitives in Romance languages are attested since the
earliest documents. The preposition 'di' / 'de' introducing them can be
formally traced back to a common Latin origin, the ablative preposition
'dē'. However, the genitival function of the prepositional tour with 'dē'
does not appear to be grammaticalized in any documented stage of Latin
(see Gianollo 2009).
        The inflectional realization of the genitive was the only way of
encoding real arguments within the Classical Latin DP. This situation
persists significantly also in Late Latin texts: the prepositional phrase with
'dē' + ablative does not significantly increase in frequency with respect to
the Classical stage, and is still found with its directional use. Partitive or
pseudo-partitive occurrences appear at a comparable rate as that of earlier
texts (see Gianollo 2009).

3.1 The syntactic structure of (pseudo)partitives

        Van Riemsdijk (1998) argues in favor of a single (extended)
projection for pseudopartitive constructions, a position which is also
assumed by Vos (1999) and Tănase-Dogaru (2009).
        Van Riemsdijk (1998) analyzes partitives in Romance as single
projections and the status of the prepositional element intervening between
N1 and N2 is that of a functional element making the transition between
the two nouns. The syntactic structure of pseudopartitives, which is
governed by the law of categorial feature magnetism, is given in (28):

(28) N_FP N_F= functional head
                                N_S = semi-lexical head
    N_F^0 N_S N_L = lexical head
     a P_F = functional preposition
            N_S^0 P_F
            bottle
                    P_F^0 N_L
                     of   wine

Building on van Riemsdijk (1998) and Vos (1999), Tănase-Dogaru (2009, 2013) assumes that pseudopartitive constructions in Romanian involve a single extended projection. It is argued that the structure of pseudopartitives contains a Classifier Phrase, headed by a semi-lexical or 'quasi-functional' item (Borer 2005), such as *sticlă (de vin)* 'bottle of wine' or *ceașcă (de ceai)* 'cup of tea'. The main role of the preposition *de/of/van* is to assign abstract genitive case to N2, i.e. the complement of N1.

(29) CardP

o   Card'

Card^0 ClasP

Clas'

Clas^0 FP
sticlă

F'

F^0 NP
de   vin
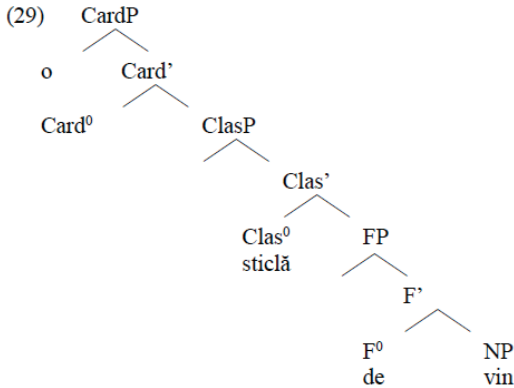
3.2 Integrating cardinals into the analysis

Cardinal-noun constructions in Romanian enter two distinct types of syntactic configurations: spec-head for cardinals from 'one' to 'nineteen' and head-complement for cardinals from 'nineteen' onwards (see Tănase-Dogaru 2013):

(30)   a. două fete
       two.fem girls.fem
       b. douăzeci de fete
       twenty of girls
       'twenty girls'

(31)   a. lower cardinals in Romanian (1-19) are 'adjectival' and higher cardinals in Romanian are nominal (19→);
       b. the prepositional construction with cardinals in Romanian is a type of prepositional-genitive construction

There are syntactic differences between lower and higher cardinals crosslinguistically (see Corbett 1978, Franks 1994, Danon 2012, a.o.). While lower cardinals behave 'adjectivally', higher cardinals seem to behave 'nominally'.

Following Danon (2012), Tănase-Dogaru (2013) shows that Romanian cardinals evince two different types of syntactic structures. The first type of structure is one in which a projection of the numeral occupies a specifier position, this being the case of Romanian cardinals from 1 to 19:

(32)   zece cărţi
        ten books

The second type of structure is one in which the cardinal heads a recursive DP structure, this being the case of Romanian cardinals from 19 onwards (33):

(33)   douăzeci de cărţi
        twenty of books
        twenty books

(34)   [NP [CardP zece] cărţi]]

```
              NP
            /    \
        CardP     N'
         /\        |
       zece        N⁰
                  Cărţi
```
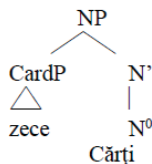
(35)   [CardP douăzeci [PP de [NP cărţi]]]

```
        CardP
          \
          Card'
          /  \
      Card⁰   PP
    douăzeci   \
               P'
              /  \
            P⁰    NP
            de     △
                  cărţi
```
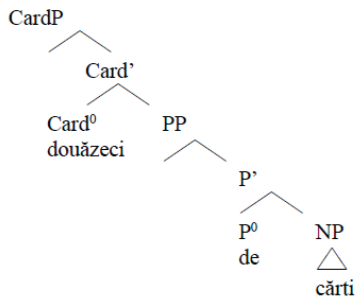
As for the similarities in point of syntactic structure between cardinal-noun constructions and pseudopartitive constructions, Perlmutter and Orešnik (1973) and Corbett (1978) are the first to assume that their underlying structures are similar. Following their assumptions, I argue that the structure of Romanian prepositional cardinal-noun constructions is similar to the structure of pseudopartitive constructions and that the 'de' surfacing in both structures is a prepositional genitive marker. The embedded nominal in cardinal prepositional constructions, i.e. head-complement structures, needs case. The case-assigner in Romanian is 'de', which checks (abstract) genitive case.

4 Violations of non-uniqueness

4.1 *Unul de-ăla*

The first construction where there is an apparent violation of non-uniqueness is exemplified in (36)[7] :

(36) Salut, am găsit   pe jos   2 cornuri
      Hi   (I) have found on down 2 croissants
      unul   de ăla   cu ciocolată   și unul
      one.DEF.MASC.SG of that ..MASC.SG with chocolate   and one.DEF
      hazelnutt, și 2 pungi de chipsuri una   de   aia   chio
      hazelnut, and 2 bags of chips.PL one.DEF of   that   chio
      'Hi, I've found on the ground 2 croissant, one of which was with chocolate
      and one with hazelnut and 2 bags of chips, one of which was Chio'

(37) Până acum   am avut   piper   în
      Until now   (we) have had pepper in
      sticluță   de-aia   cu râșniță.   De ce nu ai
      bottle.DEF.FEM.SG of-that.FEM.SG with grinder. Why not have
      luat tot   una de-aia???[8]
      taken still one of –that
      'We've kept our pepper in a little bottle with a hand mill so far. Why didn't
      you buy one of those?'

(38) Aveți   vreo pasiune? Dar   mă   refer la una de aia adevărată.
      Have.2nd. PL any passion? But I.REFL.1st.SG refer at one.FEM.SG of
      that:FEM.SG. true.FEM.SG
      'Do you have a passion? But I'm talking about one of those real ones'.

(39   te transformi fie-ntr-un copac cu frunze, fie într-unul de-ăla cu conuri.[9]
      You.REFL. turn either-in-a tree with leaves, or in-one.DEF.MASC.SG of
      -that.MASC.SG with cones
      'you turn either into a leaf tree or a cone tree'.

(40)   E ca un aspirator de-ăla programabil[10].
        Is like a vacuum-cleaner of that.MASC.SG programmable.
        'it is like one of those programmable vacuum-claners'

As obvious from the examples and their glosses, though it involves a pseudopartitive preposition, the construction 'unul de-ăla' is a partitive construction with the meaning 'one of those'. As shown in section 3.2. above, cardinal-noun constructions are actually partitive constructions, but the 'de'-construction with cardinals occurs with higher cardinals, while this type of construction occurs with lower cardinals.

In Tănase-Dogaru (2011) it is shown that Romanian lower numerals engage in two different types of constructions. In addition to the 'adjectival', spec-head configuration, which is the 'default' case for lower numerals in Romanian, it has been shown that lower numerals can also take a 'de'-complement with two classes of 'metalinguistic' nouns, i.e. letters and digits.

(41)   a. doi de 'l'
        two of 'l'
        'two l's'
        b. trei de zece
        three of ten
        'three ten's'

(42)   a. doi 'l'
        two 'l'
        'two l's'
        b. ??trei zece
        three ten
        'three ten's'

In a similar fashion, the construction under investigation in this section takes a singular N2, violating non-uniqueness.

Perhaps one of the most famous examples of non-uniqueness violations is the construction in (43), still considered ungrammatical by traditional grammars (see Cornilescu 2006):

(43)   un prieten de-al meu
        A friend of-DEF my.SG
        'A friend of mine'

Cornilescu (2006) convincingly argues that the construction represents a kind of partitive construction, which she names 'the possessive partitive

construction'. I am now in a position to add the 'demonstrative partitive construction' 'unul de-ăla' to the list of partitives violating non-uniqueness.

One problem faced by this analysis is that, at first sight, the construction 'unul de-ăla' may be paraphrased as 'one of that type/kind' and, therefore, it may seem amenable to an analysis in terms of silent nouns. It will be shown that the analysis is not tenable because silent nouns are specified for gender.

Building on Kayne (2005), who analyzes 'few' and 'many' as adjectives modifying a silent noun NUMBER, Tănase-Dogaru (2009) extends this analysis to exclamative constructions in Romanian.

(44)   John has three NUMBER books.

In Tănase-Dogaru (2009) it is shown that exclamative constructions in Romanian contain a silent noun NUMBER. The presence of the silent noun is linked with the presence of the 'de'-element, which is analyzed as a functional preposition making the transition between the functional and the lexical domains of a partitive construction.

(45)   a. Ce   case   au   unii!
           What houses   have   some (people)
           'some have such big/beautiful houses!'
        b. Ce   de case   au   unii!
           What of   houses have some (people)
           'some have so many houses!'

(45a) can only be an exclamation about some salient property of houses, for example, their being large or beautiful; on the other hand, (45b) exclaims about the relatively large number of the houses in question.

Therefore, the 'de'-exclamative construction in Romanian involves the silent noun NUMBER, while the 'de'-less construction may be viewed as containing the silent KIND/TYPE/SORT (see Leu 2005, van Riemsdijk 2005). Moreover, whenever the overt 'number' is present, 'de' is obligatory:

(46)   a. Ce   de băieți la petrecere! = Ce de NUMĂR băieți la petrecere.
           What of boys at party = what of NUMBER boys are at party
           'there are so many boys at the party'
        b. Ce băieți sunt la petrecere! = Ce TIP boys are at party (tall, handsome, etc.)
           What boys are   at party! = What KIND boys are at party
           'the boys at the party are really handsome, tall, etc.'

c. Ce   număr mare *(de) baieți la petrecere!
What number big   *(of) boys at the party!
'what a great number of boys are at the party!'

However, what I have called the 'demonstrative partitive' construction, although paraphrasable as in 'one of that type', does not involve a silent noun TYPE, because silent nouns are not specified for gender. Claiming that they are specified for gender would, at this point, look as a postulation. Taking into consideration that N2 in the demonstrative partitive may either be feminine or masculine, an analysis in terms of silent nouns would entail a gender specification on the silent noun:

(47)   a. Unul de-ăla
        One.MASC.SG of-that.MASC.SG
        b. Una de-aia
        One.FEM.SG of that.FEM.SG

A further counter-argument to an analysis of this construction in terms of a silent noun TYPE comes from examples such as those in (48), where N2 is plural. Plural N2 and singular N2 constructions co-exist, which proves that the construction 'unul de-ăla' is a partitive construction:

(48)   a. Într-o luptă între un calculator și una d-alea, îți spun eu care câștigă.[11]
        In-a battle between a computer and one.FEM of.those.FEM.PL, I tell you which wins.
        'In a battle between a computer and one of those things, I can tell you which one will win'.
        b. A aruncat două d-alea mari pe ei.
        Has thrown two of-those.FEM.PL on them
        'He dropped two of those big ones on them'

It seems safe to assume, instead, that the construction is a partitive construction that violates non-uniqueness, and it represents one of the few constructions involving a partitive 'de' in Modern Spoken Romanian, alongside the possessive partitive construction.

4.2 *Unul din ăla*

The second constructions under analysis involves, as shown in section 3, the partitive preposition 'din'.

(49) Ia   și tu o rezervă din   aia verde[12]
      take and you a refill.FEM.SG   from that.FEM.SG green
      'You buy one of those green refills'

(50) Interesant…cât   costă unul   din   ăla   mic?[13]
      Interesting…how-much costs one.DEF.MASC.SG.MASC.SG from that
      small
      'Interesting…how much does one of the small ones cost?'

(51) Hei fetelor, ce să aleg, un ruj din ăla (foarte) închis mat sau unul (puțin sau
      foarte) deschis mat?[14]
      Hey girls, what SUBj choose, a lipstick.MASC.SG of that.MASC.SG
      (very) dark matted or one (a little or very) light matted?
      'Hey girls, what should I choose, one of those dark matted lipsticks or a
      little or very light matted one?'

(52) Zi-mi te rog un banc bun, unul din ăla de mori de râs, să i-l spun și lu'
      soacră-mea[15]
      Tell-me.CL.DAT you.ACC pray a joke good, one.MASC.SG of that
      .MASC.SG that die.2nd.SG.PRES of laughing, SUBJ she.CL.DAT-
      it.CL.ACC tell and to mother-in-law-my
      'please tell me a good joke, one of those that make you split sides with
      laughter so that I can tell it to my mother-in-law'

As indicated in section 3, 'din' is a partitive preposition in Modern
Romanian that selects plural DPs and mass nouns. However, none of the
nouns in (49) to (52) is either a plural DP or a mass noun. They are plural
countable nouns, which suggests that this construction is a demonstrative
partitive construction that violates non-uniqueness.

Again, as in the case of the previous constructions, singular N2 and
plural N2 co-exist, which reinforces the analysis of the construction as a
partitive one:

(53) Mi s-a rupt un dinte din față, unul din aia, mari, și s-a rupt rău, aproape de
      gingie.[16]
      Me.CL.DAT has-broken on tooth from face, one.MASC.SG from
      those.MASC.PL big.MASC.SG and has-borken bad, close to gum
      'One of my front teeth has broken, one of those bog ones and it has broken
      close to the gum'

(54) Am păstrat una din alea pentru tine.[17]
      Have kept one.FEM.SG from those.FEM.PL for you
      'I saved one of those for you'

4.3 *Unul dintr-ăla*

The last construction under investigation in this paper involves the presence of the preposition 'dintre', which is typical for proper partitives in Modern Romanian. In this construction, however, the preposition is used with a singular N2, which violates non-uniqueness.

(55)   Urma să fie unul dintr-ăla[18]
        Follow.IMPF.3rd.SG to be one.MASC.SG of-that.MASC.SG
        'He was going to be one of those guys'

(56)   e o femeie dintr-aia prea deşteaptă[19]
        Is a woman.FEM.SG of-that.FEM.SG too smart
        'She is one of those too smart women'

(57)   E dintr-ăla cu care nu vrea nimeni să meargă.
        Is one of-that.MASC.SG with whom not want nobody to go
        'He is one those guys with whom nobody wants to go'

(58)   Parcă eşti un poliţist dintr-ăla nebun.
        Like are a policeman of.that.MASC.SG crazy
        'You seem to be one of those crazy policemen.

As in the case of the other two demonstrative partitive constructions, singular N2 and plural N2 variants co-exist.

(59)   Deci tu esti dintr-ăia care sare în sus[20]
        So you are of-that.MASC.PL who jumps in up
        'So you are one of those jumpy ones'

5 Conclusions

The paper has investigated three sub-types of partitive constructions which violate non-uniqueness. It has shown that they are proper partitives by refuting an analysis in terms of silent nouns. In Modern Spoken Romanian there are two remnant de-partitive constructions, both of which violate non-uniqueness: the possessive partitive (Cornilescu 2006) and the demonstrative partitive.

In both cases, 'de' is an (abstract) genitive case-assigner, while 'de' predicates a property about the first nominal in the structure but the partitive interpretation is still available.

The construction 'unul de-ăla' is not analyzable as 'unul de TIPUL ăla' ('one of that TYPE'), where TYPE is a silent noun because silent nouns are not specified for gender and variation in gender 'unul de-ăla'(masculine) – 'una de-aia' (feminine) could not be explained.

While Old Romanian featured the Double-DP structure (Tănase-Dogaru 2013) with partitive 'de', Modern Romanian employs the Double-DP structure with the partitive prepositions 'din' - 'of-in' and 'dintre' - 'of-among'.

The Single-DP structure is seen as reserved in Modern Romanian for pseudopartitive constructions (Tănase-Dogaru 2013) and two remnant 'de'-partitives: the possessive partitive (see Cornilescu 2006) and what this paper calls the demonstrative partitive.

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On Manner Conflation:
The View from Manner
of Speaking Verbs

Irina Stoica

Abstract: Manner of speaking verbs (MoS verbs) are said to ban both extraction from their clausal complement and complementizer omission (Stowell 1981, Snyder 1992). However, there are also cases where both phenomena are allowed (Dor 2005, Stoica 2016). The aim of this paper is to account for this apparently variable behaviour. Following Arad (2003), who argues that a series of relations can hold between a verb and its corresponding noun, including one of creation, I propose that MoS verbs should be treated as either manner verbs, in which case both extraction and complementizer omission are, in fact, allowed, or as verbs of implicit creation, with a focus on the emitted sound, a property which has syntactic consequences in that it bans both extraction and null C.

Keywords: conflation, incorporation, indeterminate roots, manner of speaking, extraction, complementizer omission

1 Introduction

Manner of speaking verbs (henceforth MoS verbs), such as *whisper, shout, holler, mumble*, have been first identified and analyzed as a distinct class by Zwicky (1971, 223), who defines them as "verbs referring to intended acts of communication by speech and describing physical characteristics of the speech act".

Other than the properties listed by Zwicky in his work, MoS verbs have been discussed in the literature as having a set of related properties: they are said to ban both extraction from the clausal complement and the omission of the complementizer (Erteschik-Shir 1979, Stowell 1981, Snyder 1992).

(1)   a. *What did she simper that Fred had done?
         (example taken from Erteschik-Shir 1979)
         b. I whispered *(that) someone was at the door.

As will be seen in more detail shortly, both of these properties can be accounted for if we assume that there is a nominal component in the structure of these verbs (Stowell 1981, Snyder 1992, Stoica 2017), which corresponds to the emitted noise and its physical properties.

However, a closer look at the behaviour of these verbs indicates that both phenomena are in fact grammatical, at least in those cases where the emphasis is on a more communicative process (Dor 2005, Ambridge and Goldberg 2008, Stoica 2016).

(2)   a. How did Ron whisper to Harry that Hermione solved the mystery ____?
         (examples taken from Stoica 2016)
         b. John whined Bill was an undercover agent.
         (example taken from Dor 2005)

The very definition of MoS verbs, as well as the above data, seem to suggest that MoS verbs incorporate both manner and result simultaneously, which goes, however, against the Manner Result Complementarity (henceforth MRC) put forth by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2013), which states that a verb can incorporate either Manner or Result, but not both at the same time.

The aim of my paper is therefore to put forth an account for this apparent violation of the MRC, while focusing on the variable behaviour of MoS verbs. In addition, an analysis on these lines will open the discussion regarding crosslinguistic variation in the case of MoS verbs. If Zwicky's proposal were on the right track and the properties of MoS verbs were "systematically associated with their semantic structure", we would expect MoS verbs to behave similarly crosslinguistically. Data from Romanian shows, however, that, while they share semantic features, their syntactic behaviour is distinct[1].

(3)   Cine a   strigat Vasile că   t a   plecat?
         Who aux-perf yell-past Vasile comp-IND t aux-perf leave-past
         Who did Vasile shout that left?

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 represents a brief review of the studies which postulate a nominal component in the structure of MoS verbs, that corresponds to the emitted sound. In Section 3, I focus on a discussion which treats denominal verbs as roots which merge with a

nominalizer (Arad 2003) and argue that, in fact, MoS verbs can be viewed not only as verbs of communication, but also as verbs of creation, thus accounting for their apparently variable behaviour. In section 4, I integrate this analysis in a broader discussion on the process of incorporation and conflation, which has been debated at length in the literature, and give a possible explanation for the fact that MoS verbs do not violate the MRC. A brief Section 5 draws the conclusions.

2 MoS verbs and the nominal component

As briefly mentioned above, several studies in the literature argue that what distinguishes speech act verbs from MoS verbs, is, from an interpretation point of view, the focus on the physical properties of the emitted sound in the case of the latter, as opposed to just an act of communication. While several semantic analyses have also been put forth (Erteschik-Shir 1979, Ambridge and Goldberg 2008, Kogusuri 2009), this interpretation seems to be reflected in their structure as well, given that several researchers have postulated the existence of a nominal component which accounts for the ban on both extraction from the clausal complement and the omission of the complementizer, as seen in (1) above. In what follows I will briefly review some of the syntactic accounts which have been put forth in the literature.

2.1 MoS verbs and subcategorization

Stowell (1981) emphasizes the correlation between extraction and complementizer deletion, arguing that both phenomena can be accounted for in terms of subcategorization constraints.

Stowell (1981) starts his discussions from the examples below, arguing that only in (4a) is the complement in a relation of strict subcategorizaton with the verb. This leaves the CP, and consequently C^0, ungoverned, according to the Empty Category Principle (henceforth ECP).

(4)   a. Who did you say saw John?
        b. *Who did you shout saw John? (examples taken from Stowell 1981)

Looking at a further asymmetry, in the case of subject extraction, Stowell (1981) states that in (5a) the subject trace could be governed by an element higher than IP (the intermediate trace), but that the complementizer blocks government. Given that the complementizer does not theta-mark

the trace it cannot theta-govern it either, and antecedent government is blocked due to a lack of coindexation.

(5)   a. Who do you think that will invite Poirot?
        b. Who do you think will invite Poirot?
        (examples taken from Stowell 1981)

Going back to MoS verb, Stowell (1981, 354) notices that the physical properties of the emitted sound are emphasized, rather than the speech act itself, arguing that "this property of identifying the nature of the thematic object within the lexical specification of the verb, has the effect of absorbing the thematic object position, making it unavailable in principle for strict subcategorization."

He thus proposes that the complements of MoS verbs should not be treated as arguments, but actually as adjuncts, arguing that a sentence such as (6a) gives rise to the representation in (6b).

(6)   a. He shouted.
        b. He uttered a shout, conveying the message to leave.

If the CP is not treated as an argument, but as an adjunct, the ban on complementizer omission readily follows, due to the ECP: in this position, the empty category in C^0 would not be outside the c-commanding domain of the verb and, consequently, would be left ungoverned. What's more, the ban on extraction can be accounted for in terms of Ross's Complex NP Constraint (henceforth CNPC), which states that "no element contained in a sentence dominated by a noun phrase with a lexical head noun may be moved out of that NP by a transformation" (Ross 1967, 127).

2.2 MoS verbs as light verbs

Another study which emphasizes the correlation between extraction and complementizer omission is that put forth by Snyder (1992), who argues that, in general, a CP can function as an argument, an adjunct or an appositive. The availability of extraction depends on the status of the complement, being possible only when the CP is an argument. More specifically, in order for such a relation to hold, a propositional attitude regarding the content of the CP needs to be inferred. In the case of non-bridge verbs, the CP merely expresses the "informational content of the NP, independent of anyone's propositional attitude towards this content" (Snyder 1992). Therefore, the CP in this case functions as an appositive.

Looking at MoS verbs, Snyder (1992) claims that the structure of a MoS verb actually contains a phonologically null light verb "make", which takes as its complement an NP denoting the physical noise, as in (7) below:

(7) [v (make))] [NP (a) [NP grunt]]

Such a structure emphasizes the role of the physical noise as well, not just that of the process.

As in the case of Stowell's (1981) proposal, the ban on extraction follows from the very existence of a nominal, in accordance with the CNPC (Ross 1976), while the ban on null C is a consequence of the status of the clausal complement: the CP being an appositive, C^0 is not governed by the verb, in violation of the ECP.

Although at first sight this analysis has explanatory power, it seems to be contradicted by the CNPC itself. Looking at examples such as the ones in (8) and (9) below, Ross (1967) notices that lexical verbs followed by nominals impose more severe restrictions than light verbs followed by nominals.

(8)   a. I am making the claim that the company squandered the money.
        b. ?The money which I am making the claim that the company squandered amounts to $400.000. (examples taken from Ross 1967).

(9)   a. I am discussing the claim that the company squandered the money.
        b. *The money which I am discussing the claim that the company squandered amounts to $400.000. (examples taken from Ross 1967).

This asymmetry holds for complementizer omission as well, as v+N constructions seem to behave on a par with simple verbs, rather than similarly to lexical verbs followed by a noun.

(10)   a. I am making the claim ?(that) the company squandered the money.
        b. I have hopes (that) the company will squander the money.
        c. I have a feeling (that) the company will squander the money.
        d. I made a proposal *(that) we squander the money.
                                                (examples taken from Ross 1967)

Therefore, a construction as the one proposed by Snyder would not, in reality, account for extraction or complementizer omission in the case of MoS verbs.
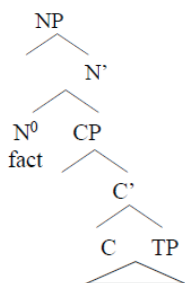
2.3 MoS verbs and the null N

In Zwicky's squib, one of the properties that he mentions is that the complement of MoS verbs is construed non-factively. However, MoS verbs and factive verbs have been grouped together in the literature, discussed as examples of classes of verbs which induce island effects and ban the omission of the complementizer, as can be seen in (11) below (Grimshaw 1979, 1997; Hegarty 1992).

(11)   a. *How do you regret that you behaved?
         b. *I regretted I told him the truth.

In addition, at first sight, if the structure of MoS verbs indeed includes a nominal component, MoS verbs and factives would be similar from the point of view of their structure as well. One of the most prominent analyses of factive verbs is the one put forth by Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1979), who postulate the existence of a silent noun fact above the CP layer, as can be seen in the representations below.

(12)   a. Factive predicates   b. Non-factive predicates

        NP   CP
       / \   / \
          N'   C'
         / \   / \
      N⁰   CP   C   TP
      fact / \
           C'
          / \
         C   TP
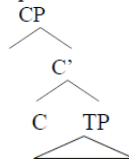
However, a natural question arises: how can these two classes of verbs be treated on a par, if the clausal complement of MoS verb is construed non-factively? One possible answer stems from the idea that it might not be factivity itself which is responsible for both island effects and the (un)availability of complementizer omission, but some other property that MoS verbs and factives share.

An analysis on these lines is the one put forth by Kastner (2015) for factives, which could be extended to MoS verbs as well (Stoica 2019). As will be seen shortly, an advantage of this analysis, in comparison to the two presented above, is represented by the fact that it could explain the

apparently variable behaviour of MoS verbs, mentioned in (1) and (2) above. Recall that, while traditionally MoS verbs are said to ban both extraction and complementizer omission, there are also some cases where both of these phenomena are allowed.

Kastner (2015) argues that what distinguishes the traditionally called factives and non-factives is not actually a matter of factivity, but rather of presuppositionality. While non-presuppositional verbs introduce a new referent, presuppositional ones refer to an element already present in the discourse. Syntactically, new referents correspond to indefinite descriptions (associated with CPs), while old ones refers to definite descriptions (associated with NPs). In the case of presuppositional verbs, Kastner claims that "the clausal complement is itself part of a definite DP [...] rather than ordinary CPs".

Kastner proposes three different constructions: Selected Embedded Non-presuppositionals – SENPs (*say, think, believe*), Selected Embedded Presuppositionals – SEPs (*regret, admit*, etc.) and Overt Definite Presuppositionals – ODPs (which in English also include the noun *fact,* or, in languages such as Hebrew, *a determiner*), summarized in the structures below (taken from Kastner 2015).

(13)   a. Selected embedded non-presuppositionals: [V CP]
        b. Selected embedded presuppositionals: [V [$_{DP}$ Δ CP]]
        c. Overt definite presuppositionals: [V[$_{DP}$ D [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ N] CP]]]

One argument which Kastner (2015) brings to support his theory comes from pro-forms. He notices that, while in the case of CPs both *so* and *as* are available, *it* and *which* correspond to DPs. Therefore, SENPs should be compatible only with *as*, while SEPs should be compatible with either *as* and *so* or with *it* and *which*.

(14)   a. Americans should get cheap oil, as the whole world knows _.
        b. Americans should get cheap oil, which the whole world knows _.
        (examples taken from Kastner 2015)

(15)   a. Americans should get cheap oil, as the whole world says _.
        b. *Americans should get cheap oil, which the whole world says _.
        (examples taken from Kastner 2015)

Extending this analysis to MoS verbs, Stoica (2019) argues that MoS verbs can be analysed on a par with Kastner's SENPs when the process is emphasized, whereas a focus on the physical properties of the emitted sound is inferred from a structure such as the one of ODPs. This

proposal is supported by pro-forms. As can be seen in (16) and (17) respectively, when MoS are used communicatively, with a focus on the process, only *as* is allowed, while in cases where the noise is emphasized both *as* and *which* are available.

(16)   a. [All kids should believe in magic], **as** the wizard whispered_.
        b. [*All kids should believe in magic], **which** the wizard whispered_.
        (examples taken from Stoica 2019)

(17)   a. She was getting married, **as** her mother was whispering.
        b. She was getting married, **which** her mother was whispering.
        (examples taken from Stoica 2019)

From the point of view of the interpretation, MoS verbs which are analysed on a par with ODPs imply that one produces a particular noise, so that a verb such as *whisper* would have, in fact, the following interpretation:

(18) John was whispering = John was producing WHISPER

It could therefore be argued that MoS verbs have the structure of Kastner's ODPs whose NP has a null N, which, from a semantic standpoint, corresponds to the physical noise of the emitted sound.

The issue of factivity can be also solved if we take into consideration the fact that the lexical semantics of the verb derives from the verbal root and the selected DP. In the case of MoS verbs, the verbal root forces the interpretation of the DP as a produced NOISE. The existential presupposition of the CP is then secondary, deriving from the presupposition of the emitted sound. The semantics of the noun itself might also be revealing: in the case of *mumble, whisper, yell*, there is no semantic information suggestion that there is a truth evaluation. While attitude verbs force a factive/non-factive interpretation of the CP, MoS verb yield no such reading.

3 Indeterminate roots and word formation

3.1 MoS verbs as indeterminate roots

In the previous section I presented several studies which postulate the existence of a nominal component in the structure of MoS verbs. While these accounts are not without criticism, they could explain the variable behaviour of these verbs in terms of the (un)availability of

extraction from the clausal complement and the (un)availability of complementizer omission.

What these accounts have in common is that they all postulate a structure along the lines of a verb accompanied by a noun, be that a lexical verb or a light one.

However, there are also other studies which treat word formation in terms of indeterminate roots which merge with a categorizing element. One such study is the one put forth by Hale and Keyser (2002). The authors include MoS verbs in the category of denominals, arguing, in an early study (Hale and Keyser 1993), that these verbs are formed via incorporation, a process through which a nominal head moves to an abstract V projection from its complement position, leaving behind a trace. The structure of *whisper* would then be the one in (19) below.

```
(19)     V'
        /  \
       V    NP
      / \    |
     N   V   N
  whisper    |
             t
```
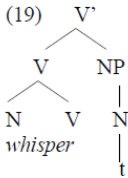
In a later study, however, Hale and Keyser (2002) replace the process of incorporation with that of conflation, which implies the copying of the phonological matrix of the complement of a head, in the empty matrix of that given head. Under this account, a verb like *whisper* would have the representation in (20).

```
(20)   V
      / \
     V   N
      whisper
```
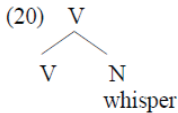
However, analyzing hyponymous objects, Hale and Keyser propose a model in which conflation is considered redundant and should, in fact, be eliminated. Looking at the verb in (21a) (a structure previously analyzed as being formed by means of conflation) and at that in (21b) (a clear instance of Vocabulary Insertion), the authors state that, given that the process of Vocabulary Insertion is available for the so-called denominals, that the verb *dance* already has a phonological matrix and is available for insertion directly from the Lexicon, the process of conflation seems to be unnecessary.

(21)   a) They are dancing a Sligo jig.
        b) They are playing a jig. (examples taken from Hale and Keyser 2002)

While the authors maintain the [V, N] structure for the so-called denominal verbs, the N is now considered an empty category which needs to be licensed. Comparing the structures in (22a) and (22b) below, Hale and Keyser (2002) argue that what licenses a null N is in fact the "nominal component of these verbs".

(22)   a. *He made.
        b. She whispered.

More specifically, in (22b) there seems to be a type of "classificatory relation" which holds between the semantic features of the verb and the nominal argument – the semantic content of the verb will favour the interpretation of the nominal as an entity corresponding to the noun *whisper*. In contrast, the light verb in (22a) is not as rich semantically, therefore not allowing a "classificatory relation" that could license a null N.

Taking into account the fact that for MoS verbs the verb and their corresponding nominal are identical (*whisper-whisper; shout-shout; mumble-mumble*), the authors propose that these structures should be analyzed as indeterminate roots which are introduced either in the V position, or in the N position, depending on the context.

3.2 Indeterminate roots and word formation

In what follows I will briefly present a study which argues, however, that there are two options when it comes to word formation: words can be formed either from indeterminate roots directly, or from other words (Arad 2003). This line of analysis can be carried further in order to account for the apparently variable behaviour of MoS verbs.

Arad (2003) states that roots are interpreted as nouns, verbs, etc., only when they have merged with a head bearing that particular category. This newly formed head can then further merge with another head, forming a new category word, in accordance with the representations below.
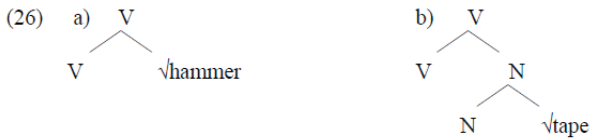
(23) a)   NP/VP   b)   V

        N/V   √   V   NP

                                                     N   √
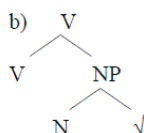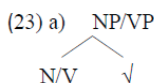
While the choice can be straightforward in the case of some verbs (*encompass, enlighten,* etc.), for those verbs which are identical to their corresponding nominal (*hammer, tape, kiss, whisper, shout*), it is not as clear whether they are root derived or word derived.

Arad (2003) follows Kiparsky (1982) in stating that, if there are no morphological markers to establish the word formation process, semantics plays a defining role. The author analyzes two types of verbs which, although belonging to the same class of instrument verbs, yield different interpretations: *hammer*-verbs and *tape*-verbs.

As can be seen in the examples below, *hammer*-verbs do not necessarily imply the existence of the noun, but rather focus on the manner in which a particular event is carried out, whereas *tape*-verbs do.

(24)   a. He hammered the nail with a rock.
        b. String him up with a rope!
        (examples taken from Kiparsky 1982, in Arad 2003)

(25)   a. *She taped the picture to the wall with pushpins.
        b. *They chained the prisoner with rope.
        (examples taken from Kiparsky 1982, in Arad 2003)

Arad (2003) states that in the case of *hammer*, both the noun and the verb are formed directly from the root, being interpreted as either instrument or manner respectively; in contrast, in the case of *tape*, the noun is derived from the root, and the verb is further derived from the noun. Semantically, the interpretation of the verb depends on that of the noun, as illustrated in (26) below.

(26)   a)   V   b)   V
           /   \   /   \
          V   √hammer   V   N
                                                         /   \
                                                        N   √tape

The author further notices that, while noun-derived verbs always entail the meaning of the noun, this interpretation is not limited solely to instrument verbs, but rather that there is a series of relations that can be established between the two, as can be seen in the table below, taken from Arad (2003). An analysis along these lines could then apply to other classes of verbs as well, including verbs of creation. In such cases, the noun refers to an entity, while the verb implies bringing about that particular entity.

Noun	Verbs
Material/entity	Apply/put material/entity (tape, sugar)
Entity	Remove entity (pit, stalk, core)
Instrument	Use instrument (lasso, pitchfork)
Location	Put something in location (pocket, box, bottle)
Entity	Typical activity related to entity (button)
Material/entity	Become material/entity (cake)
Entity	Create/bring about entity (calve)

3.3 MoS verbs as verbs of creation

Looking at verbs of creation, several studies in the literature (Levinson 2007, Jezek 2010) argue that other than verbs of explicit creation (*build a house, bake a cake*), there are also verbs of implicit creation (*translate a book, paint a picture*). More specifically, while in the case of the former, the entity denoted by the nominal is what is brought into existence, in the latter, Dowty (1979, in Jezek 2010) argues that "Here something is created, but not literally the thing named by the object NP. Rather, a representation of that object is created, and the object itself does not undergo any change.", as can be seen in (27):

(27)   translate a book → translation
        paint a landscape → a painting
        braid your hair → a braid

Furthermore, verbs of implicit creation come in two flavours as well: the created object can either be concrete (*draw a unicorn*), or abstract (*prove a theorem*).

Going back to MoS verbs, recall that Zwicky (1971, 223) defines them as "verbs referring to intended acts of communication by speech **and** describing physical characteristics of the speech act" [emphasis added], emphasizing two components: the manner of speaking itself and the resulted noise.

In the beginning of this paper, I presented the variable behaviour of MoS verbs with respect to both extraction from the clausal complement, and complementizer omission. More specifically, while traditionally these verbs are said to ban both phenomena, as was seen in (1), repeated for convenience below, other studies show that MoS verbs allow such constructions, especially when the emphasis lies on the process of communication, rather than the emitted sound.

(28)   a. *What did she simper that Fred had done?
         (example taken from Erteschik-Shir 2005)
         b. I whispered *(that) someone was at the door.

(29)   a. How did Ron whisper to Harry that Hermione solved the mystery _____?
         (examples taken from Stoica 2016)
         b. John whined Bill was an undercover agent.
         (example taken from Dor 2005)

Following Arad's (2003) line of reasoning, I propose that this apparently variable behaviour of MoS verbs can be accounted for if a distinction were made between those MoS verbs which emphasize manner, the communication process, which resemble, in this respect, Arad's *hammer* verbs, and MoS verbs with focus on the physical properties of the emitted sound, mirroring Arad's *tape* verbs. If this analysis is on the right track, then in (29a) and (29b), the root would merge directly with the verb, as in (30a). On the other hand, in (28a) and (28b) the ungrammaticality arises from the fact that the root first merges with a nominalizer and then further merges with the verb. Semantically, the interpretation of the verb necessarily depends on that of the noun (e.g. *whisper = produce a whisper)*. From the point of view of their syntactic behaviour, it is precisely this nominalizer which blocks both extraction and complementizer omission.

(30)   a)   V   b)   V
           /   \   /   \
         V   √whisper   V   N
                                                 /   \
                                               N   √whiper

4 Incorporation or conflation? A note on terminology

As seen throughout this paper, denominal verbs have been either analyzed in terms of Incorporation (move) or conflation (copy) (Hale and Keyser 1993, 2002). However, other studies (Haugen 2003, McIntyre 2004) make a further distinction between these two terms: while incorporation is seen as an operation of either move or copy, conflation is defined as an operation of merge into a phonologically null verb.

Haugen (2009) argues that this distinction is relevant, as in the class of denominals, there is a difference between those formed via incorporation (*dance, laugh*, etc.), and those formed via conflation (*hammer, tape*, etc.). Looking in more depth at verbs which entail instrument, means or manner, it was seen that these components are

treated as adjuncts, therefore, the (nominal) root cannot be base generated in argument position, but is rather adjoined to the phonologically null verb.

(31)   Sue was hammering the metal.
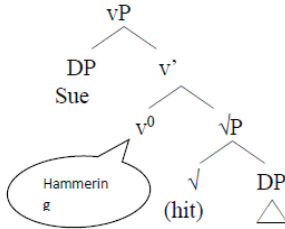
The metal   (representation taken from Harley 2005)

The process of conflation has been widely used when discussing other constructions as well, such as manner of motion verbs or resultatives (references) and can shed some light on crosslinguistic variation as well. For example, when analyzing resultative constructions, which are formed in English via conflation, Mateu (2003) argues in favour of Talmy's distinction between satellite-framed languages (where the Path is left as a satellite) and verb-framed languages (where the Path is incorporated): only in the former is the process of conflation said to be available.

Looking at the data on extraction coming from Romanian (a language which is considered to be verb-framed and where, therefore, the process of conflation is unavailable (Mateu 2003), we see that MoS verbs seem to allow extraction of both arguments and adjunct from the clausal complement.

(31)   a. Pe cine ai   șoptit   că iubești?
         Acc who aux-perf whisper-past that love-pres?
         Whom did you whisper that you love?
         b. Unde   ai   țipat   că ai   pierdut cățelul?
         Where aux-perf shout-past that aux-perf lost   dog-the
         Where did you shout that you lost the dog?

This would suggest that, in Romanian, unlike English, MoS verbs are always formed via incorporation, by means of merging an indeterminate root in a verbal head.

Lastly, going back to the second question of this paper, namely the apparent violation of Levin's MRC, such an analysis shows that MoS verbs do not, in fact, represent counterarguments to the MRC: when interpreted communicatively, MoS verbs behave on a par with *hammer*

verbs, focusing on the manner in which the process is carried out, whereas when MoS verbs are interpreted non-communicatively, the result component is emphasized, corresponding to the produced noise.

5 Concluding remarks

To briefly conclude, the aim of this paper was two-fold: first of all, I wanted to provide a possible explanation for the apparently variable behaviour of MoS verbs with respect to extraction and complementizer omission. While several studies postulate the existence of a nominal component which blocks both phenomena, situations where extraction and null C are grammatical are left unaccounted for. Following Arad (2003), I suggest that MoS verbs too can be analyzed as being formed either directly from a root alone or from a root which first merges with a nominalizer. I also take from Arad the idea according to which a verb can entail a process of creation while its corresponding noun entails a created entity, and, therefore, I argue that MoS verbs are not solely manner verbs, but can also be seen as verbs of creation. When the communication process is emphasized, they are indeed manner verbs, but when the emphasis lies on the emitted sound, they could be analyzed on a par with verbs of implicit creation. Only in the latter case will the two mentioned phenomena be banned.

Second of all, from their very definition, these two components, manner and result, are apparent. I suggest, however, that this does not go against the MRC, as MoS verbs conflate either manner or result, and this preference is reflected in their syntactic behaviour as well.

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Endnote

[1] Analyzing complementizer omission in relation to syntactic islandhood in the case of Romanian MoS verb would be irrelevant, as complementizer omission is banned in this language, irrespective of the class of verb.

"Perfect" Translations

Nadina Vişan

Abstract: The present paper focuses on the distribution of narrative past tenses in Romanian and on the way in which these tenses are employed in translated narratives from English. Our prediction is that the Romanian preterite (the Perfect Simplu) is almost extinct and is being replaced with the former Romanian perfect (the Perfect Compus), which has grammaticalized.

Key words: narrative tenses, preterite, perfect, grammaticalization, complementary distribution, free variation.

0 Introduction

The aim of the present paper is to investigate strategies employed to translate the literary narrative value of the English Past Tense Simple into Romanian and, in doing that, we intend to draw conclusions with respect to the evolution of the Romanian Perfect from the perspective of the Grammaticalization Theory (Hopper and Traugott 1993, Heine and Kuteva 2006, *inter alia*). Unlike English, and like other Romance languages, such as French, Romanian can be said to be "grammatically proficient", to fashion a term that parallels Jakobson's famous "grammatical deficiency" (Jakobson 2000, 116). Romanian can employ two narrative tenses that would translate the narrative value of the English Simple Past:

(1)   the Romanian *'complex past' (perfect compus – PC)* e.g. am venit (have-Isg come)
(2)   the Romanian *'simplex past' (perfect simplu – PS)* e.g. venii (came-Isg)

It means that a sentence such as (3) below can be translated either as (4) or as (5).

(3)   He entered the room and placed a book on the table.
(4)   A intrat în cameră şi a pus o carte pe masă.
         has-IIIsg entered (PC) in room and has-IIIsg put (PC) a book on the table

(5)   Intră în cameră şi puse o carte pe masă.
         entered (PS) room and placed (PS) a book on the table

While variant (4) is the favourite option for most contemporary users of Romanian, variant (5) used to be the norm up until two decades ago. Most grammar books indicated that the PS should be chosen over the PC while "telling a story". Indeed, most 20th century Romanian novels employ PS as the main narrative tense. However, it appears that the use of PS has been dramatically reduced over the last decades, a fact duly noted by the most recent version of the Academy Grammar of Romanian: "…in contemporary Romanian, the *perfect simplu* is a bookish tense, mainly used in literature, where it is specialized as a narrative tense and remains a *living* verbal form only at a regional level" (Manea et al. 2008, 423, our translation). This phenomenon may be explained both historically and by looking at what happens at the level of "translationese", i.e. at the level of Romanian texts produced as a result of translation. In what follows, we intend to have a look at the historical evolution of the perfect in Romanian and then analyse some translation samples that are relevant to this point.

1 Historical data

As previously shown in the literature, Romanian narrative tenses can be traced to their Latin counterparts: the Latin Past Tense (*dixi* 'said-1sg') produced the Romanian PS (*zisei* 'said-1sg'), while the source of the PC can be traced to a periphrastic construction: *Ego librum scriptum habeo* ('I book written have', Object-Verb) vs *habeo scriptum librum* ('I have written the book', Verb-Object). It is interesting to mention, together with de Acosta (2011), that the main value lying at the basis of the PC construction was of a resultative nature (what de Acosta calls the "attained state type"). Consider the example under (6), which is taken from pre-classical Latin, and which is believed to be one of the oldest precursors of the Romance perfect:

(6)   hominem servom suos domitos habere oportet oculos et manos (Plautus)
         man   servant   his controlled have befits eyes   and hands
         "it behoves a manservant to have his eyes and hands controlled"

The resultative origin of the PC as opposed to the purely preterite origin of the PS was noticed by Benveniste (1966), who discusses the specialization of the two tenses in the Romance languages that sport both such forms: while the PC belongs to the *discours* (the discourse), PS belongs to the *histoire* (narration). However, this specialization of

functions is not necessarily observed in Old Romanian, as shown by Călăraşu (1987), Pană Dindelegan (2016). Consider the example below, where both tenses are used in coordination, which would indicate equivalence in meaning and use:

(7) În lume era şi lumea pren el s-au făcut (PC), şi lumea pre el nu cunoscu (PS)… (Biblia de la Bucureşti, 1688) (Pană Dindelegan 2016, 35)
'He was in the world and the world was made through him and the world didn't know him…'

In modern Romanian, Benveniste's specialized use of the two tenses is more apparent. Consider the example in (8), an excerpt from an early 20th century unfinished novel, where the main narrative tense is PS, but where the story told by a character employs the narrative use of the PC:

(8)

Zărise printr-o spărtură de frunziş pe sfinţii Mochie şi Farnachie trecând în goană, unul după altul, cu pletele-n vânt. Habacuc **se ridică (PS, narrative)** de asemenea şi **privi (PS, nar)** în urma lor. Din partea cealaltă **răsări (PS, nar)** şi sfântul Pintilie cel gros, dând din mâini şi strigând către ei de departe: — Auzit-aţi vestea, fraţilor?... Sisoe se pogoară pe pământ! Cei doi **rămaseră (PS, nar)** cu gurile căscate. — Cine ţi-a spus (PC)? De unde ştii? — Tot raiul ştie şi vorbeşte, gâfâi Pintilie. — Nu se poate. — Ba, iacă, se poate... Că **s-a înfăţişat (PC, nar)** înaintea Domnului-Dumnezeu, ş-atâta **s-a rugat (PC, nar)**, că **s-a înduplecat (PC, nar)** Cel preamilostiv şi **i-a dat slobozenie (PC, nar)** să se pogoare între oameni... ba cică i-ar fi dat şi putere să facă minuni pe pământ! urmă Pintilie într-o întinsoare, privindu-i speriat. — Mare-i minunea ta, Doamne! **Cuvântă (PS, nar)** pe gânduri Pafnutie. (George Topârceanu, *Minunile Sfântului Sisoe*, 1938)	He had seen through a breach in the foliage saints Mochie and Farnachie running along, hair loose. Habacuc rose to his feet, too, and peered at them. From the other side came fat saint Pintile, flailing his arms and shouting at them from afar: "Have you heard the news, brothers?... Sisoe is descending down on earth!" The two were left gaping. "Who told you? How do you know this?" "All the Heaven knows about it," panted Pintilie. "It can't be." "Oh, yes, it can… For he went to the Lord and prayed so much, that the Almighty relented and gave him leave to go among people… they even say He gave him the power to perform wonders on earth!" Pintile went on hurriedly, with a frightened look on his face. "God, You are great!" said Pafnutie pensively.

While the passage under (8), written almost a century ago, still maintains a difference between the PS – as the main narrative tense of the story – and the PC, as the "deictic" narrative tense, this is not the case with actual contemporary Romanian. By now, PC has become a regular "jack of all trades", as can be seen in the following examples containing PC forms:

(9)   a. resultative value
        L-a bătut pe Gigel!
        'They've beaten Gigel up!'
        b. preterite value
        Ion l-a bătut ieri pe Gigel şi a fugit de acasă.
        'Yesterday Ion beat Gigel up and then ran away from home.'
        c. pre-preterite value
        A fugit de acasă pentru că **l-a bătut** pe Gigel.
        'He ran away from home because he **had beaten** Gigel up.'
        d. future value
        Până la sfârşitul mileniului, am şi distrus planeta.
        'By the end of the millennium we will have destroyed our planet.'

It seems that the supremacy of the PC has become a state of fact, at least for Romanian. Consider the hierarchy below, which indicates the high degree of laxity with respect to the "perfect" character of the complex past. While English is extremely restrictive (the famous opposition between Present Perfect and Past Tense, the 'past adverb' constraint), Romanian fails to make a difference between the two tenses and has reached a point where it has almost ousted the former preterite form (the PS):

(10)   the hierarchy of 'perfectivity' (Vişan 2006)
           perfect   preterite
        ──▶
           English > Spanish, Catalan > Dutch > French > Romanian

This is not a situation that should be surprising if we consider Heine and Kuteva's (2006) proposal for the possessive perfect cross-linguistically. Heine and Kuteva (2006, 148) propose the following stages of grammaticalization of *possessive perfects* (criterion of meaning):

> *"Stage 0: Possession:* At this stage, there is exclusively a possessive meaning. Thus, English *I have a car* may denote temporary, permanent and/or any other kind of possession but it bears no relationship to tense-aspect marking

Stage 1: Resultative: At this stage, the construction expresses the present result of some past event. (e.g. Irish English, Spanish *tener + PPP*)
Stage 2: Perfect (= present anterior). The construction expresses an event that occurred prior to the point of reference and has current relevance. (Germanic languages except German; Romance languages – Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan)
Stage 3: The construction spreads into the domain of the past, assuming functions of an aorist/preterite and competing with the already existing markers expressing past time reference. (German, French, Standard Italian)
Stage 4: The construction is now largely established as a marker for past time reference, with the effect that the older past time marker declines. The possessive perfect can no longer be combined with the past time marker to form a pluperfect. (Southern German and Northern Italian dialects)
Stage 5: The possessive perfect is generalized as a past time marker. It can no longer be combined with future markers to form future perfects. (no language yet)"

If we consider the stages above, it appears that Romanian is definitely a Stage 3, entering a Stage 4 (Vişan 2012, 201): the Romanian complex past is no longer just a "perfect", it is not just resultative in meaning, but has taken over the preterite meaning and is on the verge of ousting its old brother, the simplex past. This is probably due to a number of factors, one of which is the fact that the simplex past is, in Romanian, a synthetic form, and thus characterized by a paradigm of complicated forms: *zisei, ziseşi, zise, ziserăm, ziserăţi, ziseră*. Compare this paradigm to the much more regularized one of the complex past: *am zis, ai zis, a zis, am zis, aţi zis, au zis*. A second, important, factor is the fact that the simplex past is the preferred form in a region of Romania, where it completely replaces the PC and where it is used in dialogue, not just in narratives. It is probably due to this fact that, lately, the PS has lost some of its prestige. Its literary narrative use might have been "contaminated" by the association with its regional, hence not prestigious, use.

It appears that, historically speaking, the PC is ousting the PS from modern Romanian, due to at least two factors: a simpler paradigm and higher status.

2 Synchronical data: Is there complete identity of meaning between the PC and the PS?

A third possible reason why the PC is taking over and has begun to replace the PS in narratives might lie in the fact that no grammar book provides restrictions with respect to the interchange of the two tenses, when used narratively. If no restrictions are indicated, can we draw the

conclusion that the two tenses are, when used narratively, really synonymous? Let us consider three possible tests we have devised. The first is the **substitution test:**

(11)   a. Intră în casă şi se opri în pragul sufrageriei.
         'He entered the house and stood on the threshold of the dining room.'
         b. A intrat în casă şi s-a oprit în pragul sufrageriei.
         'He entered the house and stood on the threshold of the dining room.'

The data under (11) indicate that the two tenses can be used with similar values and in similar contexts. (11a) has the same meaning as (11b), which can be seen in the translation of the two sentences.
        The second is the **'reverse order' test:**

(12)   Ion căzu. Marin îl împinse.
         'Ion fell-PS. Marin pushed him-PS'
              e_1............e_2 [where e = event]
(13)   Ion a căzut. Marin l-a împins.
         Ion has fallen-PC. Marin has pushed –PC him.
         'Ion fell. Marin had pushed him.'
              e_2............e_1

The data under (12) and (13), however, show that not all contexts allow for a substitution of the two tenses. As you can see, (12) does not have the same meaning as (13). The semantics of the PS forces a sequential interpretation on the two events expressed by the two sentences under (12): the first verb expresses an event that takes place before the event expressed by the second verb. This is not the case with the sentences under (13): there, the first verb expresses an event that happens after the event expressed by the second verb. This only goes to show that, while the PS has a strictly narrative, sequential interpretation, and is a narrative tense par excellence, this is not the case of the PC.
        The test of coordination (previously the 'complementary distribution' test):

(14)   a. Ion a intrat în clasă şi ne-a salutat. [preterite meaning, but deictic]
         Ion has entered-PC in classroom and us has greeted-PC
         'Ion entered the classroom and greeted us.'
         b. Ion intră în clasă şi ne salută.
         [preterite meaning, no connection with *now*]
         Ion entered-PS in classroom and us greeted-PS
         'Ion entered the classroom and greeted us.'
         c. * Ion intră în clasă şi ne-a salutat.
         on entered-PS in classroom and us has greeted-PC

It appears that at this point, the two tenses, when used narratively, are in complementary distribution, not in free variation. This situation is demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of the sentence (13c), where a form of PS does not work well in coordination with a PC form.

The status of the PC and the PS has recently been summed up in Havu and Știrbu (2015, 143): "Choosing the right tense form depends on stylistic reasons and on a systematic functional distinction which is *impossible to prove*." [emphasis added]. They conclude that a Romanian can tell a story: a. with PS (in standard Romanian, exclusively for literary texts); b. with PC; or c. with both. So far, the only restriction that we have managed to trace with respect to point c., i.e. using both tenses in the same context with a similar value, is related to *their behaving awkwardly when coordinated*. But is this situation true or can we refine upon this test?

In order to answer this question, let us consider the following literary passage below in (15). The first translation is the official, published version. The second one is my version. The third belongs to one of my students.

(15) a

The whole lot of them stood and applauded me. I could not keep control any longer. I saw Lily and Conchis clapping, and the students. I cocked my wrists around and gave them a double V-sign. It evidently bewildered the old man, because he turned and bent to ask Conchis what it meant. The clapping died down. Conchis turned to the supposed woman doctor from Edinburgh. She spoke in a strong American voice:…. (*The Magus* – John Fowles)	Se **sculară** (PS) toți în picioare să mă aplaude. N-<u>am mai putut</u> (PC) să mă stăpânesc. Îi vedeam pe Conchis și pe Lili bătând din palme; și pe studenți. Mi-<u>am învârtit</u> (PC) încheieturile mâinilor și depărtându-mi degetele le-<u>am făcut</u> (PC) de două ori un semn în formă de V, însoțit de o mișcare în sus. Bătrânul **păru** (PS) descumpănit și întorcându-se spre Conchis îl **întrebă** (PS) ce însemna gestul meu. Conchis, la rândul său, **se întoarse** (PS) spre femeia în costum gri care era, dacă spuneau adevărul, doctor la Universitatea din Edinburgh. Aceasta **răspunse** (PS) cu un puternic accent american… (tr. Livia Deac and Mariana Chițoran, 1994, Ed. Univers)

(15) b

The whole lot of them stood and applauded me. I could not keep control any longer. I saw Lily and Conchis clapping, and the students. I cocked my wrists around and gave them a double V-sign. It evidently bewildered the old man, because he turned and bent to ask Conchis what it meant. The clapping died down. Conchis turned to the supposed woman doctor from Edinburgh. She spoke in a strong American voice:…. (*The Magus* – John Fowles)	Se **ridicară** (PS) cu toții și mă **aplaudară** (PS). Iar eu nu mă mai **putui** (PS) abține. Îi **văzui** (PS) cum aplaudă pe Lily și pe Conchis, pe studenții lor. Îmi **împreunai** (PS) mâinile astfel încât să alcătuiască un V dublu. Acest lucru **îl încurcă** (PS) pe bătrân, care se **întoarse** (PS) și se **aplecă** (PS) să-l întrebe pe Conchis ce înseamnă. Se **stinseră** (PS) și aplauzele. Conchis **se întoarse** (PS) către presupusa doctoriță din Edinburgh. Aceasta **grăi** (PS) pe o voce puternică, americană:… My translation

(15) c

The whole lot of them stood and applauded me. I could not keep control any longer. I saw Lily and Conchis clapping, and the students. I cocked my wrists around and gave them a double V-sign. It evidently bewildered the old man, because he turned and bent to ask Conchis what it meant. The clapping died down. Conchis turned to the supposed woman doctor from Edinburgh. She spoke in a strong American voice:…. (*The Magus* – John Fowles)	Toată mulțimea aceea **se ridică (PS)** în picioare și **mă aplaudă (PS)**. Nu m̲-̲a̲m̲ ̲m̲a̲i̲ ̲p̲u̲t̲u̲t̲ ̲c̲o̲n̲t̲r̲o̲l̲a̲ (PC). Îi vedeam pe Lily și Conchis aplaudând, precum și pe studenți. M̲i̲-̲a̲m̲ ̲r̲ă̲s̲u̲c̲i̲t̲ (PC)încheieturile și l̲e̲-̲a̲m̲ ̲a̲r̲ă̲t̲a̲t̲ (PC)semnul V cu ambele mâini ridicate sus. Acest lucru l̲-̲a̲ ̲d̲e̲s̲c̲u̲m̲p̲ă̲n̲i̲t̲ (PC)în mod evident pe bătrân, întrucât **se întoarse (PS)** și se **aplecă** (PS) spre Conchis pentru a-l întreba ce înseamnă. Conchis **se întoarse** (PS) către presupusa doamnă doctor din Edinburgh. Aceasta a̲ ̲s̲p̲u̲s̲ (PC) pe un ton cu un puternic accent american:…. (tr. by student for BA paper)

The version I produced observes the "old" norms: it translates the narrative by means of a sequence of PS forms. This version was considered "obsolete" by my students, who also remarked upon the "regional" flavor of the first person PS forms. This intuition must be probably also lying at the basis of the choices made by the official translator: in (15a), all third person forms are translated by means of the PS (the literary narrative tense), while the first person forms are translated by means of the PC (the tense more anchored in a "here-now" situation).

The situation discussed above is supported by my previous research. Consider the table below:

(16) Vişan (2012, 199)

1990-2000			2000-2010		
PS	**PC**	**PC and PS**	**PS**	**PC**	**PC and PS**
22	3	5	4	15	11

My intention was to look at a number of randomly chosen novels translated from English into Romanian. I looked at what Romanian narrative tense (the PC or the PS) was selected to translate the narrative value of the English Simple Past. In the decade 1990-2000, out of thirty randomly chosen novels, as many as 22 were translated with the PS, a choice in conformity with the norms of the grammar books of the time. Only 3 novels made use of the PC exclusively, while 5 of them were a mixture of the two tenses, which indicated that, at that point, Romanian translators were already hesitant about which narrative tense to employ. The next decade indicates dramatic change, as can be seen in the table: more than half of the novels translated use the two tenses in free variation, which comes in contradiction with the restriction discussed under (13c). The change is also at the level of subgenre: most novels are first person narratives, which invites the use of the PC, as the more 'deictic' tense of the two.

So far, it appears that PC has been used in free variation with PS, according to a person criterion: third person forms are matched with PC forms, while first person forms are matched with PS forms in Romanian. This restriction is, however, no longer valid for the third variant, under (14c): the translation no longer seems to observe any of the old constraints, whether it has to do with person, paragraph boundaries, etc. A questionnaire I circulated among my students and colleagues indicated that over 50% of the respondents found the translation under (14c) correct. This means that, at this point, there is no complementary distribution between the two narrative tenses that we can speak of, even at the level of the paragraph. Interestingly enough, however, the same respondents continued to find the sentence under (13c) ungrammatical. I can only conclude that the "complementary distribution" constraint is valid only at the level of the sentence, so at a very restricted level (which is why I no longer referred to it as to the "complementary distribution" test, but as to the "coordination test".) It is quite possible that the next decade will obliterate this constraint, as well. The PS (its literary use) will probably be relegated only to third person *verba dicendi* (*zise/spuse* 'he/she said'), which by then will have become formulaic.

3 Conclusions

The present paper investigates strategies of translating the English narrative past into Romanian. Romanian has two options for this: the simplex past (the PS) and the complex past (the PC). Until the beginning of this century, the PS used to be the norm for literary narratives. The data I analysed indicate that the PC has grammaticalized into a preterite, it no longer functions as a mere "perfect" in Romanian, and is on the verge of completely expelling the PS from Romanian written narratives. Although free variation between the two tenses seemed to be dictated by choice of person, the snippets of translationese I investigated indicate that this is no longer the case. In translation, free variation is no longer constrained by choice of person or by paragraph boundaries, as was the case in the previous decade. One possible explanation for what is happening in translationese is that most Romanian speakers/readers no longer seem to perceive the shift from PC to PS as a shift of perspective (related to 'now' vs. related to 'then'), which means that this distinction has already been obliterated. I expect the PS to disappear completely from translated narratives, with the exception of *verba dicendi*.

Given this situation, a good question at this point could be why it is that the PS has not already disappeared from literary texts. A reason for this might have to do with the fact that Romanian readers have been exposed as children to books of Romanian fairy tales, all in the PS. However, this is a literary, bookish tense that nobody really uses (unless dialectally). A second reason for why the PS still manages to pop up in translated narratives might have to do with editors' obsession to avoid pesky lexical repetition. I think that their obsession with doing away with repetition has managed to creep into morphology as well. It is probably the case that editors consider the two tense forms as "synonyms".

An interesting further line of research would also be investigating the Past Perfect forms in Romanian, i.e. the *Mai mult ca perfect* (MMCP). Just like the PS, the MMCP is also a synthetic formation, with an extremely complex paradigm. Most contemporary Romanian speakers have started replacing it with a substitute. It is no surprise that this substitute is the same good old PC, used with a pre-preterite value in this case.

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Negative Concord Problems in Conference Interpreting

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Abstract: The aim of the paper is, on the one hand, to highlight similarities and differences between sentences with multiple instances of negative constituents in a Strict Negative Concord language, like Romanian, and a Double Negation language, like English. On the other hand, another aim of the paper is to investigate whether the multiple occurrences of negative constituents cause any difficulty to interpreters working with English and Romanian, and in case such difficulties arise whether they can be overcome if the interpreter has a good command of grammatical structures. The paper concludes that interpreters should not only aim for general understandability, but they should train in understanding the parameters of a language in order not to distort the speech they are interpreting and in order to be able to grasp all the nuances emphatic negative sentences evince.

Keywords: negative concord, negative polarity items, n-words, conference interpreting, translation

1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is twofold: on the one hand, to highlight correspondences and discrepancies between sentences with several negative constituents in Romanian and English, languages which differ with respect to the number of negative occurrences they allow in a sentence, and, on the other hand, the second aim of this paper is to examine whether the grammatical constrains each language manifests pose any difficulties to conference interpreters.

2 The Issue of Negative Concord

Languages display, on the one hand, elements whose occurrence in sentences is possible only in sentences that count in some way as negative, be it syntactically, semantically or pragmatically negative and, on the other hand, elements that induce semantic negation in some sentences while in others they do not. The first type of elements, as in example (1), is known as negative polarity items, while the second types, seen in example (2), is known as negative concord items.

(1)   She   didn't do   anything.
       "Nu   a   făcut   nimic."
(2)   Nu   am   auzit nimic.
       Not   have-1st.p.sg.   heard n-thing.
       "I have not heard anything."

Sentences like (2) that show multiple negative constructions which count as one semantic negation are specific to Negative Concord (NC) languages. Romanian is such a language, but within the class of NC languages, Romanian is part of the Strict NC languages, just like Czech, while Spanish and Italian are part of the group of Non-Strict NC languages. In Germanic type languages, sentences with multiple occurrences of negative constituents are understood as carrying their own negation force, and each of these instances is interpreted as being correlated to a semantic negation. Zeijlstra (2004, 4) discusses the example under (3), which contains two negations, and claims that in Dutch such sentences are interpretable under the Law of Double Negation, and each of the negative constituents is associated with an instance of semantic negation that will cancel the next one. By contrast, in the Romanian counterpart, the negative occurrences do not cancel each other, and thus yield only one single semantic negation.

(3)   Jan heeft   *niet niemand* gebeld.
       Jan has   neg n-body   called
       DN: 'Jan didn't call nobody' = 'Jan called somebody'
                                       (Dutch, Zeijlstra 2004, 4)

(4)   Ion   nu   a   sunat pe   nimeni.
       John   not   have-3rd.p.sg. called on   n-body
       NC: "John didn't call anybody."

Nothing in English counts as a negative quantifier because not only does it negate a clause or constituent, but it also binds a variable within

that clause or constituent as in (5a), while *nimic* (nothing)*,* a word of Latin origin, in Romanian counts as an N-word because it looks like it does not introduce semantic negation since a negative connotation is rendered via the negative marker *nu* (not) which licenses the N-word, as in (5b).

(5) a.   John sees nothing.
          ¬∃.x [thing' (x) & see' (j, x)]
                         (Zeijlstra 2004, 38)

    b.   Ion   nu   vede   nimic.
         John   not   see-3rd.p.sg. nothing.
         "John doesn't see anything."

What the negative quantifier and the Romanian N-word have in common is the possibility of licensing negative polarity items (NPIs), as in (6) where both *one bit* and *câtuşi de puţin* (at all/one bit) are strong/strict NPIs.

(6) a.   Nothing interests me **one bit**.
    b.   Nimic   nu   mă   interesează   **câtuşi de puţin**.
         Nothing   not   me   interest-3rd.p.sg.   at all.
         "Nothing interests me one bit."

Zeijlstra (2004, 45) claims that: "A negative context C is introduced in sentence S if and only if: a. S contains an anti-veridical operator *Op* that introduces C; or b. S contains an operator *Op* that enables S to give rise to an implicature S 'that contains an anti-veridical operator *Op'*."

Veridicality is centered on the truth of a proposition and, thus, assertive contexts are veridical as they entail the truth of the proposition. The following context is veridical and *something* introduces a new referent in the discourse.

(7) She found something in the yard.
     ∃ x [she found x in the yard]

The occurrence of strong/strict NPIs and N-words in Negative Concord languages is legitimate only in anti-veridical contexts. Syntactically negative sentences such as (8a) and (8c) make legitimate the occurrence of the strict NPI *either* and of the N-word *nimic* (nothing) in Romanian. Interrogatives, which do not entail the truth of the proposition, are non-veridical contexts, and thus (8b) and (8d) are ungrammatical given the restriction of the strict/strong NPIs and N-words in Romanian to only occur in anti-veridical contexts.

(8)   a.   "Why, then, 'tis none to you, for there is nothing **either** good
            or bad, but thinking makes it so. To me it is a prison."
                            (Hamlet, Act 2, Scene 2, page 11)
      b.   *Did Mary arrive **either**?
      c.   Nu   vreau   **nimic**.
            Not   want   nothing.
            "I don't see anything."
      d.   *Vrei   nimic?
            Want   nothing?
            *"Do you want nothing?"

        Van der Wouden (1994) and Zwarts (1995), following and
enlarging upon the theory proposed by Den Besten (1986, 1989), claim
that there are three different kinds of Negative Concord: Negative Spread
(NS), Negative Doubling (ND), and a combination of both Negative
Spread and Doubling (NSD). The following definitions and examples are
taken from Zeijlstra (2004, 61-62).
        Negative Spread means that "the negative feature is 'spread' or
distributed over any number of indefinite expressions within its scope",
that is, "two indefinite expressions are morpho-phonologically marked for
negation".

(9)   a.   ***Nessuno*** *ha telefonato a* ***nessuno*** *(Italian)*
            N-body has telephoned to n-body
            'Nobody called anybody.'
      b.   *T ee* ***niemand niets***   *gezeid. (West Flemish)*
            It has n-body   n-thing said
            'Nobody said anything.'

        Negative Doubling refers to the fact that "a distinguished negative
element shows up in sentences that contain a negative expression", that is,
"a negative quantifier and a negative marker together yield the semantic
negation".

(10) a.   *Jean* ***ne*** *dit*   ***rien.*** *(French)*
            John neg says n-thing
            'John doesn't say anything.'
      b.   *'k* ***En*** *een*   ***geen*** *geld. (West Flemish)*
            I neg have no   money
            'I don't have any money.'

        Negative Spread and Doubling means that "a distinguished
negative element shows up in sentences that contain more than one
negative expression. (…) When the two constructions are combined, we

find multiple N-words in combination with one negative marker, still yielding only one semantic negation".

(11) a. *Personne **ne** mange **rien**. (French)*
         N-body   neg eats   n-thing
         'Nobody eats anything.'

     b. *Valčre **en** klaapt **nie**   tegen   **niemand.** (West Flemish)*
         Valčre neg talks   n-ever against n-body
         'Valčre doesn't ever talk to anyone.'

Negative Spread and Negative Doubling are to be found in all NC languages, and a separate negative element (the negative marker) is involved in the NC relation, and the NC relations can be established with the help of multiple N-words.

Giannakidou (1997, 2000) discusses Strict Negative Concord languages, such as Romanian, where a negative marker obligatorily accompanies all negative indefinites. Strict Negative Concord languages differ from Non-Strict Negative Languages, such as Italian and Spanish, where Negative Concord can be established between n-words in postverbal position and one element in preverbal position, either an n-word or a negative marker.[1]

In the case of Strict Negative Concord, "N-words are not allowed to occur by themselves, but have to be accompanied by a single negative marker" (Zeijlstra 2004, 64).

(12)   ***Nimeni** (*nu)* vrea   **nicio** *bomboană.*
        Nobody neg   want.3sg no   candy.
        "Nobody wants any candy"

(13) a. Milan *nikomu ne*volá. (*Czech*, from Zeijlstra 2004, 64)
         Milan n-body neg-call
         'Milan doesn't call anybody.'

     b. *Nikdo ne*volá.
         N-body neg-calls
         'Nobody is calling.'

For Non-Strict Negative Concord, "N-words are not allowed to occur by themselves, but should be accompanied by a single negative marker, except when the n-word is in a preverbal (subject) position. Then it may not co-occur with a negative marker" (Zeijlstra 2004, 64).

(14) a. *Gianni *(**non**) ha telefonato a **nessuno.** (Italian)*
         Gianni neg has called   to n-body
         'Gianni didn't call anybody.'

    b.   *(***Non***) *ha telefonato* **_nessuno_**
              Neg has called   n-body
              'Nobody called.'

    c.   **_Nessuno_** (****non***) *ha telefonato* (a **_nessuno_**)
              N-body   neg has called   (to n-body)
              'Nobody called (anybody).'

Zeijlstra (2004, 64) claims that what happens in the examples from Strict Negative Concord Languages is that the first negative element is the one that introduces the negative concept, and the presence of the other negative markers underlines the fact that they should be interpreted under the scope of negation, thus it cannot be claimed that they contribute a negative meaning on their own. The author also asserts that Negative Concord is not a phenomenon that can outscope the boundaries of a clause, as a result, it is not possible to have a concord relationship between the negative element in the main clause and an N-word in the subordinate clause, just like in the following example under (15), where a Double Negation reading is obtained.

(15)   a.   *Milan *neřiká*, že vidí *nikoho*. (*Czech*, from Zeijlstra 2004, 64)
              Milan neg-says that see.3SG.PERF n-body
              'Milan doesn't say that he has seen anybody.'

        b.   Nimeni nu știe   unde să   găsească *nimic.
              No one not know.3SG.Pres. where SĂ.CONJ. find   nothing.
              'No one knows where to find anything.'

From a syntactic perspective, if we consider that negative concord is the result of the presence of a NegP (cf. Zeijlstra 2004), (or vice versa), negative concord can be interpreted as a form of (multiple) negative agreement because syntactic agreement is established between functional projections. As demonstrated by Chomsky (2001), negative concord is the result of multiple elements carrying uninterpretable [uNEG] features that check these features against a single negative operator, which carries [iNEG] features and which is located in NegP. The covert negative operator in SpecNegP carries the [iNEG] feature and, consequently, encodes sentential negation: "OP¬ introduces a negation at LF and unselectively binds all free variables under existential closure, thus, Op¬ [iNEG] in SpecNegP c-commands the (multiple) [uNEG] n-constituent(s) on the vP edge." (Zeijlstra 2004, 247)

Romance languages are NegP languages, where negation is a functional category. NegP is located above TP and is headed by the negative marker. A phonologically empty negative operator Op¬ which

bears [iNEG] can be found in SpecNegP, and thus provides the sentence with its negative semantics.

(16)

```
            NegP
           /    \
                Neg'
               /    \
           Neg°      TP
           Nu        este
```
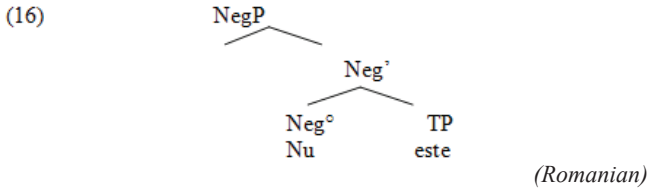
(Romanian)

In Strict NC languages, such as Romanian or Czech[2], the negative marker may be preceded by an n-word. Zeijlstra (2004) argues that this is an indicator that in Strict NC languages the negative marker cannot carry [iNEG] like in Non-Strict NC languages, such as Italian or Spanish, it carries [uNEG].

(17) a.   Op¬[iNEG] Nimeni [uNEG] nu [uNEG] mă ascultă.
                          N-body   not   me listen.
                          'Nobody is listening to me.'
       b.   Op¬[iNEG] Nu [uNEG] mă ascultă.
                          Not   me listen.
                          'S/he isn't listening to me.

To summarise, the analysis for Strict NC languages proposed by Zeijlstra (2004, 249) is:

"Negative markers are the phonological realisation of a [uNEG] feature.
- N-words are semantically non-negative indefinites that carry a [uNEG] feature.
- Negation is introduced by a covert Negative operator *Op¬* in Spec.NegP that carries an [iNEG] feature. *Op¬* does not only introduce a negation at LF, but also unselectively binds all free variables under existential closure.
- NC is the result of multiple Agree between *Op¬*, the negative marker and any present n-words.
- The reason for the absence of an overt negative operator is functional: its phonological realisation would not contribute to the interpretation of the sentence."

3 Negative Concord Problems in Conference Interpreting

The aim of the following section is to highlight the importance of solid knowledge of negative concord principles in Romanian and English for conference interpreters working with this language pair. An interpreter obligatorily needs to be aware of the parameters specific to the languages that he needs to use in his interpretation and s/he needs to be fully aware of the fact that grammatical choice is obligatory and regular and it is not a matter of personal preference. In the beginning of this section we would like to remind you of several key definitions related to translation and conference interpreting.

Translation and Conference Interpreting are two processes which involve the use of two languages, namely the source language in which the message or text is initially drafted or conveyed, and the target language into which the message or text is transposed. Translation and Conference Interpreting are basically communication processes, as the final aim is to communicate the target message to the receiver (reader or listener). Translation involves a written medium of communication, while interpretation is essentially oral communication. When translating, the translator has the necessary time to check his final product, has the time to use all available resource (dictionaries, glossaries, reference books, articles, reports, bilingual or multilingual parallel texts, internet resources, the opinion of an expert, etc.), while, when interpreting, the interpreter has no such possibility, as interpreting is a process performed by the interpreter at speech time, under the pressure of time, either immediately after the speaker has finished his speech (consecutive interpreting) or while the speaker is actually speaking (simultaneous interpreting).

Several principles are at work both in translation and interpretation, namely *fidelity* (to the author/speaker, to the message, to the style/register of the source text), *accuracy* (correctness of the content of the message but also, and maybe more importantly, with respect to the grammar of the language used by the translator/interpreter), *economy* (the need to find the most economical way of rendering the message without betraying the principles of accuracy and fidelity), and *fluency* (the target text should flow as if it had been drafted into the target language). Obviously, the principles mentioned above can only operate satisfactorily if both the translator and the interpreter master their working languages at a proficient level (mother-tongue proficiency), have wide general knowledge, have the necessary analysis skills allowing them to grasp the overall message of the text (read or listen to the source text actively), in other words, have the ability to become the voice of the source text author.

Having said that, we can now discuss the translation and interpretation of chunks of text illustrating the NC Parameter at work in Romanian, which, as discussed in the previous section, is a Strict Negative Concord language. The two languages that we are going to refer to are English and Romanian.

As already mentioned in the literature on negative polarity, English is a non-NC language[3], while Romanian is a Strict NC language, which may pose quite a number of problems to translators and interpreters who work from English into Romanian and the other way round. Let us look at a number of examples collected from EU proceedings and their possible Romanian translations, meant to illustrate these difficulties:

(18)   Never   has   any of the Member States stated
        anything   of   the   kind.
        Niciodată   vreunul/ niciununul dintre statele membre declarat
        nimic/ ceva   de   felul.
        "Niciodată NU a declarat niciunul / vreunul dintre statele membre nimic de felul acesta / ceva de felul acesta"

(19)   Nobody in the European Union   has   ever
        done anything like   that   before.
        Nimeni în   Uniunea Europeană   a   vreodată/niciodată
        făcut ceva   precum aceasta   înainte.
          "Nimeni NU a mai facut așa ceva niciodată / vreodată în UE înainte."

(20)   Neither the CAP nor the CFP can be blamed for the precarious living conditions some outlying   regions are faced with.
        Nici   CAP nici   CFP pot fi învinuite pentru   precare trai
        condiții   unele periferice regiuni sunt înfrunta.
        "Nici PAC și nici PCP NU pot fi învinovățite pentru condițiile precare de viață din unele regiuni periferice."

(21)   Nowhere has such an opinion ever   been voiced
        before by any of the   members of this EP Committee.
        Nicăieri a așa o opinie vreodată/ niciodată   fost   exprimată
        înainte de vreun/ nici un   membrii a acestei comisii PE.
        "Nicăieri NU a fost exprimată niciodată/vreodată o asemenea opinie de către niciun / vreun membru al acestei comisii a PE."

(22)   Nowhere has the team of auditors found any   evidence   that   anything
        similar has ever   happened.
        Nicăieri a echipa   de auditori găsit nici o dovadă că   ceva
        similar a   vreodată întâmplat.
        "Nicăieri NU a găsit echipa de auditori nici o dovadă că s-a petrecut vreodată/*niciodată ceva asemănător."

(23)   I,   as president   of this EP Committee, have never   heard such
        an incredible   statement at any   time in my   life.
        Eu   ca președinte al acestei   Comisii PE, am   niciodată auzit   așa
        o incredibilă   declarație la vreun   timp în mea   viață.
        "Eu, în calitate de președinte al acestei Comisii a PE, NU am auzit
        niciodată o asemenea declarație incredibilă în niciun / vreun moment al
        vieții mele."

(24)   Do   we   like   the situation created by Brexit? Not a   bit.
        Aux   nouă   place   situția   creată de Brexit? Nici un pic
        "Ne place situația creată de Brexit? Absolut deloc. / Nici un pic"

(25)   There was no   shred of evidence to be found anywhere   against the
        defendant.
        Subj   era nici urmă de dovadă a fi găsită vreundeva   împotriva
        pârâtului.
        "NU   există nici cea mai mică dovadă nicăieri /pe undeva /pe vreundeva
        împotriva pârâtului."

(26)   The country   didn't   really   manage to deliver on any   of
        the commitments   made   in any of the previous
        Țara   aux nu întru-adevăr   izbutit   a furniza pe vreunele din
        angajamentele   făcute în vreunele   din   anterioare
        agreements entered into with the European Commission.
        acorduri   intrate în cu Comisia Europeană.
        "Țara aceasta NU a reușit să-și respecte niciunul / *vreunul dintre
        angajamentele asumate în niciunul /* vreunul dintre acordurile încheiate cu
        Comisia Europeană."

(27)   The President of the European Commission hasn't met   the   Prime
        Minister   yet.
        Președintele al   Comisiei Europene   a   nu întâlnit prim-
        ministrul   încă.
        "Președintele Comisiei Europene NU s-a întâlnit cu prim-ministrul încă).

(28)   Not anyone can   accept a solution like the one suggested by
          the Council of the European Union at any   time.
        Nu oricine poate   accepta   o soluție ca   cea sugerată de
        Consiliul   Uniunii Europene la vreun timp.
        "i) NU oricine poate accepta *niciodată / vreodată o soluție ca cea propusă
        de Consiliul Uniunii Europene.
        (ii) Niciodată nimeni NU poate accepta o soluție ca cea propusă de
        Consiliul Uniunii Europene.
        (iii) Nimeni nu poate accepta niciodată / vreodată o soluție ca cea propusă
        de Consiliul Uniunii Europene.

(iv) Nimeni nu poate accepta o soluție ca cea propusă de Consiliul Uniunii Europene *niciodată / *vreodată."

(29)   Scarcely ever   has this   nation faced   such   a
serious danger at any   moment in its history as the one
De-abia   vreodată   a   această   nație   înfruntat   așa   un
serios   pericol la vreun   moment în ei istorie   ca   cea
posed by the annexation of Crimea.
pusă   de   anexarea   a Crimeii.
Aproape niciodată / mai niciodată NU s-a confruntat această națiune cu un asemenea pericol grav în niciun / vreun alt moment al istoriei sale ca cel reprezentat de anexarea Crimeii."

　　　All the examples above clearly show that Romanian is a Strict NC language, as in none of these examples could we delete the negative marker *nu* (not). This is the first source of difficulty, especially for conference interpreters when they have to deal with longer sentences like the ones quoted above or when they have to interpret instances of emphatic negative sentences which also involve Subject – Auxiliary inversion such as the ones in the examples under (18), (19), (21), (22), (28) and (29).

　　　Another difficulty, visible in examples (18), (19), (21), (23), (25) and (29) is the choice between the N-word (*niciunul, niciodată, niciun, nicăieri*) and the positive indefinites (*vreodată, vreundeva, vreun, vreo*[4]). In fact, the translator/interpreter does not have to make any choice here, as the positive indefinites are under the scope of negation, as already mentioned in the previous section, so they are interpreted as negative. The negation is introduced via the first negative element, and the rest of the elements do not really contribute to the negation by themselves.

　　　Examples (22) illustrates another difficulty, namely that Negative Concord is clause-bounded, so no relation can be established between a negative element residing in the main clause and the underlying negative element from a subordinate clause. A Double Negation reading is thus obtained. The only possible solution for translators and interpreters is to use a positive indefinite (*vreodată*).

　　　On the other hand, example (26) seems to contradict this assumption, as the negative word (*niciunul*) occurs in a positive clause without the negative marker NU, while the use of the positive indefinite (*vreunul*) is ungrammatical. This is an example in which negative agreement seems to have worked beyond the boundaries of the main clause, and the negative marker NU seems to take under its scope the subordinate clause as well. We believe that *any* in this example is an NPI, as the sentence passes Klima's (1964) tests for syntactic negation and it

can be paraphrased as: ¬∃ x [commitment (x) & deliver on (country, commitment)] or *The country managed not to deliver on any (<NEG>some) commitments in any of the agreements* or *The country managed to deliver on no commitments in none of the agreements. Manage* is an implicative verb, and a sentence such as *The country didn't manage to deliver on any of the commitments* actually means *The country didn't deliver on any of the commitments*.

In the previous paraphrases we notice that we can either have a negative quantifier *no* in the embedded clause that licenses the NPI *any* or we can have a visible NEG in the embedded clause that scopes above the non-finite form that again can license the NPI *any*. Thus, the sentence under (26) is an example of NEG raising out of its position of origin in the embedded clause to a higher position in the main clause; however, this type of raising has no effect on the semantics of the position it originally left from or on any of the constituents.

Looking at this example from the perspective of NEG raising from the embedded clause, we can account for the fact that *any* is licensed in the embedded clause even though there is no clausemate visible negation in the embedded clause. The impossibility of translating the sentence by using *vreun* can be explained via a proposal put forward by Fălăuș (2015), who argues that, although *vreun* and *un oarecare* are both epistemic indefinites, there are distributional differences that make it impossible for them to be perfectly replaceable by one another. In the example under (26) we argue that the proper translation employs *niciunul dintre angajamente, oricare ar fi acela* and not *vreunul dintre angajamente* due to the fact that "they differ with respect to the extent of variation 'freedom of choice' imposed on the domain of quantification, which can be total or partial" (Fălăuș 2015, 72). According to Fălăuș (2015, 60-75), *un oarecare* conveys strong, free choice inference and it is compatible with total variation, while *vreun* blocks the free choice inference and it is compatible with partial variation scenarios.

Given these two apparently contradictory situations, it is quite difficult for translators and interpreters to choose the appropriate solution, their only salvation being a thorough study of the grammar structures in both languages, and not only the possibility of relying on their language intuition.

The answers given to the question asked under example (24) imply the presence of the negative operator that provides the sentence with its negative semantics, *NU ne place ..... absolut deloc/ nici un pic* (We do not like it at all). Example (27) illustrates the presence of the NPI *yet* which may or may not be translated into Romanian.

While example (20) is just an illustration of the *neither .... nor* correlatives which do not really pose any translation or interpretation problems, example (28) is ambiguous, allowing two readings, namely: a) there are some who can accept such a solution, and b) there is not one single person who can accept it. These two readings will give rise to several possible translations of the sentence, depending on the choice between using a negative indefinite or a positive indefinite. Translation (i) seems to illustrate the idea that Negative Concord is clause-bounded; translation (ii) is a clear example of Strict Negative Concord, more specifically Negative Spread; translation (iii) allows the use of a positive indefinite in the subordinate clause; and translation (iv) seems to disallow the use of both the negative indefinite and the positive indefinite when placed at the end of the sentence. Faced with these choices, translators and especially interpreters must decide, the latter in a split second, which alternative to choose. In most cases interpreters, who work under tremendous time pressure, would go for the easiest way out, namely the alternative under (i), as it is the most obvious. In this case the difficulty arises from the choice between the negative indefinite, which is clearly ungrammatical, and the positive indefinite. If this is the choice made, then the other possible reading of this example, the one under (ii) is totally lost. Only a larger context (namely the whole text to be translated or the speech to be interpreted) could disambiguate and provide a solid basis for an informed choice.

4 Conclusion

In this article, we looked at various types of negative concord, paying attention to English and Romanian. The aim of this discussion was to show which are the potential problems faced by conference interpreters working with the language pair English-Romanian in the area of negative concord.

In conclusion, we believe that it is of paramount importance for interpreters to thoroughly study the grammar rules of the languages they are using and, if we were to suggest some solutions to the problems or difficulties identified in the few examples already mentioned, we would advise interpreters to read extensively in the two languages and identify cases that might give rise to examples involving Negative Spread and Strict NC, to do a lot of sight translation and practice rephrasing, especially very long emphatic sentences.

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Endnotes

[1] Zeijlstra (2004, 244):

"(1) *Semantic negation*: every negative element corresponds 1:1 to a negative operator.

(2) *Syntactic negation*: negative elements mark the presence of a (c)overt negative operator. Languages that exhibit semantic negation, defined as in (1), do not allow a negative element to be assigned a non-negative reading, since every instance of morpho-phonological negation corresponds to a negative operator. As a consequence, these languages do not have n-words at their disposal, since n-words may receive non-negative readings. Therefore languages that express negation by means of semantic negation are Double Negation (DN) languages. NC languages obviously violate the definition in (1) since not every negative element corresponds to a negative operator. NC languages fall under the category of syntactic negation. This means that negative elements are not necessarily the realisation of negative operators, but they may also mark the presence of a (c)overt negative operator. In the case of NC, this means that there is only one negative operator, and the other negative elements only mark the presence of this operator."

Zeijlstra (2004, 64-65) proposes the following definitions:

a. "**Strict Negative Concord**: N-words are not allowed to occur by themselves, but have to be accompanied by a single negative marker.
b. **Non-strict Negative Concord**: N-words are not allowed to occur by themselves, but should be accompanied by a single negative marker, except when the n-word is a preverbal position. Then it never co-occurs with a negative marker."
Whereby the following definitions hold:
a. **Negative markers**: elements that denote that a sentence (or constituent) is under the scope of negation. Examples are French *ne* and *pas*, Italian *non*, Czech ne- and Dutch *niet*.
b. **N-words:** elements that are only under well-defined conditions equivalent to a negative quantifier. Examples are French *rien* or *personne*, Italian *nessuno* or Czech *nikoho* (after Laka 1990).
c. **Negative elements**: the set of negative markers, n-words and negative quantifiers

[2] (3)   a. Dnes Op¬[iNEG] nikdo[uNEG] nevolá[uNEG] *Czech*

(Zeijlstra 2006, 412)

Today n-body NEG.calls
'Today nobody calls'.
b. Dnes Op¬[iNEG] nevolá[uNEG]
Today NEG.calls
'Today he doesn't call'.

Since in Strict NC languages a negative marker may be preceded by a n-word, Zeijlstra (2006) reaches the conclusion that the negative marker carries itself [uNEG] features, and has this [uNEG] feature checked by a negative Op¬. The [uNEG]/[iNEG] distinction explains the Strict NC vs. Non-strict NC. Thus, Zeijlstra (2006) claims that negative markers in Non-strict NC languages, like Italian *non* and Spanish *no*, carry a feature [iNEG], whereas negative markers in Strict NC languages, such as Romanian *nu,* Czech *ne* and Polish *nie*, carry a feature [uNEG].

[3] During a talk as an invited speaker for the AICED conference, Zeijlstra (2017) claimed that: "Languages that have a syntactic negative marker that: (i) is a syntactic head and (ii) that can be used in True Negative Imperatives (TNIs) are Strict NC languages":
(4)   a.   Don't talk!
       b.   Don't (you) walk away!

[4] Fălăuş (2015, 60) believes that *vreun* and *vreo* epistemic indefinites are "existentials that convey speaker ignorance/ indifference or agent indifference with respect to the referent of the indefinite."

SPANISH "TH" SOUND: THE RESULT OF LANGUAGE CONTACT?

IRINA-ANA DROBOT

Abstract: The English "th" interdental fricative is referred to as the Castilian lisp in Spanish. There is a story referencing this type of pronunciation of letters "c" in Spain as "th" in English claiming that there was once a king who spoke with a lisp and so he gave an order to change the language to keep his prestige among his people. There is also a theory claiming that the Castilian θ sound is the result of the Greek influence (the confusion of Spanish zeta with Greek *theta* due to their sounding alike). Other sources claim that the Spanish sound is the result of language contact, with Basque, Germanic, Arabic, and languages from the Americas. In dialects such as the ones in the North of Spain the sound "s" became gradually the English interdental fricative "th". In Castile, the θ came from the old "ts". The aim of this article is to present the history of the language processes behind these various stories.

Keywords: interdental fricative, lisp, ceceo, Spanish *zeta*, Greek *theta*

1 Motivation

The first feature of the sound system that a speaker of English notices when they learn Spanish is the fact that the English "th" interdental fricative has a correspondent, the so-called Castilian lisp in Spanish. The sound "th" refers to phonemes that in Spanish are the letters written *s* and *c* which are pronounced "th" before the letters *e* and *i*. The letters *z* and soft *c* are pronounced as the voiceless dental fricative, as in the English word "think". Hualde (2005) states that this pronunciation is the standard Spanish one, and is valid in Central and North Spain, with the exceptions of certain bilinguals of Catalan and Basque.

The question raised by this paper is whether this sound is the result of language contact between English, or Germanic languages, and Spanish. Can we speak of a clear language contact process? There are several theories concerning the origin of the Spanish "th" sound. There is a legend claiming that there was once a king who spoke with a lisp and so

he gave an order to change the language to keep his prestige among his people. While this story cannot be regarded as believable and it could be taken more as a joke, other theories sound more plausible, such as the following: the theory claiming that the Castilian θ sound is the result of Greek influence, as a consequence of the confusion of the Spanish zeta sound with the Greek *theta* sound which apparently are similar, the theory stating that the Spanish "th" sound is the result of the language contact of Basque, Germanic, Arabic, and languages from the Americas, and the theory according to which in the dialects from the North of Spain the sound "s" came, gradually, to have the same pronunciation as the English interdental fricative "th", while in Castille, the θ sound evolved from the old "ts" form.

There are numerous articles published online dealing with the topic of the origin of the Castilian lisp. For instance, in an issue of *The Economist* from January 2012, this question is debated in an article titled *Where Did That Spanish Come From (And Where Did It Go?)* by Johnson. The author argues that the Spanish letters "c" and "z" are pronounced like the English "th" when the former is followed by the letters "e" and "j" and, in all cases for the latter. The Greek letter *theta* is pronounced in the same way and the Spanish sound is also called *theta*. Johnson states that the Spanish word *civilización* is pronounced *thivilithathion* in Spain, but it is not pronounced in the same way in the area of Latin America. The explanation is that the Spanish who settled in Latin America originated from Andalucia where the sound *theta* is not pronounced as in English.

A popular science article written by Cardott (2010) also deals with this subject. The article is less developed, only dealing with the issue of when the sound *theta* in Spanish is pronounced as the English "th", in-between "e" and "j". Erichsen (2017) begins by mentioning the urban legend of the king with a lisp, and then moves on to explain the fact that there is a difference when it comes to pronunciation in a large area in Spain and Latin America, where "z" is pronounced like the English sound "s" and like "th" in Europe. The author mentions that there are regional variations in pronunciation in Spain, and he attributes this variety to the process of language change. The article mentions a student's account of the *ceceo*, "used to refer to the pronunciation of the *z* (and of *c* before *e* or *i*)" and the process of the language change involved:

> Firstly, the *ceceo* is not a lisp. A lisp is the mispronunciation of the sibilant *s* sound. In Castilian Spanish, the sibilant *s* sound exists and is represented by the letter *s*. The *ceceo* comes in to represent the sounds made by the letters *z* and *c* followed by *i* or *e*.

In medieval Castilian there were two sounds that eventually evolved into the *ceceo*, the *ç* (the cedilla) as in *plaça* and the *z* as in *dezir*. The cedilla made a */ts/* sound and the *z* a */dz/* sound. This gives more insight into why those similar sounds may have evolved into the *ceceo*. (Erichsen 2017)

The phenomenon of *ceceo* can be found in certain dialects in the South of Spain. According to it, there is no distinction between /s/ and /θ/, and they are realized as [ş], a sibilant which is similar to [θ], but is not the same. Andalusian Spanish and Central America are areas where *ceceo* is to be found, as well as Argentina, Chile, areas of Puerto Rico, Honduras, and Venezuela.

Leaving the popular science articles aside, the topic was also approached scientifically through well-documented answers dealing with the theories which were summed up above. This shows how the question regarding the origins of the Spanish *theta* is not just a matter of popular science but of academic research as well. The issue has been noticed intuitively by language learners and subjected to debate. It is natural as language learners have the tendency to make parallels among the other languages they know and the features of the foreign language they are currently learning. They also have the tendency to make transfers from their first or second language onto the third or more language that they are currently learning. Some features may lead to incorrect pronunciation, but also to situations where making parallels and drawing similarities can help in the process of learning, such as in the case of the Spanish *theta* sound.

The paper will examine in more detail the theories regarding the origin of the Spanish *theta* sound, and attempt to explain how the theory of the language contact is more plausible and more attractive, because it shows that the sound "th" has something in common when it comes to English and Spanish, the first being a Germanic and the latter a Romance language. Phonological processes such as merging and language change can account for the changes which led to the final result, the Spanish "th" sound, across the Spanish and Spanish speaking territories, thus, for the fact that the pronunciation of the letter "c" varies across the territory of Spain, depending on dialect.

2 The process of change in Spanish: the sound "s" becomes "th". Language change and language contact

Languages change over time and one of the causes is their coming into contact with other languages. The Spanish sound "s" becomes "th" depending on the area and the dialect, but also because of the evolution of

the language in time and, last but not least, as a result of being influenced due to the contact with other languages, even from other language families. We could draw an analogy between the process of change undergone by the English language and that of the Spanish language.

The differences and similarities between varieties of English are the most obvious when it comes to pronunciation. English is the most widely spread language in the world, as it is spoken on all continents, either as mother tongue, first language or as a second language by hundreds of millions. English developed out of Germanic dialects that were brought to Britain, during the 5th and 6th centuries, by the Jutes, Angles, Saxons, and Frisians. Only in the 17th century did the English language begin the geographical and demographic expansion which led to its present day situation. Such a widely spread language cannot be the same in areas which are even tens of thousands of kilometres apart from one another. One reason why the native forms of English which have developed outside Britain ended up being different from English in its homeland has to do with linguistic change. Languages and dialects change over time. Some changes have occurred after the settlement by the English of certain overseas territories. Other changes have happened in Britain and did not take place in all or even any of the newly conquered territories.

Another reason at work is language contact. In the newly conquered territories, speakers of English came into contact with indigenous languages from which they borrowed words. Lastly, dialect contact had a significant role. The English language came into contact, as a result of the worldwide extension of the British colonial empire, with a large variety of languages that were spoken by the native populations of different areas in the world, which contributed to the great diversity of English language varieties that are currently spoken all over the world.

By looking at the brief history of the English language varieties we gain insight into the fact that language change is unavoidable. As a consequence, migrations and conquests influenced the languages spoken in the respective territories. The main and most visible differences when it comes to varieties of English are at the level of pronunciation, and the pronunciation of the *theta* sound is the focus of foreign language speakers and students.

A historical review of the changes of the sound "s" to the sound "th" helps gain insight into the importance of the phonological processes that have shaped the pronunciation of the Spanish language as we know it today. There are dialectal differences in pronunciation, a function of the areas of the Spanish language spoken in Spain and in Latin America. Language contact also leads to changes in the pronunciation of languages,

and Spanish is no exception. It has been subjected, through the lexicon, to influences from the Germanic languages, which could account for the common sound *theta* in English and Spanish.

In the areas of Southern Spain and in America, the "s" sound came by in a gradual way. In Andalusia, "s" is a very frequently encountered sound. In certain areas where the Spanish language is spoken, the sounds "ts" and the retroflex "s" went through the process of merging, into the alveolar "s" sound. The sound "s" has a dento-alveolar pronunciation in Mexico. The old "ts" sound became the English "th" sound in Castille, while in other areas "ts" and the retroflex "s" went through merging to become the alveolar "s". There is the hypothesis that θ had been *θs* after originally it was "ts" (as in the Spanish word *brazo*) and "dz" (as in the Spanish word *decir*).

The language contact theory claims that there are in the Spanish lexicon influences from the following languages: Basque, Germanic, Arabic, as well as certain languages from the Americas. The "th" sound in Spanish has developed over one thousand years, as sounds naturally change in the course of time. Old Spanish was there before the sixteenth century, and afterwards, Modern Spanish. Castilian Spanish appeared after the period of the decline of the Roman Empire and it was referred to as a way of continuing spoken Latin. Northern dialects have gone through the change of the "s" sound to be pushed forward to become interdental and the consequence was the "th" sound. In Andalusia we can often encounter the "th" sound, most likely in the areas close to the coast, yet, if we go further inland, the sound "th" gradually changes to become "s".

3 Languages that use the sound θ. Greek language influence

The theory stating that the Castilian θ is the result of the influence of Greek is not supported by historical evidence. The influence of Greek comes from the confusion between the Spanish *zeta* and the Greek *theta*, as the Spanish *zeta* did not sound like the Greek *zeta*.

Greek is thus another language that has this sound, in addition to English. The sound /θ/ is regarded as rare, as of all languages spoken today only the following use it: English, Greek, Burmese, Castillian Spanish (the Spanish speakers in Spain only use this sound), and Standard Arabic. Even certain varieties of English will drop the θ sound, as well as /ð/: Jamaican and African American Vernacular. These sounds are replaced by /t/ and /d/, while certain varieties of British English will replace them by /f/ and /v/.

Old Greek used θ for a very strongly aspirated /t/. Latin speakers, when learning Greek and its writing, replaced the writing of /t/ with /th/ to better suggest its pronunciation. Afterwards, the Greeks changed the pronunciation, by no longer using /t/ and /h/ but θ. Then, /th/ became, in Europe, a variation of /t/. At the turn of the first millennium England was using not the mainstream Latin alphabet, but a Latin alphabet influenced by the Germanic runes. Both alphabets had the /θ/ and /ð/ sounds, yet they could use two symbols: ð and þ (the latter being called a "thorn"). In English they used the two sounds interchangeably. One explanation was that the two sounds were allophones during that epoch.

The Spanish language bears some resemblance to Greek at the level of the way it sounds, due to the fact that they are distant relatives as they both descend from common proto-Indo-European. Spanish is one of the European languages whose vocabulary derives from Greek (especially when it comes to the technical and medical vocabulary), and Spanish has a similar vowel system and some consonants in common with Greek. This holds true especially for Iberian Spanish: s χ, γ, θ and ñ. They also share the pronunciation of two phonemes, r and s. The similarities between Spanish and Greek at the level of pronunciation, however, concern more the sound system of standard Spanish from Spain and to a lesser extent that of the varieties of Spanish found in Latin America. Both Spanish and Greek are syllable-timed languages and both of them have a five vowel system. British English, in contrast, has over twenty vowels in most of its dialects.

The fact that both Greek and Spanish are Indo-European languages does not solve the issue of the common *theta* sound and its origins, as their relation is remote. They are as remotely related as English and Spanish.

4 Etymological relations

The question regarding the possibility of the English "th" sound of being etymologically rooted in the Greek letter *theta* has been discussed online[1], in 2017. Among those taking part in the discussions was Brian Collins[2] (2014), who stated the fact that there was absolutely no evidence for this claim from several points of view, ranging from the level where etymology is applied, where the sound level is excluded, moving on to the fact that English could not have acquired the "th" sound from the influence of Greek, and concluding that the sound shift was not borrowed by English from Greek:

First, etymology doesn't apply to sounds. Etymology is the word level, not the sound level.
Second, no. English had the [θ] sound all along from the very beginning of the language. Most, if not all, Germanic languages had the sound until the last 1,500 years.
Today only English, Scots, and Icelandic do. Danish has [ð̠ˠ] as an allophone of [d] in syllable coda positions, but I don't think the distinction between /ð/ and /d/ is phonemic in Danish.
Germanic languages got the [θ] sound from one of the first Germanic consonant shifts, which affected all Germanic languages (later ones only affected a set of them, such as German and Boarisch, but not others like English, Swedish, Icelandic, Dutch, etc).
Grimm originally postulated that PIE *$/d^h/$ became *$/d/$, and then *$/t/$ in Germanic languages, and then [θ]. Today most linguists think *$/d^h/$ became *$/t^h/$, and then over time, speakers heard the aspiration noise more than the stop and it became a fricative.
Ancient Greek did not have the [θ] sound. The letter <θ> was [t^h] in Ancient Greek. Over time, speakers heard the aspiration noise more than the stop, and it became [θ].
[…] Germanic languages, Indo-Iranian languages, and Dravidian languages did not borrow this sound shift from Greek. It is just a very easy shift to happen, and over a 3,000 year period, many different languages will do it.

Another participant in the conversation, Nick Pharris[3] (2006), states that the Greek *theta* sound comes from the Proto-Indo-European /dh/, while the Proto-Germanic (and, as a consequence, the English) *theta* sound comes from the Proto-Indo-European /t/.

Wishing to explain the origins and possible relations between the Spanish, English and also Greek *theta* sound, we reach, going through existent research, the conclusion that there is no strongly attested evidence for any of the hypotheses which could confirm a strong link among these three languages and the sound *theta*. The English *theta* does not originate from the Greek *theta*, but they had been there in both languages independently of each other for ages. A possible connection between English and Spanish when it comes to the *theta* sound reaches only as far as their common Proto-Indo-European roots. The *theta* sound has its origins in Proto-Indo-European, and it looks like some languages have lost it while some other languages, very few, have kept it. The *theta* sound was found in Old English and Old Norse. It was considered unpronounceable by the Normans and by other Europeans. The Greek sound has an etymological correspondence in the /dh/ sound in Sanskrit and in the English /d/. Graphically, the Greek sound *theta* was written as 'th' and in

the beginning it was pronounced as a true aspirate, such as in the contemporary English word "outhouse".

5 Popular science and sensationalism

The fact that various questions related to the origins of the sound *theta* in English and to the possible connections between English, Spanish and Greek in regards to the sound *theta* are all around the internet, ranging from discussion on forums among graduates of linguistics to articles in popular science newspapers and sites, shows not only that the issue is of interest to academics or non-academics, but also that the issue has not been resolved. The absence of strong evidence helps to capture the imagination of the audience. However, if we dig deeper we find that there is no mysterious connection between Spanish and English and Greek. The common *theta* sound is only a result of their belonging to the Proto-Indo-European language family, which opens up a much too wide area of research.

Perhaps it is because of the lack of true scientific evidence that there is so little academic research on the topic. The hypothesis claiming that it all originated from a Spanish king's lisp is only an urban legend, a myth which cannot be regarded seriously from a scientific point of view. We perceive it as belonging to a fictional realm, and dismiss this hypothesis easily.

Popular science tries to find a way to connect scientific literature and popular political and cultural discourse. The language of science is made accessible to a wide audience, not formed of professionals in the field. The genre of popular science deals with controversies related to scientific topics and the *theta* sound is no exception. It is the subject of controversy among linguists as well as foreign language learners. However, while BA and PhD holders in linguistics count as professionals, they use their knowledge to explain, in simple language, to foreign language learners and to the general audience the hypotheses about the Spanish, English and Greek *theta* sound. The research into the topic should be, in popular science literature, more limited and general. However, certain discussions reach details known by professionals regarding the Spanish, English and Greek *theta*. There is mention of phonological processes, which are familiar to a specialized, professional audience, not necessarily to the general public.

The sensationalist aspect of certain questions posed by the online users serves to help the audience gain interest in the topic, and be drawn into the discussions and research. However, other features of popular

science found in the discussions related to the *theta* sound include: the personal relevance of the topic under discussion to the audience, when it comes to students of linguistics and to foreign language learners; the emphasis placed on the uniqueness of the issue; and the exploration of ideas which were overlooked by professionals, as academics have not dealt with the issue extensively. The discussions do not reach the level of pseudoscience, as the users try to seek explanations outside the legend of the Spanish king with the lisp.

6 Concluding remarks

This paper examined some of the theories formulated to explain the existence of the *theta* sound in Spanish and its origins, including the language contact theory, which emphasizes the fact that Spanish was influenced by different languages, such as Basque, Germanic, Arabic, certain languages from the Americas; but also the theory stating that the Castilian θ is the result of the Greek influence, a theory which is not supported by historical evidence.

This investigation may be relevant in language teaching because the sound system could act as a barrier in the way of successfully learning a foreign language. If the sound system is unfamiliar to the learners, because various sounds are not found in the languages already spoken by learners, if the sounds are difficult to pronounce and even apparently impossible, then those studying the respective language can be tempted to give it up. In the context discussed here, teachers can minimize the anxieties related to the learning of a foreign language by drawing attention to curiosities such as the existence of the *theta* sound in English, Spanish and Greek. They may use the popular science and sensationalist titled articles to give their students some sense of familiarity, and even as a starting point for doing research and improving their knowledge of phonology and phonetics. They can also use their findings to bring arguments and support their own opinions related to the existing theories and thus practice their communication skills in some of the foreign languages they are studying.

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Endnotes

[1] At: https://www.quora.com/Is-the-English-sound-th-etymologically-rooted-from-the-Greek-letter-%CE%B8-*theta*?share=1#.

[2] Brian Collins holds a BA in Linguistics and Slavic Languages from the University of Washington**.**

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