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Editor's Note

The present volume of the *Translation Studies: Retrospective and Prospective Views* series includes articles by specialists from partner universities, doctoral schools and academic research centres, as well as relevant work authored by the members of our own academic staff. A book review section and a translator list are added to round up the collection. The selection of papers actually reflects the format and the objectives of the long-established tradition of translation research carried out in the Department of English, Faculty of Letters, "Dunărea de Jos" University of Galati.

The editors are grateful to the peer reviewers for their work and helpful suggestions which have contributed to the final form of the articles. Their special thanks go to each member of the English Department in the Faculty of Letters, "Dunărea de Jos" University of Galati, for their steady support and dedication during the editing works.

The editors' cordial thanks also go to all the contributors who kindly answered the publication requests thus authoring this new series of volumes on the current state of translation studies in Romania and abroad. They are also thankful to the Board of the University and that of the Faculty of Letters for their support in publishing this series and in organizing the conference whose name was granted to the review.

The Editors

HEARING THE SAME MUSIC. IS SOUND SYMBOLISM UNIVERSAL?

Bianca BOSOIU¹

Abstract

The literature on phonosemantics or sound symbolism, the most intriguing branch of linguistics, is rapidly growing at the moment as it has been shadowed in the previous century by the structuralist ideas pioneered by Swiss linguist Ferdinard de Saussure whom few dared to question. The idea that the sound shape of a word has inherent meaning or that it infers certain properties of the named object was and still is denied by a large part of linguists despite numerous scientific proof. Nonetheless, a nonarbitrary sound shape of language is largely claimed by linguists due to empirical research of a systematic nature done in the last decades. Furthermore, phonosemanticists have demonstrated that some types of sound symbolism are universal. These important findings can and must lead to new theories of language.

Keywords: phonosemantics, cross-linguistic sound symbolism, iconism, cluster, euphony

Motto: 'I am the utterance of my name' (Thunder – The Nag Hammadi Library)

Introduction

The question whether between sound and meaning there is a natural relation or if they are related only by convention has been debated ever since antiquity. The *phýsei-thései* debate, dating as long back in history as the first philosophical Ancient Greek schools, still continues to divide the linguistic world: some advocate a natural connection between sound and meaning while others describe this type of relationship as conventional. The conventionalist approach, following the influential ideas of Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, imposed a linguistic canon which few dared to contradict: the sign is arbitrary. In the first half of the 20th century, structuralist linguists, with their rejection of the sound-meaning

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connection, except for a few cases of onomatopoeia, tried to reverse the naturalist trend, one which had many supporters. The naturalist hypothesis, shadowed by the aforementioned structuralist school, has never ceased to produce empirical proof in order to sustain its standpoint.

An overview of phonosemantic studies

The possible inherent meaning the words carry was discussed in ancient Greek and Arab writings and throughout the Middle Ages thus making way for the 17th and 19th centuries philosophers and linguists to express their interest in phonosemantics (or sound symbolism) and to find evidence to support their views. The first to study thoroughly into the relation between sound and meaning was Wilhelm van Humboldt who, in 1836, identified three types of sound and meaning relationship in language: onomatopoeia, clustering and iconism. These three types were later discussed and further developed in the 21st century by linguist Margaret Magnus.

Although everyone seemed to take Ferdinand de Saussure's ideas for granted there were numerous linguists who tried to offer the empirical base for the existence of a real connection between sound and sense in words. Consistent proof, mostly of a scientific nature, was provided by the most influential naturalist proponent at the beginning of the 20th century: the American linguist Edward Sapir. Sapir carried out experiments which demonstrated that English vowels can be placed on a scale from small to large: "...to put it roughly, certain vowels and certain consonants sound 'bigger' than others" (Sapir, 1929). He concluded, after an experiment in which he had asked his subjects to associate the words 'mil' and 'mal' with two objects of different sizes, that there is a native intuition in associating sound and meaning and that this could only lead to a correlation between the two.

Among those who criticised the conventionalist overexaggeration about the arbitrary nature of words and especially for downplaying the role of sound symbolism was Danish linguist Otto Jespersen. Jespersen wrote about the /fl/ and /gl/ sound clusters in English set at the beginning of certain lexical items which carried common meaning and about the expressive values of certain vowels: "...languages in the course of time grow richer and richer in symbolic values" (Jespersen, 1922). The Danish phonosemanticist also wrote about the inherent meaning the phonemes /i/ and / α / carried, pointing out, before Sapir's experiment, that the two phonemes relate to small and respectively large items.

Yes, of course it would be absurd to maintain that all words at all times in all languages had a signification corresponding exactly to their sounds, each sound having a definite meaning once for all. But is there really much more logic in the opposite extreme, which denies any kind of sound symbolism (apart from the small class of evident echoisms or onomatopoeia) and sees in our words only a collection of wholly accidental and irrational associations of sound and meaning? It seems to me that the conclusion in this case is as false as if you were to infer that because on one occasion X told a lie, he therefore never tells the truth. (Jespersen, 1922: 397)

John Rupert Firth is highly cited in the phonosemantic field and this is partly because he was the one to introduce the word phonestheme as relating to the initial sound groupings in certain words aforementioned by Jespersen.

The main advocate of phonosemantics in the first half of the 20th century was Dwight Bolinger. His studies "The Sign is Not Arbitrary" and especially "Rime, Assonance and Morpheme Analysis" were extremely influential. Bolinger questioned the long-time acknowledged status of the morpheme implying that it is not the minimal meaning-bearing unit in language. He attributed meaning to even smaller units (phonesthemes, as coined by Firth): /sn-/ grouping found in words dealing with the nose: snore, snorkel, sniff, sniffle, snuffle, snuff, snivel, snout, snoot, snub, snot, snob, snotty, sneer, sneeze, snoop (Bolinger 1965: 197, Spencer 1991: 33).

The first comprehensive list of English phonesthemes was provided by Hans Marchand. Marchand attributed meaning to units which were shorter than those of his predecessors. He wrote that the /l/ phoneme at the end of a word means continuation and that the use of a nasal sound at the end of a word renders a vibrating sound (Marchand, 1958). Considering these findings we cannot but observe that the phoneme is not only the smallest linguistic unit conveying a distinction in meaning but also the smallest meaning carrying one to the extent that it lends some properties to the word it belongs to.

Many linguists, following Marchand's work, are now offering proof in support of the expressive potential single phonemes can offer. The /m/ sound is alongside /1/ one of the most interesting in this respect.

We use an m sound—sometimes conventionalized as "yum!"—for warm appreciation. Probably no other consonant is so expressive by itself. In

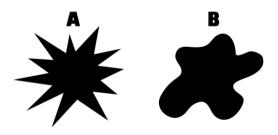
reply to "Do you like my dress?" a perfectly intelligible answer would be "Mmmmmmm!" The sound is prolonged, no broken off; is internal (behind closed lips) and hence warm and cherished; is associated with the affectionate and sensitive lips, which bring the human child the first pleasure it knows—food and the warm presence of its mother...Because it is the only sound we can make with closed lips, we hum it when engaged in such pleasurable activities as eating something or kissing someone. (John Frederick Nims, 1992: 173)

The native Romanian speaker can therefore empathise with the same pleasant-related uses of the /m/ sound in a large number or lexical items: *muzică*, *melodie*, *moale*, *mamă*, etc.

Roman Jakobson was the best-known phonosemanticist of the second half of the 20th century. He continuously contradicted the separation between form and meaning drawn by structuralists stating that it was not entirely true and in his largest work on the subject of sound symbolism "The Sound Shape of Language" (1979) he asserted the interrelatedness between sound and sense.

Phonosemantics nowadays

At the beginning of the twenty-first century linguists and psychologists began to investigate deeper into the field of sound symbolism. Vilayanur S. Ramachandran and Edward Hubbard conducted an experiment in 2001 using two images and two pseudowords that the subjects were supposed to associate: 'bouba' vs. 'kiki'.



The results showed that 95% to 98% of the subjects identified the spiky shape as 'kiki' and the rounded one as 'bouba.' To many researchers this experiment, as many others before it, is considered further proof that the naming of things is nonarbitrary. In addition to the already discussed difference in size inferred by the use of vowels it is also worth analysing

the harsh /k/ consonant which often implies force and aggressiveness when placed at the end of certain verbs: attack, break, smack, etc.

Types of sound symbolism

Margret Magnus (1998) reanalysed the ideas submitted by the German van Humboldt a century and a half before and used the three types of soundmeaning relationship to offer new insights into phonosemantics. The first, onomatopoeia, is of less importance for sound symbolism as it represents a mere imitation of the sound: splash, clap, bang, etc. Imitation cannot account for symbolism. The second, clustering, sending to a certain type of iconism, is recognised in patterns that share similar meanings: English initials fl-, express movement and characterise an entire semantic field, as in: flap, flare, flee, flick, flicker, fling, flip, flit, flitter, flow, flutter, fly, flurry, flounce, flourish, flout, flash, flex, flinch, flock, flop (there seem to be about 125 words with these letters), the English initial grouping gl- occurs in a large number of words relating to light or vision: glitter, glisten, glow, gleam, glare, glint, glimmer, gloss, etc. The third type of sound symbolism, iconism, is the most profound as it relates to the direct effect the sound has on us. Iconism, unlike clustering which is mostly related to a specific language, seems to be universal as some sounds suggest the same thing in a large number of languages: the /r/ sound implies movement, the /l/ sound sends to calm and peace, /i/ as a high, front vowel renders smallness and light while /a/ or /u/, middle and back low vowels usually connect with magnitude and offered immense potential darkness. classification This the basis phonosemantic researchers became the for and current phonosemantic theories.

Translating Sound Symbolism

Victoria Bobicev and Tatiana Zidrașco, in an article named *Estimating Word Phonosemantics* explain the importance of phonetic symbolism research viewing phonosemantics as "the assumption that every sound and every letter may be pleasant or unpleasant, round or sharp, hot or cold. For example, English word 'break' is perceived as something sharp, Romanian words 'ou' (egg) is something round, 'licurici' (firefly) is something small, pleasant and fast even for non-Romanian speakers." Associating the word 'licurici' with the above mentioned qualities is not a coincidence nor a surprise if we analyse the individual phonemes in sound symbolic terms. Iconism therefore, is obviously cross-linguistic as sounds can influence the way we feel or perceive a certain word.

When hearing unknown words we instinctively try to associate its sound shape with some other familiar words or classes of words. But what happens when the words do not exist at all and you still need to make some sense of it:

'Twas brillig, and the slithy toves Did gyre and gimble in the wabe: All mimsy were the borogoves, And the mome raths outgrabe.'

This stanza is taken from the nonsense poem "Jabberwocky" written by Lewis Carroll in the novel Alice in Wonderland. Carroll tries to play with the imagination of the reader in order to decipher the meaning of the poem. But the most interesting observation is that, in a quest for meaning, the reader unconsciously enters the sound symbolic world. The first instinct here, for both native and non-native speakers of English, is to utter the words, to sense their pronunciation, because in all this nonsense only sound can be an indication of meaning. The way the author played with the phonetic structures was extremely challenging for the translations worldwide (70 languages) as the translation had to transfer the same euphonic effects on the readers. The task seems almost impossible at first sight but, on the contrary, it is exactly the universal euphony of languages that made the translation possible. Here are two translations in Romanian of the above stanza:

Era friglind, linsoase zăvi Se tot gyrau, gimblau în ob; Numai ninsoare-n borogrăvi, Când momii sor deș ciob. (Frida Papadache, Trăncăniciada)

Era-n gămiaz, și sliplii sfîrci Gherau rotund balans în ierb, Fraznici erau cei ponostîrci, Și vorci murlau acerb. (Cătălin Mareș, Monstrolocul)

Comparing the two Romanian translations we can observe a preference for harsh, abrasive consonants which are meant to render the same unpleasant-sounding effect on the reader's ears. Victoria Bobicev and

Tatiana Zidraşco found that the /z/ sound in Romanian is perceived as being very noisy and coarse.

The translators seemed to show a preference for rough consonants in order to come as close as possible to the original sense (or better said nonsense) of the poem.

David Crystal made an inventory of the most pleasant-sounding words in English and identified, based on the listed words, the phonemes that were recurrent: /1/, /m/, /n/ and /r/ being at the top. At the bottom of Crystal's list were the phonemes $\langle v/, /g/, /z/, /f/, /\theta/$ or $/\delta/$ (Crystal, 1995). Years before, the Romanian linguist Sextil Puşcariu underwent a similar attempt in extracting the most poetical words in his native language: dor, plai, codru, are illustrations of the fact that the same pleasant phonemes are highly frequent. As for the 'ugliest' words in Romanian the same author mentioned brânză, cârcă, târnăcop, spriţ which also bears resemblances with Crystal's list in terms of phoneme affinity. The most conclusive proof in terms of inter-linguistic sound symbolism between English and Romanian (albeit sound symbolism is universal) is the example of the most beautifully sounding words in the two languages. In terms of euphony, the compound noun 'cellar door', regardless of semantics, has been considered the most beautiful in English language. One cannot but associate the second word /do:r/ with the most beautiful word in Romanian: dor.

Damián Blasi at Universität Zurich and his collaborators have investigated this phenomenon on a global basis, associating in terms of phonosemantics more than 6000 languages all over the globe. Their results clearly suggest that sounds carry intrinsic meaning worldwide.

By analyzing word lists covering nearly two-thirds of the world's languages, we demonstrate that a considerable proportion of 100 basic vocabulary items carry strong associations with specific kinds of human speech sounds, occurring persistently across continents and linguistic lineages (linguistic families or isolates). Prominently among these relations, we find property words ("small" and i, "full" and p or b) and body part terms ("tongue" and l, "nose" and n)....

Our results therefore have important implications for the language sciences, given that nonarbitrary associations have been proposed to play a critical role in the emergence of cross-modal mappings, the acquisition of language, and the evolution of our species' unique communication system. (Blasi et. all, 2016)

It seems therefore that sense affinities can be included in a larger spectrum, one that surpasses commonly rooted languages or even language families.

Conclusion

The most important finding of phonosemantics is probably that we should not perceive sound as a directly imitative form of the sign but more as an indicator of certain qualities the sign has: pleasant or unpleasant, small or big, bright or dark, etc. This affinity for sound associations proves from the aforementioned experiments to be universal, regardless of socio-cultural background, economic or political factors, and, more importantly, irrespective of language differences. In the field of translation, phonosemantics can reveal interesting associations between languages and can help translators find the best ways of rendering the same meaning as long as the universal euphony claimed by phonosemantics is taken into consideration.

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A CULTURAL-LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE UPON THE INTERPOLATION OF INDIGENOUS TERMS IN POSTCOLONIAL NOVELS IN ENGLISH

Liviu-Augustin CHIFANE¹

Abstract

The interpolation of indigenous terms within literary texts written in English is a common practice in postcolonial novels and can be explained as a consequence of the need to highlight the elements of cultural specificity of different peoples or ethnic groups. The number of words from the characters' native language or the level of difficulty thus created depends upon the author's intentions regarding the accessibility of the respective work to an English-speaking reader. For instance, most of the African postcolonial authors in English include a wide range of indigenous terms belonging to specific tribal languages resulting in a complex image of the cultural practices and way of life of the respective tribe. Therefore, the aim of the present paper is to investigate the postcolonial role of such a device in several novels with a closer look at the intratextual or extratextual strategies that are employed in order to facilitate the integration of such terms into English.

Keywords: postcolonialism, postcolonial novel, indigenous languages, lexical devices

Postcolonial writers belonging to various geographical areas or ethnic groups have often been confronted with the difficulty of making their language and culture visible to the whole world and ultimately giving their people a voice and identity of their own. Chinua Achebe, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Anita Desai, Arundhati Roy or Katharine Susannah Prichard are but a few of the postcolonial writers who have dedicated their artistic efforts to the task of paying tribute to their cultural heritage and ensuring the continuity of their ancestors' legacy. As a consequence, they have willingly accepted their task of representation in line with Spivak's conclusion that "the subaltern cannot speak" (1994: 104) and the writer's or critic's mission is to acknowledge the need for representation.

The use of indigenous terms in postcolonial novels in English contributes to the preservation of the cultural specificity of different peoples and ethnic groups. Since the fictional works ultimately targets English-speaking readers, are faced with the challenge of using indigenous words, but at the same time making sure the potential readers fully grasp the overall message of their novels. The numbers and

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complexity of indigenous words wholly rely on the writers' intentions. On the one hand, most African writers in English use indigenous words to portray a veridical image of tribal practices and way of life. On the other hand, writers from India or the Caribbean, especially those living in the diaspora, generally rely upon fewer words from their native languages without making visible efforts to gloss, explain or translate them. In Anita Desai's Fasting, Feasting, for example, some of the native words are widely known and associated to Indian culture, such as sari, samosa or dhal. Others, such as ayah, raja, mali, mynah are less known and require the analysis of larger contexts or the use of additional lexicographical sources.

Taking into consideration the frequency of complexity of indigenous words, postcolonial writers employ either intratextual or extratextual strategies in order to eliminate the understanding barriers and facilitate the assimilation of new cultural patterns. Intratextual strategies are discussed in slightly varying terms by different scholars. Bandia (2008) refers to these lexical devices as "in-text translation (or interlinear translation) of vernacular language items (i.e., fairly direct translation of the vernacular) or in-text contextualization such as glosses, paraphrases, comments, explanatory phrases, or statements placed in apposition to the indigenous word or expression" (110-111). The same methods are discussed by Talib (2002) who borrows Peter Young's terms overt cushioning, when the meaning of the term is explained in the text (corresponding to Bandia's intext translation), and covert cushioning, when a proper context is offered so that the meaning of the word can be clearly deduced from it (similar in general terms to Bandia's in-text contextualization). However, Talib explains that there are situations when "no cushioning is available, or the covert cushioning found in the text may be too subtle for many readers" (2002: 101).

Returning to Anita Desai's novel, one can observe cases of in-text translation or overt cushioning, like in the following example where a cultural translation of the Hindi expression *kala-yuga* is provided: "That is what happens in this **kala-yuga**, this dark age" (2000: 53). Other examples can be selected from Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*:

- o In fact, the medicine itself was called *agadi-nwayi*, or old woman (2001b: 10);
- The elders, or *ndichie*, met to hear a report of Okwonkwo's mission (10);
- O At the most one could say that his *chi* or personal god was good (20);

On her arms were red and yellow bangles, and on her waist four or five rows of *jigida*, or waist-beads (51).

On the same wavelength, in Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things*, one can find the following fragment which illustrates the same situation for Malayalam words: "He said the police knew all they needed to know and that the Kottayam Police didn't take statements from *veshyas* or their illegimate children" (2009: 8).

In some cases, the translation is more elaborated being followed by detailed explanations of customs or cultural practices sometimes embedded in significant narrative cores:

Even as a little boy he had resented his father's failure and weakness, and even now he still remembered how he had suffered when a playmate had told him that his father was *agbala*. That was how Okonkwo first came to know that *agbala* was not only another name for a woman, it could also mean a man who had taken no title. (Achebe 2001b: 11)

Just then the distant beating of drums began to reach them. It came from the direction of the *ilo*, the village playground. Every village had its own *ilo* which was as old as the village itself and where all the great ceremonies and dances took place. (31)

A similar situation can be seen in the novel *Coonardoo* written by the Australian Katharine Susannah Prichard. The narrator tries to explain why the indigenous people used the word *mumae* meaning in their language "father" to call the English colonist Mrs Bessie in the remote cattle station Wytaliba: "Mumae the blacks called her, because Hughie did as soon as he could talk. Mumae in their dialect meant a father, and was not Mrs Bessie, father and mother to her son, the woman master of Wytaliba since Ted Watt had died so long ago, before Hugh could speak" (2013: 4).

The case of covert cushioning or in-text contextualization triggers a series of challenges for the semantic integration of indigenous lexical terms into an understandable English pattern. There are variations of cultural and semantic complexities which cannot be always fully clarified by means of the discursive context. Moreover, even though the reader can integrate the referent into a general semantic field, there are peculiar characteristics of culturally-bound elements that cannot be acquired from a single or any context.

As an illustration, in *The God of Small Things*, the word *brinjal* (eggplant) is inserted in an enumeration of vegetables without giving further details: "When the vegetables had been weighed and paid for, they would transfer them to his red plastic shopping basket (onions at the bottom, **brinjal** and tomatoes on the top) and always a spring of coriander and a fistful of green chillies for free" (Roy 2009: 11).

A more elaborated contextualization can be seen in the following example taken from Things Fall Apart: "He could hear in his mind's ear the blood-stirring and intricate rhythms of the *ekwe* and the *udu* and the *ogene*, and he could hear his own flute weaving in and out of them, decorating them with a colourful and plaintive tune" (Achebe 2001b: 5). For the terms ekwe, udu and ogene, the reader can use the information provided by the other words in order to include them in the semantic field of musical instruments. The markers which can help in this case are the verb hear and the nouns ear, rhythms, flute and tune. However, there are no indices to show what kind of musical instruments they are or any other specific characteristics. For some of them, the reader can rely upon other contexts from the book, such as the following paragraph: "Okwonkwo had just blown out the palm-oil lamp and stretched himself on his bamboo bed when he heard the *ogene* of the town-crier piercing the still night air. *Gome*, gome, gome, gome, boomed the hollow metal. Then the crier gave his message, and at the end of it beat the instrument again." (8). It becomes clear that the ogene is a big metal drum used to summon the village or to announce important events.

In Fasting, Feasting, the first usage of the word ayah does not offer a satisfactory context: "Eventually, the servants told - ayah told them what might have been clear to anyone with eyes: it was a late pregnancy" (Desai 2000: 16). The attributions of this servant are, however, referred to on the same page in an explanatory fragment: "At her feet ayah, who had looked after Aruna when she was little and had to be called out of retirement in her village, sat massaging her legs with accompanying sounds of comfort and pacification" (16). Regarding these examples from a different perspective, one can understand the valuable cultural gain of the text through the usage of the Hindi term instead of replacing it with nursemaid or nanny which would have produced a semantic narrowing: the ayah not only looks after the children but also helps the mother throughout the pregnancy.

In other instances, the reader's understanding of the proper meaning of vernacular words is limited to the general features of a semantic field.

About a *mynah*, he knows only that it is a bird: "A **mynah** on the neem tree that overhangs the terrace is watching his movements and lets out a series of whistles as if in comment upon them. [...] The **mynah** takes off with a squack of alarm" (Desai 2000: 46-47).

The interpolation of indigenous words into the English narrative flow is never a simple matter. It can be regarded as a complex case of lexical transfer with a powerful effect of lexical disruption. The alien nature of the native words is sometimes countered by means of continuous contextualization which transforms them into real cultural and postcolonial symbols. In this respect, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's *A Grain of Wheat* includes interesting uses of Swahili words. For example, the term *uhuru* becomes a leitmotif of the novel, being usually translated as *freedom*. However, throughout the text, its meaning oscillates between *freedom* and *independence*, also acquiring other meanings when used in challenging expressions:

- Like Kenyatta is telling us,' he went on. 'these are days of *Uhuru na Kazi*' (Thiong'o 2002: 2);
- From inside the Prison came a responding cry of **Uhuru** (16);
- We are not staying long,' Gikonyo said, after a silence. 'We have really come to see you about the **Uhuru** celebrations on Thursday' (18);
- ➤ They were some of the Freedom Fighters who had recently left the forest under the **Uhuru** amnesty (20);
- > The **Uhuru** Highway (formerly Princess Elizabeth) (59).

The cultural-political symbolism of the term is enriched by means of other lexical items which show that the capitalized *Uhuru* stands not only for the spirit of freedom and liberation but also for the struggle and continuous fight against the colonial power: "On the **Independence Day** we shall remember those from our village and ridges near, who lost their lives in the fight for **freedom**" (23); "... December 12 is only four nights away" (24).

The Swahili word *shamba* refers to the small plot of land that usually surrounds the hut and is used for subsistence crops. In the novel, its meaning is acquired by means of contextualization and is gradually revealed through cultural contexts or lexical markers. However, some of the contexts include other indigenous unexplained terms or culturally-specific expressions that complicate the process of denotation:

- ✓ "'That's what I always say. Go to it when the ground is soft. Let the sun find you already there and it'll not be a match for you. But if it reaches the **shamba** before you hm'" (Thiong'o 2002: 2);
- ✓ "In the shamba, he felt hollow. There were no crops on the land and what the dried-up weeds, gakaraky, micege, mikengeria, bangi – and the sun, the country appeared sick and dull" (6);
- ✓ "The jembe seemed heavier than usual; the unfinished part of the shamba looked too big for his unwilling muscles" (6);
- ✓ "She was bored by standing in the house alone. Normally she chatted with her houseboy or with her **shamba**-boy" (36);
- ✓ "He thought of going to the **shamba**. No, he could not do any work. Besides, he did not want to walk through the village" (65).

By means of contextualization, the word acquires cultural specific meanings which are not always easy to identify and clarify. For example, the last two excerpts offer important information about the way kikuyu people were reporting to their land and the social relations inside the tribe. Moreover, the first example includes a proverb as a cultural representation and position of the land in the African tribal life.

A challenging case of translation or explanation of indigenous terms is the insertion of songs into the narration. In such cases, contextualization reveals its limitations. For example, Achebe is only preoccupied with the reader's understanding of the cultural connotations of the song Ikemefuna remembers while unknowingly walking toward his own execution:

Then quite suddenly a thought came upon him. His mother might be dead. He tried in vain to force the thought out of his mind. Then he tried to settle the matter the way he used to settle such matters when he was a little boy. He still remembered the song:

Eze elina, elina!

Sala

Eze ilikwa ya

Ikwaba akwa oligholi

Ebe Danda nechi eze

Ebe Uzuzu nete egwu

Sala

He sang it in his mind, and walked to its beat. If the song ended on his right foot, his mother was alive. If it ended on his left, she was dead. No, not dead, but ill. It ended on the right. She was alive and well. He sang the song again, and it ended on the left. But the second time did not count. The first voice gets to Chukwu, or God's house. (Achebe 2001b: 43-44).

Achebe does not translate the song nor does he explain what the lyrics refer to. Thus, the focus falls upon the tragic aspect of the moment and Okonkwo's psychological struggle between his duties toward the culture of the tribe and his feelings for Ikemefuna. Whittaker and Msiska justify the lack of the translation as a way of directing the attention of the reader toward "the mood of uncertainty and tension which are so deftly developed by Achebe in this scene" and explain that the nursery rhyme would have made little sense in English (2007: 32). Moreover, they show that the inclusion of oral discursive material in *Things Fall Apart* aims at both acquiring authenticity and at transferring into the written text – even in English – of the epistemological function of these materials (proverbs, maxims, aphorisms, epigrams): "as repositories of communal wisdom and knowledge, as mnemonic devices for effective communication, and as educational tools" (32).

On the other hand, Katharine Susannah Prichard translates most of the lyrics included in the text of *Coonardoo*. However, she chooses to render their meaning in prose:

> Towera chinima poodinya, Towera jinner mulbeena, Poodinyoober mulbeena.

(Kangaroos coming over the range in the twilight, and making a devil dance with their little feet, before they begin to feed.) (2013: 1)

In other cases, the literal translation is impossible as in the case of the circumcision songs used by the aborigines: "Neero-ran, neeroo/ Ora kaljee kaljee..."; "Choongoo choongoo cheriegoo,/ Wannerjettie gnadegoo/ Yeralger mundanie." (27). Two short footnotes are included: "Called the Kramadee, meaning chiefly 'cut'" and "Meaning 'Cut! Cut!'" (Prichard 2013: 27). In the 1929 forward to the novel, Prichard explains that these songs belong to a dead language and even the aborigines themselves "do not know the exact meaning of some, or else are reluctant to give it, superstitious of unraveling the mystery of legends and saga drifted down from remote ages, perhaps" (2013: xxvi) Further on in the novel, Warieda's song about the steam-engine train is given with its English translation in the form of a bilingual stanza: "Me-ra-rar ngar-rar ngular-gar bratha-gara!/ Calling with steaming head!/ Mooranger! Nar-ra-ga! Mille-gidgee! Coming! Passing! Gone!" (91).

The 2013 edition of Prichard's novel is an example of extratextual devices used in order to reduce the difficulties created by indigenous words. A glossary is given at the end of the text including 48 terms or expressions with their translation into English. Most of them are nouns: bandogera (wild turkey), bucklegaroo (man-making, circumcision ceremony), cooboo (baby), gina-gina (dress), kylie (a light boomerang), etc. There are also adverbs (eeh-mm - yes), adjectives (baba - crazy), numerals (tarcodee - three) or even whole sentences (tani wali - come quickly). However, many of the terms included in the glossary can be easily understood from textual inference. For others, the translation is given between brackets in order to avoid the disruption of the reading act. Generalizing, although glossaries and footnotes may give more exact and detailed explanations of the terms, they are usually located outside the text. Therefore, editors and even authors prefer intratextual strategies and try to create a continuous reading experience. As a consequence, many of the postcolonial novels in English are conceived as multicultural literary creations. The inclusion of indigenous words can thus be regarded as a means of transposing the culture of the native peoples toward the wider system of world literatures and also as a form of cultural voicing of the former imperial colonies; from an opposing perspective, such a strategy may be viewed as a political means of deconstructing and attacking the language of the other and of avenging the colonial past.

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EXPLORING THE REPRESENTATION OF SOME THEMES IN MARGARET ATWOOD'S NOVEL THE HANDMAID'S TALE

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Abstract

The paper aims at analyzing and exploring some feminist themes: discrimination, sexual objectification, oppression, patriarchy, stereotyping in Margaret Atwood's novel "The Handmaid's Tale". We have chosen this novel since it thoroughly explores the male dominance with all the elements coming with it. Margaret Atwood is a strong observer and analyst of power. She analyses it from different points view and at different levels: power at the level of state, society, individual relations, and individual self. The purpose of this article is to highlight the themes of feminism in the fictional novel mentioned. This novel, although published in 1985, has become better known since the release of the TV drama series with the same name, in 2017. The article can be useful to students focusing on the Canadian fictional novels with a particular interest in feminism.

Keywords: feminism; objectification; oppression; stereotyping

Introduction

Although we should never characterize gender in terms of first and last, but more on equal grounds, women seem to always be put last, being categorized based on male parameters. In different parts of the world, women have lost their place in a society. As a reaction of this diminishing of the active role of a woman in a society, feminism has risen. As there are many definitions on the term, we will cite only one, as it seems more conclusive than others: feminism "is a political perception based on two fundamental premises: (1) that gender difference is the foundation of a structural inequality between women and men, by which women suffer systematic social injustice, and (2) that the inequality between the sexes is not the result of biological necessity but is produced by the cultural construction of gender differences. This perception provides feminism with its double agenda: to understand the social and psychic mechanisms that

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construct and perpetuate gender inequality and then to change them." (Morris, 1993)

Margaret Atwood's "The Handmaid's Tale", which has been categorized as a feminist dystopia, is the novel that we have chosen for this analysis. Dystopias are created based on social and political events. In a dystopian society women suffer the most. They are not seen as individuals, but more as usable objects, (Yurdakul, 2015), and our novel makes no exception, the condition of woman being seriously altered.

Atwood exposes the consequences of a religious ideology built upon hierarchies that isolate femininity from divinity, the body from the Word, and deprive women of sexual and spiritual autonomy. (Rine, 2013, p. 55) Using speculative fiction, Atwood creates a world where religious discourse is brought at its peak. The Bible is interpreted so as to convey the wanted message for control. This created world is a theocracy, a form of government which combines the laws of church and state. It emphasizes the greater good of the community over personal gain, remembering the Puritan England, but also conveying the path that may be taken by future generations, a sort of dark future that awaits mankind, as the first steps are already taken.

The author herself stated in an interview that the world in which the novelist lives is always an inspiration:

Whatever stories we tell will inevitably be about the world we live in now – no matter where or when we set them." "Any novel is about the time in which it's written," says Atwood. "You can't help it." "It's set in the future, but it's about 1984 or '85, which is when it was written," she says. "And what was incipient then to people who spent some time studying American culture was that the strain of fundamentalist puritanism never really went away, no matter what Ivy League-educated people might think. (Carey, 2013)

Analysis

"The Handmaid's Tale" has a very intricate plot. The action is set in the fictional Republic of Gilead, a totalitarian regime which is actually replacing the futuristic United States of America. It has gained the new title after having killed the president and members of congress.

With the election of an American President who has openly made statements in the depreciation of women—and who, after being elected, signed an executive order withdrawing federal funds from overseas women's health organizations that offer abortion services, Atwood's novel has become more current than ever. (Mead, 2017)

This new society, which takes us back to the John Winthrop's (1588–1649) theocracy of English Puritans, is build up by roles. Women are categorized based on their functions: wives of commanders/officials, Marthas (service personnel), Econowives ("women of poorer man", "they have to do everything, if they can"), The Aunts ("the female control agency"), Unwomen (the ones that cannot have children or old), widows and handmaids ("the child bearers"). (Figure 1)

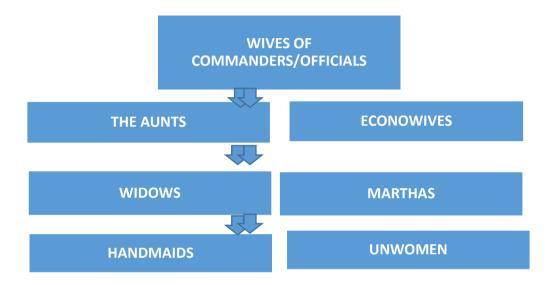


Figure 1. Women's hierarchy in "The Handmaid's Tale" Source: Author's design

As the new world was built based on biological and nuclear wars, the child births were rare and even risky. Infertile and old women were sent to work in the colonies to clean up the industrial wastes and pollution. Fertile women were sent for service under the Commander's orders.

The protagonist, Offred, is a handmaid and we watch as the new world unfolds through her eyes. We learn that her life was different before the new regime, she had a husband and a daughter (3-4 years old). She was ripped from her family to become a handmaid. She was assigned to a home under the orders of a Commander and his wife, Serena Joy. Rights such as to write, read, own property, work were forbidden. Although there is an entire ritual for the preparedness of the copulation between Offread and the Commander, he wishes something different, i.e. understanding.

The Commander starts treating Offred differently, he invites her into his office to play scrabble, to bring her things to which she couldn't have access: hand lotion, make-up, high heels. As the days go by, and she is still not pregnant, the wife has a proposition for Offred, to get involved with the chauffeur, Nick. This happens under the scenario prepared by the wife, who wanted very much a baby, even though the baby would not have been of the Commander. And so the love affair begins. Nick is the one who comes into her room announcing that *The eye* has come for her. He whispers to her that it is actually *Mayday*, and that she should go with them. *Mayday* was known to be an underground liberation group. The final chapter starts with a conference, where Offred's story was found and analyzed, two centuries after the fall of the regime. The story was built based on tape recordings, leaving the reader with more uncertainties: "Whether this is my end or a new beginning, I have no way of knowing." (Atwood, 1985, p. Ch. XV)

The military hierarchy is made up of Commanders, Eyes (intelligence), Angels (the guards) and Guardians ("aren't real soldiers. They are used for routine policing and other menial functions), Menials (chauffeurs, shopkeepers, service personnel), they are the ones in power (Figure 2).

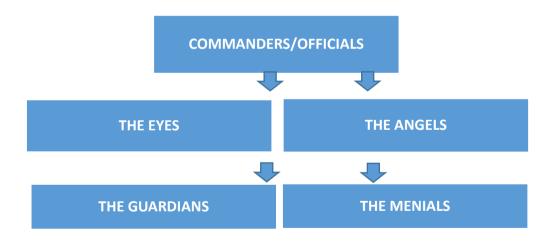


Figure 2. The military hierarchy in "The Handmaid's Tale" Source: Author's design

In the process of forming the new life within the regime, oppression, fear and control are part of the daily activities. For example, on the Wall, former Harvard yard, six abortionists were hanged: "they were doctors then, when such things were legal.[...] their crimes are retroactive." The male dominance within the regime is imposed through violence, especially violence against women. Their personalities, their identities are erased, they are treated as objects, each according to their functions: "a womb with two legs". The man are blameless in case of impossibility of pregnancy: "there are only women who are fruitful and women who are barren, that's the law". (Atwood, 1985, p. Ch. 11)

"I used to think of my body as an instrument of pleasure, or a means of transportation, or an implement for the accomplishment of my will. I could use it to run, push buttons of one sort or another, make things happen." (Atwood, 1985, p. Ch. 4) Though Offread might seem rebellious here, in fact she takes no action in order to change her status. Fear is one of the strongest feeling in our protagonist's life. As a group of Japanese tourists passed by, they asked if they can take a picture. Her answer was no: "What they must see is the white wings only, a scrap of face, my chin and part of my mouth. Not the eyes. I know better than to look the interpreter in the face. Most interpreters are Eyes, or so it's said. I also know better than to say Yes. Modesty is invisibility, said Aunt Lydia. Never forget it. To be seen – to be seen – is to be – her voice trembled – penetrated. What you must be girls, is impenetrable." (Atwood, 1985, p. Ch. 1)

As the curiosity of the tourists grows, the interpreter said: "He asks, are you happy?, says the interpreter. I can imagine it, their curiosity: Are they happy? How can they be happy? [...] But sometimes is dangerous not to speak.

"Yes, we are very happy," I murmur. I have to say something. What else can I say?" (Atwood, 1985, p. Ch. 1)

Offred, although not a believer of the regime, not a voluntary participant, takes no action, she does however defy the regime by telling her story, and along with it, the story of other women, Moira, her friend from her past life, the one who acts against the regime, her Mother, who is feminist extremist. Offred becomes in one way the voice of those who cannot or are not allowed to speak for themselves. She remembers the words of her mother, a radical feminist, "A man is just a strategy for making other women" (Atwood, 1985, p. Ch. 20) Although not in line with her mother's thoughts, she still wants her back, "but there is no point to it,

this wanting." Her story telling is a means of survival, resistance, a way of saving her identity.

Moira, a feminine character, who did not accept the conditions of the regime, always fighting, always escaping, gives hope to Offred that the system can be defeated with small battles. But, as the Commander smuggles Offred to a Club in one night (a forbidden Club), she meets Moira there. After several attempts to run, she ended up in that Club, defeated, hinting that now she can have sex with women again, as this Club encourages such actions. Offred, after learning what her life has been after leaving the Red Center, explained that it was not what she wanted for her. "I do not want her to be like me. Give in, go along, save her skin."

"Here is what I'd like to tell. I'd like to tell a story about how Moira escaped, for good this time. Or if I couldn't tell that, I'd like to say she blew up Jezebel's, with fifty Commanders inside it. I'd like her to end with something daring and spectacular, some outrage, something that would befit her. But as far as I know that didn't happen. I don't know how she ended, or even if she did, because I never saw her again." (Atwood, 1985, p. Ch. 38)

The Commander oftentimes tries to justify himself, his part in the regime. He explains to Offred that the main problem was not with the women, but with the men: "There was nothing for them to do with women". Offred, confused, says that there was access to porn and prostitution, but the Commanders said "There was nothing to work for, nothing to fight for," explaining that the main problem was the "inability to feel." Offred asks if they feel now, and the Commander says "yes". After being asked what she thinks, she tells him that she has no opinion, but in her mind "He knows what I think, all right." The Commander explains that their intentions had been to make things better, but he admits that "Better never means better for everyone ... It always means worse for some." (Bloom, 2004, p. 55)

The Commander had once told Offred, "We've given them more than we've taken away," citing the now-extinct humiliations of singles bars, blind dates, and plastic surgery. She remembers his argument, which up to some point seems fair, since any women can have a man ("nobody's left out"); men can no longer leave a single mother; men can't beat women any longer; and people now respect mothers. "What did we overlook?" the Commander asks Offred. "Falling in love". He also notes that, historically speaking, the idea of "falling in love" is an anomaly, and that the Regime simply returned things "to Nature's norm." (Bloom, 2004, p. 57) "... the

best and most cost-effective way to control women for reproductive and other purposes was through women themselves ... control of the indigenous by members of their own group. In the case of Gilead, there were many women willing to serve as Aunts, either because of a genuine belief in what they called 'traditional values', or for the benefits they might thereby acquire. When power is scarce, a little of it is tempting". (Atwood, 1985, p. Ch. Historical Notes)

Before Offred, there was another handmaid in the house of the Commander. The only proof of it was a carved message in Latin "Nolitetebastardescarborundorum/Don't let the bastards grind you down". After asking the help of the Commander for understanding the message, she learns that the woman had committed suicide, hanged herself. In an inside talk with the self, she realizes that it is pointless to take any action: "Fat lot of good it did her", she thinks "Why fight?" (Atwood, 1985, p. Ch. 35)

After starting having an affair with the family's chauffeur, Nick, Offred begins to be content with her new situation. "Truly amazing, what people can get used to, as long as there are a few compensations." (Atwood, 1985, p. Ch. 41) Another point of view would be, according to Weiss, "Like the dystopian protagonists who provided the models for her characterization, Offred is guilty of complacency, complicity, and selfish concern for her own private needs and desires. She prefers freedom from pain and acceptance of comfortable paternalistic domination over dangerous political commitment." (Weiss, 2009, p. 138)

In the last chapter, "Historical Notes", where there are discussions over Offred and her story, Atwood clearly wanted to demonstrate that, even if the time frame is twenty years after the fall of the Gilead Regime, the male narrative is very strong and it is not based on gender equality. The keynote speaker, Professor James Pieixoto, doubts of the truthfulness of the data, as they try to collect as much data as possible on the fallen regime, and therefore Offred's story seems a more sentimental one than a historical narration. But historians should be grateful for any "crumbs" that they find. Our author wants to let us know that although there were spoken facts of Offread's life (her tape recordings), the message depends mostly on the person interpreting them. Offred might have escaped, as she could not have had the means to record her story in the house of the Commander or if she had been captured by the Eye. The reader is hopeful and feels disgust with the interpretation of the Professor Pieixoto, as he tries to convey a lesser importance of her legacy.

Conclusion

The feminist themes which have been highlighted in this analysis are sexual objectification, oppression, patriarchy. "The social system which corresponds to a phallocratic order – a system which enables men to dominate women in all social relations – is known in feminist discourse as "patriarchy". (Ruthven, 1991, p. 1)

According to figures 1 and 2, the world of the Republic of Gilead is divided by gender; people have roles, which are assigned according to their functions. Gender is a crucial determinant for obtaining results. Since the male dominance is at its peak in this novel, men are the highest power in the system, and oppression and fear are necessary for maintaining control. Puritanism, the source of inspiration for this novel, has always seen women as reproduction objects, taking care of children and their man; they were not allowed to read, much less study, therefore they were used according to their functions, everything being justified by the word of God. Religion, male dominance and the role of women in this Republic seem to work very well, although many do not believe in the system, they do not take action. Women in this novel have more roles (according to figure 1) than men (figure 2), but that does not make them stronger, only more divided. The author denies any intention of writing a feminist dystopia, but that does not mean it is not. The author states that the reality is a great influence in the book, and feminism has extended its influences in a lot of literary studies.

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NARRATIVE STYLES IN EUROPEAN NEWSPAPERS

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Abstract

This article presents a comparison between the style of the news in some European languages. The structure of the news cannot be accounted for by the theories of narrative as they describe a single event rather than a sequence held by temporal and causal relations. An method to describe the organization of the news, based on propositional contents, their distribution over text spans, and the grammatically focussed elements is presented and tested. The comparison, although still experimental, beside proving the adequacy of the proposed method, shows that the journalistic style is quite uniform through Europe and the differences depend more upon different grammatical constraints than upon rhetorical choices.

Key-words: style, rhetoric analysis, information packaging, journalese

Introduction

One of the objectives newspapers share almost all over the world is to give the essential information about some event. In other cases they are expected to express opinions or to give comments about those events or about some general situation. Although sometimes the two objectives appear interleaved with one another, good journalism tends to separate the two functions. In this article we deal with some general features of event descriptions, which seem to be shared by a high number of newspapers in different (European) languages.

This involves the narrative style, the way plain narration is mixed with comments, the choice of the language and other features. The aim of this article is to try to propose a set of parameters to compare the style of journalistic accounts and to use it on a small sample, drawing some provisional conclusions. As a preliminary step it is necessary to define what is "style", in particular "narrative style" in newspapers in comparison to current literary definitions of "narration".

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Narrative style and newspapers accounts

Although many journalists may have a personal "literary style", in writing news accounts priority is necessarily given to the requirements of information according to the parameters set for good journalism, like the "Five Ws" rule or the quest for the best attainable version of the truth. For this reason, in newspapers the genre does not offer large stylistic choices; it is basically narration together with some comments. Journalists may chose the linguistic register according to their taste or the emotions they want to create in the readers.

Narration is one of the most important functions of language. Every communication can be expressed in terms of narration. Theoretical models of narration are mostly concerned with the property of narrativity, a term developed in the field of semiotics for literary texts. However, there is a radical difference between traditional narration and the event account produced by journalists. A tale or a story consists of a set of events connected by relation of causality or temporal sequence. On the contrary, news often account for one single event occurred in a specific location and time, with some consequences; in order to be narrated on a newspaper the event is to be attractive for the attention of the readers. This feature brings into focus the structure of the account rather than temporal or causal relations, or explanations based on literary theories. Thus the traditional approaches to narrativity do not apply properly to journalistic accounts; therefore it is more appropriate to adopt a more linguistic approach, based on theories of discourse.

Many purely linguistic approaches have been developed since the seminal work by DeBeaugrand & Dressler (1981), viewing a narration as an instance of the broader field of text and discourse. Many approaches have been attempted, so that a survey would be an almost impossible task. The approach adopted in this article have been influenced by Polaniy , Mann & Thompson, and van Dijk.

Polaniy (2003) proposes a syntactic model of discourse based on text units called e-discourse constituent units (E-DCU), i.e. representations of a "single state of affairs or partial state of affairs" (p. 266). E-DCUs are connected by discourse operators and organised in parse trees².

² A "parse tree" is a graphic representation of the syntactic structure, both at a sentence and at a discourse level. It has the appearance of a tree with upwards root and downwards leaves. The terms comes from Chomskian grammars.

Mann & Thompson (1988) propose a model called Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST). In RST, texts are segmented into "text spans" and organised in main clauses (nuclei) and secondary clauses (satellites); the relations between nuclei and satellites take into account the constraints on the nucleus, the constraints on the satellite, the constraints on both and the communicational effect. No definition of text span is given, but segmentation is done by intuition, the focus being on the relations that link satellites to the nucleus. There are many, or too many (Hovy 1997) types of relations, but, when dealing with narrative few links are properly used (SEQUEL, BACKGROUND); thus the theory is under-exploited. RST turns out to be more useful for argumentative texts, or any other genre where the different spans may have different logical functions.

Van Dijk (1988) carries different analysis of news in different traditions, resorting on the notion of news schema, i.e. a grammatical and rhetoric schema in which news is fitted. No definition of basic units is given.

The different proposals do not deal directly with the structure of news, van Dijk excepted; thus, in order to try a comparison, it is necessary to developed a specific model.

A model of analysis

RST offers two important tools of analysis, the notion of text span and that of rhetoric relation. A text span is a minimal portion of text forming a linguistic unit, often a clause. Rhetoric relations are many, and do not belong to a close set, but can be defined according to the needs of description; however there are two of them that will certainly fit to news account, ELABORATION and BACKGROUND. ELABORATION is a span that presents additional details with respect to a main span, while BACKGROUND offers information useful to understand the main span. For the purposes of this analysis, any text span is formed by minimal information segments (MISs), consisting of an atomic piece of information that can be expressed by a simple predicate. This does not correspond with the notion of text span, introduced by Mann & Thompson, but is rather similar to the DCU by Polanyi.

An example of the relation between text span and MIS can be given by analysing the text appearing as introduction to the video news of Le Figaro, referring to the terrorist attack in Lahore on Easter 2016 (March 27th). The news is

[Un kamikaze s'est fait exploser à l'entrée d'un parc de Lahore dimanche] où [des familles chrétiennes cé<u>lébraient</u> la fête de Pâques]. [L'attaque a été revendiquée par une faction islamiste liée aux talibans.] [Au moins 70 personnes ont été tuées.]

The event is a terrorist attack in the Gulshan-e-Iqbal Park in Lahore, against the Christian community on Easter 2016 (March 27th).

The text can be divided into four text spans, as the square brackets highlight; from the point of view of RST the first sentence is the nucleus while the following three are satellites connected by a link of ELABORATION.

However, each span includes several MISs, as shown below:

a: an explosion occurred - this is the main event E

b. E occurred by an attack (was not spontaneous)

c: the attack is a suicide one

d: casualties include approximately 70 dead

e: 29 of the died people are children

f: casualties include 340 wounded people

g: E happened Sunday 27th March

h: this date coincide with Christian Easter

i: E happened in Lahore

j: E happened in a public park / Gulshan-e-Iqbal

k: Lahore is the capital of Punjab in the East of the country

1: in the location of E, Christian families were feasting (celebrating Easter)

m: E has been committed / claimed by a Taliban group

Thus, the text spans are, in turn, formed by MISs put together to shape the news itself, as follows:

- nucleus A $\{a + b + c + j + i + g\}$
- satellite B {1}
- satellite C {m}
- satellite D {d}

As will be shown in the following paragraphs, one of the features to be taken into account is the way the MISs are ordered and expressed in the construing of the news.

An important role is also played by the grammatical rendering of the different information units and by the connectives that are used to establish a relation between the different spans . For instance, in the above fragment $A\{a+b+c+j+i+g\}$ is expressed as a main clause with a finite verb, while $B\{l\}$ is connected to it by a non restrictive relative clause. $C\{m\}$ and $D\{d\}$ are expressed by principal clauses, also with a finite verb.

This simple analysis carried above highlights the parameters for the comparison of the narrative differences between different newspapers articles. These turn out to be the following:

- The compounding of MISs into text spans: this can give an idea of the general shaping of the journalistic account, the aspects that are focused and those that gave been given less importance.
- The distribution of the information through the text spans: how many spans are used, what is focused in each of them, how they are related with one another are all features relevant to the understanding of the structure of the news.
- The grammatical form chosen to express information segments, in particular: FINITE clauses, ADVERBs (proper adverbs, adjuncts, genitives), ADJECTIVEs is partly dependent on the peculiarities of the different languages taken into account.
- Considering that the FINITE is supposed to carry the relevant information, the grammatical form of this segment (what is the subject, which type of verb is used).

These parameters allow the analysis of the structure of the news on a relatively formal basis, thus allowing an objective comparison. It is, however, necessary to test this method.

Distribution of the information

In order to assess this classification system a series of analyses has been carried on a small number of European newspapers; these are *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde* for French, *Das Bild* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine* for German, *Adevărul* for Romanian, *El mundo* and *El Pais* for Spanish, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail* for English, the *Phileleftheros* and *Vorià* for Greek, and finally *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della Sera* for Italian. The analyses are presented in the Appendix, but in order to introduce the method, an example from *Adevărul* will be given hereafter:

{[d: Cel puțin 72 de persoane au fost ucise] și [f: alte aproximativ 349 rănite], potrivit ultimului bilanț, [b: într-un atentat] [c: sinucigaș] [g: comis duminică

seara] [i: în orașul Lahore,] [k: un important centru economic, cultural și turistic din estul Pakistanului.]}{[m: Atacul a fost revendicat de o facțiune a Mișcării Talibanilor din Pakistan] [l: care a precizat că a luat la țintă creștini] [h: chiar de ziua în care catolicii au sărbătorit Paștele] }

In this narrative MIS \mathbf{d} comes in focused position together with \mathbf{f} . Also MISs \mathbf{b} , \mathbf{c} , \mathbf{g} , \mathbf{i} occur in the first text span. From a grammatical point of view \mathbf{d} and \mathbf{f} are the subjects of two coordinated FINITE sentences ("au fost ucise" and "rănite"). The second span stands in an ELABORATION relation to the first one and focuses on the claiming and the reasons of the attack.

The fundamental journalistic information, "what (b and c), when (g), where (i, k, j)" are expressed by ADVERBs.

The following table presents the number of text spans and the distribution of the various MISs in the different newspapers.

	text span A	text span B	text span C	text	text span E
	text span 11	text spair b	text spart c	span	text span L
				D	
Le Figaro	defcgik	j 1			
Le Monde	dgbcik	fjl			
Das Bild	j i xb g h c b m				
	xb d e				
Frankfurter	mbjlkd	e [source:			
Allgemeine	,	Polizeichef]			
Adevărul	dfbgik	mlh			
El mundo	bcdgfji	e	comment		
	[source:		added		
	policia]				
El Pais	dgfbckjik	caj (hour			
	,	and source			
		added)			
Daily	dfajkl	cbgji	health		
Telegraph	,		conditions		
Daily Mail	demcblik	fajil			
Philelfteros	dfbcik	e (health			
		conditions)			
Vorià	dfjikbcmk	aj	1	e	Comment
Repubblica	Comment	h	aji	daf	m
				bса	
				k	
Corriere	1ji	a	caf	d f e	Comment

There are MISs that appear almost everywhere in the first text span. These are b, c, d and g, i, k. The first group refers to the suicide attack and the number of dead people ("what"); the second group refers to the time ("when") and the location ("where"), including the information that Lahore is in East Pakistan.

The two Italian newspapers are a significant exception; in fact the core news is distributed over more than one text span. Repubblica's text is

{Il Pakistan torna ad essere insanguinato dal terrorismo.} {[h: Nel giorno della Pasqua.]} {Continua a salire il bilancio delle vittime di [a: un'esplosione] avvenuta [j: in un parco] [i: di Lahore.]}

(transl.: Pakistan is again covered with blood by terrorism. In the day of Easter. The balance of the victims of an explosion occurred in a park of Lahore keeps increasing)

and focuses on the fact that Christians are involved in some bloody event (span B). The information about the event and its location is given in segment C and, finally, the core news about terrorism and casualties are moved to section D. Section A is devoted to a general comment on the event: "Il Pakistan torna ad essere insanguinato dal terrorismo" (transl.: Pakistan is again covered with blood by terrorism). Corriere della sera starts with the mention of Christian Easter and the location of the event, which is mentioned in section B; the information about the casualties is moved to section D. The text is

{[l: Stavano festeggiando la Pasqua] [j: in un parco] [i: di Lahore.]} {[a: Poi, lo scoppio.]} {[c: Un kamikaze] [a: si è fatto esplodere] [i: a Lahore.]} (transl.: They were celebrating Easter in a park of Lahore. Then the blast. A kamikaze let himself explode in Lahore.)

This structure has specific well known motivations in the rhetoric structure of Italian news style (see below).

Most of the remaining newspapers tend to offer the maximum information in the first text span, postponing to the second span further information about wounded people and dead children.

Rhetoric structure

As it has been stressed above, most of the newspapers tend to concentrate the most salient aspects of the news in the first text span, also using complex constructions and subordinates to attain this effect. This holds for *Das Bild*, which gives all the details of the news in the first span, by means of a very complex syntactic structure.

The other newspapers distribute the information over two or more segments, the first one setting the focus (nucleus) and the further segments being ELABORATIONs of the first one. This offers a way to split the news in successive segments that shade light on different aspect of the event, sometimes repeating certain details, as shown by the occurring of the same character in different spans.

Thus, the two French newspapers use two segments, but with different content: in fact in *Le Figaro* the first span focuses on the casualties and the second on the explosion, as shown below

{[d : Au moins 72 personnes ont été tuées], [e : dont 29 enfants], [f : et 340 blessées] [b : dans un attentat] [c : suicide], [g : dimanche soir], [i: à Lahore], [k : la capitale de la province du Pendjab, située à l'est du pays]}. {[j : L'explosion a eu lieu à l'entrée d'un parc municipal,]] [l : alors que de nombreuses familles quittaient l'endroit après y avoir pique-niqué.]}

(transl.: At least 72 persons have been killed, of which 29 children, and 340 wounded in the suicide attack on Sunday night in Lahore, the capital of the province of Punjab, east of the country. The explosion took place in a municipal park, while many families where leaving the place after having had a picnic")

while in Le Monde

{[d: Au moins 72 personnes ont été tuées], [g: dimanche 27 mars] [b: dans un attentat]-[c: suicide] [i: qui a touché la ville de Lahore,] [k: dans l'est du Pakistan]}. {[f: Près de 340 autres ont été blessées par l'explosion] [j: qui a touché un parc très fréquenté,] [l: où des chrétiens célébraient Pâques.]}

(transl.: At least 72 persons have been killed Sunday March 27th during a suicide attack that occurred in the town of Lahore, east of Pakistan. Almost 340 other people have been wounded by the explosion that occurred in very popular park, where Christians were celebrating Easter.)

two parallel sentences focus respectively on the number of dead and wounded people, that can be represented as follows <victims (dead) + date, event, location> <victims (wounded) + circumstances of the attack>. Frankfurter Allgemeine, El Mundo, and Phileleftheros use the second sentence to inform that part of the victims are children or women. Le Figaro structure

is adopted by *Adevărul* and, in a sense by *El Pais*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and *Vorià*, while the one of *Le Monde* is used by the *Daily Mail*.

As it has been remarked above, the Italian newspapers are the only one to delay the core elements of the news to the third or fourth segment. This special form is due to the possibility, largely used in the language of journalism, to use a cataphoric ellipsis construction (see Mortara-Garavelli, 1996; Dardano, 1999), in order to create suspense by delaying the main aspects of the news.

Linguistic Structure

The linguistic structure of the first text span is also similar, within the limits imposed by the different language constraints. For instance, the German newspapers move the MIS **d** in remote position, while the majority of the others put it directly in focus. *Da Bild* anticipate the adverbials (see appendix), as in German the focusing of the circumstantials ([j: Ganz in der Nähe eines Kinderspielplatzes im Gulshan-Iqbal-Park] [i: in der pakistanischen Millionenmetropole Lahore]; transl. just near a playground in the park Gulshan-Iqbal), in the Pakistani million-inhabitants Lahore) is preferred. The German grammar also allows the splitting of the FINITE verb ([xb: sprengte sich] ... [xb: in die Luft]; transl. let himself burst) with the insertion of further linguistic material and the postposition of the subject ([c: ein Selbstmord]-[b: Attentäter]). At last, MIS **d** appears as object of another FINITE (tötete) with the same subject.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* focuses on the number of victims, expressing it in subject position, but only after the main event and further details have been given by a circumstantial (temporal adjunct).

Both newspapers use the grammatical possibility of creating compounds to express more than one concept in one word, as in Ostersontag(abend), Selbstmord-Attentatär or Taliban-Anschlag.

Most of the other newspapers focus on MIS **d**, with different grammatical solutions. The French journal use exactly the same formula ([d: Au moins 72 personnes ont été tuées]) with PASSIVE FINITE. The same choice has been adopted by the Romanian and the British newspapers. The Spanish *El Pais* prefers an active FINITE, still keeping MIS **d** in focus ([**d**: Al menos 72 personas murieron]; transl. at least 72 persons died), while *El Mundo*, also uses an active agentive FINITE verb, moving the data on casualties in object position ([b: Un terrorista] [c: suicida] [d: ha matado a 72 personas]).

The Greek newspapers also focus on the number of dead victims using active FINITE. The *Phileleftheros* puts the information in subject position ([d: Τουλάχιστον 65 νεκροί] και [f: περισσότεροι από 280 τραυματίες είναι ο τραγικός απολογισμός]; transl. At least 65 dead and more than 280 wounded people is the tragic balance ...). The Vorià prefers two FINITE verbs depicting the event: [d: Τουλάχιστον 65 άνθρωποι έχασαν την ζωή τους] και [f: σχεδόν 300 τραυματίστηκαν] (At least 65 persons lost their lives and almost 300 were wounded...).

The FINITE verbs fall into three different classes. The majority depicts the casualties, both in passive form as in "ont été tuées... (ont été) blessèes; au fost ucise ... rănite; have been killed...wounded, έχασαν την ζωή ... τραυματίστηκαν", or in active, as in "ha matado ... ha dejado heridas; murieron ... resultaron heridas. In $Das\ Bild$ the verb depicts the event itself with two agentive verbs (sprengte sich...in die Luft; tötete), while in $Frankfurter\ Allgemeine$ and Voria the formula is of the type "the balance is...".

Conclusions

The analysis of the different articles can go even deeper in details; the method employed proves effective.

In general the "style" is uniform through different cultures. This can be explained by a relative uniformity of "European" culture, despite the different languages, or, more concretely, as a projection of the style of agency news. This could be verified by controlling the form given to the same news by different national agencies.

The rhetorical structure of the text falls into two main classes of ELABORATION that do not seem to be affected by cultural differences; they are probably due to different stylistic choices, which, however, are uniform across (European) languages. The only deviation from a sort of standard is exhibited by the Italian newspapers, in which the emotional effect is sought for with specific artifices, like the cataphoric ellipsis and the use of nominal sentences.

Language differences emerge more clearly. German has a preference for the fronting of circumstantial ADVERBs, a feature that is not shared by the other languages. The choice of the verbs depicting the main event is particularly interesting. Three models dominate: an impersonal, a stative, and an agentive one. The first appears in the form "the number of casualties amounts to…", and the description of the event that caused such casualties is given by some ADJUNCT. The second form is present in the

Spanish form "murieron" and "resultaron heridas". The third form is the most frequent, but the agent is explicitly mentioned only by El Mundo "Un terrorista suicida ha matado ... dejado heridas", while the other newspapers prefer the passive form ("ont été tuées, au fost ucise, have been killed") avoiding to directly mention the author of the attack. An exception is Das Bild, which uses an agentive verb depicting the very event ("sprengte sich...in die Luft") rather than the casualties; this is the solution adopted also by Corriere della Sera.

The linguistic differences, then, are to be found only at a grammatical level, but do not affect neither the structure of the news nor the rhetoric style.

This is just a provisional result that needs to be confirmed by analysing a more extensive sample of newspapers, and by extending the comparison to other event-description genres.

Appendix

Le Figaro

{[d: Au moins 72 personnes ont été tuées], [e: dont 29 enfants], [f: et 340 blessées] [b : dans un attentat] [c : suicide], [g : dimanche soir], [i: à Lahore], [k : la capitale de la province du Pendjab, située à l'est du pays]}. {[j : L'explosion a eu lieu à l'entrée d'un parc municipal,] [l : alors que de nombreuses familles quittaient l'endroit après y avoir pique-niqué.]}

(transl.: At leas 72 persons have been killed, of which 29 children, and 340 wounded in the suicide attack on Sunday night in Lahore, the capital of the province of Punjab, east of the country. The explosion took place in a municipal park, while many families where leaving the place after having had a picnic")

Le Monde

{[d: Au moins 72 personnes ont été tuées], [g: dimanche 27 mars] [b: dans un attentat]-[c: suicide] [i: qui a touché la ville de Lahore,] [k: dans l'est du Pakistan]]. {[f: Près de 340 autres ont été blessées par l'explosion] [i: qui a touché un parc très fréquenté,] [l: où des chrétiens célébraient Pâques.]}

(transl.: At least 72 persons have been killed Sunday March 27th during a suicide attack that occurred in the town of Lahore, east of Pakistan. Almost 340 other people have been wounded by the explosion that occurred in very popular park, where Christians were celebrating Easter.)

{[j: Ganz in der Nähe eines Kinderspielplatzes im Gulshan-Iqbal-Park] [i: in der pakistanischen Millionenmetropole Lahore] [xb: sprengte sich] [g+h: am Ostersonntag] [c: ein Selbstmord]-[b: Attentäter] [m: der radikal-islamischen Taliban-Gruppe "Jamaat-ul-Ahrar"] [xb: in die Luft], [d: tötete mindestens 70 Menschen], [e: darunter laut pakistanischen Berichten 29 Kinder.]}

(transl.: Just near a playground in the park Gulshan-Iqbal in the Pakistani town –one million inhabitants .of Lahore on Easter Sunday a suicide attacker of the islamic radical goup "Jamaat-ul-Ahrar let himself blast in air and killed al least 70 persons among which, according to Pakistani reports, 29 children.)

Frankfurter Allgemeine

{[m: Nach dem blutigen Taliban]-[b: Anschlag] [j: auf einen Park] [l: voller Familien am Ostersonntagabend] [k: in Pakistan] [d: ist die Zahl der Todesopfer auf 70 gestiegen]}. {[e: Unter ihnen seien 25 Kinder] und [sieben Frauen]}, sagte der Polizeichef des Stadtbezirks, Mohammad Iqbal, der Deutschen Presse-Agentur am Montag.

(transl. After the bloody Taliban attack in a park full of families on the night of Easter Sunday in Pakistan, the number of dead has raised to 70. Among them are 25 children and seven ladies, said on Monday the chief of the police of the urban district, Mohamed Iqbal, to the German press agent.)

Adevărul

{[d: Cel puțin 72 de persoane au fost ucise] și [f: alte aproximativ 349 rănite], potrivit ultimului bilanț, [b: într-un atentat] [c: sinucigaș] [g: comis duminică seara] [i: în orașul Lahore,] [k: un important centru economic, cultural și turistic din estul Pakistanului.]}{[m: Atacul a fost revendicat de o facțiune a Mișcării Talibanilor din Pakistan] [l: care a precizat că a luat la țintă creștini] [h: chiar de ziua în care catolicii au sărbătorit Paștele] }

(transl. At least 72 persons have been killed and about 349 more have been wounded, according to the latest statistics, in a suicide attack committed Sunday night in the town of Lahore, and important economic, cultural and touristic centre in East Pakistan. The attack has been claimed by a group of the movement of Talibans of Pakistan, which specified that they targeted Christians just the day in which Catholics celebrated Easter.)

El Mundo

{[b: Un terrorista] [c: suicida] [d: ha matado a 72 personas] [g: este domingo] y [f: ha dejado heridas a decenas] [j: en un parque público] [i: de Lahore (Pakistán)], según han confirmado la policía y los servicios de emergencias}. {[e: 29 de las víctimas son niños]}. Es el ataque más mortífero de todos los cometidos este año en Pakistán.

(transl: A suicide terrorist has killed 72 persons this Sunday and has wounded tens in a public park of Lahore (Pakistan), according to what police and emergency services have confirmed. 29 of the victims are children. It is the more deadly attack of all those committed this year in Pakistan.)

El Pais

{[d: Al menos 72 personas murieron] [g: este domingo] y [f: más de 340 resultaron heridas] [b: en un atentado] [c: suicida] [k: en Pakistán,] [j: en un

parque] [i: de la ciudad de Lahore], [k: al este del país]} {"[c: Un suicida] [a: hizo explotar las bombas que portaba] [j: en el parque Gulshane-Iqbal], cerca de una zona infantil, en torno a las 19.00 (las cuatro de la tarde en España)", informó el portavoz policial del área, Mohamed Salim."}

(transl: At least 72 persons died this Sunday and more than 340 were wounded in a suicide attack in Pakistan in a park of the city of Lahore, east of the country. "A suicide let the bombs that he worn explode in the park Gulshane-Iqbal, around a playground, about 19.00 (four of the afternoon in Spain)" said the spokeman of the local police, Mohamed Salim.)

Daily Telegraph

{[d: At least 72 people have been killed] and [f: hundreds wounded] [a: after a bomb ripped] [j: through a children's play area] [k: in Pakistan] [l: where Christian families were celebrating Easter]}. {[c: The suspected suicide] [b: bombing took place] [g: on Sunday evening] [j: at a public park] [i: in the city of Lahore], just yards away from a set of swings.} Medical workers said the blast mainly killed women and children, while many of the wounded were in a critical condition.

Daily Mail

{[d: More than 70 people,] [e: including 29 children], have been killed [m: by a Taliban] [c: suicide] [b: bomber] [l: who targeted Christians] [i: near a children's playground in a park] [k: in Pakistan]}. {[f: Some 300 people were injured] [a: when explosives packed with ball bearings ripped through crowds] [j: near the children's swings in the Gulshan-e-Iqbal Park], [i: in Lahore], [l: where many had gathered to celebrate Easter.]}

Phileleftheros

{[d: Τουλάχιστον 65 νεκροί] και [f: περισσότεροι από 280 τραυματίες είναι ο τραγικός απολογισμός] [b: επίθεσης] [c: αυτοκτονίας][j: σε πολυσύχναστο πάρκο] [i: στη Λαχώρη] [k: του Πακιστάν].

{[e: Οι περισσότεροι εκ των νεκρών και τραυματιών είναι παιδιά] και γυναίκες, ενώ υπάρχουν φόβοι ότι ο τελικός απολοφισμός θα είναι υψηλότερος καθώς πολλοί άμθρωποι νοσηλεύονται σε κρίσιμη κατάσταση.}

(transl. At least 65 dead and more than 280 wounded people is the tragic balance of the suicide attack in a popular park in Lahore of Pakistan. The majority of dead and wounded people are children and women, while there is fear that the final balance will be higher as many people have been hospitalized in critical conditions.)

Vorià

{[d: Τουλάχιστον 65 άνθρωποι έχασαν την ζωή τους] και [f: σχεδόν 300 τραυματίστηκαν] [g: σήμερα] [j: έξω από ένα δημόσιο πάρκο] [i: στη Λαχόρη] [k: του ανατολικού Πακιστάν], [b: εξαιτίας επίθεσης] [c: καμικάζι] [m: από ταλιμπάν,] [k: στην περιοχή Πουντζάμπ.]}

{[a: Η έκρηξη σημειώθηκε] [j: στον χώρο στάθμευσης του Πάρκου Γκουλσάν-ε-Ικμπάλ, ακριβώς έξω από την πύλη εξόδου και σε απόσταση μερικών μέτρων από τις κούνιες όπου έπαιζαν μικρά παιδιά.]} {[]: Στο πάρκο βρίσκονταν πολλές οικογένειες χριστιανών για τη γιορτή τοθ Πάσχα των καθολικών.]}

{[e: Οι περισσότεροι εκ των νεκρών και τραυματιών είναι παιδιά] [και γυναίκες, ενώ υπάρχουν φόβοι ότι ο τελικός απολογισμός θα είναι υψηλότερος καθώς πολοί άνθρωποι νοσηλεύονται σε κρίσιμη κατάσταση.]}

(transl. At least 65 people lost their life and about 300 where wounded today outside of a popular park ibn Lahore of the eastern Pakistan because of a kamikaze attack by a Taliban in the region of Punjab. The explosion occurred in the parking place of the park Gulsha-e-Iqbal, immediately out of the exit gate and at a distnace of few meters from the swings where small children were playing. In the park were many families of Christians for the celebration of Catholic Easter.)

La Repubblica

{Il Pakistan torna ad essere insanguinato dal terrorismo.} {[h: Nel giorno della Pasqua.]} {Continua a salire il bilancio delle vittime di [a: un'esplosione] avvenuta [j: in un parco] [i: di Lahore.]} {[d: La polizia ha contato almeno 72 morti] [e: (tra questi ci sono 30 bambini)] e [f: 340 feriti], [b: confermando che è stato un attentatore] [c: suicida], intorno alle 19 (ora locale), a [a: farsi saltare in aria] [j: nel parcheggio del Gulshan-e-Iqbal Park] [k: che si trova nella capitale del Punjab pachistano.]} {[m: Il gruppo Jamatul Ahrar, già legato al principale gruppo talebano pachistano Tehrik e Taleban Pakistan (Ttp), ha rivendicato l'attentato.]}

(transl.: Pakistan is again covered with blood by terrorism. In the day of Easter. The balance of the victims of an explosion occurred in a park of Lahore keeps increasing. The police counted at least 72 dead people (among them are 30 children) and 340 wounded, confirming that it was a suicide attacker around 19 (local time) that let himself blast in air in the parking of the park Gulshan-e-Iqbal, which is in the capital of Pakistani Punjab. The group Jamatul Ahrar, in the past linked to the principal Pakistani Taliban group Tehrik e Taleba (TTP) claimed the attack.)

Corriere della Sera

{[l: Stavano festeggiando la Pasqua] [j: in un parco] [i: di Lahore.]} {[a: Poi, lo scoppio.]} {[c: Un kamikaze] [a: si è fatto esplodere] [i: a Lahore.]} {[d: I morti accertati sono almeno 72] e [f: oltre 320 i feriti], tra cui donne e [e: una trentina di bambini.]} {Le autorità hanno indetto tre giorni di lutto e la polizia pachistana ha arrestato nelle ultime ore 15 persone.}

((transl.: They were celebrating Easter in a park of Lahore. Then the blast. A kamikaze let explode himself in Lahore. The ascertained dead are at least 72 and more than 320 the wounded people, among which women and about thirty children. Authorities announced three days of mourning and Pakistani police arrested 15 persons in the last hours.)

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MEANING DISTORTION IN TRANSLATING ENGLISH FILM TITLES

Marianna FUCIJI¹

Abstract

Film title is the key element in the field of film marketing. Any foreign film needs a good description and publicity when it enters another linguistic community with different cultural values. The advertising of any film starts with the target audience's awareness of the film title followed by a short film description or trailer. Nowadays Hollywood productions seem to dominate over the other foreign films distributed worlwide. Sometimes the translation of Hollywood film titles may differ from country to country, which brings up the issue of meaning distortion in relation to the original film title. The aim of the present article is to highlight the degree of meaning distortion which occurs in translation of American film titles, explaining the reasons of the translator's choice. The analysis is based on a corpus of selected Hollywood film titles translated into Romanian and Russian. The paper also touches upon the cognitive aspect of translation.

Keywords: Hollywood film title, film marketing, degree of meaning distortion, target audience, cognitive aspect of translation

Introduction

Hollywood films gained their popularity a long time ago. The concept of culture industries in film studies drives to the analysis of Hollywood as a distinctive mode of cinematic production. The growing impact of globalization during the 1990's made Hollywood films more familiar and popular artifacts throughout the world. From the cultural point of view, films serve as cultural products and open themselves up to multiple translational and interpretative practices.

Hollywood films, when brought to another country, heavily rely on translations. Film distribution companies usually deal with film translations and they try to advertise the incoming foreign films. Taking into account that the film title is the first element of any film the new audience comes across, it is important to choose the appropriate title translation for the advertised film aiming at getting more film viewers in a new country. It was noticed that translated film titles sometimes differ semantically and stylistically from the original English-language film titles. Findings of the Associated Press Report (dated Feb. 28, 2014) describing Hollywood film titles lost in translation abroad contain some vivid

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examples of meaning deviation from the original film title. Associated Press writer Aron Heller mentions in this report that David O. Russel's crime drama *American Hustle* is known in Hebrew as *American Dream*, in French as *American Bluff*, in Argentina as *American Scandal*, in Spain as the *Great American Scam* and in Turkey as *Trickster*. Aron Heller mentions in his report also other famous Hollywood film titles translated abroad with some deviations in meaning stating that "it is hardly a unique phenomenon". For example he refers to *The Dukes of Hazzard* which is known in France as *Sheriff*, *Make Me Afraid*; Woody Allen's classic *Annie Hall* was called in Germany *The Urban Neurotic*; in Turkey *Erin Brockovich* was transformed into *Sweet Trouble*; George Clooney's *Up in the Air* in Japan was translated into *Mileage*, *My Life* (Titles of Hollywood hits lost in translation abroad/Associated Press/ Feb. 28, 2014).

Upon analysing the translation of Hollywood film titles in Romania, it is getting clear that meaning deviation is not a rare occurrence. For example "Adaptation" (Comedy, 2002) was translated into Romanian as Hoṭul de orchidee [The Orchid Thief]; Pants on Fire (Comedy, 1998) becomes Aventura extraconjugală [Extramarital Adventure]; View from the Top (Comedy, 2003) was translated into Romanian as Stewardesa [Stewardess]; Language of a Broken Heart (Comedy, 2011) was translated as Un romantic incurabil [An Incurable Romantic].

Why do such deviations in meaning occur? Who decides on the translator's choice? What happens in the translator's mind during the translation process? How competent must the translator be? In the following section the theoretical discussion may bring some light onto the issue of meaning distortion in interlingual transfer.

Cognitive Aspects of Translation

One of the key mechanisms of intercultural communication according to Savitskaya (2013) is translation. House (2015) regards translation as a) an extender of horizons, providing recipients with an important service and enabling them to move beyond the borders of the world staked out by their own language; b) one of the most important mediators between societies and cultures; c) a form of intercultural communication; d) a sociocultural phenomenon; e) a cognitive process (2015: 3-5). The cognitive turn in linguistics had definitely an impact on Translation and Interpreting (T&I). In this respect Rojo and Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2013) state,

... Cognitive Linguistics can contribute to the development of Translation Studies because meaning (rather than form) plays a prominent role and language is naturally linked to cognitive processes (2013: 10-11).

A group of scholars having common research interests on cognitive processes and cognitive translatology, Erik Angelone, Maureen Ehrensberger-Dow, and Gary Massey (2014) in their study "Cognitive Processes" refer to cognitive translatology as an interdisciplinary applied science (proposed by Munoz Martin 2010b), pointing out that it deals with the exploration of the core concepts such as manifestation of bilingual proficiency used in conveying ideas across languages and cultures. These scholars hold the opinion that the study of cognitive processes involved in translation and interpreting resulted in further research in bilingualism, language comprehension and production (Angelone, Ehrensberger-Dow, Massey 2016, in ed. Angeleni and Brian James Baer 2014: 44). To understand linguistic production and interpretation as stated by Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera (2014) the translator deals with cognitive operations (mental mechanisms) aimed at constructing a semantic representation from linguistic input in order to make it meaningful in context (2014: 86-92). Summarizing the impact of cognitive linguistic on translation studies, Rojo and Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2013) consider that the future challenge to be addressed in the field of Translation Studies is "to uncover the conceptual operations which guide the use of translation strategies in the process of recreating meaning" (2013:10).

Angelone, Ehrensberger-Dow, Massey (2014) regard translation and interpreting as multitask activities involving two languages. To understand what happens in the translator's mind during the translation process the scholars emphasize the importance of taking into account the translator's competence and the translation process itself (divided into three phases: understanding, deverbalization, and re-expression (in ed. Angeleni and Brian James Baer 2016:44-47). It turns out that translation competence (the translator's mental space) comprises various sub-competences: the bilingual sub-competence, the extra-linguistic sub-competence, the translation knowledge sub-competence, the instrumental sub-competence, the strategic sub-competence, and the psycho-psychological component) (ibid.)

Meaning Distortion in Translation of Hollywood Film Titles

The film title regarded as a unit of linguistic analysis is still an insufficiently studied area, especially when taking into account its interlingual transfer (rendering the film title from one language into another). This case study is devoted to the linguistic analysis of English film titles translated into Romanian and Russian. The film titles were selected from the International Movie Database (www.imdb.com). Next to the English film title one can Romanian and Russian translation taken find its /www.cinemagia.ro/ and /www.kinopoisk.ru/. To compare the level of meaning deviation the back translation into English was given for both the Romanian and Russian translations.

The film titles are grouped into five categories according to Liudmila Babenko's classification of film titles (Babenko L., Vasiliev I., Kazarin I., 2000). The Russian scholars classified film titles into following groups: "human", "event", "space or place", "object" and "time". It turns out that the film titles from the "human" category are the most numerous. This means that film producers want to attract the viewers' interest to the main character, to its personal qualities and feelings. "Event" is the second category which refers to the main event of the film. Here the main characters may be more than one and they may even not know each other, but they will be linked by the big event that will be presented in the film. So, we can state that "human" and "event" types of film titles are the most attractive for people. The least attractive type of title is "time", because it doesn't hint to any plot, it simply refers to the time where the film events will take place.

To classify the translation strategies applied in translation of film titles from our corpus, we shall use Vinay and Darbelnet's classification of translation strategies (1958) (discussed by Venuti (2001)). Referring to this point Venuti shares Vinay and Darbelnet's (1958) opinion that translators can select two main methods of translating which are called: direct/literal translation and oblique translation. When literal translation is not possible because of lexical and syntactical differences between the two languages, oblique translation is used. Vinay and Darbelnet's (1958) propose for oblique translation seven subcategories, as follows:

- 1. Borrowing (used to tackle a meta-linguistic difference; using source language terms in the target text;
- 2. Calque (a special type of borrowing in which the borrowed expression is literally translated into the target language);

- 3. Literal translation (rendering a source language text into the appropriate idiomatic or grammatical equivalent in the target language)
- 4. Transposition (substituting one-word class with another without changing the meaning of the message);
- 5. Modulation (changing the point of view, e.g. changing the part of speech).
- 6. Equivalence (rendering two situations by different stylistic and structural methods; the source text and its equivalent in the target text);
- 7. Adaptation (when cultural differences occur between the source language and the target language, the translation is rendered through a special kind of equivalence which is situational equivalence).

Table 1: Human Category Film Titles

English film title (ST)	Romanian film title (TT)	Russian film title(TT)
Horrible Bosses	Şefi de coşmar	Несносные боссы
(USA, 2011, Comedy)	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
Three frustrated	Nightmare bosses (back	
employees hatch a plan	transl.)	
to kill their		
micromanaging bosses,		
only to find their	Transposition	Direct translation
murderous plot		
snowballing into		
disaster.		
[www.imdb.com]		
Spy	Spioana	Шпион
(USA, 2015,	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
Action/comedy)	Direct translation	Direct translation
After years of doing work		
integral to the success of		
major missions, an		
intelligent but self-		
conscious deskbound		
CIA analyst is finally		
given the chance to go		
undercover as a homely		
"cat lady" in order to save		

her missing partner and thwart a global disaster		
at the hands of a		
dangerous arms dealer.		
[www.imdb.com]		
Hitch	Hitch - Consilier în amor	Правила съема: Метод
(USA, 2005,	[www.cinemagia.ro]	Хитча
Comedy/Romance)		[www.kinopoisk.ru]
While helping his latest	Hitch - Adviser in Love	
client woo the fine lady	(back transl.)	Pick up Rules: Hitch's
of his dreams, a		Method (back transl.)
professional "date doctor"		
finds that his game		
doesn't quite work on the	Addition	Adaptation
gossip columnist with		
whom he's smitten.		
[www.imdb.com]		
Hot Fuzz	Polițist meseriaș	Типа крутые легавые
(UK/USA, 2007,	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
Comedy)		
A skilled London police	Police Craftsman	Kind of Tough Cops
officer is transferred to a	(back transl.)	(back transl.)
small town that's		
harbouring a dark secret.	Adaptation	Adaptation
[www.imdb.com]		
Dan in Real Life	Sfaturi de viață	Влюбиться в невесту
(USA, 2007,	[www.cinemagia.ro]	брата
Comedy/Drama)	Life Tips (back transl.)	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
A widower finds out the		Falling in Love with his
woman he fell in love		Brother's Bride(back
with is his brother's	Adaptation	transl.)
girlfriend.		
[www.imdb.com]		Adaptation
The Wedding Planner	Eu cu cine mă mărit?	Свадебный переполох
(Germany/USA, 2001,	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
Comedy, Romance)		
Mary Fiore is San		
Francisco's most		
successful supplier of	Who am I getting	Wedding Trouble(back
romance and glamour.	married with? (back	transl.)
She knows all the tricks.	transl.)	
She knows all the rules.		35 11
But then she breaks the	Modulation	Modulation

most important rule of	
all: she falls in love with	
the groom.	
[TVmania, nr. 3 (850), 19	
ianuarie 2015]	

The findings show that Literal Translation is a common translation strategy to be applied by Russian and Romanian translators. This type of strategy reflects the exact meaning of the source language title. It means that the film titles of "Human" category have a tendency to be translated with their direct meaning.

Table 2: Events Category Film Titles

English film title (ST)	Romanian film title (TT)	Russian film title(TT)
The Hangover (USA, 2009, Comedy) Three buddies wake up from a bachelor party in Las Vegas, with no memory of the previous night and the bachelor missing. They make their way around the city in order to find their friend before his wedding. [www.imdb.com]	Marea mahmureală [www.cinemagia.ro] Great Hangover(back transl.) Addition	Мальчишник в Berace [www.kinopoisk.ru] Bachelor Party in Vegas (back transl.) Modulation
Inception (USA, 2010, Science Fiction) A thief, who steals corporate secrets through the use of dream-sharing technology, is given the inverse task of planting an idea into the mind of a CEO. [www.imdb.com]	Începutul [www.cinemagia.ro] Direct translation	Начало [www.kinopoisk.ru] Direct translation

D: 4.C:	T	TZ
Pain & Gain	Trage tare și te scoți	Кровью и потом:
(USA, 2013, Action)	[www.cinemagia.ro]	Анаболики
A trio of bodybuilders in		[www.kinopoisk.ru]
Florida get caught up in		
an extortion ring and a	Shoot loudly and Get	With Blood and Sweat:
kidnapping scheme that	Yourself Out (back	Anabolics(back transl.)
goes terribly wrong	transl.)	` '
[www.imdb.com]	1-1	Adaptation
[www.iiiab.com]		11pttion
	Adaptation	
Furry Vengeance	Brigada Pestriță	Месть пушистых
	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
(USA, 2010, Comedy)		
In the Oregon	Speckled Brigade (back	Revenge of the Fluffy
wilderness, a real-estate	transl.)	(back transl.)
developer's new housing		
subdivision faces a		
unique group of	Modulation	Modulation
protestors: local		
woodland creatures who		
don't want their homes		
disturbed.		
[www.imdb.com]	T	TT
The Five-Year	Te mai măriți cu mine?	Немножко женаты
Engagement	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
(USA, 2012, Comedy)	Will You Ever Marry Me?	
One year after meeting,	(back transl.)	Married a Little Bit
Tom proposes to his		(back transl.)
girlfriend, Violet, but		
unexpected events keep	Adaptation	Modulation
tripping them up as they		
look to walk down the		
aisle together.		
[www.imdb.com]		
Flight	Zborul	Экипаж
(USA, 2012, Drama)	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
		1
An airline pilot saves	Flight (back transl.)	Crew (back transl.)
almost all his passengers		
on his malfunctioning	B	A 1
airliner which eventually	Direct translation	Adaptation
crashed but investigators		
find something		
troubling.		
[www.imdb.com]		

Blitz (USA, 2010, Thriller) A tough cop is dispatched to take down a serial killer who has been targeting police officers. [www.imdb.com]	Blitz [www.cinemagia.ro] Blitz (back transl.) Transference	Без компромиссов [www.kinopoisk.ru] No Compromise (back transl.) Adaptation
All Is Lost (USA, 2013, Thriller) After a collision with a shipping container at sea, a resourceful sailor finds himself, despite all efforts to the contrary, staring his mortality in the face. [www.imdb.com]	Când totul e pierdut [www.cinemagia.ro] When all is lost Addition	He угаснет надежда [www.kinopoisk.ru] Hope will not fade away modulation
Wish You Were Here (Australia, 2011, drama) Four friends lose themselves in a carefree South-East Asian holiday. Only three come back. Dave and Alice return home to	Wish You Were Here [www.cinemagia.ro] Transference	He говори ничего [www.kinopoisk.ru] Do not say anything (back transl.) Adaptation
their young family desperate for answers about Jeremy's. [www.imdb.com] Snatch	Unde dai și unde crapă	Four mor way
(UK/USA, 2000, Crime) Unscrupulous boxing	[www.cinemagia.ro]	Большой куш [www.kinopoisk.ru]
promoters, violent bookmakers, a Russian gangster, incompetent amateur robbers, and supposedly Jewish jewelers fight to track	Where do you go and where it is (back transl.)	Big Jackpot (back transl.)
down a stolen diamond. [www.imdb.com]	Adaptation	Adaptation

The Guilt Trip	O călătorie cu mama	Проклятие моей
(USA, 2012, Comedy)	[www.cinemagia.ro]	матери
As inventor Andy	[[[www.kinopoisk.ru]
Brewster is about to	A Trip With My Mother	
embark on the road trip	(back transl.)	My Mother's Curse
of a lifetime, a quick stop		(back transl.)
at his mom's house turns		
into an unexpected		
cross-country voyage		
with her along for the	Adaptation	Adaptation
ride.	,	
[TVmania, nr. 3 (850), 19		
ianuarie 2015]		
Born Bad	Psihopatul	Кто не спрятался
(USA, 2011, Thriller)	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
A young woman falls for	The Psychopath(back	Who Didn't Hide
a mysterious man who	transl.)	(back transl.)
reveals his dark side.		(
[TVmania, nr. 3 (850), 19		
ianuarie 2015]	Adaptation	Adaptation
Fair Game	Ţintă legitimă	Игра без правил
(USA/United Arab	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
Emirates, 2010, Thriller)	A Legitimate Target	Game Without Rules
CIA operative Valerie	(back transl.)	(back transl.)
Plame discovers her	,	,
identity is allegedly		
leaked by the		
government as payback	Adaptation	Modulation
for an op-ed article her		
husband wrote		
criticizing the Bush		
administration.		
[www.imdb.com]		

Our findings show that Adaptation is the dominant translation strategy used by Romanian translators in the "Event" category of film titles. Russian translators widely apply Literal translation and Adaptation. Transposition, Modulation and Transference are also applied as translation strategies here. This means that the level of distortion is much higher than in the previous category. This can be explained by the fact that actions, activities, and events are presented by words which encode a message for the audience. But the problem is that a Romanian or Russian speaker may not understand the message hidden in the title. That is why a new, more appropriate title is preferred.

Table 3: Place and Space Category of Film Titles

English film title (ST)	Romanian film title (TT)	Russian film title(TT)
Baywatch	Baywatch	Спасатели Малибу
(USA, 2017, Action/comedy)	[www.cinemagia.	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
Legendary California lifeguard	rol	
Mitch Buchannon is frustrated	,	Malibu Safeguards
when a cocky, hard-partying		(back transl.)
Olympic swimmer named Matt		,
Brody joins his beach-patrol team.		
However, the two men must learn		
to work together when they	Transference	Adaptation
stumble upon a criminal		
conspiracy.		
[www.allmovie.com]		
Zombieland	Bun venit în	Добро пожаловать в
(USA, 2009, comedy/horror)	Zombieland	Z омбилэнд
A shy student trying to reach his	[www.cinemagia.	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
family in Ohio, a gun-toting tough	ro]	
guy trying to find the last Twinkie,	Welcome to	Welcome to
and a pair of sisters trying to get to	Zombieland	Zombieland
an amusement park join forces to	(back transl.)	(back transl.)
travel across a zombie-filled		
America.		
[www.imdb.com]	Transference+Ad	Transliteration+Additi
	dition	onwe
White House Down	Alertă de grad	Штурм Белого дома
(USA, 2013, Action)	zero	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
While on a tour of the White House	[www.cinemagia.	
with his young daughter, a Capitol	ro]	Assault on the White
policeman springs into action to	A Zero-Grade	House(back transl.)
save his child and protect the	Alert	
president from a heavily armed	(back transl.)	
group of paramilitary invaders.		
[www.imdb.com]	A 1	T
Towns Held	Adaptation	Transposition
Tower Heist	Jaf la turnul	Как украсть
(USA, 2011, Comedy)	mare	небоскреб
When a group of hard-working	[www.cinemagia.	[www.kinopoisk.ru] How to Steal a
guys find out they've fallen victim	ro]	Skyscraper
to their wealthy employer's Ponzi	Robbery at the Big Tower	(back transl.)
	nig rower	(vack transi.)

scheme, they conspire to rob his high-rise residence.	(back transl.)	
[www.imdb.com]		
	Transposition	Modulation
The Shawshank Redemption	Închisoarea	Побег из Шоушенка
(USA, 1994, Drama)	îngerilor	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
Two imprisoned men bond over a	[www.cinemagia.	Escape from
number of years, finding solace and	ro]	Shawshank
eventual redemption through acts	The Prison of	(back transl.)
of common decency.	Angels	
[www.imdb.com]	(back transl.)	
	Adaptation	Transposition
The Green Mile	Culoarul Morții	Зеленая миля
(USA,1999, Drama/Fantasy)	[www.cinemagia.	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
The lives of guards on Death Row	ro]	Direct translation
are affected by one of their charges:	Death Corridor	
a black man accused of child	Adaptation	
murder and rape, yet who has a		
mysterious gift.		
[www.imdb.com]		
Inside Out	Întors pe dos	Головоломка
(USA, 2015, Family/Children's)	[www.cinemagia.	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
After young Riley is uprooted from	rol	Puzzle
her Midwest life and moved to San	Turned Upside	(back transl.)
Francisco, her emotions - Joy, Fear,	Down	
Anger, Disgust and Sadness -	(back transl.)	
conflict on how best to navigate a	36 11 4	A 1
new city, house, and school.	Modulation	Adaptation
[www.imdb.com]		
Home Alone	Singur acasă	Один дома
(USA, 1990, Comedy/Family)	[www.cinemagia.	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
An eight-year-old troublemaker	ro]	
must protect his house from a pair	Home Alone	Home Alone (back
of burglars when he is accidentally	(back transl.)	transl.)
left home alone by his family		
during Christmas vacation.	D	D' (I I
[www.imdb.com]	Direct	Direct translation
[www.miab.com]		Birect transmitten
[www.miab.com]	translation	Birect translation

In this category the film titles denote the names of a street, a house, land, sea, etc. or render some information about it. The dominant translation strategies are Literal translation and Adaptation. Other translation strategies as Modulation,

Transposition and Addition are also applied. In conclusion it turns out that the meaning distortion which appeared for the "place and space" category is affected by the commercial component, which tends to create the titles in the target languages which are more attractive and easy to remember.

The following category "Object and Abstract" refers to the titles which contain objects. The objects can be of any kind, as well as abstract things, like: secret, firewall, idea, etc.

Table 4: Object and Abstract Category of Film Titles

English film title (ST)	Romanian film title (TT)	Russian film title(TT)
Lock, Stock and Two	Jocuri, poturi și focuri de	Карты, деньги, два
Smoking Barrels	armă	ствола
(UK, 1998, Crime)	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
A botched card game	Games, Pots and Gunfire	Cards, Money, Two
in London triggers	(back transl.)	Trunks
four friends, thugs,		(back transl.)
weed-growers, hard		
gangsters, loan sharks	Adaptation	
and debt collectors to		
collide with each other		Adaptation
in a series of		
unexpected events, all		
for the sake of weed,		
cash and two antique		
shotguns.		
[www.imdb.com]		
Scary Movie	Comedie de groază	Очень страшное кино
(USA, 2000, Comedy)	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
A year after disposing	Horror Comedy	Very Scary Movie
of the body of a man	(back transl.)	(back transl.)
they accidentally		
killed, a group of		A 11
dumb teenagers are	Transposition	Addition
stalked by a bumbling		
serial killer.		
[www.imdb.com]	25 1 11 4 . 1	77
Moneyball	Moneyball: Arta de a	Человек, который
(USA, 2011,	învinge	изменил всё
Comedy/Drama)	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
Oakland A's general	Moneyball: The Art of	The Man who Changed
manager Billy Beane's	Winning (back transl.)	Everything (back transl.)

successful attempt to		
assemble a baseball	T 4 11111	
team on a lean budget	Transference+Addition	Adaptation
by employing		
computer-generated		
analysis to acquire new		
players.		
[www.imdb.com]		
Interstellar	Interstellar: Călătorind	Интерстеллар
(USA, 2014, Science	prin univers	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
Fiction)	[www.cinemagia.ro]	
A team of explorers	Interstellar: Traveling	Interstellar (back transl.)
travel through a	Through the Universe	
wormhole in space in	(back transl.)	
an attempt to ensure	Transference+Addition	Transliteration
humanity's survival.		
[www.imdb.com]		
Firewall	Firewall - Program de	Огненная стена
(USA, 2006, Thriller)	protectie	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
A security specialist is	[www.cinemagia.ro]	Firy wall
forced into robbing the	Firewall-Protection	(back transl.)
bank that he's	Program	,
protecting, as a bid to	(back transl.)	
pay off his family's		
ransom.	Transference+Addition	Adaptation
[www.imdb.com]		
Hot Shots!	Formidabilul	Горячие головы
(USA, 1991, Comedy)	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
A parody of Top Gun	Formidable (back transl.)	Hot Heads (back transl.)
(1986) in which a	((33333333
talented but unstable		
fighter pilot must	Adaptation	Modulation
overcome the ghosts of	,	
his father and save a		
mission sabotaged by		
greedy weapons		
manufacturers.		
[TVmania, nr. 3 (850),		
19 ianuarie 2015]		
The Crimson Petal	Patimă și inocență	Багровый лепесток и
and the White	[www.cinemagia.ro]	белый
(USA, 2011, Drama)	Passion and innocence	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
Set in 1870s London, a	Adaptation	Direct translation
oct III 107 00 Dollatoli, a		

young prostitute finds		
potential power and		
status after becoming		
the mistress of a		
powerful patriarch.		
[TVmania, nr. 3 (850),		
19 ianuarie 2015]		
Ticket Out	Drumul spre libertate	Погоня
(USA, 2012, Drama)	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
A mother takes her	The road to freedom (back	Pursuit (back transl.)
children and flees an	transl.)	
abusive ex-husband.		
[TVmania, nr. 3 (850),	Adaptation	Adaptation
19 ianuarie 2015]		

The findings show that Romanian translators use Adaptation, Literal Translation, Modulation and Transference +Addition. Russian translators apply Literal translation, Adaptation, Modulation, Transposition, Addition.

The "Time" category is the category which contains the film titles that contain elements of time. It can refer to a period of time, or a day, or a part of the day.

Table 5: Time Category of Film Titles

English film title (ST)	Romanian film title (TT)	Russian film title(TT)
2 Days in the Valley	Dublă tradare	Два дня в долине
(USA, 1996, Comedy)	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
48 hours of intersecting	Double betrayal (back	2 Days in the Valley
lives and crimes in Los	transl.)	(back transl.)
Angeles.	·	
[TVmania, nr. 7 (854), 16		
februarie 2015]		Direct translation
	Adaptation	
Shanghai Noon	Cowboy Shaolin	Шанхайский полдень
(USA, 2000, Action)	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
A Chinese man travels to		
the Wild West to rescue a	Cowboy Shaolin	Shanghai Noon (back
kidnapped princess. After	(back transl.)	transl.)
teaming up with a train		

robber, the unlikely duo takes on a Chinese traitor and his corrupt boss.	Modulation	Direct translation
[TVmania, nr. 8 (855), 23 februarie 2015]		
About Last Night	Spune-mi ce ai făcut	Что случилось
(USA, 2014, Comedy)	azi-noapte!	прошлой ночью
Follow two couples as they	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
journey from the bar to the		
bedroom and are	Tell me what you did	What happened last
eventually put to the test in	last night! (back transl.)	night? (back transl.)
the real world.		
[TVmania, nr. 8 (855), 23	Modulation	Modulation
februarie 2015]		
Autumn in New York	Toamna în New York	Осень в Нью-Йорке
(USA, 2000, Drama,	[www.cinemagia.ro]	[www.kinopoisk.ru]
Romance)		
Romantic drama about an	Autumn in New York	Autumn in New York
aging playboy who falls for	(back transl.)	(back transl.)
a sweet, but terminally ill,		
young woman.		
[TVmania, nr. 3 (850), 19		
1 = '		
ianuarie 2015]	Direct translation	Direct translation
ianuarie 2015] Time of Death	Ora morții	Время смерти
ianuarie 2015] Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller)		
ianuarie 2015] Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro]	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru]
ianuarie 2015] Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back
ianuarie 2015] Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro]	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru]
ianuarie 2015] Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in Jordan Price, one of their	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back
ianuarie 2015] Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in Jordan Price, one of their best and brightest to solve	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back
ianuarie 2015] Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in Jordan Price, one of their best and brightest to solve the case. As other key	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back transl.)	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back transl.)
ianuarie 2015] Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in Jordan Price, one of their best and brightest to solve the case. As other key executives are murdered at	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back
ianuarie 2015] Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in Jordan Price, one of their best and brightest to solve the case. As other key executives are murdered at exactly the same time,	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back transl.)	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back transl.)
ianuarie 2015] Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in Jordan Price, one of their best and brightest to solve the case. As other key executives are murdered at exactly the same time, Jordan finds herself	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back transl.)	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back transl.)
ianuarie 2015] Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in Jordan Price, one of their best and brightest to solve the case. As other key executives are murdered at exactly the same time, Jordan finds herself investigating the past in	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back transl.)	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back transl.)
ianuarie 2015] Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in Jordan Price, one of their best and brightest to solve the case. As other key executives are murdered at exactly the same time, Jordan finds herself investigating the past in order to solve the case.	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back transl.)	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back transl.)
Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in Jordan Price, one of their best and brightest to solve the case. As other key executives are murdered at exactly the same time, Jordan finds herself investigating the past in order to solve the case. [TVmania, nr. 3 (850), 19	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back transl.)	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back transl.)
Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in Jordan Price, one of their best and brightest to solve the case. As other key executives are murdered at exactly the same time, Jordan finds herself investigating the past in order to solve the case. [TVmania, nr. 3 (850), 19 ianuarie 2015]	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back transl.) Direct translation	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back transl.) Direct translation
Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in Jordan Price, one of their best and brightest to solve the case. As other key executives are murdered at exactly the same time, Jordan finds herself investigating the past in order to solve the case. [TVmania, nr. 3 (850), 19 ianuarie 2015] Night at the Museum	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back transl.) Direct translation O noapte la muzeu	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back transl.) Direct translation
Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in Jordan Price, one of their best and brightest to solve the case. As other key executives are murdered at exactly the same time, Jordan finds herself investigating the past in order to solve the case. [TVmania, nr. 3 (850), 19 ianuarie 2015] Night at the Museum (USA, 2006,	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back transl.) Direct translation O noapte la muzeu [www.cinemagia.ro]	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back transl.) Direct translation Ночь в музее [www.kinopoisk.ru]
ianuarie 2015] Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in Jordan Price, one of their best and brightest to solve the case. As other key executives are murdered at exactly the same time, Jordan finds herself investigating the past in order to solve the case. [TVmania, nr. 3 (850), 19 ianuarie 2015] Night at the Museum (USA, 2006, Adventure/Comedy)	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back transl.) Direct translation O noapte la muzeu [www.cinemagia.ro] Night at the Museum	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back transl.) Direct translation Hочь в музее [www.kinopoisk.ru] Night at the Museum
Time of Death (Canada, 2013, Thriller) Following the death of CEO Robert Loring at precisely 10:44 pm, the FBI sends in Jordan Price, one of their best and brightest to solve the case. As other key executives are murdered at exactly the same time, Jordan finds herself investigating the past in order to solve the case. [TVmania, nr. 3 (850), 19 ianuarie 2015] Night at the Museum (USA, 2006,	Ora morții [www.cinemagia.ro] Time of Death (back transl.) Direct translation O noapte la muzeu [www.cinemagia.ro]	Время смерти [www.kinopoisk.ru] Time of Death (back transl.) Direct translation Ночь в музее [www.kinopoisk.ru]

In the translation of the film title belonging to this category the Literal translation is prevalent. Other translation strategies are Modulation, Adaptation and Addition.

Conclusions

Having analyzed the translation strategies applied in the translation of English film titles it is obvious that "Adaptation" implies the highest level of meaning distortion in translation, as it creates a new title which is culturally adapted to the target language. Thus, we can state that, according to our analysis, the distortion of meaning in the translation of English film titles into Romanian is around 60% of total number of titles. The Russian translators tend to apply the direct translation more often than Adaptation. Thus the distortion of meaning in the translation of English film titles into Russian is around 40%. The choice of the translation strategy belongs to the translator or to the distribution company which is in charge of promoting the incoming foreign films.

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IMAGOLOGY AND TRANSLATION. RENDERING THE OTHER'S PERSPECTIVE ON ROMANIANNESS

Oana-Celia GHEORGHIU¹

Abstract

Romania has had a long history of fascination for foreign travellers, who have shared their opinions about its lands and people since the dawns of Antiquity. Some of these narrators are ridden with prejudice, others are looking for peculiarities, and then some try to render an objective perspective and make their original readers understand the basics of Romanianness, as they interiorized it during their unmediated experience. All these texts, at the crossroads of fiction and non-fiction, published as diaries, travel journals, short stories or, in some cases, novels, can be reread through an imagological lens. The stereotypes at play in these books can be inventoried, reinforced or debunked.

Much more problematic proves, in this context, the translation of the Other's views about the national Self. In the more recent years, attempts have been made at growing the Romanians' awareness with regard to their national and cultural representation abroad. Humanitas Publishing features a collection of such writings, from various ages (late 19th century, early and mid-20th century, after the collapse of the communist bloc, and in the present day). It is not easy to read oneself through the eyes of another, and this task is two times more complicated for the translator, who has to side with the author in order to hand in an objective translation, and not a rewriting, to the publisher.

The aim of this paper is discuss the approach to translation in an imagological context. To this effect, it outlines some choices made in translating certain aspects that might raise imagological questions, encountered in Robert D Kaplan's 2016 book, In Europe's Shadow: Two Cold Wars and a Thirty-Year Journey Through Romania and Beyond and in Maude Rea Parkinson's 1921 memoir, Twenty Years in Roumania.

Keywords: auto-image, hetero-image, truth, prejudice, national representation, translation, reader-response

Introduction

The Romanians' auto-image has long been shaped by their reflection in the eyes of the others. The historical praise of the Dacians, their forefathers, by ancient historians, chief among whom Herodotus "the bravest and the

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most honourable of the Thracians tribes", though a rather marginal comment in the historian's text, was common place in the propagandistic Romanian history, being taught since the early school age. A similar 'hallmark' of Romanian pride is Pope Sixtus IV's praise of Stephen the Great as Verus christiane fidei athleta ("The true defender of the Christian faith"), during the turmoil of the late 15th century, when the expansion of the Ottoman Empire put great pressure on Europe (Cândea 2004: 140). It is common knowledge that communists went to great lengths to identify such eulogies to various Romanian figures so that they could imprint a positive auto-image on the Romanians' mindset, an aim which they largely accomplished. At any rate, however, the approach rested, whether consciously or not, on aspects of mentality which seem to characterise Romanianness: the exacerbated concern with what others think or say of them and the need for reassurance. Once the political paradigm changed, the Romanians have also had the opportunity to access much less flattering views, especially in the contemporary context of a fundamental acquis of European integration - the free movement of people - which made them face their being negatively stereotyped by the foreign Other. It is in this context and owing to this mental framework that they started to look into accounts of them and of their land imparted by Western travellers since the dawns of writing, looking for more positive accounts made by the foreign Other. This is not to say that all these texts, placed at the crossroads between fictional and non-fictional, render an objective and a positive image of Romanianness, as their authors perceived it during their unmediated encounters with the Romanians. Delivered to the world in the form of travelogues, diaries, short stories, journalistic bits and, sometimes, novels and plays, the texts on (any) Other may employ stereotyping, which sometimes may render them prejudiced.

Outlining a constructed image through a "rhetoric of national character" (Leerssen 2000), interiorised in various degrees of objectivity – from unmediatedness to hearsay or libel – the discourses of otherness acquire literariness and fictionalism whether they have been originally intended as such or not by their authors. This has always been a fact, although it is openly acknowledged only in this post-truth era – any discourse bears the imprint of the truth of its maker but, what is more, that of the truth as it is understood by its receivers. Therefore, admitting that the truth is negotiated at the level of the writing process, one could admit that negative/positive stereotyping and objectivity/subjectivity are also subject to reader's negotiation, especially on the part of the reader that is

not written in the text as implied reader, but rather as a constructed character. In other words, the Romanians reading fiction or non-fictional travel writings about Romania may be placed beyond what is expected from the implied reader, as they might not have been among the original addressees of those texts. The implied reader is, according to Iser, "a textual structure anticipating the presence of a recipient", which designates a network of response-inviting structures, which impel the reader to grasp the text" (1978: 34) within the confines it pre-imposes. Thus, the reader's frame of reference, which "develops in the historical moment of [a literary work's appearance from a previous understanding of the genre, from the form and themes of already familiar works, and from the contrast between poetic and practical language" (Jauss 1970: 11), should also consider, in such cases, the auto-image that the respective reader has of his or her national representation. As Leerssen points out, "the cognitivepsychological model of frame has deepened our understanding of stereotyping [...], being fairly close to the social-psychological notion of prejudice, or what Jauss would call an Erwartungshorizont or horizon of expectation" (2016: 24).

1. Reading the self through the eyes of the other

Transposing both the auto-image, which is valid and real for any nation or ethnicity, and the local interest in what the other has to say about one into cultural marketing, one of the most important Romanian commercial presses, Humanitas, attempts at raising the Romanians' awareness of their national representation abroad by publishing writings which focus on the image of the Romanians, rendered for a different audience by foreign travellers from various ages (late nineteenth century, early and midtwentieth century, after the collapse of the communist bloc, and in the present day). The success of the collection is moderated, probably because of the fact that, as interested as one may be in the other's opinion, it is still rather difficult to read yourself through other people's lens, provided that the expectations of a positive representation are not always (or even often) met.

The schemata involved in the construction of such writings lead to imagology or, "the study of the representations of the foreign other in a literary work, in a national literature, or in the mental structures prevailing in a cultural community at a given historical moment in its evolution" (Gavriliu, 2002, p. 5). Although the aim of this paper is not to pursue a

literary analysis, focus being laid on a theoretical account of the translation of such texts, from the translator's perspective, a brief account of what imagology is and does may prove helpful in decoding the stereotypes involved when it comes to "making sense of the world through ethnicity" as Leerssen (2016) puts it.

Based on "the dynamics between those images which characterise the other (hetero-images) and those which characterise one's own, domestic identity (self-images or auto-images)" (Leerssen 2007: 27), imagology as a critical reading may be defined starting, as above, from the fictional mirror viewed in its discrete components - "in a literary work" - and as a whole -"in a national literature" (although the latter concept is, if not moot, at least obsolete in the context of a fresh understanding of World Literature). It is more appropriate to focus on mental structures because, as Leerssen, remarks, "texts that say something on national character frequently rely, not on a first-hand observation of reality, but almost always on an existing reputation" (1998). Thus, the representation of national characters follows patterns of thought accumulated in many generations. This view is also shared by Dyserinck (2003), who claims that "images and imagotypical structures managed to stay alive for generations by their very consistency and resistance". The phrase "imagotypical structures" may be used interchangeably with stereotype or cliché, which is defined as an image that "remains constant despite historical changes" (Schneider 2005, qtd in Mohor-Ivan and Praisler, 2007: 48). In truth, even stereotypes change over time, due to various factors, most of them extrinsic to the literary text. Perhaps it is better if one regarded Leerssen's and Dyserinck's attributing of an intertextual dimension to the formation and perpetuation of the national stereotype as an accumulation, and not merely as an image that remains unchanged along the centuries. Images represent mental pictures, representations, or "cognitive knowledge structure or schema that controls our opinion and behaviour towards the other" (Mohor-Ivan and Praisler, 2007: 48), but also towards the self. There is no self without the other, and the imagology acknowledges this fact, since it focuses as much on autoimage as it does on hetero-image.

2. Translating the self as seen by the eyes of the other

A complication arises from the initial part of the process of bringing the other's view on the self into the consciousness of the said self: the translation of a text containing hetero-images that can be biased,

prejudiced, or unjustly negative. With consideration to the invisibility of the translator, bound by work ethics to side with the author in order to hand in an objective translation, and not an unfaithful rewriting, to the publisher, the translation of texts that have to do with the translator's own ethnicity may prove demanding. As Bassnett and Lefevere assert in Translation, History and Culture, "there is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from where a text emerges and into which a text is transposed. [...] Translation is always doubly contextualised, since the text has a place in two cultures (1990: 11). But it is two times more difficult when one is required to triangulate, in the sense used in contemporary politics, i.e. to place oneself above both the culture they translate into and the one from which they translate. A translator of a text that speaks in prejudiced terms about his or her country must fulfil the role of a cultural mediator, swinging between cultures in a never-ending merry-go-round: my culture seen through the subjective lens of your culture and then transposed objectively into my culture as it were an element of your culture. Here is the point where imagology comes to the rescue, the translator, always a cultural mediator, being - ideally, at least - familiar with the mental structures of the source culture and aware of the serious error of "using static approaches or positing stable or essentialist views of cultures and their practices" (Flynn, Leerssen and van Doorslaer 2016: 3). In turn, understanding the non-fixedness of the stereotype helps in construing a national representation at a given time, in a given context, as a mutable discourse, rather than frustratingly regarding the gaze of the Other as a patronising representation of inferiority. Thus, the translator should grasp the source text "in terms of the ways in which the political, social and cultural context of [its] production determined the discursive strategies which lay behind the images of collective self and other that they contain" (McKinnon 2016: 24) in order to be able to produce an acceptable reworking of the text, given that translation is never "ideologically neutral" and that is "always shaped by its social, economic and cultural context," as Lefevere (1992: 1-10) asserted, cited by McKinnon, ibid. In other words, minimum two contexts and two ideologies clash in any translated text, but when the ST makes reference to the target culture, the task of the translator becomes more complicated, as the latter must disregard the cultural and ideological constraints of their own context, and render the representation of their culture as seen through a foreign mirror.

Starting from McKinnon's chapter cited above, on the 16th century English translation of the French *Débat*, which was manipulated and

reworked by the translator so as "to make it acceptable within a new literary system and to a new readership with very different social, cultural and political expectations and loyalties" (2016: 24), I have carried out an informal survey in an online group of literary translators. I posited the question as to whether the translators would accept a translation ridden with prejudiced views on Romania and the Romanians. Further on, provided that they accepted it, the next question was whether they would alter the text in any way, with glosses, footnotes or omissions. Around 60% of the respondents declared that they would not accept the translation, under any circumstances, because that would contribute to vet another 'masochistic self-flagellation' - which, in imagotypical terms, corresponds, to a certain extent, to the negative auto-stereotyping of the Romanians as pariahs of Europe, very much in circulation in the more recent years. The others claimed that they would accept it because Romanians need to know how they are perceived and that we should not pretend that we live in an ideal world. Nevertheless, the opinion was almost unanimous that the translation should not be altered, that the translators should not be more betraying than they already are – an allusion to the famous Italian phrase Traduttore, traditore. The only acceptable addition was considered mentioning the inaccuracies or prejudiced views in a paratext (preface or translator's note).

As for my experience as a translator, I have always been authororiented and in favour of rendering the source text as accurately as possible, regardless of its contents, which may be uncomfortable and/or against my views or values. Two of the books I translated for Humanitas Press in collaboration with historian Constantin Ardeleanu deal with Romania and Romanianness and, although neither is prejudiced – they are, in fact, clearly positive rather than negative – both contain several instances which can make a Romanian's eyebrow raise. This is the reason why, in what follows, two examples of what could be misinterpreted from the perspective of the Romanian reader shall be provided.

The former, *Twenty Years in Roumania* (the original spelling was preserved), was written in the early 1920s by Maude Rea Parkinson, an Irish governess who had spent twenty years in the company of high-class families of Romania at the turn of the century, until to the outburst of World War I. Her intention, as announced from the first lines, was to present Romania to her fellow citizens, who then regarded it either as a faraway, mid-eastern wilderness or, best case scenario, as a country full of "the glamour of the Arabian night," populated with "a wonderful *race of*

people rich in primitive virtues, dwelling in a charming country amidst scenes of Oriental luxury" (Parkinson, 1921, p. 18). As per Parkinson's amused remark, the Westerners "seemed to have the haziest kind of ideas about Romania - one agent wrote to say that they only covered Europe in their work" (*ibid.*). In point of translation, special attention had to be paid to the adjective primitive, because of its two meanings - ancient, primordial, original, but also crude, rudimentary, the latter being offensive. It is obvious from the context that Parkinson's intention was not to offend, which is why the translation employed a more poetical and less susceptible synonym for the former sense, ancestral. Another aspect, which in terms of translation strategies could be described as an omission, concerns the noun phrase "a race of people". If in English, according to Cambridge Dictionary, one of the meanings of the word *race* is "a group of people who share the same language, history, characteristics, etc.", the Romanian dictionary provides only the following explanations for the corresponding noun, rasă: 1. a group of individuals belonging to the same species of microorganisms, plants, animals, of shared, constant characteristics hereditarily preserved; 2. each of the biological groups of populations, characterised by the colour of the hair, skin, and other external features (DEX 2009, my translation). As Romanians do not belong to a different race than that of the Irish author, as per the Romanian definition of the word, keeping the word in translation would have led to a serious misunderstanding. Another aspect considered was the time when the source text was written, when sensitivity to racism was not as acute as it is today. Therefore, the translation reads: "un popor minunat, bogat în virtuți ancestrale" (2014: 12) (back-translation: a wonderful people, rich in ancestral virtues), without the changes operated to affect the intentionality of the source text.

Although Maude Parkinson's book offers a rich material for an imagological analysis (see Gheorghiu, 2013), its translation from the same perspective did not pose great difficulties, aside from slight linguistic transpositions as the one above. While many of her wonderments about the Romanians may seem naïve and sometimes inaccurate to the Romanian reader, it is obvious from the entire tenor of the memoir that she regarded her hosts as characterised by "innate politeness", "very kind and thoughtful for others", with hospitality that "knows no bounds" (1921: 197), therefore, on the positive side of stereotyping. This simplifies the translator's task in delivering a rendition likely to elicit a positive reader-response, which would be, theoretically, harder to achieve when translating a book full of negative stereotypes, such as orphans, poverty,

AIDS and, of course, the ubiquitous vampirism inspired by Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. What comes to mind is Dan Simmons' horror novel *Children of the Night* (1992), in which "the whole of Romania is "vampirised" and "described as a negative alternative to Occidental values" (Crişan 2013: 7). It is interesting for the present discussion to note that, although Simmons' books are generally appreciated in Romania, the American author enjoying a large and enthusiast readership among SF fans, this book seems to have never been translated into Romanian.

A much more objective stance is to be found in the book of American author, journalist and political analyst Robert D. Kaplan, In Europe's Shadow: Two Cold Wars and a Thirty-Year Journey Through Romania and Beyond. "Some 35 years ago, Robert D. Kaplan embarked on what this book portrays as an enduring love affair. The object of his affection and fascination is not a person, but a country: Romania. It is an obsession that has led him to plunge into the surrounding Balkans, and farther afield to contemplate Europe in all its historic complexity" reads the review of The New York Times (Smale, 2016), without being too far from the truth. The book, released in Romania at the same time with the American version, is based on Kaplan's three trips to Romania, in three different decades: in 1981, when the totalitarian communism was in full force; in 1990, immediately after the fall of the regime; and in 2014 (this time, the visit also included the Republic of Moldova), in the context of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Although the entire volume is written from a subjective, personal, diaristic perspective, it is important for the translator and reader alike to remember that In Europe's Shadow is an exercise in realist political analysis, and consequently, certain liberties that may sometimes be taken with the translation of a literary text, i.e. that degree of creativity mentioned by Lefevere, do not apply. The translation, in this case, should be freed from ideological constraints and should come closer to the strictness and precision of scientific translations, all the while paying attention to the pragmatic elements that make up the discourse. There is no other way to achieve the intercultural communication that a political text is capable of mediating.

It is also important to take into account the structures of power that dominate the text, which could – theoretically, again – be imagologically accounted for in terms of Americanism, assumed superiority and the assurance of the might. But this would be an error, because Kaplan is indeed a lover and a connoisseur of Romania and his bias does not make itself felt throughout the more than 300 pages in which he describes

Romania of then (the 1980s, but also its historical past), and that of now (2014-2016) from geographical, cultural, and especially perspectives. "For an appreciation of contemporary Romanian attitudes, Robert Kaplan's book has no equal. As an outsider, yet within, the author offers an analysis of Romania that combines erudition and authority. His sparkling, suggestive reflections, drawing upon history and landscape, capture the DNA of the country and its inhabitants" says Dennis Deletant, a renowned British historian and another great connoisseur of Romania in one of the blurbs included in the English edition. The foreigners' praise generally follows this trend, but it is interesting to note that the Romanians' is similar, which is hardly surprising for an author compared to Huntington and Fukuyama, but which could have become surprising if the Romanian readers had felt themselves negatively stereotyped in any way. What Kaplan does is to place a mirror for Romanians to see themselves as they might have not probably done it with external help:

Bucharest, as I rode in from the airport and saw the ashen, mouldy faces of the bus driver and other Romanians aboard, crushed in their overcoats and winter hats with earmuffs and their worries, made me instinctually aware of all the history I had been missing the last half decade."

La București, pe drumul de la aeroport, privind fețele trase și palide ale șoferului și ale altor români din autobuz, înfofoliți în paltoane și căciuli de iarnă și copleșiți de griji, am conștientizat instinctiv întreaga istorie ce trecuse pe lângă mine în ultima jumătate de deceniu. (2016: 38-39),

or,

People clutched cheap jute bags in expectation of stale bread. I looked at their faces: nervous, shy, clumsy, calculating, heartrending, as if struggling to master the next catastrophe. Those clammy complexions seemed as if they had never seen the sunlight.

Trecătorii aveau în mâini sacoşe ieftine de rafie și așteptau să cumpere pâine. Leam privit fețele: nervoase, timide, stângace, calculate, îndurerate, ca și cum s-ar fi luptat să prevină următoarea catastrofă. Erau așa de palizi, că păreau să nu fi văzut vreodată lumina soarelui (2016: 41).

What he also does is to magisterially pinpoint the Romanians' self-image, by resorting to statements made by Romanian cultural and diplomatic personalities:

A former Romanian diplomat, Ioana Ieronim, told me in 1998, "This is how we were in the interwar period, in the 1930s. We are resourceful, adaptable, exaggerated, pseudocosmopolitan émigrés in a new, global world. We are one-dimensional Latin-Oriental clones of the West." A local philosopher and essayist, Horia-Roman Patapievici, added: "When we buy computers, compact disks, and clothes, we borrow the material consequences of the West without grasping the fundamental values that created such technologies in the first place."

Un fost diplomat român, Ioana Ieronim, mi-a spus în 1998: "Așa eram și în perioada interbelică, în anii '30. Suntem descurcăreți, adaptabili, excesivi, niște emigranți pseudo-cosmopoliți într-o nouă lume globală. Un fel de clone unidimensionale, latin-orientale ale Vestului. Horia-Roman Patapievici, filozof și eseist, a adăugat: "În momentul în care cumpărăm calculatoare, CD-uri și îmbrăcăminte, ne însușim consecințele materiale ale Vestului, fără să înțelegem valorile fundamentale care au generat aceste tehnologii" (2016: 70).

While the above references to the depressive physical aspect of the Romanians, also remarked by other foreign travellers, and to their mentality as followers of the West (which he was considerate enough to quote from the opinions of Romanians) did not entail any difficulties in translation, a translation problem arose from the title itself. *To be in someone's shadow*, in one of the Romanian understandings of the phrase, means to be obscured, made inferior by that someone, which could put the readers on a wrong track. The translators' and, afterwards, the editors' decision was to leave the title unaltered, providing a literal translation, *În umbra Europei*. Although the formal equivalence was not affected by this transfer, the dynamic equivalence was somehow lost, because of the implications that the phrase acquires in the Romanian language, a fact proven by the first question Kaplan had to answer in an interview he gave to a Romanian newspaper:

In Europe's Shadow – the title of your book – does it mean that you are talking about Romania as if it were a faraway country, one barely known by the world you live in, or as if it were a country whose survival depends on the "light of the West"?

Kaplan's reply sheds light on the interpretation of the title:

In Europe's shadow means exactly this: it is a country that is not at the heart of Europe, it is not France, Germany or Austria. Romania is pushed towards the East, much too close to Ukraine and the former USSR to be

comfortable. I felt that Romania had not enjoyed the attention it deserved, from Europe or from the West in general. While there are so many good books on Poland, written by journalists or historians, Romania was somehow left in a shadow cone. Hence the title (Felseghi, PressOne, 2016, my translation).

While the translation as a whole has not received any negative commentaries, on the contrary, two years after its being handed to the publishing house and published under this title, I feel, from this imagological perspective of the self-image, that we should have modified the title in order to avoid this confusion generated, undoubtedly, by a certain national inferiority complex. In the end, Kaplan did not express any negative stereotypes about Romania, "a country resembling a sensual, macabre, perpetually fascinating, and occasionally brilliant *film noir*" (2016: 70), but described it as realistically and accurately as possible, and it would be a pity to have misled at least one reader with the translation of the title.

By way of conclusion

This paper has strived to prove that, in an age of acute sensitivity with regard to the way one nation is perceived by the foreign Other, the translation of fictional and non-fictional texts concerned with the national representation should rely on imagology, the theory of national representation coming from the field of comparative literary studies. While there is consensus that the text should not be altered so as to suit the readership's preferences, it is nevertheless important that the translator, aware of the local mental framework, anticipate the readers' response to a text about themselves, and avoid the pitfall of misinterpreting the author's intention.

The paper has shown both an instance in which the translator was aware of such possible traps and resorted to a necessary omission and the use of a more neutral synonym than the one provided by the dictionary as the first choice, but also one in which the literal translation of the title disregarded the possible negative implications of the resulting phrase. While this was not the case, the translation of the title could have induced the sensation that the book assumed a stance of superiority, which, in its turn, could have affected the sales, given the Romanians' exhaustion with being looked down on by Westerners.

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L'AMPLIFICAZIONE TESTUALE IN INTERPRETAZIONE CONSECUTIVA E SIMULTANEA DAL FRANCESE IN ITALIANO: UNA PROSPETTIVA DIDATTICA

Anna GIAMBAGLI*

Abstract

Il fenomeno dell'estensione o aggiunta verbale nel testo interpretato rappresenta una manifestazione linguistica di rilievo entro la gestione del processo traduttivo. Essa si situa all'estremo opposto rispetto alla delezione e viene realizzata dall'interprete con motivazioni e strategie diverse. Lo studio analizza tali motivazioni e tali strategie sulla scorta di riflessioni tratte dalla letteratura settoriale e di esemplificazioni riferite all'esperienza didattica dell'interpretazione da francese a italiano. Vengono indagate le conseguenze che taluni ampliamenti del materiale verbale del Testo Originale (TO) esercitano sul Testo Interpretato (TI) a livello di informatività e di accessibilità di quest'ultimo. L'inclusione di materiale enunciativo autonomo nel TI deve infatti essere valutata in termini di indispensabilità, di opportunità, di ridondanza e soprattutto in funzione della fruizione del TI da parte del destinatario italofono. Sulla scorta dell'apporto di autori che di questo fenomeno si sono occupati si procede a una disamina di alcuni casi di specifico interesse tratti da un corpus di esami di interpretazione consecutiva e simultanea sostenuti nel 2018 da studenti di Laurea Magistrale in interpretazione di conferenza presso la SLMIT, Università di Trieste; l'intento è quello di sistematizzare le classi di aggiunte secondo il ruolo che le stesse assumono entro l'impianto argomentativo e al fine di stabilire se si assista a una invarianza, a un arricchimento o a un depotenziamento della fruibilità complessiva del discorso originale per il destinatario del discorso interpretato.

Keywords: aggiunta, delezione, informatività, strategia interpretativa, fruibilità discorsuale

Entro il complesso processo interlinguistico realizzato dall'interprete, tanto in modalità consecutiva quanto in modalità simultanea, convivono diverse realtà "comportamentali" afferenti all'analisi del discorso in senso lato; queste ultime sono certo identificabili in primo e più evidente luogo sul piano linguistico in senso proprio poiché l'operazione traduttiva considerata nel suo aspetto "esteriore", di fatto si impernia sulla trasposizione del materiale verbale della LP (Lingua di Partenza) nella LA (Lingua di Arrivo). Ma, appunto perché di fenomeno complesso si tratta, lo

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stesso si estende oltre i confini dell'enunciazione linguistica e coinvolge ambiti afferenti alla sfera cognitiva e pragmatica della comunicazione; una comunicazione, quella prodotta dall'interprete, di frequente indagata su un doppio versante al fine di stabilire il grado di fruibilità del suo dire:

Research into the quality of spoken-language interpreting has been approached from two main perspectives: quality as a process and quality as a product (García Becerra 2015: 543).

Ciò che maggiormente importa in termini appunto di qualità del prodotto ossia del c.d. discours interprète e al fine di valutare la corretta esecuzione di quest'attività multifattoriale di appropriazione, elaborazione e restituzione di discorso orale, è che quello che viene detto dal producente in LP (Lingua di Partenza) corrisponda a quello che viene ri-detto dall'interprete in LA (Lingua di Arrivo); ciò, in linea con l'assunto secondo cui "interpretar es hablar para redecir lo ya dicho", come da eloquente definizione di García-Landa (1985: 178). Fatta salva questa esigenza di veridicità, irrinunciabile in ossequio al loyalty principle estesamente discusso da Nord (2007), il dibattito sulla natura dell'operazione traduttiva nell'oralità non può esimersi dal valutare, oltre alla qualità delle cose (ri)dette dall'interprete, anche la quantità delle stesse; ed ecco che l'analisi può altresì situarsi sul piano della formulazione lineare, ossia propriamente linguistica, del discorso interpretato per stabilire se quanto detto dall'interprete è tracciabile in quanto detto dall'oratore; essa si concentrerà allora essenzialmente sul versante quantitativo della verbalizzazione in LA, ossia su fenomeni enunciativi tanto di sottrazione quanto di accrescimento che possono o lasciare inalterati impianto e struttura testuali del TO ovvero intaccarli in misura variabile, per esempio sul piano della coerenza argomentativa e dell'equivalenza concettuale tra enunciati.

Nel primo scenario, quello della sottrazione, studi ormai classici in letteratura, ad es. quelli di Kalina (1993), di Altman (1994) e di Barik (1994) si soffermano sul fenomeno della cancellazione di porzioni di discorso, discutendo - anche sulla base di evidenze sperimentali - se essa sia riconducibile a una precisa strategia interpretativa, e se sì a quale, o se segnali un momento deficitario nella comprensione del TO per contenuto e/o per forma. Certo è che nel caso della delezione di segmenti quantitativamente cospicui entro il materiale costitutivo del TO, è plausibile ipotizzare - fatta salva la gestione in economia di elementi discorsuali in TO ritenuti dall'interprete ridondanti ovvero a informatività

ancillare - che la versione TI risulti decurtata rispetto a quantità ma anche a qualità del contenuto informativo originale.

Delle due manifestazioni più palesi nel processo di trasposizione interlinguistica in interpretazione tanto simultanea quanto consecutiva, ossia appunto l'elisione e l'aggiunta, ci concentriamo su quest'ultima perché ritenuta più interessante: infatti nell'elisione l'interprete "semplicemente" tace, mentre nel caso dell'aggiunta enuncia, e pertanto interessa valutare alcune delle modalità tramite cui l'interprete stesso accresce il TO e con quale impatto sull'efficacia della comunicazione.

Numerosi gli studi su questa manifestazione verbale che incide talvolta vistosamente sulla quantità e talvolta anche sulla qualità informativa del discorso interpretato. Tra i vari autori, Palazzi si è occupata di questo fenomeno sia sul piano teorico (1998) sia sul piano applicativo (2006) nell'ambito dell' interpretazione da italiano verso francese lingua B di studenti italofoni. Come rileva l'autrice, l'interprete che lavora verso la lingua straniera B è per forza di cose portato a una minor produzione di aggiunte in ragione di una direzionalità che lo inquadra entro maglie enunciative più stringenti rispetto alla latitudine e alla padronanza espressiva cui attinge interpretando verso la lingua materna A.

Facendo comunque astrazione dalla direzionalità A-B vs. B-A e anche dalla coppia di lingue compresenti oggetto di interpretazione, e posto che non tutto il detto in LP può, né deve, essere riprodotto in LA, durante l'attività traduttiva l'interprete è in linea di principio tenuto a

gérer sa capacité de traitement pour reproduire ce qui est essentiel, ce qu'il faut vraiment dire [...] afin de transmettre le message débarrassé de tous les éléments superflus (Palazzi 1998 : 136).

Un concetto, questo, che richiama direttamente le massime di logica conversazionale enunciate da Grice, in particolare in ordine alla quantità del materiale enunciato dal locutore in contesto unilingue, ossia: make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange; do not make your contribution more informative than required (1975: 45).

Tuttavia, durante il processo tanto linguistico quanto cognitivo di selezione e tassonomia del materiale recepito in LP, l'interprete può decidere (a volte con decisione diremmo inconsapevole) di manipolare questo contenuto in modo tale che esso risulta poi amplificato in LA, operando quindi per addizione. L'adeguatezza o l'arbitrarietà di tale

procedura andrà volta a volta motivata dall'osservatore sulla base di valutazioni di ordine certamente linguistico, ma anche contestuale in quanto

non esiste solo la competenza grammaticale, ma anche la competenza pragmatica, cioè quella capacità di utilizzare la lingua in modo appropriato alla situazione comunicativa, in funzione anche degli scopi che il parlante si prefigge (Beccaria 1988: 279).

Alla luce di quanto detto, possiamo configurare l'immissione di materiale linguistico inedito in TI dall'interprete come: 1. Aggiunta Pleonastica, 2. Aggiunta Esplicitante, 3. Aggiunta Deviante, ciascuna di intensità differente in termini di azione (modifica) esercitata sull'informazione fornita dall'oratore: si va pertanto da una soglia minima (1) a una soglia massima (3) di sovvertimento del materiale linguistico e concettuale presente in TO.

Per tentare di individuare con quale obiettivo l'interprete decide di estendere il proprio discorso inserendo in TI elementi di fatto estranei al TO e per proporre uno schema generale delle classi di aggiunte sopra evidenziate ci si riferirà ad alcuni esempi tratti dal corpus (TO e TI) dei testi di esame di interpretazione consecutiva (IC) e di interpretazione simultanea (IS) francese-italiano somministrati nelle sessioni estiva e autunnale dell'a.a. 2017-2018 presso la SLMIT, Università di Trieste. Si tratta di interventi pronunziati da esponenti politici francesi, generalmente Ministri, in occasione di incontri istituzionali in sede nazionale o internazionale; le tematiche sviluppate afferiscono all'ambito delle relazioni internazionali, dell'economia, del sociale, della cooperazione allo sviluppo: tematiche tipicamente affrontate anche dalla formazione in interpretazione di conferenza, presentate tramite testi coerenti per argomentazione e coesi per struttura linguistica. La fonte di riferimento per l'acquisizione di tali testi è www.vie-publique.fr/discours/, portale ufficiale del governo francese che raccoglie la trascrizione verbatim di tutti gli interventi pubblici prodotti a livello ministeriale.

Come detto, si procederà esemplificando le addizioni testuali segnalandone funzione e grado di intensità al fine di stabilire l'intacco oggettivo che il materiale linguistico sovrammesso in TI esercita sia in sé, sia rispetto al TO in ordine alla fruibilità del discorso interpretato in italiano LA. La nostra analisi sarà perciò di tipo osservazionale e orientata a indagare natura e ruolo delle aggiunte di materiale inedito da parte

dell'interprete; ciò esclude pertanto valutazioni circa la qualità dell'interpretazione su altre manifestazioni eventualmente presenti in quel punto del TI; ad esempio omissioni, generalizzazioni, ripetizioni, frasi non concluse, enunciazione maldestra, difettosità morfosintattiche. Degli 8 TI audioregistrati (4 IC e 4 IS) verranno qui segnalate alcune porzioni di specifico interesse per la nostra indagine; la trascrizione di queste porzioni riproduce il detto interpretato integrale dagli 8 soggetti, comprensivo di scorie tipiche dell'oralità quali pause piene, false partenze, autocorrezioni, ripetizioni.

Ponendosi in prospettiva cognitivista, l'estensione testuale nel passaggio da TO a TI può essere considerata, in linea generale, come conseguenza dell'insoddisfazione della propria performance da parte dell'interprete in un determinato momento dell'activité traduisante, da sanare appunto tramite soluzioni linguisticamente creative; fenomeno, questo, peraltro segnalato anche nel percorso procedurale della traduzione scritta per la gestione di termini culturalmente connotati:

la créativité doit être considerée comme une problem solving activity, comme un outil du traducteur, lui permettant de résoudre les problèmes posés par les barrières culturelles (Stefanink e Bălăcescu 2015: 616).

L'interprete che aggiunge materiale di conio suo proprio può farlo su decisione suffragata da specifiche esigenze comunicative e pragmatiche, nel qual caso si è dinanzi a una *strategia* ossia a "those actions requiring a greater degree of awareness and control in order to solve a difficulty" (Arumí Ribas 2012: 825); ma può altresì farlo in maniera inconsapevole, diremmo automatica, nel quel caso si è dinanzi a delle

unconscious actions, in other words, those spontaneous reactions which occur naturally during the learning process without any degree of conscious control, such as, adding incorrect information (*Ibid.*)

Non necessariamente peraltro, come vedremo negli esempi proposti, l'addizione, sia essa consapevole sia essa *unconscious*, quindi non programmata, sfocia in una *incorrect information* in quanto essa, oltre a non essere invalidante per la veridicità di quanto detto, si configura anzi come un ausilio alla comprensione del TI da parte dell'utente dell'interpretazione. E proprio in termini di aspettative del cliente finale è opportuno valutare l'intacco di una proliferazione sul piano verbale: tra i

parametri di qualità in interpretazione, quest'ultimo continua a rivestire un'indiscussa priorità rispetto a parametri non verbali, ossia extralinguistici, che comunque fanno parte integrante del processo traspositivo, come evidenzia Collado Aís in un recente studio sull'incidenza dell'intonazione in interpretazione simultanea:

Los estudios de expectativas de la calidad de la interpretación en distintos grupos de usuarios [...] así como en los propios intérpretes, han venido mostrando una incidencia claramente menor de los parámetros no verbales frente a los paramétros verbales, tales como la transmisión correcta y la cohesión (2016: 678).

L'indagine proposta in appresso è allora volta a valutare, dinanzi a una aggiunta, che tipo di distanza verbale, ma anche extralinguistica, intercorra nella trasposizione di un messaggio da francese a italiano nel corso di un processo di elaborazione di contenuti talvolta culturalmente connotati quindi non necessariamente circoscritti alla riformulazione per corrispondenza lineare giacché

every language has different semantic ranges and different ways of grouping objects and concepts. If this is true for the general vocabulary, it is even truer for culture specific vocabulary which carries with it a whole world of images and associations (Ranzato 2016: 59).

Per ciascuno degli 8 Testi Originali selezionati (con i rispettivi identificatori e presentati secondo l'ordine di somministrazione in sessione di esame), verranno indagati alcuni estratti dei relativi 8 Testi Interpretati da 8 soggetti, concentrandosi sugli snodi con evidenze di amplificazione, ed esplicitando volta a volta tipologia e ripercussione che detto ampliamento esercita sull'immediato contesto enunciativo.

TO 1 (IS) Emmanuel Macron, Président de la République – Relations entre la France et le Libéria sur le rôle du sport dans le développement de l'Afrique: Conférence de presse avec George Weah, Président de la République du Libéria – Paris, 22. 02. 2018

TO: Votre élection ouvre une nouvelle ère pour le Libéria.

TI: La sua elezione alla presidenza della Repubblica apre un periodo nuovo per la Liberia.

L'aggiunta evidenziata risulta pleonastica e quindi non informativa in ragione dei complementi cognitivi condivisi da tutti i partecipanti all'evento, aggiunta che non compromette peraltro il messaggio, limitandosi a integrarlo con la specificazione della carica politica assunta da G. Weah. L'interprete inserisce questo complemento per facilitare la comprensione da parte di un pubblico italofono, ritenendo ininfluente il fatto che l'evento abbia avuto una considerevole copertura mediatica a livello internazionale.

TO: L'évenèment organisé ce matin en votre présence au MEDEF International avait pour objectif de sensibiliser les entreprises françaises aux opportunités souvent méconnues qu'offre votre pays.

TI: Questa manifestazione di oggi con la partecipazione del MEDEF euh cioè l'associazione il sindacato degli imprenditori francesi era mirata a sensibilizzare le industrie francesi alle possibilità offerte dalla Liberia.

Riferimento a un realia culturale francese (*MEDEF*), restituito con chiosa esplicativa a beneficio di un uditorio italofono non necessariamente in possesso delle conoscenze pertinenti a disambiguare la sigla; l'esplicitazione si configura tuttavia come una parafrasi della denominazione ufficiale "Mouvement des Entreprises de France". La successiva aggiunta, al pari di quella precedente, è volta a precisare ulteriormente, nominandolo, il referente *votre pays* nella prospettiva dell'ascoltatore italiano; in questo frangente essa si configura come ridondante rispetto all'informatività del TO.

TO: La FIFA était présente avec nous, et la NBA également, plusieurs fondations montées par des athlètes étaient là aussi, ils vont s'impliquer.

TI: C'erano la FIFA **Federazione di Calcio Internazionale** e la NBA **National Basketball Association, americana**, e altre associazioni create da atleti **stestessi e tutti** si impegneranno **a fondo**.

I due riferimenti al mondo dello sport (FIFA, NBA) vengono gestiti rispettivamente con generalizzazione parafrastica rispetto alla denominazione ufficiale "Fédération Internationale de Football Association" e con ripresa degli elementi della sigla inglese aggiungendovi un qualificativo localizzante (americana). Le tre successive aggiunte (stessi,

tutti, a fondo) sono riferibili alla categoria del pleonasmo giacché producono una informazione solo linguistica e sostanzialmente superflua, con enfatizzazione anche modale.

TO 2 (IS) Edouard Philippe, Premier Ministre, sur l'accueil des touristes étrangers, la régulation des activités des plateformes internet dédiées au tourisme et le développement d'une nouvelle politique de l'offre touristique – Chambéry, 19. 01. 2018

TO: Les identités locales sont le principal argument d'un pays dans un marché touristique mondial qui tend à s'homogenéiser.

TI: Non bisogna mh dimenticare le caratteristiche locali nazionali che sono essenziali nel mercato turistico mondiale che diventa sempre più più omogeneizzato uniformato.

Nel testo italiano dapprima viene immesso materiale linguistico neutro, che risulta in esubero e a informatività nulla quantunque non deviante entro l'argomentazione; indi si evidenziano una aggiunta (sempre più) che intacca, enfatizzandola, l'intensità informativa del TO (tend à) e un quasi sinonimo (uniformato) derivante probabilmente dall'insoddisfazione dell'interprete nei confronti di una traduzione letterale del TO (s'homogéneiser-omogeneizzato).

TO: Ils permettront à terme de créer une quarantaine de postes de passages supplémentaires à Roissy et à Orly.

TI: E inoltre verranno creati molti accessi supplementari presso gli aeroporti parigini di Roissy e Orly.

In questo secondo estratto l'interprete estende l'inizio di frase con preposizione coordinante ma con delezione della contestuale parte di TO, quindi agisce per disambiguazione del referente dei due nomi propri (*Orly, Roissy*) a beneficio dell'utente italofono: precisa che i toponimi si riferiscono ai due principali aeroporti di Parigi, ritenendo quindi che l'associazione *Roissy-Charles de Gaulle* possa risultare non immediata per un ascoltatore non francofono.

TO 3 (IC) Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, Secrétaire d'Etat auprès du Ministère de l'Europe et des affaires étrangères, sur la Francophonie – Paris, 10. 01. 2018

TO: Souvent on a tendance à se dire que nous passerons de 274 millions de francophones à 750 millions dans quelques décennies, mais c'est purement virtuel.

TI: Sentiamo dire che passeremo da circa 260 milioni a 750 tra qualche decennio ma queste statistiche sono virtuali e quindi non sono reasti-realistiche.

L'interprete inserisce una informazione deviante (*statistiche*) in quanto l'oratore non specifica né la natura né la fonte dei dati forniti, ma anzi esprime un concetto forse di proposito generalizzante (*on a tendance à se dire*); analogamente centrifuga rispetto al detto originale risulta la seconda addizione, inserita con connettore consequenziale *quindi* in luogo dell'opposizione espressa da *mais*, il che sovverte la struttura argomentativa del TO.

TO: L'ancien sénateur que je suis décèle de similitudes entre nos deux Assemblées, le Sénat et le CESE parce que nous avons ce souci de nous abstraire de l'immédiateté du buzz médiatique.

TI: Da ex senatore vedo delle analogie tra queste nostre Assemblee, il Senato e il CESE cioè in francese Conseil Economique Social et Environnemental perché vogliamo prendere le distanze dalla comunicazione mediatica.

Il TO contiene un riferimento culturale a una realtà politicoamministrativa francese (*CESE*) che l'interprete risolve anche in questo caso mantenendo la sigla originale e facendola seguire dalla forma estesa senza traduzione ma specificandone la lingua (*cioè in francese*); questa ampia esplicitazione è anche motivata dal fatto che non vi è corrispondenza tra le iniziali dell'acronimo tra francese e italiano per la coppia *environnementalambientale*.

TO 4 (IC) Jean-Yves Le Drian, Ministre des Affaires étrangères, sur Actions de la France en faveur des droits des femmes – Paris, 08. 03. 2018

TO: C'est un fait que nous sommes dans ce «village monde» où il y a une concurrence des aires linguistiques à la croisée des chemins.

TI: C'è da dire che oggi siamo in un villaggio planetario caratterizzato da una concorrenza agguerrita tra molte lingue.

Il testo interpretato presenta qui una parafrasi del testo fonte con aggiunta di localizzatore temporale (oggi); la seconda immissione espande la versione originale conferendo all'argomentazione effetti connotativi ed enfatizzanti (caratterizzato, agguerrita, molte) assenti nel testo francese, da cui inoltre si distanzia instaurando un'arbitraria corrispondenza tra aires linguistiques vs. lingue e ignorando la locuzione conclusiva à la croisée des chemins.

TO: Agir pour les droits des femmes c'est d'abord une exigence démocratique, c'est un combat pour l'émancipation et c'est un devoir qui nous oblige.

TI: Le azioni a vantaggio delle donne è un bisogno democratico, una lotta per l'emancipazione e anche un dovere che ci obbliga ossia nel senso che è un dovere che è per tutti un richiamo a rispettare i nostri obblighi.

A parte l'inserimento di *a vantaggio*, a fini di maggior chiarezza espositiva a fronte della cancellazione di *droits*, si rileva un'estesa amplificazione esplicitante incentrata su *ossia nel senso che* con successivo inserimento concatenato di elementi enfatici (*per tutti, richiamo, rispettare*); in raffronto alla concisione della frase francese, di non immediata e spontanea traduzione (*qui nous oblige*), il detto interpretato, seppur non deviante, instaura un depotenziamento del *vouloir dire* in TO, paradossalmente causato da una verbalizzazione più copiosa in lingua di arrivo.

TO 5 (IC) Françoise Nyssen, Ministre de la Culture, sur l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes et les droits del femmes – Paris, 07. 02. 2018

TO: La première urgence c'est la rémuneration. Parce qu'elle est un marqueur de reconnaissance. Payer moins, c'est considérer que le travail, l'engagement a moins de valeur.

TI: Prima di tutto dobbiamo pensare alla remunerazione che è un fattore importante di riconoscimento del lavoro delle della donna e infatti una remunerazione inferiore significa che il lavoro della donna ha un valore inferiore.

L'interprete adotta una strategia di rilevante rimaneggiamento sintattico trasformando strutture paratattiche in un periodo unico a forte ipotassi tramite connettori (*che è, e infatti*). Entro questo nuovo assetto si insediano una immissione ridondante (*importante*) e l'aggiunta esplicitante di un referente lasciato implicito nel TO (*del/il lavoro della donna*) con doppia iterazione.

TO: Nous avons un devoir d'exemplarité en matière d'égalité femmes-hommes. Le secteur culturel a un devoir d'avant-garde, dans ce combat comme dans tous les grands combats sociétaux.

TI: Ebbene noi dobbiamo dare l'esempio perché la cultura a mio avviso davvero deve essere in prima linea in questa lotta e in tutte le altre lotte importanti che coinvolgono tutta la società.

In questo caso si osserva un esordio dilatato tramite segnale discorsivo (ebbene) che si situa sulla stessa strategia del successivo ampliamento testuale (a mio avviso davvero), elementi che fungono tutti quali rafforzativi dell'intenzione comunicativa, assenti in TO ma certamente funzionali a confortare l'interprete quanto alla giustezza della propria enunciazione. L'inserimento di una congiunzione causale (perché) realizza una proposizione a forte reggenza, di fatto deviante rispetto al contenuto del TO che in fine di enunciato produce un TI non solo espanso ma anche parafrasato in ragione della corrispondenza parziale tra tous...sociétaux vs. tutta la società.

TO 6 (IC) Edouard Philippe, Premier ministre, sur la coopération militaire, économique et culturelle entre la France et les Emirates arabes unis – Dubaï, 10. 02. 2018

TO: Le premier pilier de cette coopération, celui qui apparaît avec la force de l'évidence aujourd'hui c'est évidemment le pilier de sécurité et de défense et je veux saluer l'engagement de nos soldats, saluer la qualité de la coopération avec nos alliés. Le deuxième pilier de notre coopération c'est le pilier économique.

TI: Prima di tutto nel settore della cooperazione dobbiamo citare la sicurezza e la difesa della cui importanza tutti ci rendiamo perfettamente conto <u>e</u> qui diciamo in questo contesto ringrazio i nostri soldati e i nostri alleati. A

questo ehm v-va aggiunto un secondo punto fondamentale cioè la politica economica o meglio l'economia in generale.

La modalità traduttiva della consecutiva ha esercitato in questo caso un'influenza non secondaria nella latitudine dell'interprete ad agire tramite proliferazione verbale. Si veda l'ampio esordio, con inserimento ex novo del predicato a valore inclusivo (dobbiamo citare) dove sono immesse notizie a contenuto informativo assai flebile; una analoga strategia interpretativa viene replicata nei segmenti successivi con abbondanti marcatori discorsivi e connotazioni enfatiche (fondamentale): tutto questo materiale enunciativo esuberante non intacca peraltro la veridicità di quanto espresso in TO salvo nella parte finale, che viene tuttavia ripristinata grazie a un'autocorrezione camuffata da parte dell'interprete (cioè la politica economica o meglio l'economia in generale).

TO: Vous le savez, la relation qui s'est tissée entre la France et les Emirates arabes unis est une relation évolutive et, si je puis dire, évolutive dans le bon sens.

TI: Gentili colleghi, la relazione tra Francia e Emirati arabi uniti è una relazione che presenta i segni di uno sviluppo e permettetemi di aggiungere di uno sviluppo positivo.

L'allocutivo di esordio è di prassi in contesti comunicativi istituzionali e l'interprete lo inserisce in vece di quanto dice il TO (vous le savez) che pure rappresenta anch'esso un segnale discorsivo a ridotta informatività. La lunga stringa prosegue configurando una situazione sul nascere (presenta i segni di) e si profila quindi quale devianza rispetto al testo francese; il periodo si chiude con una richiesta virtuale di autorizzazione (permettetemi di), anch'essa assente in TO e facente anch'essa parte di convenzioni enunciative nell'ambito della politesse nel discorso pubblico. Probabile quindi che l'interprete sia stato influenzato da espressioni figées consuete in queste tipologie discorsuali.

TO 7 (IS) Emmanuel Macron, Président de la République, sur les relations franco-italiennes et la construction européenne – Rome 11. 01. 2018

TO: Si l'Europe a balbutié ces dernières années, c'est qu'elle a manqué d'ambition et de perspective à long terme. Nous sommes les héritiers des pères fondateurs qui

ont eu des ambitions qui les dépassaient et c'est cela que nous devons retrouver en 2018.

TI: A questo riguardo va riconosciuto che l'Europa negli anni recenti non ha avuto ambizioni a lungo termine e dobbiamo ehu anche ricordare che i padri fondatori avevano delle ambizioni superiori alle loro possibilità. Ebbene proprio questo noi dobbiamo ritrovare nel 2018.

Si noti l'ampio esordio a contenuto informativo nullo, instaurato ex novo forse per prendere tempo e mascherare l'incertezza traduttiva a fronte del termine *balbutié*, fenomeno replicato poco dopo dinanzi a *héritiers*. I marcatori discorsuali enfatizzanti aggiunti in ripresa di enunciato (*ebbene proprio*) sono funzionali a segnalare da un lato l'auto-assertività traduttiva e dall'altro a conferire coesione e coerenza al periodo nella sua interezza.

TO: L'unité de l'Europe se construit sur le rapprochement de nos pays qui ont parfois divergé sur le plan fiscal et social, nous connaissons les différences avec certains autres Etats membres.

TI: L'Europa se è unita significa il riavvicinamento dei suoi membri e talvolta sì, bisogna riconoscerlo, ci sono state delle differenze a livello fiscale, sociale e economico tra i vari paesi.

Si ripropone la strategia dell'inserimento di segnali discorsivi (sì, bisogna riconoscerlo) con i quali l'interprete auto-sancisce la giustezza di quanto appena detto, corroborandolo: si tratta di una strategia diffusa anche in ambiente professionale, specie nell'interpretazione televisiva e per i media in generale, con funzione di riempitivo a valore puramente fatico. Segue un'aggiunta deviante rappresentata dall'aggettivo economico forse instaurata per effetto traino esercitato da collocazioni che per consuetudine spesso collegano l'ambito sociale e quello economico in interventi pubblici di matrice politico- istituzionale.

TO 8 (IS) Edouard Philippe, Premier ministre, sur le rôle de la gastronomie dans la promotion de l'image de la France et une alimentation plus locale et plus saine – Paris, 07. 02. 2018

TO: Des petits bistrots aux grandes tables, notre art de vivre n'en finit pas d'enchanter. On nous l'envie, partout dans le monde. Mais on aurait tort de

considérer comme acquise la place de la France sur la scène gastronomique mondiale.

TI: Abbiamo tantissimi locali, dai piccoli bistrot ai grandi ristoranti mh pluristellati e tutti sono incantati dall'arte di vivere alla francese, sempre e in tutto il mondo. Però sbaglieremmo a pensare che la Francia ha un posto acquisito nel mondo gastronomico.

L'interprete avverte il bisogno di integrare il TO segnalando la capillare diffusione sul territorio nazionale degli esercizi di ristorazione, sottolineandone tramite materiale verbale inedito sia la quantità (tantissimi) sia la qualità (grandi, pluristellati). Di seguito si osserva il ricorso all'esplicitazione a beneficio dell'utente italiano del sintagma notre art de vivre aggiungendovi alla francese, con l'avverbio enfatizzante sempre.

TO: Alors le groupe Michelin a troqué cette année, la traditionnelle conférence de presse pour une cérémonie en direct mais le guide, au fil des ans, est devenu un des lieux des mémoire de notre conscience collective.

TI: Il gruppo Michelin quest'anno invece della conferenza stampa ha organizzato una cerimonia in diretta, tuttavia la guida **Michelin la guida turistica gastronomica francese Michelin** è un elemento importante della nostra memoria collettiva.

Il TO, dopo la citazione del nome proprio (*Michelin*), esibisce un riferimento culturale parzialmente implicito (*le guide*) di fatto del tutto trasparente per un interlocutore francese; l'interprete avverte la necessità di esplicitare questo realia con il nome proprio e inserisce un'ampia aggiunta esplicativa con iterazione, con informazioni attinte dalla propria enciclopedia personale.

La disamina del nostro corpus evidenzia anzitutto una certa prevalenza di aggiunte in TI realizzate in modalità consecutiva rispetto alla modalità simultanea, fenomeno certamente riferibile alla maggior flessibilità nella gestione dei tempi enunciativi nella produzione del discorso interpretato. Si tratta comunque di una evidenza che va valutata e suffragata anche in funzione di variabili contingenti, quali per esempio la velocità di eloquio dell'oratore e la densità informativa del testo originale. Quanto alla tipologia delle immissioni verbali, si rileva una tendenza generale ad applicare la strategia dell'aggiunta esplicitante a fronte di

riferimenti culturali, siano essi in forma di acronimo siano essi in forma di nome: in tal caso "it is always a form of explicitation and occurs when culture specific references might cause comprehension problems" (Ranzato, 2016: 83); peraltro, non sempre l'elemento cultura-specifico in TO, qualora lasciato inalterato dall'interprete, sarebbe passibile di innescare problemi di comprensione per il fruitore del TI, quantomeno tra due linguaculture in buona misura affini come è il caso di quelle del nostro corpus (cfr. FIFA, le guide). Le frequenti addizioni pleonastiche non sovvertono il sens intenté dall'oratore e manifestano un atteggiamento traduttivo prudenziale a fronte di termini problematici (cfr. balbutié, héritiers): si tratta di una strategia di attesa, da parte dell'interprete, di materiale linguistico utile in TO per ovviare al silenzio traduttivo tramite inserzione di enunciati non impegnativi né informativi da cui poter riprendere il proprio TI. Sporadici di contro i casi di aggiunte devianti e di conseguente sovvertimento della veridicità del testo fonte (cfr. statistiche, politica economica). Generosa in tutti gli 8 soggetti l'addizione di segnali discorsivi ossia di elementi che non contribuiscono in modo determinante al valore informativo di quanto viene detto e che sono solidali con la situazione enunciativa (Bazzanella 2011); tali marcatori tuttavia costituiscono parte integrante dell'interazione nell'oralità spontanea intra-linguistica e, salvi i dovuti distinguo, anche in quella inter-linguistica, collaborando così a strutturare la comunicazione sia essa monologica, dialogica, polilogica, con la necessaria naturalezza e spontaneità.

Quest'ultimo è di fatto anche uno degli obiettivi perseguiti dalla formazione in interpretazione di conferenza, volta all'appropriazione e alla corretta gestione di metodologie linguistiche, e in sinergia anche pragmatiche, al servizio della fruibilità complessiva della comunicazione mediata da interprete.

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THE MATERIALITY OF TRANSLATED BOOKS FOR CHILDREN IN MODERNISING JAPAN

Irina HOLCA1

Abstract

In 1868, as a result of outside pressure and internal struggles, Japan opened up to the world, imperial restoration was carried out, and a new government was formed. Thus began the Meiji ("enlightened rule") period and Japan's modernisation, which stood, for the most part, under the sign of the bunmei kaika ("welcoming civilisation") project, set in motion by the 5th provision of the Five Charter Oath: "Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundation of imperial rule."

During this period, translation flourished, bringing western content to Japanese audiences, but also moulding the modern Japanese language and making it more fit to carry across significances belonging to foreign cultures: new words had to be created by reshuffling Chinese characters (kanji), and old compounds were given new meanings in the process. This era also witnessed the parallel circulation of multiple written "Japaneses", such as the pseudo-classical style gikobun, imitating the writing of the Nara and Heian periods (8th-12th centuries), the kanbun, a type of text written in Chinese characters and often read according to Japanese pronunciation and grammatical rules (kundoku), as well as the genbun'icchi (unified written and spoken) style that many literati used first to translate Western literature and later to write their own works, and which came to form the basis of today's written Japanese.

One of the main projects of the Meiji government was to quickly and exhaustively educate new generations of "little citizens", who were expected to become proud modern Japanese, fully conversant with the "advanced" West. As such, traces of the fluctuations and debates on the form and content of modern Japanese language and its relationship with translation are often visible in children's reading matter. This paper will consider several examples of translated children's books and textbooks, in order to address questions such as: 1) at the beginning of Japan's modernity, what languages was children literature translated from, and what type of Japanese was it being rendered into? 2) What were the formats and scripts used? and 3) Were the illustrations the same as in the original edition, or were they "translated", too? What styles were used in the illustrations of these translations, and did those styles change/ evolve over time?

By intersecting the content of translated books with issues related to source and target languages and illustrations, as well as printing and scripts, this paper will discuss the materiality of printed matter for children, shedding light on what distinguishes it from

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its adult counterpart, against the background of Japan's modernisation around the turn of the 20^{th} century.

Keywords: modern Japan, Meiji period, children's books, translation, materiality, illustrations, scripts

1. The Chicken or the Egg?

In the "Introduction" to his seminal work *Translation and Subjectivity* (1997), Naoki Sakai poses a deceivingly simple question: "What constitutes the unitary unit of a language that is not implicated in another language or other languages?" (p.3), pointing out that translation structures the situation in which it is performed, and that the very emergence of a national language is "irreparably associated with the problematic of translation." In other words, "it is not because two different language unities are given that we have to translate (interpret) one text into another; it is because translation articulates languages so that they may postulate the two unities of the translating and the translated languages as if they were autonomous and closed entities through a certain representation of *translation*" (p.2, emphasis in the original).

A look at the situation in Japan at the beginning of its modernity, i.e., shortly before and during the Meiji period (1868-1912) makes evident the implications of Sakai's observations: the encounter with the West – a new, different, and apparently more powerful Other2- brought about a renewed urgency to communicate and learn in order to protect the Self, which encouraged the rendering into Japanese of various types of content written in English, French, German, Russian, etc3. However, the modern

² China was Japan's "traditional" Other before the Meiji period – one that had

been, to a certain extent, domesticated through centuries of interaction, starting with Japan's adopting and adapting Chinese characters (kanji) as part of its own writing system in the 3rd to 6th centuries, but also through the continued religious, cultural, and artistic exchanges that shaped (the relations between) the two countries. Later, China was re-discovered as an antonymic Other by the Japanese kokugaku (Nativist) school in the 18th century; nativist scholars postulated the existence of a "pure" Japanese language, religious ethos, and people before the contact with the continent, and called for their restoration (for details, see Sakai, Voices of the Past 1992).

³ During the so-called *sakoku* (closed country) period (1633-1853), the only Western country Japan maintained economic ties with was Holland; along with their

translators were faced with the difficulty of choosing the language that would most appropriately carry across the foreign meaning and form, from among the multiple written "Japaneses" in circulation at the time. They could, for example, try to translate into wabun, or its more rigid variant gikobun, a style imitating the grammar and vocabulary of the early Japanese classics of the Nara and Heian periods (8th-12th centuries); or use kanbun, a type of text written with Chinese characters and commonly read according to Japanese pronunciation and grammatical rules (kundoku)4; finally, there was also the option to turn to wakankonkōbun, a mixture of kanbun and wabun⁵ used in many newspapers and magazines at the time. Such styles had developed over decades, or sometimes centuries, and were considered stylistically accomplished by most intellectuals at the beginning of Japan's modernisation. Nevertheless, as they relied heavily on imitating classical elegance and form, they often struggled to convey Western concepts6 as well as native developments that were vital when writing about the changing times; moreover, they had a hard time communicating with the wider, more varied modern readership, which included not only the former intellectual elites, but also the newly educated commoners, women, and children. As a result, early translators came to the conclusion that, to

merchandise, the Dutch brought various books on Western science (especially medicine and astronomy) and technology, which were "translated" into Japanese and circulated among scholars and students. The reason behind the *sakoku* policies had been Christian proselytising, and the danger local feudal lords had perceived therein; as a result, natural sciences introduced to pre-modern Japan from Europe were completely secularised and voided of the underlying tension with religious (Christian) precepts, and thus came to be integrated with native systems of beliefs such as Shinto and Confucianism (Ananda 2012).

⁴ As it rendered Chinese script according to Japanese sound and grammar, *kanbun kundoku* is considered to be a type of intralineal translation; similar phenomena can be observed, to a lesser extent, in the case of Dutch, English, or French, too.

 $^{^5}$ The fourth style in usage at the beginning of the Meiji period was the so-called $s\bar{o}r\bar{o}bun$, or epistolary style. For a discussion of its features, see Twine (1978) and Tomasi (1999).

⁶ See, for example, the discussion on the formation of the modern Japanese words for "society" and the third person personal pronouns "he/ she" in Yanabu Akira *Hon'yaku seiritsu jijō* (1982). Translated in Ch. 2 of *Translation in Modern Japan* (Levy, I., ed. 2011).

paraphrase Oscar Wilde⁷, there was no such language as the Japanese — not one they could use to achieve their goals, at least —, and they had no choice but to invent it.

In coming up with an appropriate form of expression that would be able to keep up with the new realities and give the masses easy access to new ideas, the logical choice for source material was the spoken Japanese language of the late 19th century, which was more flexible and apt to change than its written counterparts. One important challenge remained: as a result of reduced mobility during the feudal period, spoken Japanese was a "complex patchwork of regional dialects" (Twine 1978, p. 338); this meant that it was first of all necessary to construct a standard unitary language, which could then function as a vehicle for conveying modern ideas and theories, bringing the "imagined community" (cf. Benedict Anderson) together. While efforts to close the gap between the spoken and written Japanese had been made sporadically in pre-modern Japan, too, they started to gain momentum after the encounter with the West in the Meiji period, an encounter that, as stated above, had made understanding and translating foreign paradigms of knowledge a national priority. This eventually led to the creation of a new style, the so-called genbun'icchi (unified written and spoken style), whose advantages and disadvantages were widely discussed among intellectuals, literati, and educators alike, from the late 1880s to the early 1890s8.

While in the process of being created, *genbun'icchi* worked an absolute treat for articulating two languages as distinct "unitary units." It is no exaggeration to say that *genbun'icchi* was born in translation: Wakamatsu Shizuko came up with her own version of this style when rendering Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886) from English⁹; Futabatei Shimei turned to it for the translation from Russian of Turgenev's *Sportsman's Sketches* (1852)¹⁰; and Mori Ōgai, even while using the pseudo-classical *gikobun* for his creative writing, preferred the *genbun'icchi* when translating German literature. The style finally came to

⁷ "The whole of Japan is a pure invention. There is no such country, there are no such people." ("The Decay of Lying", 1889).

 $^{^{\}rm 8}$ See Twine (1978) and Tomasi (1999), quoted above.

 $^{^9\,} Serialised$ as $\it Sh\bar{o}k\bar{o}shi$ in the magazine $\it Jogaku~Zasshi$ between August 1890 and January 1892.

 $^{^{10}}$ Published as "Aibiki" in 1888 in the magazine Kokumin no Tomo.

be considered an accomplished mode of literary and intellectual expression around the turn of the 20th century, and began to spread as Japan's standard written "national language" (kokugo) to be taught in schools from around the same time. The spread of the genbun'icchi paved the way towards the emergence of both a realistic Japanese novel, and of Japanese children's literature - in the case of the former, because it allowed the narrator to hide behind the literary work in a way that classical Japanese had not, thus giving birth to the seemingly "transparent and immediate" description¹¹ that modern prose fiction required. As for the relationship between children's literature and translation, relevant aspects of the process have been touched upon in Judy Wakabayashi's "Foreign Bones, Japanese Flesh: Translations and the Emergence of Modern Children's Literature in Japan" (2008)¹², which takes up the issue of translated content and translation methods, as well as the aims and effects of these translations on their audience(s). In this paper, I intend to expand on previous work and include a discussion on the materiality of printed matter for children, focusing on issues related to the interaction between the translated text itself, the scripts used to render it, and the accompanying illustrations.

2. What is a Child?

In 1900, Ellen Key wrote *The Century of the Child*, in which she expounded the need for 20th century society to focus on children— their education, development, rights— in order to make further progress. Key's work came in the wake of a long worldwide transformation, as a result of which children had started to emerge (or rather, be re-imagined) as entities distinct from adults, whose needs and rights had to be redefined and protected; this transformation has been widely addressed by scholars from various fields, focusing on different times and locations.

For example, in his famous monograph *Centuries of Childhood* (1960), Philippe Ariès argued that the awareness of childhood as a specific category, along with our modern concept of family, date from the last

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¹¹ Cf. Rika Saito "Writing in Female Drag: Gendered Literature and a Woman's Voice" (*Japanese Language and Literature*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (October 2010), pp. 149-177) et al. Also see the discussion of narration and *genbun'icchi* in Hirata Yumi *Josei hyōgen no Meiji shi: Higuchi Ichiyō, izen* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1999).

¹² Japanese Language and Literature, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Apr., 2008), pp. 227-255.

quarter of the 18th century; before that, children did not count at all, or were at best seen as "little adults" 13. Other scholars have traced the appearance of the divide between the child and the adult to earlier developments in the 16th or 17th century¹⁴. While the actual details and timeframe of the process of differentiation are geography-bound, culture-specific, as well as dependent on the type of materials consulted (written matter, visual representations, etc), most researchers ultimately agree on the fact that, as Farson put it, "Children did not always exist; they were invented." This "invention" also meant that, at a certain point, children were cut out of the "happy social polymorphism" that had characterised the pre-modern period¹⁵, and made to inhabit a different space – a sort of protective limbo where they waited to grow up, all the while being taught what it meant to be a "child," as well as what was expected of them when they finally became "adults." The "century of the child" that Key is calling for can be seen as a critique of the incomplete separation of the two realms in 19th century modern states, or, in other words, a critique of the continued subordination of the child to the adult, and thus to the state, via ever-morecentralised national education - a process in which adult discourse about childhood played a vital role, ultimately controlling and shaping the development of children.

Discussing Japanese childhood in relation to schooling and the nation state, Platt (2005) dwells at length on the changes that the concept underwent after the Meiji Restoration, and especially after the 1890s. While some Japanese scholars (Tashima 1984) point to a rich culture of childrearing in pre-modern Japan, illustrated by the existence of various rituals that marked the development of the child, others (Uno 1999) draw attention to the fact that overall children were not clearly differentiated from adults, i.e., they were not regarded as in need of special attention and protection, neither by the state (no public institutions existed that were specifically aimed at children), nor by private initiatives (the private schools that had

¹³ Ariès' work is predated by that of J.H. van der Berg's *Metabletica* (1956. Nijkerk, Netherlands: Callenbach). Similar discussions on the concept of childhood can be seen in Plumb (1972) or Postman (1982). Bertha Mook draws on the above (et al) to offer a comprehensive overview of the ideas about childhood in her "The Changing Nature of Childhood: A Metabletic Study" (2007).

 $^{^{14}}$ Such as Richard Farson in Birthrights (1974), or Eva M. Simms in The Child in the World: Embodiment, Time, and Language in Early Childhood (2008).

¹⁵ Stone, Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500–1800 (1977).

multiplied starting with the 1830s did not necessarily recognise children as the primary target of education), nor by the popular culture (child entertainment was scarce in the pre-modern village society) 16. Platt concludes that such seemingly contradictory evidence suggests "not an absence of a concept of childhood in early modern Japan, but simply a different one," and "not so much a lack of an awareness of childhood, but a different conception of education and its relationship to the political order" (p.969). As opposed to pre-modern Japanese government, which was mainly concerned with managing and exercising influence over collectives, after the Meiji Restoration the goal of the state became the mobilisation of individuals to take part in the nation. This crucial difference, along with the changes brought about by Japan's modernisation, such as industrialisation, urbanisation, the creation of a society dominated by middle class 17 consumers, etc, "converged to produce a variety of institutions related to children, and marked Japan's full engagement with modern discourses of childhood" (Platt 2005, p.976).

Ellen Key's *The Century of the Child* was translated into Japanese in 1916, by Harada Minoru¹⁸; while *Love and Marriage* (1903), also translated by Harada in 1919, had a great deal of influence on the participants in the Japanese suffrage movement and on those involved in the movement for the state protection of motherhood (*bosei hogo ronsō*), *The Century of the Child* was read in relation to the overall changes occurring during the Taishō period (1912-1926) in the way children were perceived, as well as in contemporaneous approaches to children's literature. As this paper focuses on earlier, i.e., Meiji period, interactions between translation, language materiality and children, I do not have the space here to enlarge upon Taishō period developments; suffice it to say that it was during this time that children's literature finally came into its own, with famous men of

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¹⁶ According to Karatani Kōjin's "The Invention of Childhood" (in *The Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* (1993), quoted in Platt (2005)), Yanagita Kunio's ethnographic surveys on rural cultural practices in early 20th century Japan showed a lack of games and folk-tales aimed at children.

¹⁷ Mark Jones discusses the role of the middle class in the redefinition of childhood in his *Children as Treasures: Childhood and the Middle Class in Early Twentieth Century Japan"* (2010).

¹⁸ Several other works by Key were available around this time in Japanese, translated by Honma Hisao, but also by Itō Noe and Hiratsuka Raichō of *Blue Stocking* (Seitō, feminist magazine) fame.

letters tackling the new and promising genre and translators' artistic skills being recognised and appreciated. The same period marks the rise of children's magazines (such as *Akai Tori* (1918-1936), *Kin no Fune/ Hoshi* (1920-1925), et al), which often encouraged children to submit poetry and prose for publication, in conjunction with poet Kitahara Hakushū's support for *jiyūshi/ dōyō* (free verse/ children's poems) and the so-called *tsudurikata* (composition) movement, which prompted students, especially those attending schools in the periphery, to write about their own experiences as a means of countering the over-centralisation of national education. Thus, from the 1920s, we may say that Japanese children finally came to be imagined as not only the target, but also the source of literature.

3. Illustrations and Scripts in Meiji Translated Literature for Children

But let us retrace our steps back to the foundational period that was the beginning of Japan's modernity, when everything— the nation state, education, the notion of childhood, the middle class, the free market, but also Japanese language itself— was still in flux, waiting to be invented.

As Platt (2005) and others have argued, in the context of modern Japan's focus on mobilising individual success towards strengthening the nation, the child was discovered both as a "problem" (cf. juvenile delinquency, the issue of impoverished rural and urban populations), and a "treasure" (a diamond in the rough, unique and full of potential that needed to be polished by caring adults). At the same time, the "little citizens" slowly emerged as "little consumers" of products aimed directly at them - clothes, toys, and, of special interest for the present study, printed matter. Of course, indigenous texts that children could read did exist in pre-modern Japan, too, but they were not exclusively aimed at children. Wakabayashi (2008) aptly points out that it was "translated children's literature (embodying a new concept of the child and new uses of language) [that] paved the way to the production of the first original works of modern Japanese children's literature," and sparked "the shift from a didactic and moralistic orientation to a focus on reading pleasure" (p.227). It should also be added here that not only children's literature, but also some of the textbooks used in private and public schools at the beginning of Japan's modernity, were actually translations or adaptations of foreign reading primers¹⁹, such as Robert Chambers' *Moral Class Book* (1839), or other educational materials, such as J.N. Lockyer's *Elements of Astronomy* (1870), etc.

3.1 Translation and Illustrations

Among the first national language textbooks, Tanaka Yoshikado's *Shōgaku Tokuhon* (Primary School Reader, 1873) was in fact a translation of Marcius Willson's 1860 *School and Family Reader*. As I have already discussed elsewhere (Holca 2015), Tanaka's textbook left the original illustrations "untranslated," visually introducing Japanese children to foreign customs, while also rendering the text itself in a rather unnatural Japanese that the critics called "translatese." Nevertheless, Tanaka's textbook was more popular than, for example, Sakakibara Yoshino's (1874), which was exclusively made up of original Japanese material; the preference for the former textbook underscores the contemporary belief in translation as a force that could to transform/ renew Japanese language and society, in the course of the *bunmei kaika* ("welcoming civilisation") project (Karasawa 1968) during the first two decades of the Meiji period.

At the same time, it must be said that translations of foreign literature into Japanese after the Restoration also display a strong tendency towards domesticating the texts, often only loosely rendering the plot, while changing the settings so that they would appeal to a Japanese audience, or altering the story so that its message better fits local mores, or conveys a specific message. For example, early renderings of Shakespeare's work (some based on Lamb's retellings), give the characters Japanese names and occupations, and place the plot in Japan: in an adaptation of "The Merchant of Venice" published in 1877 in the magazine *Minkan Zasshi* under the title "The Strange Affair of the Flesh of the Bosom," the main character is Setsunosuke (Antonio), an old retainer's son, who has left his lord's domain in eastern Japan to become a merchant in the harbour city of Sakai (Osaka prefecture)²⁰. The visual aids (cover, illustrations, play-bills)

¹⁹ A detailed discussion of translated textbooks can be found in Karasawa Tomitarō's Kyōkasho no rekishi: kyōkasho to nihonjin no keisei, Ch.II "Kindai gakkō no hassoku to honyaku kyōkasho" (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1968).

²⁰ For an overview of the reception of Shakespeare in Japan, see Toyoda Minoru, *Shakespeare in Japan: An Historical Survey* (1940); for details about adaptations of "The Merchant of Venice," see Taira Tatsuhiko "'Venisu no shōnin' to 'Sakuradoki

provided together with these early translations/ adaptations were initially reproductions of the originals, for reasons related both to printing technology and native illustrators' skills and techniques; soon enough though, "domesticated" imagery was being commissioned, resulting in a fascinating mixture of eastern and western aesthetics that conferred the translated text new valences and possibilities for (mis)interpretation (see fig.1: illustration from Kawashima Keizō's 1886 translation of "Romeo and Juliet," author unknown, and fig. 2: illustration by Kaburagi Kiyokata, from Doi Shunsho&Yamagishi Kayō's 1903 translation of "Hamlet"). It might be interesting to note here that several plays by Shakespeare were even adapted for kabuki, a form of traditional Japanese theatre that uses exaggerated make-up and costumes, as well as dynamic stage sets — a fact that further underscores the contemporary tendency to juxtapose different cultural elements, both visual and discursive.

The role played by illustrations is all the more important in children's books, which often rely heavily on the relationship between text and image. As discussed in the previous sections, at the beginning of the Meiji period the "child" as a category was not yet clearly delimited from the "adult" and, as a result, many children's books that were written/ translated during this time were likely read by children, but also by adults. This perpetuated the consumption patterns of pre-modern otogizōshi, i.e., illustrated short stories, kanazōshi, i.e., simplified books written in Japanese syllabary, without Chinese characters, or akahon, i.e., picture books for children (Wakabayashi 2008). The illustrations too tended to follow the style of pre-modern books, with the text flowing around the image, which usually took up one third of the page (Ortabasi 2011); this is true for both Japanese texts, such as Iwaya Sazanami's "Kogane Maru" (The Golden Dog, 1891)21, and for translations such as "Yattsu Yagi" (The Eight Young Goats, 1887; based on Grimm's "Der Wolf und die sieben jungen Geißlein"). The text of the latter, rendered into Japanese by Kure Ayatoshi, follows the original closely, except for changing the number of young goats from seven to eight, most likely for alliterative/rhythmical reasons (yattsu

zenino yononaka': sono daihon to jōen wo megutte" (Historical English Studies in Japan, Vol.27, pp.165-178, 1994).

²¹ For details about Sazanami's work, see Melek Ortabasi "Brave Dogs and Little Lords: Thoughts on Translation, Gender, and the Debate on Childhood in Mid-Meiji", in *Translation in Modern Japan* (Levy, I., ed. 2011).

yagi= eight goats vs. nanatsu yagi= seven goats). The illustrations likely belong to Kobayashi Eitaku, ukiyo-e (woodblock print) artist who was also familiar with western culture²². Kobayashi uses a recognisably Japanese drawing style to render both natural (not culture-specific) elements, such as trees and riverbanks, and Western elements, such as the brick wall of the house, the mother goat's dress, etc (fig. 3). Wakabayashi (2008) argues that the mother goat seems to be wearing "something that looks like a kimono;" while I find this debatable, it is quite easy to agree with Wakabayashi when she states that "the visual distinction between East and West was simply blurred." (p. 239) Nevertheless, the result of this blurring does not need to act as a "lessening of the foreign;" instead, we may say that the illustrator's approach, seamlessly combining foreign and domestic elements to create something different is the most appropriate – after all, speaking goats who save their kids from a wolf's belly are neither Oriental nor Occidental per se. Finally, when discussing a book's materiality, it should also be noted that "The Eight Young Goats" was published as a shikake-ehon (trick picture-book) that includes so-called *mekuri-e*, i.e., pictures hidden under pieces of paper: for example, one would peel back a small patch looking like a door to uncover the kids hiding in the stove, and so on. Such "tricks" enhance the reading experience, and have roots in both Western and Japanese pre-modern practices.

Another interesting and early example of East-West material cohabitation is the publication of Wakamatsu Shizuko's translation of Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (Shōkōshi) in book form in 1890 (originally serialised in *Jogaku Zasshi*). Wakamatsu's work was well received by her contemporaries, and later scholarship has dwelt extensively on her contribution to the development of a unitary written and spoken style. Unlike other translators, who tended to overlocalise their texts and often to advance native agendas, Wakamatsu opted for a faithful translation, which allowed her to represent the mother-child relationship with remarkably universal detail (Ortabasi 2011). In line with the emphasis on the source text, the translation included the original illustrations (with Reginald Birch's signature, but without the English explanatory text; the

²² According to the commentary on Tokyo Metropolitan Library's "Special Collections" web page (in Japanese). Consulted September 2018.

https://www.library.metro.tokyo.jp/collection/features/digital_showcase/050/01/.

order and position in which they appear in the translation is not the same as in the original). A later edition (1897) surprisingly changes the image on the cover (see fig. 4) to one that represents a Fauntleroy not nearly as flamboyant as the one Birch had drawn. The hair and clothes of the boy on the cover do resemble those of the "original" Cedric, but his eyes are slanted and the corners of his mouth point downwards, in a pose not dissimilar from those of famous kabuki actors in *ukiyo-e* portraits. Thus, the first representation of the little lord that the readers encounter, i.e., the one on the cover, shows a Japanese Cedric, in a framed close-up and in full colour. Along with the traditional *toji-himo* (cord) binding technique, this illustration most likely dramatically shaped the reading itself, placing little lord Fauntleroy's story at the intersection of "foreign" and "domestic."

A later example, i.e., Kitada Shūho's Japanese version of Louisa May Alcott's Little Women (Shōfujin, 1906), is also worth considering here. Kitada's translation moves the setting to Japan and makes several other cultural adjustments, but does not completely domesticate Alcott's story, by preserving some of the references to America²³. Also, while the original includes over 200 illustrations, designed by Frank T. Merrill and drawn, engraved, and printed under the supervision of George T. Andrew (some being simple decorative elements at the end of each chapter), the Japanese version has only one illustration, at the very beginning of the book. It belongs to Kitada herself, and in it the four sisters are shown reading in the garden (fig. 5). Kitada chooses to reproduce not the actual frontispiece of the book, with the sisters gathered around their mother in front of the fireplace, but an illustration inserted in chapter XIII ("Castles in the Air"), which shows the girls outdoors, reading, sketching or knitting. Here, they are seen through the eyes of teenage neighbour Laurence, who, observing them through the bushes, exclaims: "Here's a landscape!" (fig. 6). The drawing style, alternating thick and thin lines, appears to be influenced by Art Nouveau (brought to Japan at the beginning of the 20th century, Art Nouveau had found there a fertile environment and further developed by incorporating elements from Japanese ink drawing in the following decades). The four sisters wear Western dresses, but their physiognomies and postures are slightly orientalised, with downcast faces, thin lips, and

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²³ For an analysis of Kitada's translation strategy and girl role models in modern Japan, see Hiromi Tsuchiya Dollase "*Shōfujin* (Little Women): Recreating Jo for the Girls of Meiji Japan", in *Japanese Studies*, Vol. 30 (2), 2010.

slanted eyes, thus creating, once again, an impression of in-betweenness, which goes together perfectly with the Japanised names of the characters: beautiful Margaret becomes Kikue (*kiku*= chrysanthemum); tomboy Josephine/ Jo becomes Takayo/ Takashi (*taka*= duty to one's parents); sickly Elizabeth becomes Tsuyuko (*tsuyu*= dew, symbol of impermanence), while Amy becomes Emiko (phonetic similarity).

3.2 Scripts and Translation

Literacy in Japan has always been a tall order: apart from the logographic kanji, adapted from the Chinese ideograms imported in the 5th century, two syllabic scripts, hiragana and katakana also have to be mastered. The kanji generally convey meaning, while the kana supplement grammatical information, or act as reading/ pronunciation guides when used as superscripted glosses (furigana). As the study of scripts in general and of kanji in particular (over 50,000 exist, of which around 3000 are in common usage) required time, literacy had been for a long time the prerogative of the leisured classes. When the Meiji government started implementing its programme, a central part of which was educating the masses, the complexity of the writing system became a challenging issue that needed to be addressed. Textbooks, as well as wide-circulation newspapers carried furigana glosses, which gave the readings of complex kanji; the same glosses were also extensively used in translations, in an attempt to reconcile the foreign and the domestic without annihilating either one. For example, in "The Eight Young Goats," the translator uses a combination of two kanji, one for "hot" and the other for "hearth", usually read together danro and translated as "fireplace," but glosses it in katakana as sutoobu (fig. 7), which is the Japanese transliteration of the word "stove." This method was a very creative way of rendering foreign words into Japanese, and had the effect of creating an in-between, imaginary space where unknown objects, concepts, and even people could exist, before the real ones made their way into the everyday life of the Japanese. On the other hand, adapting foreign words to the Japanese syllabic script would often result in several variants of the same word: "handkerchief" was written with the kanji for "hand" and "cloth", and read either hankachi or hankechi, for example.

The fascination with Western knowledge indirectly gave birth to skepticism about the benefits of Japan's continued presence in China's sphere of intellectual influence through the use of Chinese characters. Also, the amount of time necessary for gaining a passable knowledge of reading and writing *kanji* was seen by many Meiji educators as an obstacle to actual

learning. As a result of such "practical, but also emotional resistance to *kanji*" (Ueda 2011, p.144), Japanese linguists in the 1880s proposed that the characters are abandoned, and either Japan's syllabaries, or the Latin alphabet (called *rōmaji*= Roman letters) are used for writing. Here, I will focus on the latter, as it changes some of the conventions for writing in Japanese while also creating new ones, at the same time more drastically impacting the "materiality" of the texts rendered therein. The *rōmaji* defamiliarises the Japanese language in several ways: in Roman alphabet, the text runs horizontally, from left to right, and not vertically, from right to left; spaces are introduced between words (not common in Japanese text), together with Western style punctuation. It also permits for a seamless flow between Japanese words and foreign words, that no longer need to be transliterated, i.e., altered to match Japanese pronunciation rules (see fig. 8).

Emulating Western linguistics, which emphasised the importance of sound and the "living" language, advocates of the Roman alphabet saw the ideographic kanji as too remote from the everyday vernacular, and suggested that rōmaji are better fit even than kana, the native phonetic syllabaries, to transcribe the sounds of the Japanese language 24. The supporters of these ideas formed the Association for the Roman Alphabet (Rōmaji-kai) in 1885; among its core members we should mention biologist Yatabe Ryōichi, sociologist Toyama Masakazu, and nipponologist B.H. Chamberlain. In June the same year, the Association started publishing a monthly magazine called Rōmaji Zasshi (The Roman Alphabet Magazine), which published editorials, miscellaneous news and articles, book reviews, as well as a column called "For Children," which contained stories translated from foreign languages or transliterated from Japanese. Especially during the first year of publication, the contributors stressed the need for Japanese education and society to be reformed (westernised), and for everyone to learn rōmaji, first of all because kanji takes too much time, and second of all, because the Roman alphabet means easy access to foreign languages and the scholarship available through them. From the third volume of the magazine, the "For Children" column disappears, and instead reviews of English reading primers (Sander's, Longman's, National,

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²⁴ For a more detailed discussion, see Atsuko Ueda "Sound, Scripts, and Style: *Kanbun kundokutai* and the national language reforms of 1880s Japan," in *Translation in Modern Japan* (Levy, I., ed. 2011).

etc), and sample translation projects (l'Abbé Evrard's class translation from La Comédie Française in Japanese, etc), along with more "adult" translations (Walter Scott, Whittier et al) become more frequent.

None of the translations in "For Children" mention the name of the author, and it is also sometimes unclear who rendered the text in Japanese. This is likely due to the fact that many of these are secondhand translations or very free adaptations of stories already long in circulation at the time of their transcription for Rōmaji Zasshi. On the other hand, originally Japanese stories are for the most part unsigned too, which supports the idea that generally children's literature was held as something of a shared commodity, whose author/ origin were not relevant (Wakabayashi 2008). The translations included in Romaji Zasshi range from Aesopian fables such as "The Grasshopper and the Ant" or "The Rabbit and the Turtle," to Grimm's "The Shepherd Boy" and Andersen's "The Emperor's New Clothes." Aesop's fables had been introduced to Japan at the end of the 16th century (printed in both Japanese script, and rōmaji)25, and, by the 1880s, were perceived as almost "public domain" (therefore could go unsigned). On the other hand, "The Shepherd Boy" (published in vol. 1, issue 11) and "The Emperor's New Clothes" (vol. 1, issue 18) are actually the first versions of Grimm's and Andersen's stories ever to appear in Japanese; Katayama Kin'ichirō and Yasuoka Shunjirō sign the translations, respectively, but little is known about them, and no mention is made of the original authors of the texts.

Let us take a look at the first sentence from "The Emperor's New Clothes" (Ō no atarashiki ishō):

Ima wa mukashi, aru kuni ni hitori no Ō sama arikeri. Kotonohoka ni on meshimono no utsukushiki wo konomi tamō on kuse arite, tsune zune koromo no yoshiashi ni nomi mi-kokoro wo tome tamai; himemosu on ishōbeya ni iritamaite, are no kore no to kikazari mikurabe tamō koto mo okariki.

The story is introduced by the consecrated phrase "ima wa mukashi", which roughly translates as "looking back now, it was a long time ago,"

²⁵ For details about Aesop's fables in Japan, see Hamada Yukiko "Isoho monogatari to sono jidai ni okeru juyō ni tsuite", in Bukkyō daigaku daigakuin kiyō Bungaku kenkyū hen, Vol. 38, 2010.

and is the equivalent of "once upon a time;" verb and adjective terminations are those of classical grammar (*ki, keri*). On the other hand, the sentences are broken down into semantic units, and punctuation is inserted to indicate bigger units of meaning (text flow is continuous in regular Japanese script, with the alternation of *kanji* and *kana* serving to identify where one word ends and the other starts—see fig. 7), with hyphenated compound words, and special attention paid to pronunciation by marking long vowels with macrons. In a nutshell, the script is indeed new and foreign, and Western techniques and signs are used to make it comprehensible, but the translated text itself relies on classical grammar and cadence, reproducing traditional patterns of storytelling, which greatly contribute to its readability among the 1880s Japanese audience.

Finally, let us look at one of the translations published by the same Association for the Roman Alphabet (Rōmaji-kai), namely Wilhelm Busch's illustrated book Max und Moritz: Eine Bubengeschichte in sieben Streichen (1865). It appeared in Japanese as Wampaku Monogatari (Naughty Stories) in 1887-88, in two volumes, and included only the first four pranks. The translation belongs to Shibutani Shinjirō for the first volume, and Oyaizu Kaname for the second; both the names of the translators and that of the author are indicated on the front cover. Busch tells the story of two naughty boys, Max and Moritz, in verse, and accompanies it with numerous dynamic illustrations. The same illustrations are preserved in the Japanese version, paired with a translation using the *rōmaji* script (fig. 9). As in the case of other children's stories published in Rōmaji Zasshi's dedicated column, Wampaku Monogatari uses the classical written style (bungotai), and renders the original trochee into the Japanese traditional 7-5 syllabic meter. It also renames the heroes Tarō and Jirō, and gives Japanese equivalents to the names of the other characters, too, sometimes based on phonetic similarity, sometimes based on semantic equivalence. The translation further domesticates the text by inserting Buddhist terminology (the widow is compared to Buddha) and local proverbs (in the form of yojijukugo, or four-kanji idioms); it draws on classical and pre-modern Japanese literature for poetic expressions, and uses various terms from traditional arts and crafts that had entered the common vocabulary, e.g., spatial directions from Japanese archery, etc (Arokay 2016). On the other hand, Tarō and Jirō's pranks, i.e., stealing a widower's whole roasted chicken through the chimney, lacing a teacher's pipe with gunpowder while he is playing the organ at church, etc, are faithfully translated, without omitting any (Western) detail. The resulting Japanese version, by combining the original illustrations and the Roman letters with Japanese culturally-specific vocabulary, and preserving the original content of the pranks but rendering it in classical *bungotai* and a native metric pattern, succeeds in creating an imaginary space where the encounter between East and West can be negotiated.

4. And They Lived Happily Ever After?

During the Meiji period, translation was the locus of (radical) experimentation with language; it was the engine of the movement towards simplifying the written Japanese and unifying it with the "living," spoken tongue, which, educators sometimes argued, could be better represented and easier learned via simpler scripts, such as the kana syllabaries or the Roman alphabet. Also, as new realities were being "translated," the Japanese vocabulary had to be enriched, by creating new kanji compounds, giving old compounds new meanings, or transliterating the foreign sounds into kana. Shakai, the Japanese word for "society," was famously created during this period to reflect an inherently Western concept; the compound shōsetsu, originally meaning "small/ trivial story" in time came to mean "(Western style) novel," while more mundane objects, like "glass", "platform", or "button" had to make do with approximate transliterations such as garasu, purattohoomu, and botan, sometimes used together with ateji, or kanji combinations meant to make meaning somewhat clearer to those who had lived in a Japanese house with paper doors and windows, never ridden a train or seen a foreigner in a buttoned up suit in their entire life. Even with the great effort towards the fashioning of a new Japanese language, conversant with the (Western) languages of the world, in the first decades of the Meiji period, reading a shōsetsu about people living in houses with chimneys and stoves and eating bread for breakfast was still very much an exercise of imagination, of creatively misinterpreting (or failing to grasp correctly, depending on where one chooses to stand on the matter) the translated foreign texts.

As opposed to books written for an adult audience, children's books often carried illustrations, and it is important to consider the relationship between text and image when discussing the way in which they were translated and read. The illustrations were sometimes "carried over" from the original, at other times slightly changed, and at still other times, drawn anew by a Japanese artist. In other words, they could be quoted, adapted, or translated themselves, as a whole, or only partially. In either case, the interaction between the image (e.g., lord Fauntleroy's *ukiyo*-

e-like, gloomy representation on the cover of *Shōkōshi*, or the old widow's Western features and clothes in the illustrations quoted from the original *Max and Moritz*) and the text (Fauntleroy's personality in Wakamatsu's faithfully translated *Shōkōshi*, or the Buddha-like widow who comments on impermanence in Shibutani's *Wampaku Monogatari*) directly affected the story, hybridising the space its characters and readers shared.

Furthermore, as mentioned before, the theories about the benefits of writing in *rōmaji and kana* had been spurred by the need to speed up the learning process of the "little citizens," and were consequently put in practice predominantly in children's books. While *kana* had long been used in reading matter for children, women, and other members of the less educated classes, literacy in *rōmaji* was a sign of belonging to the modern educated elites, who were accustomed with it, first and foremost, as a way of rendering text written in foreign languages. As such, writing the Japanese language with Roman letters had the effect of defamiliarising it, of drawing attention to the written form/ material—only to have the content actually flow in a vernacular whose sounds and cadence were ever so familiar. Such experimenting with scripts, carried out in children's books, made use of the maleability of the little citizens' minds, preparing them for inhabiting an imagined modern Japan-in-the-world.

The hybrid, in-between space that can be construed by looking at issues related to the materiality of children's books— illustrations, printing technology, scripts— is indeed one where visual and discursive cultures interact on the same page, directly negotiating their existence as "unitary units."

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List of illustrations

Fig. 1: Illustration from Kawashima Keizō's translation of "Romeo and Juliet" (1886).



Fig. 2: Illustration by Kaburagi Kiyokata, in Doi Shunsho& Yamagishi Kayō's "Hamlet" (1903).



Fig. 3: Illustration from "The Eight Young Goats" (1887).



Fig. 4: Cover of 1886 Japanese version of Little Lord Fauntleroy.



Fig. 5: Frontispiece by Kitada Shūho, of the Japanese version of Little Women (1906).



Fig. 6: Illustration from Little Women (1868).



Fig. 7: The word "stove", in *kanji* and with *kana* glosses (*sutoobu*) in "Eight Young Goats."



Fig. 8: A page from Vol.1, issue 18 of *Rōmaji Zasshi*, featuring a mixture of text in English and Japanese.

	ROMAJI	ZASSHI.	[I SATSU. 18 qo.
hite mizukara tsutsushimi, yabi	coniun nara fatin at	shifti wa kanani tama	- boo select
esshite fejin no hinkō wo mi	doesno es ei eer	Phiki wo konomi tamo e	on Ruse arite, toune gune on
hime origin va jour va t	daman yo m maa-	aerome no yeshiashi i	i nomi mi-kokuro wo tome
hime, geisha ya jora no deman	it wa naru take suku-	tainni; himemosu on is	h5-beya ni iritamaite, are no
aku subeshi to iu gotoki wa wayuru danshi kairyō ni tsuite :	sunawachi kisha ga	kore no to kikazari mi	kurabe tamō koto mo ōkariki.
toto to amountain airyo in tsuite i	mottomo tarsetsa nara	Aru toki, joka ni futar	i no hataori kitarite, hokoriga
toto to emowaruru nari. Ou	г стиваће ін пос но	ni iifurasu yo wa, " War	e-ware koso wa tagui mare-
a sympathetic protection, would	freely associate with	rorn ishit wa kore wo b	ivo hito an tales for t
me thermy and like clustes of	innocent and modest	akiraka ni arawasu no fu	ishimi ari. Toku avita onom
women. Shikaru ni geisha ta	ri shōgi tari shakai ni	ga kurai vakume soto ce	chikura aru hito kom m. Li
somo sonzai suru wa danshi g	a kore we choai sure	toki wa nanigroto ma r	mkorredo. fotoba ai skite ana-
kara no koto nareba, kere wo sa	kulseshi, kero to maji-	los keres nakame esti no i	habara muli kita ut an an-
waru-begarazu to 10 gutoki jimb	utsu wa someomeathetic	rippers ma Livein me	ern de me al misse and to a
nari, inconsiderate mari, a faith	desa libertine mari to	O konno havasahi was te	wine bibli tampita observato
state, geisha ya jorô wa chōii	subeki mono nari hin-	I" Sate sate, fushiri ni m	o odorokuhaki arimono so se
seki subeki mono ni wa araz	u to shuch5 sura ga	mono kana! Chin mal	I kumu eri mono wo also (21)
gotoki wa ika ni mo omoshiro	ki kangao naraza ya ?	gre shinks no more adams	to the connected acres, really one a
Dut I do not wish to follow C	aptain Brinkley's ox-	Laufer serve we was my to	a shire kata tananshire m
ample by calling him a pedantic	hypocrite or by mali-	kneen vor, my vasslered	realist Tales idea fritadescont as
ciously insinuating that he is	a faithless libertine	klinoun we isogi totum	on any back in the same same
which I know he is not.		chokumei wo kudashi tu	mai, kane futari no orite w
With regard to the tenor	of Captain Brinkley's	shite orimono no waxa y	to bailmanne tempilem
letter, your readers will no don	bt have nercoived that	Sara hoda ni Jeans or	the law abole and the later
he writes in jest. No other hyp	thesis will explain the	tagnismatsurite augusam	m hitotor no bete no abit
extraordinary misconstructions	he has put upon what	butners no warn were re-	hajimekeen. Saru ni, kon
I said. He accuses me of asser	ting that Princes and	orite to topostore money	domo wa moto yori makoto n
nobles should not attend theatre	es and concerts unless	urite nite wa avade, tud	a O wo tabakaran tote kitari
the audience is carefully sifted	; and in the case of	Ishi itumes mono nite ur	ishi kato, hatauru to mised
the lower orders, the personal	liberty which belongs		to nomi nite, sono jitsa wa t
to every individual should b		wari arimana ni mashir	cura tote aketeritaru jeti u
that I have ever written can pe		Dimnita to marconomic	mki kin mdo wa, mina opos
constructions, and Captain B			ou shi, mani me maki kara n
petent Japanese scholar, is pe		but a mi babanita himana	o-u batsori no mihuri wo nash
it cannot. I hope, for the sak			one includes no minura we have
for the good work he is doing		Children Street Children Children	boshimesaruru yā ws, "Kur
a controversial device too c			ru teissi nite atsucae no er
namely, the device of seeking			yn tetau nite alaurae no es
ponent by attributing to his			aran; misokara yaki min s
which he has never professed			i ni hashituusshi to ya omow
metrically opposed to the ten			nite-tare ka kembun ni tsak
But if any body has taught r			ri nagara, kano orimono wa f
device, it must be the gallant		a shigi no chikara aru y	oshi nareba, mottomo Chin:
creditable instruction my war	mest thanks are due t	o shin-yō sura mono nare	ole wa tsukawashi-gatashi. I
him.		wa, isso mishō ni mō	ditsakuru ni shiku kete nasi
	M. TOYAMA.	Sa nari, an nari," to m	kokoro wo sadame tomai, sas
Tokyō, Meiji 19 nen, 10 gutsu	22 nichi.		serarete, orimono kembun
ZATSURO	OKU.	yaku wo zo meiji tama Saishi wa kanete yo	i, kano orimono no fushigi ne
O NO ATARASI	IKI ISHŌ.		taredo, mizukara shinzuru k eruru koto mo naka, O no öse
YASUOKA SHI		shitagainu.	rum soso mo naku, O no ose
TMA wa mukashi aru kuni n		minegand.	hokumei wo kamurite, kano oz

Fig. 9: Wampaku Monogatari (1887): illustrations from the German original and Japanese text in rōmaji.



INTRALINGUAL AND INTERLINGUAL GRAMMATICAL SYNONYMY WITH EXPRESSIONS OF THE MODAL CONCEPTS OF ABILITY AND POSSIBILITY

Anca Florina LIPAN¹

Abstract:

Modality is expressed by a wide variety of means ranging from modal verbs to other parts of speech and syntactic structures given the fact that there are numerous instances when the same modal concept can be expressed in different ways. Modality can be expressed lexically, by using adverbs such as likely, unlikely, probably, possibly for epistemic modality and the modal expressions/idioms be obliged to, have to, be free to, for deontic modality. It can also be expressed by means of modal verbs such as must, ought, may, might. Sometimes, it is the increasing use of semi-modals in the detriment of core modals that is responsible for the existence of synonymy at the grammatical level,. Therefore, meanings of possibility, permission, necessity, obligation, volition, prediction, usually conveyed by modal verbs such as can, could, may, might, shall, should, will, would, must, are frequently expressed by means of semi-modals such as be going to, have to, to be obliged to. The synonymy relationship between these ways of expressing the same concept will be analysed from the intralingual as well as from the interlingual perspective with a view to proving the correspondence between language systems.

Keywords: synonymy, grammar, modal verbs, modality

Introduction

Logical and pragmatic approaches need to be applied when discussing modal verbs and their meaning because the values each modal expresses are not clear cut. Different factors influence human communication and further choice of expression may lead to modal verbs acquiring surprising values and meanings. Therefore, according to Leech (2004:73) "it is often better to think of contrasts of meaning as scales of similarity and difference". However, there seems to be unanimous agreement among linguists and grammarians as far as the existence of meaning relations between such modal verbs as *can*, *may*, *must* and *have to* is concerned. The relationship between the ways of expressing the modal concepts of ability

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and possibility will be further analysed from the point of view of the grammatical synonymy.

Grammatical synonymy will be seen as the relationship between two grammatical constructions which are different from the structural point of view, but convey the same meaning or almost the same meaning.

The main aim of the present paper is to study the grammatical synonymy between the different expressions of modal concepts of ability and possibility both intralingually and interlingually. The first step of this linguistic endeavour will be to identify the main synonymic modal expressions in English and then to analyse the way in which they are translated into Romanian with a view to emphasising the correspondence between language systems.

Findings

Although some grammarians (Leech and Coates, 1980) have argued in favour of the tendency towards a monosemantic character of modal verbs, the general assumption favoured the condition of modal verbs to display a whole range of modal meanings, both deontic and epistemic alike. (Leech&Hundt, 2009:83). According to Broughton (1990:163), the modal verbs *can/could* can have so many meanings that it can be ambiguous at times to distinguish between them. For example a sentence such as *Can they swim?* can be interpreted in many ways. It may refer to their ability, their asking for permission or their opportunity and for each of these there is another distinctive paraphrase to be used, which would lead to a different grammatical synonymous structure.

From the point of view of the grammatical synonymy, mention should be made first of the semantic equivalence between the epistemic meaning of possibility expressed by the modal verb *can* and the Present Simple Tense accompanied by the adverb sometimes referring to possible situations as well, as in example sentences (1a) and (1b) below:

- (1a) Driving can be dangerous.
- (1b) Driving is sometimes dangerous.

Having the same meaning, these two sentences are grammatically synonymous and can be used interchangeably with no difference in meaning. Further on, mention should be made of the synonymy between the modal verbs *Can/Could* and the expressions *it is possible/ it will be possible.* They are interchangeable in contexts where possibility is implied.

Considering the sample ST 1 below, please note that both the modal verb *can*, in its negative form, and the negative construction *it is impossible* are used with the same meaning:

Sample ST 1

"Yes. You cannot go back to the teaching. No-'he shrugged his shoulders - 'that is impossible. Leave that to the canaille who can do nothing else." (Lawrence,1999:400)

The two sentences above - You cannot go back to the teaching and that is impossible -represent two synonymous ways of expressing impossibility. They are not interchangeable, however, because the former is a personal construction, where the speaker addresses directly to the hearer, whereas the latter is an impersonal construction, expressing the speaker's opinion about the already uttered possible action. The Romanian translation of this excerpt proposed by Al Dima (Lawrence, 1992:540) is a case of perfect equivalence between the Sample ST 1 and the ample TT 1.

Sample TT 1

"Da. Nu te poți întoarce la școală. Nu - scutură din umeri - asta-i imposibil. Lasă asta în seama acelor canaille care nu sunt bune de nimic altceva."

The Romanian translator uses the modal verb *nu te poti intoarce* and its paraphrase *asta-i imposibil* to express the same epistemic modal value of impossibility, the modal construction being more personal than the adverbial one, which is more impersonal. The two alternatives could not be used interchangeably without affecting the overall meaning of the excerpt. Thus, the alternative below (Sample TT 1a) would change the ST meaning, since the construction *E imposibil* implies that the impossibility may be caused by some external factors

Sample TT 1a

Da. E imposibil să te întorci la școală. Nu – scutură din umeri – nu poți face asta. Lasă asta în seama acelor canalii care nu sunt bune de nimic altceva. (our adaptation)

Just like its English correspondent, the Romanian modal system revolves around modal concepts that fall into scalar classes of epistemic and deontic modality. The logical (Epistemic) scale lists possibility, probability and certainty whereas the root (Deontic) scale includes permission, weak and strong obligation. According to Bîră (1976:133), both the English and the Romanian modal systems display a "systematic relationship between the same semantic concepts" reflected in the ability of the same modal verb of expressing concepts of both possibility as well as permission." In fewer words, there is a common characteristic of both languages, that of the rather ambiguous border between the epistemic and the deontic modalities expressed by certain modal verbs. The famous example of can and may in the English language adds the Romanian modal verb a putea to convey both permission and possibility; just as well as should and ar trebui suggest probability and weak obligation, or *must* and *trebuie*, which usually convey meanings of certainty and strong obligation. Another resemblance between the English and the Romanian modal systems relies on the fact that certain modal verbs (can, may, a putea) imply other modal concepts such as capability or potentiality, belonging to different semantic paradigms. However, the linguistic and extralinguistic factors are the ones to shed light on the modal values expressed by the mentioned modal verbs.

In our attempt of establishing the common points and the differences between the two languages, we will consider the semantics of modality as influenced by context, by the speech acts performed and by the fact that there may not always be a one-to-one correspondence between the ways modality is realised in English and Romanian. Cases of non-equivalence in translation may occur, especially because a Romanian modal verb can have several English correspondent ones such as *a putea* which can cover the meaning of *can*, *may*, *could* or *might*, or just as the Romanian modal verb *a trebui* can be translated by either *must*, *need*, *should*, *ought to* or by different modal idioms such as *have to* or *be to*.

Event possibility can be expressed by either the modal verbs *can* and *may* or by the modal expression *it is possible (for NP) to VP*, which can become synonymous. But, in his attempt of clarifying the differences between *may* and *can*, Leech (2004:82-83), brings to the fore a set of equivalent factual and theoretical statements such as:

- (2) 'The road may be blocked' = 'It is possible that the road is blocked' = 'Perhaps the road is blocked' = 'The road might be blocked'"
- (3) 'The road can be blocked' = 'It is possible for the road to be blocked'= 'It is possible to block the road' (Leech 2004:82-83)

The difference between the two sets accounts for the difference between factual in (2) and theoretical possibility implied in (3), where the former is stronger than the latter. But from the point of view of the grammatical synonymy, the emphasis is on the different alternative ways of expressing each of them. Consequently, factual possibility is expressed by means of the modal verbs *may*, *might*, by *It* is possible followed by a *that-clause*, or by the modal adverb *perhaps*, whereas the theoretical possibility is expressed by the modal verb *can*, and by *It* is possible followed by *for+Noun Phrase+to+infinitive construction*.

Nevertheless, formal English accounts for examples where *may* is used to express both theoretical as well as factual possibility and in such cases, although not very common, it can be replaced by *can* with no change of meaning:

(4) During the summer, many species of plants may / can / it is possible to be found in the forests on the mountains.

Furthermore, although traditionally seen as a past tense form of *may*, *might* is now on equal footing with the former, being very difficult to distinguish between the two replaceable alternatives in contexts where possibility is implied, (Leech, 2004:76, Leech and Hundt, 2009:85). Such sentences as *Look out! That book may/might fall* can use both *may* or *might* with no change in meaning, especially in informal language.

In the literary example below, the modal verb *may* can be replaced with *might* with no change in meaning. The same degree of possibility would be implied by either of the two modal verbs. In such cases, modal verbs *may* and *might* are considered synonymous:

Sample ST 2

Towards the end of the story, he is very ill, in a sanatorium in the Hymalayas, where he is due to have an operation which may/might or may/might not prolong his life, and various characters make a pilgrimage to hear his words of wisdom while they can. (Lodge, 2012:531)

The Romanian translation uses for both possible alternatives of the Sample ST 2 a single verb *a putea* used in the Present Conditional to imply the same degree of possibility.

Sample TT 2

Către sfârșitul povestirii este grav bolnav, într-un sanatoriu din Himalaya, unde e programat pentru o operație care ar putea sau nu să îi prelungească viața, și diverse personaje fac pelerinaj acolo să-i audă cuvintele înțelepte cât mai trăiește. (Lodge, 2011:487, translation by Oana Frantz)

But, the same replacement is no longer applicable for the following example, where *might* refers to past possibility, an area incompatible with the use of *may*:

Sample ST 3

After that Mr Wells might write what he liked and do his utmost. It was no longer the thing to read him. Reviewers might praise him and a dwindling band of dupes might get his books. (Lodge, 2012:533)

And yet, the Romanian translation uses the same modal verb a putea, used in the Imperfect tense this time, to match the ST meaning of past possibility. What is worth mentioning is the absence of the modal verb a putea in the following sentence, the meaning of possibility being conveyed by the Present Conditional tense of the lexical verbs such as a lăuda/a cumpăra. The idea of remote possibility could have been rendered in Romanian by a wide variety of means which could have created a more vivid image in the TT. For example, we would choose the use of the modal adverbs in expressions such as e posibil - E posibil să mai fie lăudat doar de cronicari și probabil o ceată tot mai mică de nătărăi să-i mai cumpere cărțile.

Sample TT 3

După aceasta domnul Wells putea să scrie orice-i plăcea și să facă tot ce-i stătea în puteri. Nu mai era la modă să-l citești . L-or lăuda cronicarii și o ceată tot mai mică de nătărăi i-o mai cumpăra cărțile. (translation by Oana Frantz, Lodge, 2011:488)

Quirk et al. (1985) identifies the existing tendency to neutralize the difference between may and might in their expressing tentative and hypothetical possibility. This tendency seems to extend to contexts in which only *might* would normally occur and it is symptomatic for "the tendency to erode the distinctions between real and unreal senses of the modals" (Quirk et al., 1985:233).

Possibility expressed by the modal verbs *may / might* or by the modal constructions such as *it is possible, perhaps, possibly, likely* lead to considering such alternative modal constructions as *You can/could/may/are likely to/ be right*. or *It may be/it is possible that/Perhaps you are right*, as synonymous since they have all the same meaning. Indeed, these constructions could be considered synonymous, given their similarity of meaning and difference of form, but there is some slight difference in meaning, however. It is obvious that the there is a different degree of impersonality implied by each of the above alternatives.

Another example of grammatical synonymy to be mentioned is that between the modal verbs *can* and *may* in contexts where negative possibility is implied. A sentence such as *You may not be serious* is synonymous with *You can't be serious* and therefore, they can be used interchangeably. They are paraphrasable by *It is possible that you are not serious / It is not possible that you are serious*. All alternatives would be translated into Romanian using the same modal verb *a putea - Nu se poate să fii serios! / Nu poți fi serios!*

In as far as the concept of permission is concerned, mention will be made of the fact that *can* and *may* are seen as interchangeable in asking or giving permission, even though *may* is considered more polite and therefore more formal. Here is an excerpt from David Lodge's novel "Death Sentence", sample ST 4, which will illustrate this interchangeability. From the point of view of the translation and language correspondence, surprising alternatives may occur. Let us consider and analyse the proposed translation for this excerpt by Roxana Marin:

Sample ST 4

- (3) "Well, that was really terrific, thanks so much'; she said when I had finished. 'What should I do next?'
- I laughed at the transparency of this gambit. 'I can't tell you that! I'm not your supervisor.'

She pulled a face.

'No, alas. I can tell you Desmond – may I call you Desmond? "Proffessor Bates" sounds so stiff.'

Sample TT 4

- Uau, a fost impresionant, vă mulțumesc foarte mult, mi-a spus când am terminat de vorbit. Şi acum, ce ar trebui să mai fac?

Am râs în fața naivității acestei încercări de a mă păcăli.

-Asta nu pot să vă spun. Nu sunt îndrumătorul dumneavoastră.

S-a strâmbat.

-Nu, vai mie. Desmond – pot să-ți spun Desmond? 'Domnule profesor Bates' sună atât de rigid. 'If you like', I said hesitantly.

-Dacă dorești, am spus oarecum sovăielnic.

'Well Desmond, I can tell you this discussion we've just had has been more successful than all my supervisions with Colin put together." (D. Lodge, 2008: 132)

-Desmond, pot să-ți spun că discuția asta a fost mai utilă decât toate întâlnirile cu Colin adunate la un loc." (Lodge, 2009:151-152, translation by Roxana Marin)

Considering the larger context we should mention that the dialogue is between a professor and a phd student, therefore the language used and the addressing formulae should be formal. However, we can notice quite the opposite in the Sample ST 4, since thanks so much is less polite than thank you so much, which would have been more appropriate in the context. On the other hand, the translated alternative chose a more polite formula, vă multumesc foarte mult, instead of mersi mult, or multumesc mult, which by avoiding the polite, second person pronoun vă would have been a closer correspondent to the ST. As for the modal verb can, used firstly in the Sample ST 4 to suggest inability, we can note the one to one correspondence with the Romanian modal verb a putea used with the same meaning. Further, for the replacement of may with can, marking a switch from a formal register to a more familiar one, the TL has at its disposal only the modal verb a putea with no stylistic inference of politeness. Instead, here, the politeness is marked only by the lexical addition of domnule in the expression 'Domnule profesor Bates'. Stylistically speaking, a contrast between the formality of the situation and the uttered words and structures is meant in the Sample ST 4, which is difficult to translate exactly in the TL, especially when the latter lacks the grammatical possibilities of the SL.

May is more formal and less common than can when expressing permission. Not all speakers however, acknowledge the distinction between the general meanings expressed by may as in You may leave when you feel to, where the meaning of may is that of permission as compared with the impersonal value acquired by can in the correspondent You can leave when you feel to, where can implies you are permitted to.

When used to suggest permission *may* can be replaced by *can/be allowed/permitted/permissible to, etc.* What is most interesting regarding this use of *may*, is that it has not only preserved its meaning, specific to pedantic, official discourse, but it also increased its frequency as research shows, (Leech&Hundt,2009:85). However, according to the same research,

due to present day requirements of loose language characteristics, there is a slight tendency of replacing *may* with *can*. Therefore, permission can be expressed by both *may* and *can* with the mention that *can* is more frequent in spoken language and in American English.

Grammatical synonymy occurs also, between the various ways of expressing the modal concept of ability. Modal verbs such as *can/could* paraphrasable by modal phrases such as *be able to, be capable of, know how to, it is possible* become more or less synonymous. For example sentences such as *I can do better than this* has the same meaning as *I am capable of doing better than this* and they can be used interchangeably. Furthermore, *I can drive* is similar to *I know how to drive*, both referring to cognitive ability.

In the following example, the paraphrase *was incapable* can be replaced by its synonym, the negative form of the modal verb *could*. Both alternatives suggest the itterative incapacity of performing a certain action.

Sample ST 5

Unlike Charlie, I was incapable of making/ could not make friends or thinking about other people and their problems. (Keyes, 2007:253)

Although generally conveying a different meaning, *could* can be replaced by its paraphrase *to be able to* with no change in meaning in negative statements such as *I ran after the bus and I couldn't / wasn't able to catch it*. In other positive contexts, there would be no synonymy between the two and therefore, the replacement would not be possible.

As for the synonymy between the modal verbs *can/could* and the paraphrase *it is possible*, used to suggest ability, mention should be made of the overlapping concepts of ability and possibility in contexts where the possibility of the action is due to the ability of a certain subject. The following examples would express precisely this overlapping aspect:

Sample ST 6

It is impossible to tell what proportion is memory and what exists here and now – so that a strange compound is formed of memory and reality; past and present; response to stimuli in this room. (Keyes. 2007:238)

In this example, the modal phrase *it is impossible* can be replaced by the modal verb *can* in *one can't tell / you can't tell*. However, it is rather ambiguous, as it can be interpreted as suggesting either possibility or ability, but a clear distinction between the two concepts is no longer

necessary as it may be understood as referring to an impossible action triggered by an inability.

Sample ST 7

How could it be? I don't understand. They told me you could never be changed. (Keyes, 2007:266)

Therefore in sentences such as Sample ST 7 above "They told me you could never be changed" which is similar to *They told me it was not possible for you to change*, the meaning of ability overlaps that of possibility suggesting that "the impossibility of the action is due to the inability of the subject" (Quirk et al., 1990:222).

In the following example, sample ST 8, modal verbs *can* and *could* are used to express both concepts of ability and possibility, too. *Couldn't* is replaceable by *it is not possible for Nemur to discuss*, thus suggesting the same concepts of possibility overlapping ability, whereas *can't* is definitely used to refer to cognitive inability:

Sample ST 8

Charlie, you've got to stop thinking that everyone is laughing at you. Nemur couldn't discuss those articles because he hasn't read them. He can't read those languages. (Keyes, 2007:149)

Going deeper into the evolution of grammatical change, the increasing use of semi-modals in the detriment of core modals is sometimes responsible for the existence of synonymy at grammatical level. Therefore, meanings of possibility, permission, necessity, obligation, volition, prediction, usually conveyed by modal verbs such as *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *shall*, *should*, *will*, *would*, *must*, are frequently expressed by means of semi-modals such as *be able to*, *be going to*, *have to*, *to be obliged to*, etc.

As a consequence of the grammaticalisation process there are modals coexisting and overlapping meaning with many semi-modal verbs. So is the case of the equivalence of meaning between the modal verbs *can/could* and *be able to* (verbal idiom) as both expressing ability. (Leech&Hundt, 2009:78).

Contemporary English accounts for a tendency of using semi modals to express similar modal values as modal verbs. Leech and Hundt, (2009:91) define semi-modals "as a loose constellation of verb constructions which, according to many commentators, have been moving along the path of grammaticalization in recent centuries". The terminology on the matter

is quite varied, there not being unanimous acceptance of terms, but, the present paper will follow the mentioned authors' reference to semi-modals.

According to the above mentioned authors, (Leech&Hundt, 2009:107), the existence of different structures with similar meanings is due to the abstractization and the generalisation of meaning. Although both *be able to* as well as *can* seem to have a similar semantic field, both displaying meanings of possibility, ability and permission, the slight difference in between is that whereas *can*, in its basic meaning, implies a more general type of possibility, *be able to* is bound to express ability only. The following two utterances involve some external ability.

- (5) It is doubtful if Morgan was able to take home much money to his wife and children, for his pay was \$75 a month. (Leech&Hundt, 2009:112)
- (6) Comissioner Donald Quigg stated that the Patent Office would not be able to act on animal patent applications before the end of the fiscal year. (Leech&Hundt, 2009:112).

As far as the register distribution is concerned, according to recent studies (Biber et al., 1999:486, Leech&Hundt, 2009:75) modals seem to be more frequent in conversation than in written speech, which is somehow contrary to the fact that even in written form some of the modals still preserve their pedantic use such as *may* suggesting permission. What still makes ample use of modal verbs are the fictional register as well as the business language, educational discourse and even parliamentary debates (Leech&Hundt, 2009:77).

Conclusions

The modal concepts of possibility and ability can be expressed by a variety of means ranging from modal verbs to other parts of speech and syntactic structures and there are numerous instances when the expressions of the same modal concept may be synonymous in certain contexts. The modality of possibility can be expressed lexically, using adverbs such as likely, unlikely, probably, possibly, and the modal expressions such as *be likely to, be possible to* or even by means of the Present Tense Simple accompanied by adverbs of frequency. It can also be expressed by means of modal verbs such as *can, could, may, might*. The possible cases of grammatical synonymy between these forms of expression have been analysed and even if there may be slight differences implied, we agree that most of the mentioned modal expressions of possibility and ability can be used interchangeably in

certain contexts and therefore, be grammatically synonymous. Even, the modal concepts of possibility and ability overlap in certain contexts where possibility is the result of the ability. Besides, the already mentioned modal concepts, permission can also be expressed by a wide range of forms of expression, which also find in a relation of synonymy due to their capacity of replacing each other in contexts with no change in meaning. The only possible difference between them is related to register and formality.

It seems that the English and the Romanian modal verbal systems have things in common. First the Romanian language has at its disposal a wide variety of lexical and grammatical means of suggesting the speaker's attitude towards the truth of the message. These include the grammatical categories of mood, tense and aspect, the intonation, the modal verbs, modal adverbials, lexical verbs or words that express certainty, uncertainty, obligation, permission and positive or negative appreciation. And just like in English, in Romanian certain modal verbs can express both epistemic and deontic modalities alike in certain contexts. Noteworthy is the correspondence between the English modal verb may and the Romanian a putea in as far as their capacity of expressing both permission and possibility is concerned A Romanian modal verb can have several English correspondent ones such as a putea which can cover the meaning of can, may, could or might, or just as the Romanian modal verb a trebui can be translated by either must, need, should, ought to or by different modal idioms such as have to or be to.

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FREEDOM OF IDIOMS IN TRANSLATED TEXTS. PROS AND CONS

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Abstract

Idioms are nothing but samples of peoples' creativity. They are metaphors, showing imagination, playfulness and a strong sense of humor and they agreed to be culturally marked. Translators who have solid cultural awareness in the languages in which they operate are likely to find the cultural equivalent of any source language (SL) idiom in the target language (TL), whichever the languages brought into contact may be. But, is this not an act of injustice made by translators to the SL idiom? Idioms are the reasult of creation in the sense that the meaning of an idiom is encoded in its linguistic form just as meaning is encoded in painting and poetry. Under the circumstances, why should idioms not be translated word-for-word from one language into another, so that everybody can enjoy the linguistic creativity of the people who created them? If a painting representing a man without a moustache is exhibited in a museum in a country where all the men wear moustaches, should the curator of that museum add a moustache to the painting? The present paper aims at giving an answer to the question whether idioms should be translated word-for-word or meaning-for-meaning.

Keywords: idiom, translation, culture, equivalence

When talking about freedom in translation specialists generally refer to the meaning-for-meaning translation, a process which implies finding a semantically equivalent TL variant for the structure in the SL. However, this is not the view adapted in the present paper, the syntagm "freedom in translation" being used in our case to refer to the free circulation of idioms from any given language into another. This would mean that an idiom such as "a skeleton in the closet" should be translated preserving the formal and the semantic expressivity in the SL: un schelet în dulap (Romanian), un squelette dans le placard (French), uno scheleto nell'armadio (Italian), 我衣櫃裡 的骨骸" (Mandarin Chinese) etc. In other words, freedom in translating idioms implies exactly the opposite of meaning-for-meaning translation,

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bringing to the readers' attention the word-for-word translation of idioms. The general attitude towards the use of word-for-word translation in the case of idioms has been one of rejection, numerous specialists considering that this translation method is wrong:

> He (the translator) must always choose between translating word-for-word (literal translation), or meaning-for-meaning (free translation). In case he picks the former, he is criticized for the "ugliness" of a "faithful" translation; in case he picks the latter, he is criticized for the inaccuracy of a beautiful translation (Bell 1991: 6, in Croitoru 1996: 53).

While Roger Bell rightfully notices that "the ideal of total equivalence is a chimera" (1991: 6, in Croitoru 1996: 53), the ugliness of a faithful translation does not stand any longer. So why are idoms translated word-for-word ugly?! Who are the translators and, then, the readers of the target text (TT) to judge whether idioms in another language are ugly or not? Making such judgements would be like comparing two people from different races and saying that one race is more beautiful than the other. Or like saying that the English "piece of cake" meaning something very easy to be done is uglier or more beautiful than the Romanian "floare la ureche" meaning the exact same thing. Such idiomatic structures should be translated word-for-word so as to familiarize the TL readers with the cultural representation of the respective structures in the SL. As a matter of fact, numerous people seem excited and interested to discover how idioms are lingustically represented in other languages (see the results of the experiment conducted in May 2018 presented this paper).

The first time when I realized that translating idioms word-forword may be beneficial for the cultures brought into contact was in 2002, when I worked as a teacher of English in Taiwan. At that time, a Canadian colleague came and complained to me that the headmaster had asked him to re-write some tests for his students and all I could do to help was to tell him that he should not worry because "every kick in the butt is a step forward" (the translation into English of the Romanian saying "orice sut in fund este un pas inainte"). He did not understand this idiomatic structure at first, but after explaining him its meaning, the situation changed dramatically. He said he liked the saying a lot and let me know that he would take it with him to Canada. Had I told him "What does not kill you makes you stronger" the impact would not have been the same and no cultural exchange would have been made.

The problem of translating has been discussed extensively by the specialists in the field and the idea is generally shared that idioms, including proverbs, should be translated culturally. Before 2002 I was in favour of the meaning-for-meaning translation and I considered that good translators have to translate the idioms in the SL by choosing the semantically and culturally equivalent idioms in the TL. After 2002, the idea of translating idioms word-for-word and explaining them started taking over the meaning-for-meaning translation. At the beginning, the idea seemed unacceptable, but with a market invaded by English-speaking movies and English songs, I became so familiar with the English idioms that I started regarding them as idioms in my own language. For instance, when I wanted somebody to stop bothering me, I accessed the English idiomatic structure "Get off my back!", which was no longer foreign to me, rather than the Romanian "dă-mi pace", literally translated by "give me peace". Being more impressed by the cultural representation of the English idiomatic structure, I came to favour the metaphorical image of someone being on one's back and making one's life difficult whenever I needed to express the meaning of the Romanian "dă-mi pace".

Was I turning into a native speaker of English? Of course not, but I started thinking like one. Is it possible for a non-native speaker of English to achieve the performances of a native one? There are specialists who reject this opinion.

An important factor contributing to efficient translations is that translators should ideally translate into their native language and not into a second language. It is well known that translators are linguistically and culturally more aware in their native language rather than in a foreign one. This idea is pointed out by Hervey and Higgins (2002) who state that the translators' training usually focuses on translations into the native language because of the higher-quality works achievable in this case as compared the situations when texts are translated into a second language (Hervey & Higgins 2002). Baker (1992) also believes that translators should translate mostly into their native language, one of her supporting arguments being that "foreign language speakers' competence in using idioms almost never equals that of native speakers" (Baker 1992). Therefore, those who translate into a foreign language can never achieve the sensitivity of a native speaker in judging how and when an idiom should be used. Reiss (2014) highlights that translators should make it possible for the target-language readers to understand and

see the text in the terms of their own cultural context. (Kovács 2016: 86)

While agreeing to the fact that it is easier for translators to translate into their own language, I fundamentally disagree with the following statements: "Foreign language speakers' competence in using idioms almost never equals that of native speakers" and "Those who translate into a foreign language can never achieve the sensitivity of a native speaker in judging how and when an idiom should be used."

Firstly, learning a foreign laguage is not exactly rocket science and I consider that there are speakers of English who, despite not being native speakers of this language, can pass as one of them. Secondly, using idioms in the current speech is a matter of choice on the part of the individuals and has little, if anything, to do with the fact that whoever produces the act of comunication is a native speaker or not. It is my choice, as a native Romanian speaker, to say "asta e floare la ureche" or "asta e foarte uşor", just like a native speaker of English would be able to choose between "that is a piece of cake" and "that is very easy". Thirdly, those who translate into a foreign language do not need to have a native-like sensitivity in how and when to use an idiom because they are translators, therefore they translate whatever idioms are used by the author of the original text.

Why would a Latvian, for example, not be able to learn English and feel the idioms specific to this language in the way at least one of the native speakers of English do? It goes without saying that different people feel the same idiom differently. Every native English-speaking person has his/her own representation of a certain idiom. This situation is similar to the one in which every person within the same linguistic comunity has a different representation of the object named "chair", to give just one example. Therefore, feeling an idiom in your language is no different from feeling an idiom in a foreign languge which you master. If what native speakers feel when they use idioms were so different from what non-native speakers feel, then how would any translation be possible? The fact that we find cultural equivalents of the English idioms in our own language shows a deep understanding of both English and Romanian idioms. This happens between any other two cultures. I strongly believe that a person born in a family which has been living for generation in the United States sees the same we see in "your theory has no leg to stand on".

There are so many voices in favour of translating texts culturally, but in my opinion those voices ignore one important detail: you cannot translate culture! You can explain it, you can understand it, you can accept

it, you can feel happy experiencing it, you can even adopt it, but you cannot possibly translate it. When we translate "Howd'y partner!" with "Salut!" or any other culturally equivalent form of greeting, the cultural representation is not translated. What happens, in this case, is the destruction of the cultural element in the English language and the reconstruction of one suitable for that specific situation (namely when a man greets another man) in Romanian. As a consequence, the Romanian readers of the TT understand that American cowboys used to say the equivalent of ("I salute you!") or the equivalent dimineata/ziua/seara!" ("Good morning/day/evening!"). The cultural reality in the ST is that "Howd'y partner!" comes from "How do you do?" or from "How was your day?" This is different from Salut or Bună ziua etc. I would rather select and translate "How was your day?" by "Cum ti-a mers azi, partenere?" ("How did it go for you today?"). It is a culturally marked linguistic structure which is not used to wish somebody a good day, but to ask how that day was/had been. In Taiwan, middle aged people and old people still use a greeting in Taiwanese: 甲飽沒? (pronounced gia pa bue?) meaning "Have you eaten tonight?" This is also a culturally marked greeting originating in the times when Taiwanese people were starving and their main concern was not to go to bed on an empty stomach. Of course, only people who have known each other for a long time use this greeting.

I have no doubt that the discussion concerning idiom translation is far from over. Generally speaking, I do not consider meaning-for-meaning translation being wrong translation. I only believe that word-for-word translation of idioms from one language into another, followed by footnote explanations would be beneficial for the TL readers. While not refering necessarily to translating idioms word-for-word, Croitoru considers that people can be taught new things through translations: "Translation has a very precise role in the teaching process" (Croitoru 1996: 59). If readers are given the SL idioms translated word-for-word and a footnote is used to explain its meaning and to provide the equivalent idiom in the native language, then they learn a lot more that just English idioms. In case the meaning-for-meaning translation is used, the TL readers will understand the situation and the feelings of the characters in the SL, but in the context of the TL culture, which would be a cultural loss. For instance, if an English author described a person as having "a face that only a mother could love" (English idiom), meaning extremely ugly, it is the author's culture that should be the decisive factor in the choice of words, and not of the translator's. Traditionally, "a face only a mother could love" would be translated by "urât/urâtă ca muma pădurii" (as ugly as the mother of the forest – word-for-word translation) or "urâtă ca dracul" (ugly as the devil), but if the author of the ST chose an idiom in which there is a face and a mother loving that face no matter how ugly, the same representation should be preserved in the TT even if none of the Romanian idioms contains the combination of irony and a mother's unconditioned love. Despite the fact that there are some English idioms which, translated word-for- word, would not mean anything to the Romanian readers, the majority of idioms are pretty much self-explanatory, therefore "o față pe care doar maică-sa ar iubi-o" (word-for-word translation) would be easy to understand, new and entertaining.

As far as I am concerned, I would be interested in reading texts filled with idioms, translated word-for-word, from all the languages in the world and feel the culture of those languages with the tips of my linguistic fingers. What does *urâtă ca noaptea* (ugly as the night) tell us about the culture of a Romanian writer whose idiom mentioned above is translated as such? That people in the respective Romanian-speaking country consider that nights are ugly? It is a cultural fact and it helps the non-Romanian readers have an idea about the cultural inheritance of the Romanian people at a certain point in time. Nowadays, the Romanian idiom "ugly as the night" has been replaced by a more modern one: "ugly with tree branches". It is a sign that Romanians do not consider nights being ugly any longer. But why tree branches? This is an aspect to be further investigated.

The idea of word-for word translation should be taken into consideration in translating poetry, as well. The entire linguistic world agrees that idioms are metaphors, therefore representations of certain realities through artistic images. An idiom is a metaphor, and metaphors are translated word-for-word in poetry because, otherwise, the poem would no longer belong to its original author. If a metaphor such as "I am lost in your eyes" is used in the ST, the translation should have the exact same meaning, i.e. being lost in someone's eyes and not, for instance, "sunk in your eyes" (scufundat în ochii tăi), even if the translator might find the sinking image more romantic. If Ana Blandiana says "În urechile mele, / Mări necunoscute / Bat din aripi" (Blandiana 2016: 38-39), then the English version should be just the same: "In my ears,/ Unknown seas/ Flap their wings", even though there might be an English-speaking nation which does not have a sea. The metaphor of a sea growing wings and flapping them transcends cultures. Of course, not all the idioms are metaphors

transcending cultures, but the ones which are should be translated literally and explained in footnotes.

In an attempt to prove my opinion that the word-for-word translation may be preferred to the meaning-for-meaning translation of English idioms by Romanian readers I conducted an experiment May 2018. It involved 78 university students, males and females in approximately equal proportions, aged between 18 and 30 (with few exceptions). The participants were asked to read the word-for-word translation of an English text filled with idioms and to observe the unnatural expressions in the text. After this first stage of the experiment, they were given and asked to read a meaning-for-meaning, cultural translation of the same text. The third stage of the experiment consisted in presenting them **the original text** which may be read below:

"Come on, Jack, stop beating around the bush! We all know what you've done, so don't try to pull the wool over our eyes." Jack looked at Sam, the one who spoke in everybody's name, and replied:

"Why don't you go play in traffic, huh? Just a little. Or, even better, try take a long walk on a short peer. The world would be a better place without you in it. You have a face only a mother could love!"

"Drop dead, waste of DNA!" Sam said, and everybody could see that Jack had struck a chord. "Now I know why even your mother says that, in your case, the elevator does not go all the way to the top."

Nigel, Jack's brother, was like a cat on a hot roof. Ne would have liked to put Sam's light out, but he could not afford to be placed under lock and key again.

The word-for-word translation of the original text provided in the first stage of the experiment is the following:

- Hai, Jack, nu mai bate atâta pamântul pe lângă tufiș. Știm cu toții ce-ai făcut, deci nu mai încerca să ne tragi fesul peste ochi.
- Jack se uită la Sam, cel care vorbise în numele tuturor, și replică:
- De ce nu te duci tu să te joci în trafic? Doar puțin. Sau, mai bine, fă o plimbare lungă pe un dig scurt. Lumea ar fi un loc mai bun fără tine în ea. Ai o față pe care doar o mamă ar iubi-o!
- Cazi mort, risipă de AND! zise Sam, și cu toții își dădură seama că Jack atinsese o coardă sensibilă. Acuma știu de ce chiar maică-ta zice că, în cazul tău, liftul nu ajunge până sus.

Nigel, fratele lui Jack, era ca o pisică pe un acoperiș fierbinte. I-ar fi plăcut să-i stingă lumina lui Sam, dar nu-și putea permite să ajungă din nou sub încuietoare și cheie.

The meaning-for-meaning translation of the same text provided in the second stage of the experiment is the following:

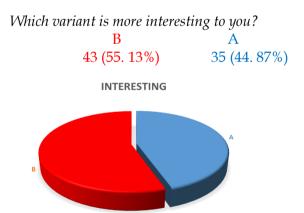
- Hai, Jack, nu o mai da cotită. Știm cu toții ce-ai făcut, deci nu încerca să ne duci de nas.

Jack se uită la Sam, cel care vorbise în numele tuturor, și replică:

- De ce nu te duci tu să te împuști? Doar puțin. Sau, mai bine, dă-ți foc. Lumea ar fi mai frumoasă fără tine. Ai o față de zici că te strâmbi la noi!
- Stați-ar pulsu, stârpitură! zise Sam, și cu toții își dădură seama că Jack atinsese un punct sensibil. Acuma știu de ce chiar maică-ta zice că nu ai toate țiglele pe casă.

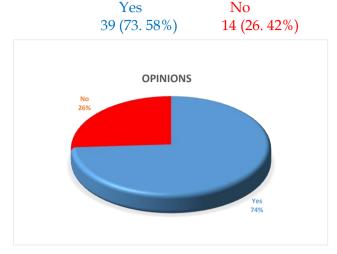
Nigel, fratele lui Jack, stătea ca pe ghimpi. I-ar fi plăcut să-i dea una între felinare lui Sam, dar nu-și permitea să ajungă iar la mititica.

After reading the two translations, the students were asked to say which text would seem more interesting and more appealing to them in case they did not know the meaning of the English idioms. The answers of the 78 people involved in the experiment may be seen below:



After having explained the meanings of idioms to them, the same 78 students were asked to answer the question below:

Do you think that translating idioms word-for-word and, then, explaining them in footnotes, would be beneficial for the non-English readers?



Twenty-five people did not understand that there would be explanatory footnotes for the idioms translated word-for-word, therefore their answers were not taken into consideration.

Although the idea that people belonging to a specific culture would like to share their idioms with people from other cultures and to learn new idioms had been in my mind for more than a decade before this experiment, I have to admit that the results of my experiment were surprising to me. On the one hand, while expecting my students to massively reject the word-for-word variant, almost half of the participants found it interesting. On the other hand, 74% of the participants, none of them with a philological background, proved to be ready to enrich their vocabulary with idioms from other languages in general, and English, in particular. As a matter of fact, enriching vocabulary and learning about new cultures were the main reasons for the ones who answered "Yes" to the question Do you think that translating idioms word-for-word and, then, explaining them in footnotes, would be beneficial for the non-English readers?

Among the reasons for the providing an affirmative answer, mention can be made of the following:

- enriching vocabulary
- understanding the way people form other cultures think
- sharing culture.

In my students' words:

"Îi oferă cititorului o idee despre cultura din care provine autorul textului (...)." (It offers the reader an idea about the source culture of the author.)

"Îmbogățirea vocabularului cu expresii folosite de vorbitorii nativi ai limbii române." (Enriching the vocabulary with expressions used by the native speakers of Romanian.)

"Da, pentru că cititorul își poate forma o idee despre modul în care gândesc britanicii." (Yes, because the readers can have an idea of how the British people think.)

"Prin explicarea expresilor apărute în textul original, cititorul își poate îmbogăți cunoștințele de limba engleză." (By explaining the expressions in the original text, the readers can enrich their knowledge about the English language.)

"Yes. We can share our culture. It would make for an interesting anthropological study concerning how different expressions develop in different cultures that are exposed to different stimuli." (the answer was originally written in English and it is reproduced here exactly the way it was written)

As regards the negative answers, they were provided by some of the students because they had not understood the question or the fact that the texts would benefit from footnotes explaining the original idioms.

The reasons for providing a negative answer to the question under discussion are mentioned below:

- Making the understanding of the text difficult

"Nu. Pentru ca cititorul să se bucure de lectură ar trebui să înțeleagă mesajul cu ajutorul expressiilor idiomatice specifice culturii lui. O idee ar fi ca la nota de subsol să fie precizat idiomul în limba engleză și semnificația lui (...)." (No. For the reader to enjoy the text, they should understand the message of it with the help of the idioms in their own language. A good idea would be to give the meaning of the original in footnotes.)

At this point, mentioned should be made that the opinion according to which the translatum (the result of the translation, the TT) should be oriented towards the TL culture (Popa 2008: 136) might not correspond to the new realities. Globalization started some time ago and it should not be viewed as a negative thing in spite of the few negative aspects it may imply. People all over the world would be happy to have total freedom of circulation, with no visas on their passports. It sounds like in John Lennon's Imagine, but would that not be great? Just like people, idioms should not

need "passports" to enter another culture, i.e. they should not be replaced by the correspinding TL cultural equivalents.

The people's openess to idoms originating in other language cultures is proved by some Romanian idioms which were word-for-word translated into English. Naomi Becze, a freelancer writer who likes to travel extensively, noticed that English people have fun when they hear or read the word-for-word translation of Romanian idioms:

- 1. A Romanian won't "fool you". Instead, she'll "throw vapors at you." (Te aburește)
- 2. Romanians won't say, "He finally got the idea." He will say, "The coin drops." (Îi pică fisa)
- 3. When a Romania has been "scammed", she will say that she, "got into a spike." (A luat ţeapă)
- 4. A Romanian won't tell you that, "You are fooling yourself." He will say, "You are getting drunk with cold water." (Te îmbeți cu apă rece)
- 5. A Romanian won't refer to someone as "crazy," Instead, he is "gone with the raft." (Dus cu pluta)

(https://matadornetwork.com/read/20-funny-romanian-expressions-use/, by Noemi Becze, 6 July 2017, last visited on 5 June 2018)

For Naomi Becze, Romanian idioms translated word-for-word are new experiences. "Naomi is a freelance writer and photographer. She loves nature and animals but most of all traveling, as it leads to new discoveries and experiences. Her goal in life is to travel as much as she can and to collect unforgettable memories." (https://matadornetwork.com/author/noemibecze, last visited on 5 June 2018). It must be the same for the English people reading Romanian idioms as they are in the original.

The fact that Romanian idioms are well received in England is made explicit on other webistes, as well, and this news made it in a well-known Romanian newspaper: Adevărul. Bogdan Nistor, one of the journalists working for this newspaper, wrote: "Se ştie că în Marea Britanie sunt destul de mulți români care încă mai vorbesc în limba lor natală, cel puțin între ei. Multe dintre expresiile folosite de aceştia i-au făcut pe englezi să râdă cu gura până la urechi. Iată mai jos un top al celor mai haioase dintre ele:(...)" (http:adevarul.ro/locale/galati/24-expresii-romanesti-care-i-facenglezi-rada-lacrimi-1_54fb2167448e03c0fd5366da/ index.html 7 March 2015, last visited on 5 June 2018). Basically, he says that many of the

Romanian expressions which the Romanians living in the UK use by translating them word-for-word, make the British laugh so much. A top of the funniest Romanian expressions, not very different from the one presented by Naomy Becze is also presented by Bogdan Nistor.

All those idioms which make the British laugh or even smile are cultural models. They are defined as "presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared... by the members of a society and that pay an enormous role in their understanding of that world and their behavior in it." (Radden 2003: 427, in Neagu 2005: 18)

The question logically arises: Should we deconstruct the idioms from the ST and reconstruct them in the TT, using different building materials, therefore changing the form completely, or should we preserve them the way they are and explain their meaning in footnotes? I think specialists should think twice before answering this question.

The conclusions which could be reached at the end of this experiment are the following:

- More than half of the readers would like to see foreign idioms the way they are in the SL.
- Most of the readers think that they would benefit from a word-forword translation, in as far as idioms are concerned.
- Almost all the readers enjoyed the original idioms and had favorite idoms (with very few exceptions).
- There are more people who enjoy idioms from different languages and cultures than people who would not enjoy them.

In the light of the experiment results and taking into consideration the theoretical aspects presented in the present paper, another question arises: What should translators do when encoutering idioms in the ST? Should they preserve the beauty of the original idioms by explaining them while adopting a word-for-word translation approach, or should they choose the meaning-for-meaning translation?

Without further ado, the conclusions may be darwn that the truth regarding the translation of idioms is always somewhere in between and it is up to the translators to decide which idioms would be beneficial for the readers if translated word-for-word and explained.

To paraphrase a famous part of an equally famous speech, I can say that I have a dream. I have a dream where the whole world is united through idioms translated word-for-word in every language. I have a dream where "piece of cake" is equal to "flower behind the ear" and live together in perfect harmony in any of the languages on this planet. I have a

dream where people are equally amused by "the lights are on, but there is nobody home" and "he/she is in one ear". And I am not afraid that translating idioms word-for-word is the beginning of the end of different cultures because, at the end of the day, Romanians will still say "sărut mâna pentru masă" while the people in other countries will use their culture specific linguisite patterns or they will not say anything at all.

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REMARKS ON THE METAPHORICAL EXTENSIONS OF PREPOSITIONS

Adina Valentina MIHAI¹

Abstract

Prepositions and their relation to semantics have always been questionable. They are often considered to have too little semantic content or, vice versa. When it comes to prepositions, the question that may arise refers to whether they should be regarded as lexical elements with their own lexical and even metaphorical meaning, or rather as semantically empty grammatical elements. Therefore, this article aims to contribute to a better understanding of the semantics of prepositions, since they often have a range of meanings and can be used to describe various relations depending on context. Meaning ultimately derives from the complex interaction between real-world experience and conceptual processes which create and organize this experience in meaningful ways. Focus will be laid on the primary meanings of prepositions, e.g. the spatial uses and on their relations to the metaphorized ones because the metaphorical uses can really be a great challenge. I consider prepositions to be one of the most difficult grammar areas due to their polysemous nature. The idea is shared that metaphorical uses of prepositions are those which are used primarily to denote space and then extend their meanings to other functions such as manner, means, etc. The present article aims at studying the different meanings expressed by some prepositions in order to explore the conceptual polysemy of prepositions. These different meanings are thought to be metaphorical since they are related to the original spatial meaning. The conclusion can be drawn that this relation between the meanings is a case of polysemy.

Keywords: prepositions, semantics, polisemy, homonymy, metaphorical extension

Prepositions have "distinct meanings associated with a single form" (Tyler and Evans, 2003: 4). These elements can be taken as cases of homonymy, monosemy or polysemy. Prepositions are typically polysemous items: they have different, but related senses. Different spatial senses are extended from a central sense (or prototype) in quite systematic ways.

The homonymy approach, which claims that the different prepositional meanings are not related, has been rejected as different studies showed that a link exists between the prepositional meanings and that synchronically, new meanings emerged out of older ones (Lakoff, 1988;

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Tyler & Evans, 2003). The study of metaphorical processes is basic to cognitive studies. Cognitive linguistics makes no clear distinction between literal and figurative language, and it is maintained that the latter should be accommodated as an integral part of linguistic organization. Metaphorical conceptualization is regarded as a factor that may interact with grammatical processes, and is viewed as an important semantic phenomenon.

According to cognitive semantics, the figurative senses of a preposition are extended from its spatial senses through conceptual metaphors. This article examines possible ways in which cognitive semantic analyses of prepositions could be used to anticipate comprehension problems, and facilitate comprehension of unfamiliar figurative senses.

For a better understanding of the metaphorical extension of prepositions we should have a theoretical approach of prepositions and the field of semantics, because the meaning of a word is the basis of communication.

Yule defined semantics as follows: "Semantics is the study of the meaning of words, phrases and sentences. In semantic analysis, there is always an attempt to focus on what the words conventionally mean, rather than on what a speaker might want the words to mean on a particular occasion. This technical approach to meaning emphasizes the objective and the general. It avoids the subjective and the local." (Yule 1996: 114)

I consider that a word should be seen in context, from the subjective perspective because it can convey much more meaning, thus S. Lindstromberg (2010:225) notes with regard to prepositions that: " each one is likely to have a relatively small number of related literal meanings, among which the tendency is for one to be psychologically prototypical, that is to be a best example (...)".

Lakoff and Johnson (1987) include prepositions among words that have image schematic meaning. This is analyzable in terms of the two components of a schema (a concept abstracted rom of a pre-conceptual bodily experience), i.e. Trajector (TR), which denotes the entity whose movement or location is specified, and Landmark (LM), which denotes one entity taken as reference point (cf. Neagu 2003:63). In this respect, Evans and Tyler (2003:1) claim that "a particular Trajector (TR) can, in conjunction with a particular Landmark (LM), affect the interpretation of the preposition in context".

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3) claim that metaphor is not only a literary device used to embellish one's language and style since "our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature". In a conceptual metaphor, the knowledge of the concrete world is mapped onto more abstract domains in order to be able to talk and think about them. Therefore in a conceptual metaphor, a concrete domain known as the source domain is put in correspondence with an abstract domain, called the target domain. This means that the speaker will be using words from the concrete domain to speak about the target domain.

Applying this to the use of prepositions, the source domain is mainly that of space since it is the most concrete. The other target domains vary differently, but the claim is that they are linked, based on the conceptual polysemy, to the concrete source domain. The core conceptual meaning of prepositions 'prompts' a concept that is originally spatial (Tyler and Evans: 2003).

The principle of conceptual metaphor will be adopted while dealing with different meanings of the same preposition. Metaphorical prepositions are those which are used primarily to denote space and then extend their meanings to other functions such as manner, means, etc. These different meanings are said to be metaphorical since they have a link to the original spatial meaning and this link between the meanings is a case of polysemy. The core meaning of a polysemous preposition is considered conceptual rather than linguistic. This conceptual core meaning is an abstraction of an originally spatial meaning , and is applied in case a preposition is used in context, to express a concrete, an abstract or a metaphorical meaning.

My article analyzes the contributions of cognitive semantics to the study of language as far as prepositions are concerned. Abstract aspects of experience can be conceptualized in terms of the concrete, starting from the basic level of the familiar physical domain. This transfer mechanism is carried out by means of metaphor, the main conceptual mechanism leading to the comprehension of abstract concepts and performance of abstract reasoning. As for prepositions, they express a wide variety of meanings, most of them are either spatial or figuratively derive from notions pertaining to physical space.

Prepositions express a wide variety of meanings "most of them are either spatial or figuratively derived from notions of physical space" (Greenbaum and Quirk 1990:191). The use of figurative meanings of

prepositions relies on a metaphorical mapping from physical space onto conceptual space.

Abstract extensions of prepositional usage may be regarded as a special type of extension motivated by perceptual similarity. The association is brought about by the existence of a common domain that provides the speaker with the perception, at least partial, of the association between the original meaning of the expression, and its extended meaning. On the other hand, the existence of cultural and experiential metaphors conventionally sanctions and allows for the regular metaphorization of spatial uses of prepositions (Lakoff and Johnson: 1980).

The figurative senses of a preposition are extended from its spatial ones through conceptual metaphors.

According to Quirk et al. (2005:481) "[t]emporal relations are especially dependent for their expression upon figurative extension of locative items such as *in* and *at*.... As with space, several subroles can be distinguished, some of them closely analogous to those of space".

The hierarchy sense of under in 'he served under the Queen', for example, reflects the conceptual metaphor high status is up, low status is down. A thorough understanding of the spatial senses helps us to explain why one item rather than another is chosen to express a given metaphor. The central sense of behind may be exemplified by 'the mouse is behind the bed", the first figurative sense of behind.

e.g. What is the reality behind the facade?

A second figurative sense builds on situations where a person is backed up by others. Metaphorically, abstract support is backing up.

e.g. The nation should be behind its President.

When we move away from an entity, then it will normally be located relative to our backs. This produces the second major spatial sense of behind.

e.g. We left our wounded friends behind (us).

Metaphorically, time is a path, and we move away from the past towards the future.

e.g. You should move on in life and leave the past behind you.

In the third spatial sense one entity follows another.

e.g. I walked behind him.

Metaphorically, abstract competition is a race.

e.g. Dole was behind Clinton in the polls.

Finally, *behind* has a spatial sense in which the figure (or trajector) pushes the ground (or landmark) forward.

e.g. The man behind the wheelbarrow.

Recall that causal *behind* is a metaphorical extension from a spatial sense in which one entity pushes the other forward (e.g. 'the man behind the wheelbarrow'). Very few language-learner dictionaries include this spatial sense in their description of *behind*. From a cognitive semantic point of view, however, comprehension of an unfamiliar figurative sense may be facilitated by drawing learners' attention to the spatial sense behind it. The conceptual links between the spatial sense and its figurative extension could be clarified by means of an appropriate sequence of examples with graded levels of abstraction, e.g.

- (a) The man behind the wheelbarrow,
- (b) The man behind the wheel of the company,
- (c) The people behind the strike,
- (d) The reason behind the crisis,
- (e) The assumption behind the theory.

The case of *behind* served to illustrate this diagnostic purpose, and motivating metaphorical extensions may help us present the semantics of a polysemous item in a way that facilitates comprehension.

The preposition *beyond* can be an appropriate item to illustrate how cognitive semantics could facilitate

learners' comprehension of the metaphorical usage of an unfamiliar preposition. It has central spatial meaning.

e.g. There is a windmill beyond the castle.

Sometimes, the boundary between the two regions, or the region itself, serve as landmark.

e.g. There is a treasure beyond this door. There is a village beyond these fields.

Metaphorically, ABSTRACT INACCESSIBILITY IS DISTANCE. This generates the first figurative sense of beyond.

e.g. This house is beyond our means. Her behaviour is beyond my understanding. Reading James Joyce is beyond me.

A region is a bounded space and, metaphorically, CATEGORIES ARE BOUNDED SPACES.

e.g. A realm beyond ordinary experience. Love lies in a region beyond rationality.

The second major spatial sense of *beyond* incorporates motion.

e.g. He drove beyond the castle into the forest.

Again, the boundary between the regions or the region itself may serve as landmark.

e.g. He threw the ball beyond the hedge. He threw the ball beyond the pool.

Metaphorically, EXCEEDING A CATEGORY IS MOVING BEYOND ITS CONFINES.

e.g. Scientists stray beyond their competence. *She pushed his patience beyond the limit.*

It has been shown that the notions of different regions and distance are especially relevant for the metaphorical extensions of beyond. Yet very few English learner dictionaries mention these notions in their definitions: The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, for instance, defines beyond as 'at, or to the farther side of sth'.

In the cases that I have encountered, prepositions display similar semantic characteristics, whether they are literally or metaphorically used. This is true to the extent that the fuzzy borders to be found among the literal uses are also present in metaphorical usage.

According to Quirk et al. (2005), most prepositions have the meaning of place and time while the other meanings are derived from those denoting place, that is the other meanings (time, instrument, cause, etc) have a link, based on metaphorical extension of place prepositions, to the locative meaning: "Many place prepositions have abstract meanings which are clearly related, through metaphorical connection, to their locative uses. Very often prepositions so used keep the groupings (in terms of similarity or contrast of meaning) that they have when used in a literal reference to place." (Quirk, et al., 2005:685)

Quirk et al. (2005) prove that the process of meaning extension proceeds gradually and that almost all meanings expressed by prepositions can be traced back, through metaphor, to the original spatial meaning.

The meaning of a preposition changes with respect to the immediate linguistic context. These extensions are made possible in cases when the complement is metaphorical, thus resulting in abstract meanings, or when the preposition is explored metaphorically, in which case a new meaning emerges. The conceptual core meaning of a preposition extends meanings through conceptual metaphor.

In this article we have discussed and roughly illustrated two ways in which cognitive semantic insights could be helpful: tracing the conceptual links between the different senses of a polysemous item may help us anticipate comprehension problems. The case of *behind* served to illustrate this diagnostic purpose, and motivating metaphorical extensions may help us present the semantics of a polysemous item in a way that facilitates comprehension. The case of *beyond* was meant to illustrate this purpose.

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RESEARCH FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF APPLIED LANGUAGE SKILLS

Violeta NEGREA¹

EU motto: 'United in diversity'

Abstract

The article suggests the need to reconsider the process of the native applied language development which is framed by the linguistic globalization. The spread and consolidation of new professional language items of English origin make the native vocabulary fade away their original content and functional structure. The critical quantitative and qualitative analysis of a selected applied language samples raise questions on the newly born native language capacity to communicate accurately and transfer professional knowledge and understanding. The article advocates language teaching commitment to masterly develop students' capacity to articulate old and new meaning to add skilful linguistic value to their professional competence both in Romanian and English. Theoretical approaches are evaluated in terms of meaning shift and language development process.

Keywords: language globalization, meaning shift, translation, professional knowledge transfer, communication skills

The spread of knowledge of the rapid advancements of science and technology is made possible through the current interaction of professionals, makes cultural and language diversity fade away. The manifold EU efforts, action plans and events, political statements and directives, analysis and survey reports dealing with language diversity prove unrealistic to the linguistic reality of language globalization process. The ambitious set of activities from the 2001 European year of languages and the widely debated Action Plan on promoting language learning and linguistic diversity, followed by the New framework Strategy for Multilingualism considered an Asset for Europe and a Shared Commitment (2008), have provided technical solutions and strategies which proved to be unproductive. What is their impact on small languages in Europe? The language, the natural and also the man-made device of communication, has the needed flexibility to coin new vocabulary and to adjust to professional

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and social communication needs which make the globalization phenomenon work and make language diversity fade away, step by step.

Our research explores the process by which Romanian is subject to globalization in terms of the dominant English, with reference to applied Romanian and English language for finance, which is not controlled by the declared respect for linguistic diversity, the fundamental value of the EUⁱ.

EU linguistic diversity policies - facts and realities

In Europe, linguistic diversity is a fact of life. Languages are an integral part of the European identity and the most direct expression of the EU's member culture. The respect for diversity is a fact, a fundamental political measure of the applied principles of liberty, democracy and respect for human rights' and non discrimination ii. Its European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States is also the full respect for cultural and linguistic diversity (Article 165(1) (2) (Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) The follow-up instruments of the applied principles of liberty, democracy and respect for human rights' and non discrimination is the Charter of the Fundamental Rights of EU, adopted in 2000 and made legally binding by the Treaty of Lisbon which prohibits discrimination on grounds of language (Article 21) and places an obligation on the Union to respect linguistic diversity (Article 22).

Where is the balance between the two opposite aspects of the EU pivotal political basis?



Figure 1. The two opposite trends against the European Union values policies

The opposite fact of the linguistic and culture globalization impact is developed by a pressing need for a current common instrument of

communication able to overcome interlingual and intercultural barriers and shape a mutual geographical, economic and cultural area. Linguists and cultural managers claim that English, as a vehicular language, has created a space of interaction which connects people with different language background and mediates political, sociological, economic, scientific and cultural areas into a unique phenomenon that has no parallel in history. (Smokutin et al, 2014) Its increasing globalizing function makes English a modern a *lingua franca*, in spite of the Brexit², which has driven the focus on the cross cultural education and communication as globalization rhetoric of ignoring the "mono-cultural chauvinistic perspective" of education. (Marlina: 2013) The perspective of English as a *lingua franca* deprived of its culture-embedded characteristics and its Anglo-centric mindset does not encourage linguistic diversity, the pride of the European Union principles of liberty, democracy and respect for human rights' and non discrimination.

The case study of meaning shift and development that we suggest raises awareness on the impact that applied English has on the native Romanian speaking professionals. It shows that the current interference between the two languages results in a corporate cultural load transfer from English into Romanian which contradicts and rejects the arguments of English as a *lingua franca* emptied of its culture-embedded characteristics and its Anglo-centric mindset. It also shows that the newly grown applied terminology brings in a change in individual and professional mentality and attitude. It provides arguments for acknowledged language improvements, reconstructions, and innovations which make use of old and new diachronic forms keeping the language operate synchronically. (Coşeriu, 1997) The applied language borrowed developments and innovations are debated in terms of the new social, professional and institutional conditions.

The natural meaning developments are pushed forward not only by the process of language globalization, but also by the corporate need of professional cognition and communication which keeps the Romanian language as a consistent rule-based systematic body through the process of meaning *localization* and *internationalization*.

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 $^{^2}$ English remains one of the EU's 24 official languages after the Brexit, although there will be only two member states -Ireland and Malta - where English is official, but they represent just 1% of the total EU population.

The meaning of meaning: theoretical background

The theoretical research view that we build on the natural language semantics under the nowadays of globalization effectiveness, aims at raising awareness on the phenomenon of functional meaningⁱⁱⁱ shift, fusion and extension and its potential systematic small-sized investigation practices to support native natural language flexibility and adaptability. We are committed to advance arguments for the mind-dependent language and its causal development which is translated into the process of matching cognition and communication to meaning shift, melting, extension and diversification.

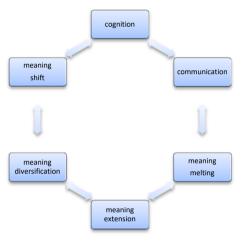


Figure 2. The causal relationship between cognition, communication and language development

We proceed by the theoretical distinctions between *internalist* and *externalist* nature of language which aims at identifying the theoretical basis for understanding and making use of the relationship between brain and language development which outcomes language flexibility and adaptability to cognition and communication as a naturally occurring development, not as a volatile emotional experience. The empirical investigation on applied meaning developments and adaptation under the pressure of globalizing English provides legitimate insights and pragmatic explanations on the native language *localization* and *externalization* in phenomena. Applied language *localization* or *alignment* is the individual professional communities' response to the porous geographical and technological boundaries allowing their members to adopt the needed linguistic tools for the development of their qualified activity. The

complementary process of language *internalization* or *localization* is naturally added the *externalization* step of the small languages which makes globalization process advance. (Bastardas-Boada, 2012)

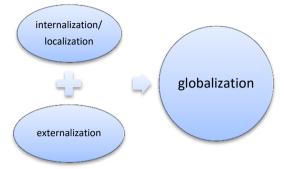


Figure 3. The two processes are complementary to cultural and linguistic globalization

Cognitive science research suggests explicitly that language developments, ranging from word meaning to conventional and novel expressions, reflect enduring conceptual mappings of knowledge and experience of the human mind and activity. Writing and uttering ideas train not only memory, but they also facilitate and enhance reasoning process. (Clark, 1998; Chomsky, 1976) Language acquisition and enculturation reasoning capacity which derive from the conceptual resources of the educated and trained language. (Bowerman&Levinson, 2001)

Both mind-independence status of natural language and its internalist counter-view develop corresponding perceptions on meaning developments causation. (Vogel, 2016) The *externalist* view considers language as an abstract structure of terms, words and expressions which are used to denote objects (Lewis, 1975) uniquely related to functional meaning. Some other language philosophers perceive mind-external view on language entity as a non-sense or no word-object relationship that can be differentiated without appealing to structures of the human brain. (Vogel, 2016) i.e. interaction with natural objects is a necessary but not sufficient condition for meaning development. (Putnam, 1975) Historically, philosophers as Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Martin Heidegger, and Ludwig Wittgenstein have all held their own versions on externalism to draw a boundary between the human mind and objects.

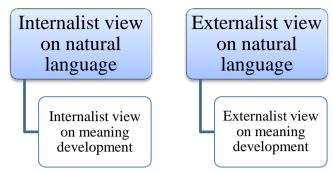


Figure 4. The relationship between language development and the two different causal views on language

Though these two distinctive views bring in two different classes of arguments and motivations, they converge at Chomskyan direction and raise awareness on the transnational functional meaning development. They are subject to systematic small-sized teaching and learning investigation practices to support native natural language flexibility and adaptability. Our mind-dependent language commitment provides arguments for causal development which is translated into the process of matching cognition to communication. (Chomsky, 2002; Vogel, 2016)

English-Romanian homonymy

The concern for an adequately efficient language teaching and learning made us consider the English-Romanian terminology homonymy as a derivation product of language development and globalization. The centrality of the phenomenon grows into the professionals'

- performing fast reading comprehension
- language appropriateness for social and professional communication
- writing well structured and coherent assignments without plagiarism
- consistent and meaningful oral presentations
- working and cooperating productively with peers

We limit our focus to the applied language capacity to develop and adapt specific terminology and forge the professionals' ability to current critical thinking.

The English and Romanian example of the homonym concept *rate* makes Romanian students in finance confused.

The following English sentences are associated to their Romanian variant pointing to their meaning correlation and spelling format.

	PER indicator is calculated as a ratio between the current rate/value of the share and its return in a year.	Indicatorul PER se calculează ca raport între cursul/valoarea curentă a acțiunii și profitul acesteia pe an.
rate: ratio/ proportion	Următoarele două coloane ale raportului se referă la evoluția cursului acțiunilor în ziua de raportare.	The following columns show the development of the share value in the reporting day.
	a rate of 10 cents a pound.vi	o rată/valoare/quantum/propor ție/procent de 10 cenți la pound
a price/ charge with reference to a standard or scale	Historically, bonds are institutionalized borrowings issued by governments or businesses with an annual rate of interest.	Obligațiunile sunt împrumuturi instituționalizate emise de stat sau de societăți comerciale cu o dobândă anuală.
	the interest rate paid is related to its changing value in the market	nivelul dobânzii plătite se raportează la oscilațiile valorii de piață ale acesteia
a fixed charge per unit of quantity:	at the rate of 60 miles an hour	viteză de 60 mile pe oră
evaluation; consideration	This week, they launched a review section that will allow users to rate dispensaries on things like "quality" and "ambience."	s-a lansat un departament de revizie care va permite utilizatorilor să evalueze

The meanings of the English noun term *rate* are substantially similar to the ones in the Romanian correspondent sentences.

The development of *rate* meanings in English traces its origin from the Medieval Latin *rata* (a fixed amount) via the Old French rate (price, value). The term developed the new meaning of "level of speed" as a ratio between distance and time in the 17th century and the currency exchange sense in the early 18th century when financial activity was developed tremendously and London City turned into the first financial center of the world. Another meaning split occurred in the early 15th century into *social rank or standing*, going through the British navy evaluation into six classes based on size and strength, and reinterpreted as *at any cost* (1600s) and the weakened "at least".vii

The study revealed that the recent Romanian meaning of *rată sg./rate* pl. has developed after the reinstatement of the free economic system in 1989 when measurement of profit, interest of plus-value needed to be expressed as in the Romanian sentences samples. This meaning was not represented in professional materials for the students in economics before 1989 when the state central planned economy was operational where market economic concepts had no place. The newly adopted meaning was added to its Romanian existing old term *rată/rate* corresponding to the English *installment* as in the following statement:

You might save money if you pay your credit card debt with an installment loan.

The historical origin of the term is explained by the following text:

"a partial payment on account of debt due," 1776, earlier "the arrangement of payment" (1732), an alteration of Anglo-French estaler "to fix payments," from Old French estal "fixed position, place; stall of a stable, market, or choir," from a Germanic source akin to Old High German stal "standing place". General sense of "a part of a whole, furnished or produced in advance of the rest" is from 1823. Installment plan is from 1894. ix

The resulting homonymous Romanian terms are not easy to be translated meaningfully by the students, as the original meaning is different from the language globalization result making them confused.

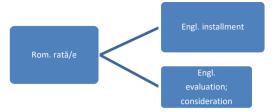


Figure 5. The old and newly acquired meaning of the term rată (sg.)/e (pl). is split into installments and evaluation/ranking due to the rapid advancement of linguistic globalization which is operated by the current interaction of professionals making cultural and language diversity fade away

Conclusion

Globalized applied language trends make native specific vocabulary fade away its original meaning and even functional structure. The critical qualitative analysis of the selected samples raises awareness on the newly born native language capacity to communicate accurately and transfer professional knowledge and understanding. The article advocates the need to adapt native Romanian students to articulate old and new applied language developments. The theoretical and socio-linguistic approach aims at adding skilful linguistic value to the students' professional competence in both Romanian and English. The social component of language is added the professional one which was approached in terms of competence and performance and underlined the relationship between language development and humankind evolution. This relationship was sampled by complex meaning network based on facts and traditions which correspond to the global business culture which is nothing but the current natural language contact phenomenon which has always played its role on language development for centuries.

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http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_3.6.6.html ii Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU)

iii The article defines and uses "linguistic meaning" to identify contextual interpretations and contents of communication of a lexical unit which remain stable across various contexts iv Localization or alignments are terms defining the process of linguistic/cultural adjustment/assimilation of behavioral norms of a social or professional community. Externalization is the opposite process which manifests linguistic and cultural adjustment to a social or professional community which accommodates a new cognitive and motional identity to it. The process of fitting in has been tied to positive professional and social outcomes. The two categories of terms refer to globalization process.

v The process whereby individuals learn their group's culture through experience, observation and instruction. The term was used by the American anthropologist Melville Herskowits in 1948 in his article *Man and his works: The science of cultural anthropology* In Social forces, vol. 27, March, issue 3 https://academic.oup.com/sf/article/27/3/317/1991662 accessed on 8.21.2018

 $^{^{\}rm vi}$ The meaning explanations are sorted out from https://www.thesaurus.com/browse/rate?s=t on 9.02.2018

vii https://www.etymonline.com/word/rate accessed on 9.02.2018

viii https://dexonline.ro/intrare/rat%C4%83/47470 accessed on 9.02.2018

ix https://www.etymonline.com/word/installment#etymonline_v_53937 accessed on 9.02.2018

ENGLISH IDIOMS WITH BIBLICAL ROOTS AND THEIR ROMANIAN EQUIVALENTS

Floriana POPESCU¹

Abstract

The translation of idioms is a complex exercise which requires not only thorough knowledge of idiomaticity of both the source and target language but also well-documented dictionaries which provide relevant information about the nature and semantics of such constructions. This paper focuses on the special category of idioms which originate in the biblical texts and function both in English and Romanian. They have had a different evolution: while the English language has used them extensively, Romanian has shown a more restrictive attitude. As a consequence, the matching of the equivalent idioms in both languages has revealed a few language- and culture-specific aspects, which make the core of our analysis.

Key words: (non-)translatable, idiomaticity, twin formation, binomial, simile

Introduction

Idioms are reflections of national identities and their cultural specificity is so intricate that they are rather difficult if not impossible to translate from one language into another. The difficulty of their translatability resides in their semantics which may be either transparent or opaque and to consider them from an exclusively translational perspective would be restrictive and unfair. It would be restrictive because next to national idioms which hardly find their equivalent in another language, there are also numerous 'international idioms' which are easy enough to translate. It would equally be unfair because to generalize would mean to ignore subsequent classifications and their related aspects. This very particular group of idioms and clearly delineated group of idioms which originate in biblical texts reveal a few aspects of the translation practice. They have been described in close relationship with idiomacity in general, rather than with biblical idiomacity, in particular. This approach mainly matches English and Romanian versions of biblical idioms and it also covers the translational aspects of those which migrated from the biblical text to the conversational vocabulary.

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1. The notion of idiom. Definitions and related terminology

Studies on idiomaticity have revealed linguists' peculiar interest in the exploration of these linguistic representations known under a multitude of denominations, definitions and delimitations or restrictive characteristics, which have been advanced mainly beginning with the 1950s. Within this diversity characterizing idiomacity, unanimously accepted is only the etymology of idiom, which is described by McArthur (1992) to have been in use since the 16th century. It was taken from the "Latin idioma, from the Greek idióma" with the meaning of "specific property, special phrasing, from idios one's own, personal, private" (McArthur 1992: 497). What bears the name "idiom" within this paper has already born a whole list of names in the specialist literature of the last fifty years. It was labelled in turn with simpler or richer names such as "phraseological unit" (Gläser 1984), "complex unit" (Everaert et al. 1995), "phraseme" (Melčuk 1995), "phraseologism" (Gries 2008), "fixed expression" or "multi-word expression" (Carter 1998), "multi-word term" (Moon 1998), "multi-word unit" (Grant and Bauer 2004), "single big word" (Wray 2000), "formulaic sequences" (Wray 2008), "colloquial expression, colloquialism, idiomatic expression, set phrase" (Bussmann 2006: 533) or simply "idiom" (McCarthy 1998, Wright 2002).

Definitions of idioms are as different and diverse as their denominations in the foregoing. Thus, idioms have been described from a structural or from a semantic perspective. Our review quotes only definitions of the 1960s, 1980s, 1990s and the early beginnings of the 21st century. Structurally, idioms are "indivisible units whose components cannot be varied or vary only within definable limits" (Fernando 1996: 30-1) and they "should be made of at least two words" (Makkai 1972: 118). Meaningfully-oriented definitions are more numerous than those which emphasize other features of these word associations.

In the late 1960s, as Dayan (2015: 175) mentions it, Hockett (1958: 92) defined an idiom to be "a modern linguistic agreement on one composed of two or more constituent parts generally deemed to be words. The closer the wording of an idiom reflects a real world situation the easier it is to interpret". He continues his review of idiom definitions showing that nearly thirty years later, Seidl and McMordie (1988: 13) consider that idioms represent "a number of words which, when taken together, have a different meaning from the individual meaning each word".

Da Silva and Cutler (1993: 129) characterize them to be "meaningful strings whose meaning is not a direct function of the meaning of their

components", but Cullen et al (2000: iii) admit them to be "a group of words which have a different meaning from the sum of its parts". At the early beginning of the 21st century, *idiom* was defined as a construction "whose meaning cannot be derived from the meanings of its constituents" (Glucksberg 2001: 68). It is only Gramley and Pätzold (1992: 71) who consider structure and meaning within their definition and state that an idiom is "a complex lexical item which is longer than a word but shorter than a sentence, and has a meaning that cannot be derived from knowledge of its component parts".

Crystal's definition is more elaborate and it appears to say it all about idioms for it not only ascertains its field of usage but also specifies its main features. Thus, Crystal (2008: 236) describes the idiom to be "A term used in GRAMMAR and LEXICOLOGY to refer to a SEQUENCE of WORDS which is SEMANTICALLY and often SYNTACTICALLY restricted, so that they function as a single unit. From a semantic viewpoint, the meanings of the individual words cannot be summed to produce the meaning of the **idiomatic** expression as a whole. From a syntactic viewpoint, the words often do not permit the usual variability they display in other contexts, e.g. *it's raining cats and dogs* does not permit **it's raining a cat and a dog/dogs and cats*, etc."

Finally, I shall refer to a more sophisticated definition which introduces data about general and specific traits as well as a brief classification of these lexical representations within an encyclopaedic entry. Therefore, an idiom is:

"A set, multi-elemental group of words, or lexical entity with the following characteristics: (a) the complete meaning cannot be derived from the meaning of the individual elements, e.g. to have a crush on someone ('to be in love with someone'); (b) the substitution of single elements does not bring about a systematic change of meaning (which is not true of non-idiomatic syntagms), e.g. *to have a smash on someone; (c) a literal reading results in a homophonic non-idiomatic variant, to which conditions (a) and (b) no longer apply (metaphor). Frequently there is a diachronic connection between the literal reading and the idiomatic reading (idiomatization). In such cases, the treatment of the idiom as an unanalyzable lexical entity is insufficient. Depending upon the theoretical preconception, sayings,

figures of speech, nominal constructions, and twin formulas are all subsumed under idioms" (Bussmann 2006: 1236).

Bussmann (2006: 443) uses the syntagm "nominal constructions" to denote all those frozen patterns consisting of a prepositional object and a function verb (e.g. to bring to completion). "Twin formula" is described the label used in phraseology to indicate an unchanging word pair that is joined by a conjunction or a preposition often with alliteration or assonance and "these two elements may be synonymous, antonymous or complementary" (Bussmann's 2006: 1236). Bussmann's extended definition also enumerates a few types of constructions which are circumscribed to idiomacity. His view is rather limited, if compared to Kovecses and Szabo's (1996: 128), who depict the category of idioms to be "a mixed bag" for "[I]t involves metaphors, metonymies, and pairs of words, idioms with it, similes, sayings, phrasal verbs, grammatical idioms, and others".

This background may welcome as well an English-Romanian translational perspective of several representations of idioms which are so very different in terms of structure but so very rarely of meaning, as they share their origins in the Bible. From a theological perspective, the differences between versions of the Bible as it has come to be used in different religious confessions do exist, and thus, to make such a comparison would be doomed to failure. Theologians are right and their opinion is highly prized and shared among members of all those confessions to whom the Bible is the Book of Books. Far from an in-depth interpretion of the spirit of the Bible, our approach focuses on the English and Romanian letter of the Bible discussing structures of idioms which migrated from the pages of the Book to the spoken language.

A similar double-fold perspective was adopted by Dayan (2015: 178), who interpreted idioms from the position of a translator. Considering the intelligibility of idioms, he divided them into transparent and opaque idioms. In the case of the former category "we can easily see the link between the idiom and its meaning" while in the latter case "the meaning of an idiom is not at all that of the sum of the literal meanings of its constituents" (Dayan 2015: 178). His generalizations also enlarge upon a few contributions in the field of translation studies and refer to different theorists in this field who, by and large, suggest that idioms can be translated (a) literally, with (b) other idioms, or finally, with (c) non-idioms. Dayan himself adopts Baker's idiom translation methods and discusses the four suggestions considering:

- (a) the translation of an idiom in the source language by using an idiom that is similar in meaning and form
- (b) the translation of an idiom in the source language by using an idiom that is similar in meaning but dissimilar in form
- (c) the translation of an idiom in the source language by paraphrasing
- (d) the translation of an idiom in the source language by omission.

I share Dayan's view and consider that all these above methods may apply successfully in any analysis which interprets translations proper, i.e. elements of a source language and their equivalents in a target language. Of all the four solutions above, the equivalents of our well-delineated set of idioms reveal a cultural or rather a sociolinguistic twist, being constructed to parallel biblical idioms which are now part of two different cultures but which initially migrated from what appears to be a common source.

2. Materials and method

The whole research project developed into several steps, beginning with the compilation of a corpus, which required the use of both monolingual and bilingual dictionaries. The research started with the examination of English dictionaries of idioms which also include etymologic information. After the selection of the helpful dictionaries, five English and American printed books as well as their .pdf versions successfully passed my selecting criteria. The computer operated versions were first explored. The "find" function of the computer served for the search of only two words "Bible" and "biblical". The use of only the selected "Bible" would apparently have sufficed, but not all of the selected resources included it, as such and after carefully repeated searches, the second term was introduced and the total amount of findings was fairly augmented. The next step was the search of the same data in the paperback versions of the English or American dictionaries. The scanning facilitated the manual selection of the items in question which were introduced into a data bank. Except for those idioms whose explanations mentioned their biblical origin, no other element was included in our corpus. Few of these entries referred to the etymology of an idiom as being a "biblical metaphor" or a "biblical allusion" rather than an extraction from the Biblical texts. These idioms were also included in the corpus for they do have ties with this Book, irrespective of the direct or indirect nature of these ties. They actually emphasize the biblical metaphor and make it popular in the vivid language of everyday communication.

The compiled corpus includes ninety-five phraseological units which show a certain degree of structural diversity. For the Romanian language the search of biblical idioms was rather difficult. First of all, there are very few dictionaries of idioms and none of them is accessible in a .pdf version. Secondly, Romanian dictionaries of quotations which also include idioms (Berg 1969) rarely refer to biblical expressions, for the very simple reason that they were compiled during the communist regime which was rather harsh and limitative in religious matters. Unlike the fairly rich English corpus, the Romanian was considerably poorer, and if it had been used but from written dictionaries and lexicons, it would have turned the comparison into a complete failure. Being my native language, I had to resort to other sources, such as my background knowledge, for one example as well as the biblical text, naturally, both being of great use in this endeavour. Once the corpora were accomplished into one generic instrument, conventionally called corpus henceforth and made up of ninety-five English phraseological units, the next step to take was to find and match the proper Romanian equivalents. The English dictionaries were of great use during the whole enterprise for, in most of the idioms, the etymological specification of the chapter and verse enabled its identification in the Romanian Bible. Difficulty in the process of comparison did exist for not all of the English idioms could be identified in the Romanian Bible, on the one hand and, on the other hand, the bilingual dictionaries were published before 1989, when both the ideologicallybiased practices and political censure would prevent lexicographers from accounting for all sorts of religious matters, idioms included.

Nevertheless, the abundance of idiomatic illustrations within English lexicographic approaches and the access to both English and Romanian versions of the Bible outlined a background for the comparison of this exclusive set of idioms. All culture- and language-specific factors considered, a more or less consistent biblical heritage of idioms which has become part of the present-day vocabulary and it shares more cases of equivalence than of non-equivalence, of as well as distortions, translation gains or even losses.

3. Findings

The analysis of the data included in the comparative corpus resulted in a few general observations presented in what follows.

By and large, English idioms rooted in the Bible distinguish fossilized or frozen patterns and flexible constructions. Frozen as they are, these patterns as well as the flexible ones envisage a wide variety of patterns.

A. Frozen patterns:

- (a) binomial constructions: forbidden fruit, promised land, prodigal son, golden calf, bottomless pit, broken reed, doubting Thomas, good Samaritan, eleventh hour
- (b) twin formula: chapter and verse, dust and ashes, threescore and ten, wormwood and gall, loaves and fishes, manna from heaven
- (c) three-element formula: in deep water(s), of good cheer, full of years
- (d) four-element formula: out of the ark, in sackcloth and ashes
- (e) complex nominal patterns: by the skin of the teeth, in the land of the living, a thorn in the side, a thorn in the flesh
- (f) formulas expressing possession: Benjamin's portion/mess, a widow's curse, a sabbath day's journey, a wolf in a sheep's clothing, in Abraham's bosom, land of Nod, the apple of one's eye, the salt of the earth
- (g) similes: as patient as Job, as meek as Moses, like a lamb to the slaughter
- (h) metaphors: pelican in the wilderness (a lonely person, a recluse), corn in Egypt (anything that can be purchased relatively cheaply in abundance)
- (i) metonymy: hewers of wood and drawers of water, from Dan to Beersheba, Job's comforter
- (j) simple sentences used literally or figuratively: *Vengeance is mine, Incline your ear, Get what's coming to you, Till/until kingdom come.*
- (k) aphorism-like sentences: *Pride goes before a fall, Men cannot live by bread alone, The writing is on the wall*
- (l) proverbs: You reap what you sow, Sow the wind and reap the whirlwind, He who lives by the sword dies by the sword, Let the dead bury their dead.
 - **B.** Flexible patterns were grouped into the formulaic expressions below:
- (a) nominal constructions consisting of:
 - i) verb + direct object: to raise Cain, to bear fruit
 - ii) verb + determiner + direct object: to have itching ears, to cast the first stone, to serve two masters, to bear false witness, to kill the fatted calf
 - iii) verb + preposition + indirect object: to appeal to Caesar
 - iv) verb + possessive adjective + noun: to hold one's tongue
 - v) verb + noun phrase: to have feet of clay
- (b) complex constructions with miscellaneous structures:

to shout it from the housetops to go the way of all flesh to heap coals of fire on one's head to take someone's name in vain to sell something for a mess of pottage

(c) passive constructions

to be led by the nose, to be carved/set/written in the stone

(d) constructions with a figurative meaning:

the scales fall from someone's eyes, to live off the fat of the land, to cast (one's) pearls before swine, to set someone's teeth on edge, to turn swords into ploughshares, to hide one's light under a bushel

(e) negative constructions: never darken someone's door/doorstep, not to know someone from Adam, not to suffer fools gladly/lightly

Very few idioms are accounted for as biblical metaphors, such as the simile as old as the hills whose "hills" suggest permanence (Long 1979: 144), "in deep water (or waters), i.e. in trouble or difficulty, the metaphor in Psalms 96: 14" (Long 1979: 76) or "dig a pit for (try to trap) in Jeremiah 18: 20" (Long 1979: 79).

The English idioms which originate in the Bible have their Romanian equivalents as literal translations functioning as set phrases also, as non-idiomatic translations and as omitted idioms.

Our translational perspective will discuss both similar and dissimilar instances regarding each of the idiomatic structures presented in the foregoing. More often, the analysis of our data brought to light idioms reflecting either literal translations or translations with substitutions. The analysis opens with aspects characterizing the simplest structures with an idiomatic nature, as they are reflected in

(a) binomial constructions

[1a] good Samaritan	[1b] bunul samaritean
[2a] forbidden fruit	[2b] fructul oprit
[3a] prodigal son	[3b] fiul risipitor
[4a] doubting Thomas	[4b] Toma necredinciosul
[5a] promised land	[5b] ţara făgăduinţei
[6a] dead letter	[6b] literă moartă
[7a] the eleventh hour	[7b] al doisprezecelea ceas
[8a] golden calf	[8b] vițelul aurit

All these English binomial constructions are devoid of any article which is usual in conversational contexts, but their Romanian equivalents bear the enclitic definite article which is part and parcel of Romanian words. This is a language-specific distinction of no relevant impact upon the literal translation of these idioms. The only exception occurs in the case of dead letter, also used in Romanian as literă moartă, i.e. without any article. The eleventh hour in [7a] also has a Romanian correspondent in the form of the syntagm al doisprezecelea ceas which is expressed by means of a similar construction, i.e. an ordinal numeral + noun. Formally, the two constructions share the same pattern, but they are meaningfully different. While the eleventh hour figuratively refers to "the last possible moment", which leaves room for performing something, the Romanian al doisprezecelea ceas is used with reference to the closing of a time interval, when an end is reached and nothing else can be done to make things happen in the last moment.

The first six examples above are not only operational in either language but they are also meaningfully similar, except golden calf. This association of words can be literally translated into Romanian, but neither the concept nor the syntagm has been adopted in the Romanian word stock. Such a linguistic representation for "an object of excessive or unworthy worship" is more frequent under the label of "idol", a word which is shared by both languages.

(b) twin formula

[9a] dust and ashes	[9b] praf şi pulbere
[10a] milk and honey	[10b] lapte și miere
[11a] fire and brimstone	[11b] foc și pucioasă
[12a] chapter and verse	[12b] capitolul și versetul
[13a] wormwood and gall	[13b] pelin și fiere
[14a] manna from heaven	[14b] mană cerească

The examples under [9], [10] and [11] are a continuation of literal translation patterns. Example [12a] illustrates an English twin formula with a technically possible version but which nonetheless has not been operational in Romanian. Chapter and verse is the syntagm used to refer to "detailed sources of reference" (Long 1979: 19) but it has not migrated to the Romanian word stock. And neither has the idiom wormwood and gall, "the source of bitter mortification and grief", which has the same twin formula structure and it is used in the literary register (Long 1979: 319). The English idiom manna from heaven translates with a meaningfully similar binomial idiom, mană cerească. Evidently, this formally different equivalent lacks the conjunction between the two words which are not two items belonging to the same lexical class, as the English nouns, but a noun and an adjective thus arranged to comply with rules of Romanian syntax.

While the twin formula section presents those patterns consisting of two members of the same lexical class related by a conjunction, which makes them actually three-word formulas, we shall use this denomination for a different type of idioms. Thus, in our framework these formulas join together a preposition with an adjective or a noun (with or without the mark of the possessive) as well as another noun

(c) three-element formulas

[15a] of good cheer [15b] veselie [16a] in deep water(s) [16b] în ape adânci

[17a] full of years [17b] încărcat/încovoiat de ani

Each of these examples functions in close association with the verb to be, and are used figuratively to emphasize either the optimistic nature of a person [15a], an unpleasant situation [16a] or the condition [17a] into which a person might feel himself/herself to be. The three elements which form such idioms are a bit different as the first two associate prepositions with adjectives and a concrete and an abstract noun, respectively, but the third consists of an adjective followed by a preposition and a noun in the plural. Technically, each of these formulas can be translated into Romanian, but the biblical touch is by no means lost. In addition, they can hardly be indentified elsewhere but in the biblical text.

The complex nominal patterns specified under A(e) are peculiar to the English vocabulary and none of their equivalents has been identified within the resources underlying the current research. The land of the living is easily translatable through the idiom pe lumea asta, but it hardly touches the biblical language and sounds like any other lexical combination which exhibits a literal meaning with no connection to idiomacity. A thorn in the side and its close variant, a thorn in the flesh, have a somewhat similar correspondent in the figurative Romanian construction un junghi în coastă/un junghi între coaste, variants which also suggest a source of

inconvenience or a pain but which is placed between one's ribs. Thus, the idea of discomfort exists and it is metaphorically expressed in either culture, but the means are language-specific.

The formulas which include genitival constructions mainly divide into those built with the Saxon which is predominantly used (in six of the eight formulas) and those with the prepositional genitive (in only two such patterns). The comparison of these genitival constructions mirrors the same diversity of solutions. Thus, the pairs under 18 and [19] express the same images in both languages, i.e. that of Cain who has to live with his curse or that of Abraham, the figure suggesting the comfort some may live in. From the perspective of the translation means, the two idioms are literally translated, the Romanian syntax requirements considered.

(d)

[18a] Cain's curse	[18b] blestemul lui Cain
[19a] in Abraham's bosom	[19b] în sânul lui Avram
[20a] Benjamin's mess/part	[20b] partea leului
[21a] widow's curse	[21b] blestemul văduvei
[22a] Job's comforter	[22b] tămăduitorul lui Iov
[23a] a sabbath day's journey	[23b] călătoria zilei/din ziua de
	Sabat

The idiom *Benjamin's mess/part* [20a] shows an instance of substitution as the personal name of Benjamin is replaced by a common noun, *leu/*lion, the Romanian name of the king of animals. Although the biblical origin is lost in the Romanian idiom, the core meaning of the idiom, i.e. the largest part of (something) is still preserved. The pairs [21a and 21b], [22a and 22b] and [23a and 23b] show instances of technically possible translations since each of the elements in the English idioms may as well occur as a simple words in everyday speech. The difference is that while the English language ascertains the biblical roots of all these idioms, their Romanian counterparts would hardly involve the same biblical roots for none has been recorded within Romanian idiomacity.

Like very few others, the idiom *a wolf in a sheep's clothing* has its equivalent in the idiom *un lup în piele de oaie*. The presence of this idiom may have been a consequence of the fact that Dacians, the ancestors of Romanians had developed a special symbolism attached to this animal. Speculations may be numerous but what stands in proof is the fact that the

image of the wolf was part of their flag. The specification 'almost literal translation' in the preceding refers to the substitution of the "lamb" with the "sheep". The recourse to the name the grown up lamb imposes a distance between the original text which underlines innocence and not an image of stupidity which is induced in the Romanian culture by the image of a sheep.

The genitival constructions using the preposition are very few, as follows:

(e)

[24a] the salt of the earth [24b] sarea pământului [25a] the apple of one's eye [25b] lumina ochilor [26a] land of Nod [26b] ținutul/țara /tărâmul somnului

The Romanian equivalents of the English prepositional idioms with biblical roots show the same genitival patterns which mirror the availability of this language to construct the same linguistic representations. Its instruments suggest both a degree of universality, with the literal translation of [24a] into [24b] as well as its specificity is noticeable in the substitution of *apple* with the word *lumina*/light in [25b] and the loss of not only the name of *Nod* in [26b], but the omission of the whole idiom.

The biblical similes described by the usual pattern as + adjective + as + (common/proper) are represented by only two such versions, i.e. as old as Methuselah/the hills and as patient as Job. Of these, the first has its literally corresponding Romanian match, bătrân ca Matusalem. Job is the epitome of patience in the Romanian culture as well, but its wording is frozen into the form of a genitival construction, răbdarea lui lov/Job's patience. The only simile based on the preposition like, in like a lamb to the slaughter, has the Romanian equivalent in the idiom ca mielul dus la tăiere. Although related to the same biblical episode and almost similar in their form, the latter idiom differs from the former in the use of the definite article in the case of the lamb, i.e. that particular lamb devouts know so well.

Unlike all of the situations presented so far, almost none the English biblical metaphors and metonymies nor the quotations under A(j) have migrated to the Romanian word stock and even if they can be translated, they will be waived because of their little relevance to the whole approach.

There is only one exception in the case of the idiom *since Adam was a boy*, which suggests the same idea of time immemorial in the Romanian variants of the idiom, i.e. *din/de pe vremea/timpul lui Adam/ de la Adam (încoace)*.

There is only one aphorism in our corpus which is functional in both languages, *men cannot live by bread alone, omul nu poate trăi doar/numai cu pâine*; the generic meaning which occurs in the English version is substituted by the singular, but again, the use of the definite article in case of the Romanian sentence subject involves the same generic meaning.

The proverbs in our selection have both corresponding versions and are operational in both languages. The table below parallels the proverbs whose translations follow either the word-for-word technique, in the pair 26a and 26b or the meaning-for-meaning technique, in the rest of all the other examples:

(f)

[27a] You reap what you [27b] Culegi ceea ce semeni.sow.[28a] Sow the wind and [28b] Cine seamănă vânt

[28a] Sow the wind and [28b] Cine seamănă vânt culege reap the whirlwind. furtună.

[29a] He who lives by the [29b] Cine ridică sabia de sabie va sword dies by the sword. pieri.

[30a] Let the dead bury the [30b] Lasă morții să-și îngroape dead. morții lor.

Example [30b] illustrates a recurrent and regrettable error in translations of English formulas into Romanian. Translators often ignore the auxiliary value of the verb to let which must be closely associated with the imperative. They tend to translate the auxiliary, turning it into a lexical verb, i.e. the Romanian corresponding verb a lăsa, which entails permission. This is not the case in the version above lasă morții and neither is in many other situations, where the source language meaning is distorted in the target language text. In its biblical sense, i.e. "don't worry about things over and done with, in Matthew 8: 22" (Hendrickson 2008: 513), the idiom involves detachment from a particular situation, that is why the use of this auxiliary is out of place in such a Romanian context. The verb let in this idiom must not be translated due to its auxiliary value. The Romanian solution may have avoided the verb lasă, which involves the presence of

someone who would prevent the dead from burying their dead, which is obviously not the case; thus, no distortion would have occurred and the idea of separation or distancing could have been clearly emphasized.

Under B, the English set of flexible idioms rooted in the Bible was separated into five types of structural constructions. In what follows, the same set will be synthesized in tabular presentation facilitating a parallel view. Thus, in the pairs from [31a] and [31b] to [34a] and [34b], the idioms in both languages are formally and structurally similar. The English verb to serve is followed by a direct object, but its Romanian match is accompanied by an indirect object introduced by the preposition la.

(g)

[31a] to bear fruit	[31b] a da/purta rod/roade
[32a] to have feet of clay	[32b] a avea picioare de lut
[33a] to appeal to Caesar	[33b] a apela la Cezar
[34a] to serve two masters	[34b] a fi slugă la doi stăpâni

Although the idioms between [34a] and [38b] reflect the same formal and meaningful similarities in both languages, they are considered separately because of their more complex structure, which joins more than four elements as the examples above. The parallel perfectly renders the number of units of each idiom which is equal in the pairs from [35a and b] to [39a and b]. In [40a], due to the rules of Romanian syntax, the final noun in the idiom hardly requires the use of an article.

(h) [35a] to take someone's name [35b] a lua numele cuiva în van in vain [36a] to turn swords into [36b] a face plug din sabie/a face din sabie plug ploughshares [37a] to cast (one's) pearls [37b] a da/ arunca mărgăritare la before swine porci [38b] a blestema ziua în care te-ai [38a] to curse the day you were born născut [39a] to hold out the olive [39b] a întinde/oferi o ramură de branch măslin [40a] to sort/separate the [40b] a alege/separa grâul wheat from the chaff neghină

The idioms from [41a] to [44a] exemplify lexical substitutions which underline slight differences in the two languages. When someone holds his/her tongue this means to a Romanian to keep his/her mouth shut, which irrespective of form has the same consequence, that of not communicating. The infinitival construction in [42a] has an emphasis on he who rather than on the act of casting the stone, as the Romanian culture has it. Also a matter of emphasis is operable in the example [43a], but this time it is laid on the attribute fatted which I feel to involve the idea of sustained effort to make the calf as fat as possible. The [43b] version, vițelul cel gras does not involve any effort on the part of its owner, but points to the fattest of the calves, which means that the significance is preserved even if the chosen wording is different. The stony ground in [44a] was replaced in Romanian by a syntagm which literally means a "ground which bears no plant", but it is not made of stone.

(i)

[41a] to hold one's tongue	[41b] a-și ține gura
[42a] to cast the first stone	[42b] primul care aruncă piatra
[43a] to kill the fatted calf	[43b] a tăia vițelul cel gras
[44a] to fall on stony ground	[44b] a cădea pe/a semăna în
[45a] to wash your hands of	pământ neroditor [45b] a se spăla pe mâini de
[46a] to weigh something in the balance	[46b]a cântări în balanță

The idiomatic structure in [45a] is the meaningful equivalent of the [45b] version, but the verb *to wash* is reflexive in Romanian and thus, it is preceded by the impersonal reflexive pronoun *se* in its infinitival form, which adds one more element to the sum total of words. The idiom in [46a] is the only example of translation loss: the direct object expressed by the indefinite pronoun something does not exist in the [46b] version, but the transitivity of the Romanian verb is inherent.

As mentioned in the introductory section, our inventory of English idioms of biblical extraction amounts to ninety-three items, but our analysis ends at example [45]. The rest of our records remain without an equally functional Romanian correspondent. For a few examples only, such suggestive English idioms as the old Adam in us, breath of life, out of the ark,

gird up your loins, to laugh someone/something to scorn, to fall by the wayside, to heap coals of fire on one's head, to raise Cain, Pride goes before a fall, to hide one's light under a bushel, to live off the fat of the land, make bricks without straw, to pass by on the other side, see the writing on the wall or to bear false witness have hardly been quoted by heroes or heroines in Romanian literature, theoretical approaches to idiomacity, dictionaries of quotations or idioms and the like. Of this sum total only half have their Romanian equivalent transferred into the word stock.

From their translation point of view, each of them could find their equivalent, but beyond it, our study was intended to compare the functionality of biblical idioms in the present-day vocabulary of this language-pair.

Conclusions

The English and Romanian word stocks benefit from a wide structural variety of biblical idioms, which have nevertheless migrated in different proportions. Our research aimed to identify those idioms which are functional within the two lexical frameworks and showed some interesting aspects. As it was demonstrated, the majority of the idioms have similar forms and meanings. The instances of substitution are insignificant, although they were active in each of the typologies of this analysis. What remains hard to believe is the fact that even if much has been claimed about the religiousness of the average Romanian, this feature can hardly find its explanation within this parallel: the English collection of biblical idioms is twice bigger than the Romanian one.

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ASPECTS OF HUMOUR (UN)TRANSLATABILITY. CASE STUDY: THREE MEN IN A BOAT AND THREE MEN ON THE BUMMEL

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Abstract

Studies on the concept of untranslatability demonstrate that source text distortion and loss are sometimes inevitable because of linguistic and cultural clashes. Furthermore, the inefficiency of author's original intention conveyance may result in a functional failure of producing diverse effects and calling readers' reactions. Dimensions, which limit the extent of translatability, are valid for such an unploughed field as humour translation since forms like ambiguity, pun allusion, metaphor, and irony provide sufficient ground for uncertainty and confusion. Humour untranslatability is the central issue to be explored in this paper from linguistic, cultural and pragmatic perspectives aiming to analyze and compare the most problematic instances of humour translated version of J.K. Jerome's novels "Three Men in a Boat" and "Three Men on the Bummel", to discuss the ways to enhance them and provide more effective versions when possible.

Keywords: untranslatability, distortion of meaning, translation loss, cultural clashes, functional failure

Introduction

"Humour often gets lost in translation and chances of its translatability increase when translators look beyond language" (adapted from Jull-Costa, 2007:111). Yet, untranslatability is inevitable at times, its worst consequence being the loss of the humorous effect. Given the versatility of humour and the high risks of its being lost in translation, this study aims to determine the reasons why translation difficulties occur. Likewise, it focuses on the possible ways to overcome them in order to minimize translation loss and to avoid distortion of meaning. With these purposes in view, a series of humorous instances and their translated versions will be examined from (socio)linguistic, cultural, and pragmatic perspectives in order to determine whether some humorous devices are more susceptible to being lost in translation than others and to confirm the premise that untranslatability may result from several factors within one of the same instance.

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Theoretical Framework

Translatability, though abstract, relative and ambiguous a concept deals with the quality of a text being properly translated. Since the qualification of being translatable is based on certain criteria, so is the opposite idea of a text being translatable.

Catford (1965: 94) was one of the first scholars to define the concept of untranslatability as occurring "when it is impossible to build functionally relevant features of the situation into the contextual meaning of the TL text".

Regarding humour translation via this interpretation of the untranslatable, it may be stated in support to Catford's (1965: 95-99) position that humour untranslatability may be caused by linguistic and cultural factors. A similar position is held by Costa (Gunilla, 2007: 111-113), who despite her confidence of coping up with any kind of untranslatability, discusses the problem of translating words (naming the physical world), phrases (puns, idioms, proverbs), and historical, geographical and cultural references. This approach towards categorizing the untranslatable extends the culturally specific factors expressed by specific denominations of customary things, geographical or historical places that are usually kept in their original form and accompanied by references in order to be given further explanations to the target readers. The linguistic factor is revealed in phrases, which is both lexically and semantically problematic and requires great talent on the part of the translator in order to creatively rebuild the phrase in the target language or to find a proper equivalent among the existing ones without losing the meaning of the phrase. The ambiguity element, which is so peculiar to puns, should be reinvented, according to Costa (Gunilla, 2007: 111-113), who firmly insists that puns must be domesticated or foreignized so that "the puns created to replace the original ones keep with the tone and tenor of the original" or "the drop some hint of foreignness in the translation". foreignized ones Without splitting the linguistic and cultural aspects of untranslatability, Popovic (qtd. by Bassnett, 2002: 39-44) claims that the first occurs "due to differences in the SL and the TL", whereas the second, "due to the absence in the TL culture of a relevant situational feature for the SL text". This regard, though inclined towards the cultural untranslatability being the most problematic, fails to consider the contextual value which "will guide the reader to select the appropriate situational features" or in the worst case

"to misinterpret the culturally different concept because of adjusting it to their cultural context" (Bassnett, 2002: 38-44).

Regarding the problem of untranslatability from the viewpoint of the theory of literary communication, Popovic (n.d., qtd. by Bassnett, 2002: 38-44) approaches G. Mouin's (n.d., qtd. by Bassnett, 2002: 42-43) considerations that:

- 1. personal experience in its uniqueness is untranslatable.
- 2. in theory the base units of any two languages (e.g. phonemes, morphemes, etc.) are not always comparable.
- 3. communication is possible when account is taken of the respective situations of speaker and hearer, or author and translator.

Assuming the above mentioned outlooks on untranslatability as being widely acknowledged, it may be stated that pragmatic untranslatability is a section which is paid less attention. It can be described as a kind of failure in rendering the humourist's intention which usually results in the implicature processing effort extension and further in minimizing joke relevance or the complete loss of the funny effect. This outcome is the least desirable in humour translation though sometimes inevitable that is why the present paper aims at examining the humour translated versions from socio-cultural, linguistic and pragmatic aspects in order to reveal the poorly or untranslatable units, the reasons why "impaired comprehensibility" (Hatim 2008, cited in Translation Procedures and Strategies, n.d.: 15) or translation loss occurred, and to propose possible translation versions that will exceed the existing ones.

Method

This case study builds upon the close reading of J.K. Jerome's novels "Three Men in a Boat" and "Three Men on the Bummel", on the identification of the poorly translated, distorted or omitted target instances of humour as well as on the translated examples which do not reflect the author's intention to amuse, satirize or ironize. Furthermore, the translated versions provided by the Romanian translators Leviţchi (1957), Corduneanu (1959), Duțescu (1972), Bătrânu (1985), Decei (2006), and Nițescu (2009) are examined and compared in order to disclose to what extent the linguistic, cultural, and pragmatic reasons determined distortion of meaning, omission and further delay or loss of the humorous effect. Thus, this comparative analysis is bi-directional: first, it focuses on identifying the types and reasons of untranslatability; second-- it dwells on showing their fluctuation along the time axis which ranges from 1957 to 2009 and to consider the ideological reasons which might determine translators' choices.

1. Linguistic untranslatability is represented by a series of mistranslations related to formal language features which do not corespond to those in the TL. They usually result from the literal translation of the SL word or expression which distort the original message making it uncomprehensible for the readers. Consider the instance below:

Source Text (Jerome, 1889:	Target Text (Decei, 2006:	Suggested version
41)	61)	
There was George,	Și uite-l pe George, care	Dacă l-ați fi văzut pe
throwing away in hideous	irosea într-un mod	George cum risipea
sloth the inestimable gift	revoltător inestimabilul	nerușinat inestimabilul
of time; his valuable life,	dar al timpului, viața lui	dar al timpului, clipe
every second of which he	prețioasă, și va avea de dat	irosite din viața lui
would have to account for	socoteală mai târziu	prețioasă pentru care va
hereafter, passing away	pentru fiecare secundă ce	trebui să dea răsplătă
from him, unused. He	se îndepărta de el,	mai târziu. Ar fi putut
might have been up	nefolosită. Ar fi putut să se	să se îndoape cu șuncă
stuffing himself with eggs	îndoape cu ouă și șuncă, să	și ouă necăjind câinele
and bacon, irritating the	întărâte câinele [] Harris	[] și Harris i-a dat una
dog, [] and Harris	i-a dat una cu papucul, eu	cu papucul, eu i-am
landed him one with a	i-am urlat în ureche și	țipat în ureche și el s-a
slipper, and I shouted in	George s-a trezit.	trezit.
his ear, and he awoke.	Wassermarrer?	-Ce-ce s-a întâmplat?
-Wassermarer?		

The TT version provided by translator Decei is quite accurate in its first part preserving even the register clash (bathos) but it becomes incomprehensible to the TL reader with the word for word translation "Wassermarrer?" which is an informally spelled version of "What is the matter". The translator's choice can be explained as a failure to recognize this sociolinguistic variant and to translate its meaning "ce s-a întâmplat". Another explanation might be the translator's deliberate intention to literally copy the foreign letter combination that would appear a weird sound uttered by a suddenly awakened man. Irrespective of translator intention, which should have coincided with the author's message, the mistranslated expression looks rather confusing to the Romanian reader.

A similar situation is produced when the translator fails to transfer the contextual relevance of the expression as illustrated below:

Source Text Jerome (1889: 102)	Target Text Decei (2006: 143)	Suggested version
The candle lurched up against	Lumânarea s-a lovit de	Lumânarea s-a lovit
the wall when they got into the	perete și <i>și-a dat obștescul</i>	de perete și <i>s-a stins</i> .
room, and went out, and they	<i>sfârșit</i> când au ajuns în	_
had to undress and grope into	cameră, așa că s-au	
bed in the dark. This they did;	văzut nevoiți să se	
but, instead of getting into	dezbrace și să bage în	
separate beds, as they thought	pat pe întuneric. Asta au	
they were doing, they both	și făcut, ănsă în loc să se	
climbed into the same one	urce în paturi diferite,	
without knowing it—one	așa cum credeau, s-au	
getting in with his head at the	urcat în același pat fără	
top, and the other crawling in	să știe – unul cu capul la	
from the opposite side of the	căpătâiul patului, iar	
compass, and lying with his	celălalt în punctual	
feet on the pillow.	cardinal opus, cu	
_	picioarele pe pernă.	

The version *şi-a dat obştescul sfârşit* which means *to die* is improper when referring to a candle in terms of register and meaning since the author did not have the intention to connote the triviality of a candle going out. Despite the humorous effect of the anecdote not being generally affected, such instances of lexical improperty leave the reader confused or doubtful of translator's competence.

As noted above, linguistic untranslatbility occurs not only because of formal inconsistency but also because of failure to render the author's intended meaning. Hence, semantic ambiguity created by means of homonymy expounding different lexical or grammatical items into one and the same fonological or graphological form can be troublesome for many translators. They are faced with the problem of finding an equivalent homonymous expression and further preserve the ludicrous and humorous effect in the case of puns for example:

Source Text	Target Text 1	Target Text 2	Target Text 3
J.K. Jerome	Levițchi (1957:14)	Corduneanu	Bătrânu (1985:21)
(1889:18)		(1959:38)	
Harris said,	Lăsând asta la o	Harris adăugă	Harris adăugă că
however, that the	parte, lui Harris	totuși că Tamisa	totuși propunerea
river would suit	Tamisa îi	l-ar satisface de	referitoare la
him to a "T." I	convenea de	minune.	plimbarea pe râu
don't know what a	minune.		nimerește în țintă. Eu
"T" is (except a			nu înțeleg de ce în
sixpenny one,			țintă dacă e vorba să
which includes			fie ținute câteva
bread-and-butter			spirite de prost gust
and cake ad lib.,			ale lui Harris, dar se
and is cheap at the			vede că această
price, if you			expresie are un sens
haven't had any			încurajator.
dinner.			•

Target Text 5	Translation strategies
Nițescu (2009:15)	
Lăsând asta la o parte, lui Harris Tamisa îi convenea de minune.	Harris i- a spus totuși că e "tare" ideea de a face o plimbare pe rău. Nu știu ce avu în vedere zicând că e tare, depinde cât de tare știe a vâsli.
	Lăsând asta la o parte, lui Harris Tamisa îi

This instance is a classic illustration of a pun built around the expression "to suit somebody to a T" where "T" is homophonically associated with "tea" aiming thus at humorous and ludic effect achievement. As noted above, only the translator N.Bătrânu made an attempt to reconstruct the pun in the TT by means of homographs *ţintă* and *ţinute* while the others omitted the pun or translated it literally. Since Jerome's intention to ludicrously amuse the readers was not carried out by most of translators, it can be stated that pragmatic untranslatability of this instance lies in the failure to convey the implied homonymy in the TT.

Polysemy and oligosemy may also cause translation problems and result in meaning disortion. This usually happens when translators fail to translate the additional meaning of a word or expression or to distinguish between the "undertones of connotative meanings" (Tharun, 2016: 150).

The example below is indicative of the translators' misinterpretation of the connotation:

Source Text J.K. Jerome	Target Text 3	Target Text 4
(1889: 42)	Bătrânu (1985: 46)	Decei (2006: 55)
When George is hanged,	Când George își va sfârși	Când George <i>va fi</i>
Harris will be the worst	viața în ștreangul	spânzurat, Harris va fi
packer in this world;	spânzurătorii, cel mai	cel mai nepriceput om
and I looked at the piles	prăpădit om din lume o	din lume la împachetat;
of plates and cups, and	să rămână Harris. Și eu	m-am uitat la ,ormanele
kettles, and bottles and	m-am uitat la vraful de	de farfurii și căni, de
jars, and pies, and	farfurii, ceșcuțe,	ibrice, sticle și borcane,
stoves, and cakes, and	ceainice, sticle, căni,	de plăcinte, mașini de
tomatoes, &c., and felt	plăcinte, spirtiere, la	gătit, prăjituri și roșii
that the thing would	mormanele de biscuiți,	etc. și mi-am dat seama
soon become exciting.	roșii, etc., încercând	că în curând se vor
	plăcerea anticipată că	petrece lucruri
	degrabă avea să se	interesante.
	întâmple ceva captivant.	

The instance presented thus far supports the idea that meaning is more important than form in translating humour. The expression "to be hanged" is not limited to its primary meaning "to suspend by the neck" means "stop working" but the translators preferred to use its dentotative meaning " va fi spânzurat", and își va sfârși viața în ștreangul spânzurătorii, which increases the target readers' feeling of confusion when matching it with the rest of the context. It also reveals the need for further investigation of the polysemantic or olygosemantic patterns and their undertones.

2. Cultural untranslatability is the result of unicality of the source culture realia which simply do not exist in the target culture and language.

Given this exoticism, the translators are faced with the dilemma of omitting, adapting or explaing the culture-bound items in the target text or in footnotes:

Source Text (Jerome,	Target Text 1 (Leviţchi,	Target Text 2 (Decei, 2006:
1889: 141)	1957: 215)	215)
We despairingly tried	Cuprinși de deznădejde,	Am încercat disperați să
what seemed in the	am strigat ca din gură de	strigăm la ceea ce părea în
darkness to be the fourth	șarpeîn dreptul a ceea ce	întuneric, a fi a patra
island, but met with no	prin întuneric ni se părea	insulă, dar nu ne-am
better success. [] We	nouă că e cea de-a patra	bucurat de succes. Am
began to understand the	insulă, dar fără nici un	început să înțelegem
sufferings of the Babes in	rezultat. [] Înțelegeam	suferințele copilașilor
the Wood.	acum suferințele lui	pierduți în pădure. Footnote:
	Prichindel în pădure.	Aluzie la un vechi cântec
		englezesc, Babes in the Wood.

The evidence of cultural clashes can be traced in the above culture -bound item *Babes in the Wood*, which is an allusion to an old English song which was not found a cultural equivalent in Romanian. Lia Decei's version proves the foreigness and the cultural specificity of the reference which was rendered by means of extratextual gloss. An attempt to domesticate it was made by Leon Leviţchi who decided to bring the text closer to the target audience and rebuild the allusion. His reference to *Prichindel's sufferings* from the novel about a little orphan boy renders the readers' intention to illustrate the characters' desperate attempts to find the island where Harris fell asleep being drunk.

Besides its cultural aspect, difficulties of translating allusion consist in the the delay or loss of the humorous effect achievement. The failure in author's intention (to amuse) conveyance occurs because of the incapacity to convey the allusion implicature in the TT as exemplified in the table below:

Source Text (Jerome,	Target Text 1(Duțescu,	Target Text 2 (Decei,
1901: 161)	1972: .304	2006: 151)
Her hat made me think of	Pălăria ei mă face să mă	Pălăria ei m-a făcut să mă
Mrs. Hemans; but why I	gândesc la o lipie uriașă;	gândesc la
cannot explain.	de ce nu pot explica.	doamna Hermans ,
		dar nu pot explica de ce.
		Footnote: Felicia
		Dorothea Hermans ,
		poetă engleză care a
		popularizat temele
		romantice.

LiaDecei's translated version clearly illustrates that preserving the source text foreigness and translating the meaning can be insufficient for humourous effect achievement. Foreignization and extratextual gloss do not unveil the implied funniness of the hat shape unless the reader makes an extra effort to consult various sources in order to find out what kind of hats Felicia Dorothea Hermans was wearing. Thus the longer it takes the readers to process the implied meaning of the joke and to make judgements the less intense the feeling of amusement. Duțescu's version, though different in meaning and missing the alluded culturality, conveys the intended funniness of the allusion.

3. Pragmatic untranslatability is the failure to convey the source text implicature which reflet s the source text author's intention to amuse, mock, or self-deprecate. Various types of humour reflect implied comparison, exaggeration, author's cultural literacy, repetition, homonymy, degraded expectations.

In humour translation, the comic effect conveyance is essential since it reflects the source text author's intention. In some cases it is more important than conveying the exact meaning of separate wods or expressions:

ST (Jerome, 1889:	TT 1 Leviţchi	T T 2. Coduneanu	TT3 Bătrânu
35-39)	(1957: 32-33)	(1959: 62-63)	(1985: 42-43)
Life is brief, and	Viața e scurtă și ai	Viața e scurtă și tu ai	Viața e scurtă
you might pass	pute să să- ți	putea să mori mai	și tu ai putea
away before I had	sfârşeşti zilele	înainte ca eu să fi	să părăsești
finished. But I will	înainte ca eu să fi	terminat. Am să-ți	această lume
tell you what is <i>not</i>	isprăvit. Să-ți	spun dar ce nu mă	înainte ca eu
the matter with	spun mai bine ce	doare. Nu sufăr de	să termin să ți
me. I have not got	nu am. Nu am	inflamația rotulei	le înşir. Mai
housemaid's knee.	<i>artrită.</i> De ce nu	jenunchiului. De ce n-	bine să-ți spun
Why I have not got	am artrită n-aș	am inflamația rotulei	ce boală n-am:
housemaid's knee,	putea să-ți explic,	jenunchiului, nu-ți pot	n-am <i>febră</i>
I cannot tell you;	fapt este ca n-o	spune, dar faptul	puerperală, dar
but the fact	am. Am însă toate	rămîne fapt, această	acesta e
remains that I have	celelate boli.	boală n-o am. În	adevărul. Pe
not got it.		schimb am toate	toate celelate
Everything else,		celelalte boli.	boli le am.
however, I have			
got."			

TT4 Decei (2006: 10-11)	TT5 Nițescu (2009: 33-34)	Suggested version
Viața e scurtă și ai putea	Viața e scurtă și ai pute să	Viața e scurtă și ai putea
să-ți dai obștescul sfârșit	să- ți	să pleci în
înainte de a termina ce	sfârşeşti zilele înainte ca	lumea celor drepți
am de zis. Îți voi spune ce	eu să fi isprăvit.	înainte de de a termina
nu mă supără. Nu am <i>apă</i>	Să-ți spun mai bine ce nu	ce am de zis. Să-ți spun
la genunchi. De ce nu știu,	am. Nu am <i>artrit</i> ă.	mai bine ce boală nu am.
dar sunt sigur de asta.	De ce nu am artrită	Nu am depresie postnatală.
Totuși sufăr de toate	n-aş putea să-ți explic,	
celelalte boli.	cert este ca n-o am.	
	Am însă toate celelate	
	boli.	

In the above instance, most of the translators focused on the meaning rather than on the intention. This is why their versions do not convey the implicature — J's terror of getting a disease a man could not get. Only Nicolae Bătrânu made an attempt to render a women specific disease — housemaids knee (bursitis because of excessing kneeling usually when washing the floor in this position) replacing it by febră puerperală (an after labour/delivery infection) succeeding thus to highlight the intended mockery the absurdity of the character's hypochondria. Hence it may be concluded that accuracy of meaning and form in translation cannot guarantee its comic effect conveyance.

Findings

The purposes of this investigation were to determine the reasons of humour untranslatability in both Jerome's novels and to conduct qualitative and quantitative analysis of the collected data. The figures below present the results obtained from the comparative analysis of source and target text instances along a diachronic line.

What stands out in Fig.1 is that the most ferequent types of untranslatability are of cultural, pragmatic types, and the combinations of both. A closer inspection off the data shows that the highest number of poorly translated or untranslated instances was detected in Lia Decei, Maria Nițescu, and Corduneanu's versions. Diacronically, there is a clear trend of untranslatability decrease from 1957 to 1975 which is surprinsing because of the existing then ideological reasons which had an impact reflected mostly in the version translated in 1959.

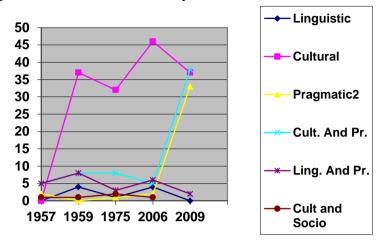
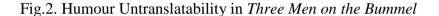
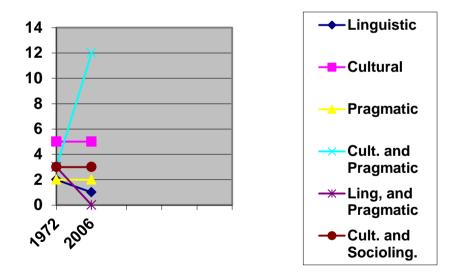


Fig.1. Humour Untranslatability in *Three Men in a Boat*

Data from this table can be compared with the data in Fig.2 which shows the untranslatability data in Three Men on the Bummel.





The most interesting aspect of this graph is that the data analysis results do not differ very much in both translated versions excepting Corduneanu's who had difficulties in translating culture-bound items and preserving its comic effect in the target text. The reasons must have been ideological, which could constrain the translator's choice. It also illustrates the decrease of linguistic and pragmatic untranslatability in 2006 which proves that the liberation from restrictions of mental pressure and linguistic influence.

Conclusions

The present study was designed to determine the reasons of humour untranslatability and to develop ways of minimizing translation loss and distortion of meaning. The results of this investigation show that untranslatability can be of linguistic, cultural, pragmatic or combinations of theirs. The research confirmed the premise that the most problematic types of humour in translation are pun, allusion, and dialect humour since there are cultural clashes at their basis which determine the extent of the comic effect transfer form source to target text. Overall, this study strengthens the idea that comic effect achievement is essential in humour translation. Difficulties of linguistic type should also be paid attention since the differences between source and target language systems may complicate the reconstruction of pun and therefore cause comic effect loss in the target text. Yet, the case study of some translated humorous instances demonstrates that linguistic accuracy in translation does not always ensure the humorous effect achievement which is indicative of the pragmatic aspect insufficient consideration. Since comic effect achievement is vital in the humour translation process, the translators facing the dilemma of choosing between linguistic accuracy and pragmatic implicature transfer must first consider the source target author's intention, the target readers' openness to foreignness and source culture specificity.

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THE MODERN RENAISSANCE OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IN LOUISIANA

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Abstract

This article aims to give an overview of the modern renaissance of the French language and culture in the State of Louisiana. At one time, Louisiana as a former French territory had many native French speakers. Over time, French was discouraged as a first language and the number of native speakers began to decline. However, in recent years, the State of Louisiana has created programs to try to bring back the importance and prevalence of the French language and associated culture. These government-sponsored programs provide a unique paradigm through which to observe the revival of a language and related culture that otherwise have skipped several generations in most families.

Key words: Francophone Cultures, French in North America

With the development of the "Conseil pour le développement du Français en Louisiane," known as CODOFIL for short, the State of Louisiana took a new and dedicated approach to restoring the importance and prevalence of the French language in its state by creating a government-sponsored council for the development of French. CODOFIL is responsible for supporting numerous educational and cultural programs in the State of Louisiana that relate to French language and culture. Most notably this includes a group of French immersion public schools throughout the state that are open to students of various backgrounds. Other projects include a youth radio station in French, a scholarship to study French overseas at a Francophone university for students or teachers from Louisiana, and the recruitment of teachers of French from France and Belgium to come to Louisiana and teach their native language.

Jiang (2000: 328) writes: "It is commonly accepted that language is a part of culture, and that it plays a very important role in it. Some social scientists consider that without language, culture would not be possible. Language simultaneously reflects culture, and is influenced and shaped by it." Through the decline in French as a first language in Louisiana, the region's culture was also arguably put at risk. Natsis (1999: 326) writes, "In

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the twentieth century, however, the legal status of the French language changed. In 1916, the State Board of Education suppressed the use of French in Louisiana's schools." But through the creation of CODOFIL, the government of Louisiana in recent years has sought to revive both French culture and language in an interesting way. Inevitably the French language and culture of Louisiana in 2018 will not be identical to that of previous eras but it will provide a space within to create a new dialect of French and associated culture, while simultaneously paying homage to the francophone communities of Louisiana from previous times.

Krasner (1999: 85) states, "Cultural information is integrated, explicitly or implicitly, in any language-related activity." Therefore, due to the interruption in native speakers of Louisiana French being able to formally teach and pass on their language, the type of French language and identity that is being created through modern French immersion schools is a hybrid of different francophone dialects and cultures, certainly since teachers study in or come from a variety of different countries. This melting pot creates the space for a unique and new francophone identity to be formed, since as Krasner emphasizes, it is not possible to have a languagerelated activity that is devoid of culture. In less formal settings, vestiges of traditional Louisiana French language and culture are still visible, notably in the music of popular groups, such as the Grammy-nominated Pine Leaf Boys, a band from Louisiana that has popularized traditional Cajun and Creole songs. All of these many aspects of different types of French language and culture are blending together to create a distinctive French language and identity in contemporary Louisiana that is an amalgam of old and new.

In a 2014 Radio-Canada article in French, Zachary Richard, a long-time singer-songwriter in French and activist for the French language, said in reference to French in Louisiana, "As soon as we are ready to close the coffin of the cadaver of the French language and culture of Louisiana, well, the cadaver gets up and then even demands a beer." This quote is the epitome of the resilience and evolution of the French language (and naturally) culture that is still surviving in Louisiana today.

In 2015, TFO, a French-speaking media outlet in Canada did a series of interviews with natives from Louisiana who speak French and use the language in their daily lives. The program is called, "Louisiane, témoignages francophones du pays cajun," or "Louisiana, francophone testimonies from a Cajun country." In the program, the reporter explores the concept of natives of Louisiana who mostly grew up

speaking English at home, but who had French-speaking ancestors. These participants in this category chose to learn the French language and make an effort to use French in their daily lives as a way of returning Louisiana to a truly French-speaking region. One example is Ashley Herrick. Although she has Louisiana French origins, she did not truly learn French until she was in her early twenties. She now does tourism promotion in French for the State of Louisiana.

The biggest step for Louisiana's modern French renaissance is certainly its acceptance into the "Organisation internationale de la Francophonie" this year. The OIF is an international organization whose member states have a significant commitment to the French language and francophone cultures. Notable members include Quebec and New Brunswick of Canada, France, the French-speaking areas of Belgium and Switzerland. This move for the OIF to accept Louisiana as a member puts it on firm ground to be considered truly francophone by the outside world and to connect it to other francophone regions and programs.

Although Louisiana cannot recapture the identical French dialect and culture that it lost through the 1916 policy of the banning of French in schools, the state is making great strides to revive French language and culture through programs such as CODOFIL, joining the OIF, and informal avenues such as music and festivals that honor Cajun and Creole heritage. All of these elements melt together to contribute to the creation of a new type of French language and culture in Louisiana that is still in the making. Furthermore, the history of French language and culture in Louisiana is one of resilience and hope. After a culture and language is lost, the original version cannot be revived, but a modern version that honors the past heritage can still be created with dedication and desire.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH IN NAVAL ARCHITECTURE TEXTS

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Abstract

The practice of engineering and its discourse are closely connected to the idea of translation, especially now when the field of naval architecture evolves at a considerably high speed and specialists from different countries and with different languages produce technical documentations, instructions and operating manuals in English.

The multi-semiotic nature of naval architecture texts is as obvious as it is the emphasis on specific terminology and the general characteristics of scientific and technical jargons which also subsume the naval architecture jargon. Due to the strong connection between sciences, we need to study and understand both the general nature of scientific texts as well as their peculiarities and hence, from this comprehension to move the focus upon the best strategies successfully applicable in the translation of technical texts.

Our approach explores naval architecture texts and their characteristics as the basis of the translation process. We underline the main features of the lexical, phonetic, syntax and morphology of the scientific and technical texts providing examples from the English naval architecture texts. It is our point of view that every translation process should begin with the language levels of the target language (English in this case). Since science is logical and well structured, when viewed as a whole, we strongly believe that it can be inspiring allowing us to borrow its structural nature when translating naval architecture texts.

Keywords: technical and scientific texts, terminology, naval architecture, lexical characteristics, scientific and technical English

Introduction

The language of sciences demands scientists to confirm a hypothesis, to develop unused concepts, to reveal internal acts of being, development, associations among various phenomena, etc. Consequently, the language tools which are used reveal the tendency to be objective, explicit, restricted, and emotionless, devoid of any identity. The creation or formation of the scientific language is based on the capacity of the vocabulary to show certain qualitative characteristics; it serves to underline the main feature of the scientific style. This particular formation functions in naval architecture

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texts as part of the engineering itself, as part of the scientific style making use of specific terminology and highlighting certain morphological features.

The main characteristic of the scientific vocabulary is denotation (emotional associations and implications) and it has no stylistic value. It is generally characterized by an impersonal tone (Ding 2002). This explains why the scientific language is accurate, rigorously precise and objective. Its main aim is to inform about either relevant issues or what particular method is used to investigate those issues. The issue of subject-matter takes priority over that of style of the linguistic medium in the scientific text (Close 1965). Within our particular field of research, it is commonplace that naval architects are more concerned with showing the theme and their findings' accuracy rather than with using the best style of their presentations. All things considered, it is assumed that specialists interested in naval architecture can read new findings, do the same projects in ship building, following the same steps and their results will be the ones shown in the naval architecture text written by him.

A focus on ESP

The prime area of debate concerning the concept of ESP is whether it may exist as an entity apart from General English. From our point of view, ESP has certain patterns of rhetorical organization which, with some tolerance for individual stylistics variation, imposes a certain percentage of conformity on members of the scientific community, no matter what language they happen to use.

As unexpected as it might seem, a physicist, a food science engineer, an economist as well as a naval architect has both share a certain amount of words and phrases and work with an exclusivist vocabulary which is peculiar to their field only. Irrespective of the difficulty of the content, the elements of the shared vocabulary are also indicative of a certain degree of linguistic difference.

It is the totality of specific characteristics which all scientific or technical fields have in common that is normally called "language for special/ specific purposes". The present paper analyses some aspects of this rather new language by restricting its area to the English language.

Expository prose is a very elastic label for every kind of writing that is not poetry, fiction, or drama. Defined more narrowly, expository prose differs from the descriptive prose and the narrative prose in respect to its broad purpose as well as its methods of achieving its purpose. Briefly,

descriptive prose is concerned with WHEN of things. Expository prose is concerned with the WHY of things: and in this case, it is explanatory prose. By such specific methods of explanation as definition, proof, and analysis, used singly or in combination, expository prose aims at communicating the writers response to something in their experience and at bringing the reader to think and feel as writers do about it. It is by virtue of its being expository prose differs from other kinds of prose.

The fact is that there are different methods of explanation in what makes the range and variety of expository prose. Sometimes writers make their experience plain by the method of definition, sometimes they explain things by their own method of analysis, sometimes they use comparisons and contrasts, sometimes they use the technique of argumentation or the relationship of cause and effect, and more frequently than not, various combinations of all the methods of explanation.

As a whole, any work of expository prose, such as the naval architecture text, involves more than explanation: it not only makes plain the writers' experience, but it also expresses what they think and feel about the experience. Expository prose, therefore, besides being explanatory and expressive is, like any other writing, communicative.

Sometimes the work in itself cannot help but it may have a purpose, which is to bring the readers to think and feel about the writers experience the way they do. What writers intend us to think is known as "intellective purpose", and what they intend us to think is termed "emotive purpose".

It is by all means certain that not all expository prose is both intellective and emotive. Both in explaining a mechanism or a process, in defining a term, in analyzing a problem, in particular, and, in general, in adding to our knowledge, their aim is solely intellective.

The main work in the field of scientific rhetoric in the USA has been done by some outstanding linguists, such as Selinker, L. Trimble, M. Trimble and Vroman. Their theses underline certain principles that manifest themselves to a high degree in scientific prose that set it apart from general English discourses. While these elements of rhetoric are found elsewhere, the problem is whether they constitute a separate scientific "code" that embodies concepts specific to scientific communication. In discussing the nature of rhetoric in ESP (of which the naval architecture texts are integral part), the above mentioned authors try to show that

although all rhetorical devices found in ESP are indeed found in general English, there is a relatively high occurrence in scientific English of particular rhetorical

functions and techniques and that the rhetorical organization of technical rhetoric not only serves the special needs of science, but in fact reflects the nature of scientific concepts (Selinker 1972: 34).

The idea of a "classic" paragraph consisting of a series of sentences which from a complete thought and are marked off on a page of a text by identification is replaced by that of a "conceptual" paragraph whose rhetorical function may cross several "classic" paragraph boundaries.

Some general rhetorical functions of a paragraph mentioned by Selinker in his *Rhetorical Process Chart for EST* are: stating purpose, reporting past research, stating the problem, presenting information on apparatus (description, operation), etc.

In brief, English for Specific Purposes is not only a phrase, a notion, but also a reality, a rather complicated and interesting one which is being increasingly brought to our notice...

The name given to this language used by scientist and technicians, English for Specific Purposes, may suggest that this language forms an independent subsystem which could be defined in opposition with the general system of the English language, so that, from the very inception, it is necessary to add that ESP involves only a limited use of certain forms of the common language by groups of people working in certain fields of human activity.

In his investigations, Macrea, the Romanian linguist, states that the language used in technical manuals and in the scientific discourse, in general, has a number of definable characteristics. If we compare the description of the scientific Romanian language with the English one, we observe that Macrea, like many other linguists, reaches the conclusion that the difference between the common language and the special professional languages lies in vocabulary, the other linguistic aspects, i.e. phonetics, morphology, and syntax being only more restricted as compared to the common language. As our observations show it, a naval architect expresses himself according to the same phonetical and grammatical rules as everybody else does, but his vocabulary is different from the vocabulary of other specialties or from that of the common language.

The table on the next page will synthesize the assertions made above.

Table. 1. From Plain English

Plain English	General	General Scientific	English for Specific
	English	English	Purposes
Vocabulary	General vocabulary	Common scientific vocabulary (borrowed from the general vocabulary but it is more restrained) c. s. v. +g. v.	c. s. v. + Vocabulary for specific purposes c. s. v. + V1 speciality a / V2 speciality b

In support of this viewpoint, a simple example will be illustrative. Let us consider the notion of symmetry. This term is not used only in geometry, but also in botany, zoology, naval architecture, music and in other fields, and it shows that a part of a vocabulary, the one called "scientific vocabulary" is common to many specialties. In other words, a word that belongs to ESP can occur in various contexts, no matter how close they are to one another. Accordingly, a word such as *flux* or *flow* can occur in naval architecture, physics, technology, or in medicine. The common scientific vocabulary makes the basis of scientific expression. Therefore, one can hope to assimilate the language of one branch of science without first mastering its basis. The idea is to be considered within the teaching of ESP.

It may be mentioned at this point that the characteristics of the more generous field of English for (both) Science and Technology can fall under two categories:

- 1. Those which make the distinction among the branches of science and which are related to the content and lexical specialization (definitions, terminologies, nomenclatures, the specific vocabulary of the science under consideration). These characteristic refer to ESP.
- 2. The second type of characteristics which are shared by all specialties and generally distinguish ESP from the general scientific language.

Considering the articulation of the discourse, there is widespread conviction that the syntactical schemes of the English scientific clauses are not very numerous. The necessities of expression are rather few in the scientific field unlike in everyday existence, when people try to convey various nuances of feelings, emotions, emotional vibrations as well as

numerous shades of meaning by means of words and sometimes hidden behind words. The fact cannot be overlooked that technical discourse shows an inclination for rigor and precision. The schemes of the scientific discourse from some groups of lexical and syntactical stereotypes which act similarly by means of employing different objects.

Notwithstanding, considering J. Kapstein's (1955: 35) main types of modality, namely: intellective, emotive and volitive, it is by all means certain that intellective modality is predominant in scientific and technical rhetoric.

Returning to the first item, i.e. the importance of the vocabulary in function, the remark is necessary that this is the linguistic aspect, which most clearly reflects the particular character of ESP.

The technical vocabulary which is part of the general vocabulary is made up of words, the basic units of expression. Words can be considered a kind of labels of our experience and here lies the importance of a correct use of these labels, when we want to explain our ideas, opinions and observations to other people.

To be more specific, scientific English uses the full range of general and scientific concepts terminology based on Greek and Latin roots, the terms of particular branches (such as naval architecture), it assumes familiarity with the symbols and visual conventions of mathematics used in naval architecture.

Technical English makes less use of the general conceptual language that does "scientific English", but it makes full use of special vocabulary and numerical quantification; there is more reference to the concrete and the practical, as contrasted with more use of the abstract and the philosophical in "scientific English".

R. A. Kelly, the author of a valuable book on ESP, assumes that:

word accuracy is particularly important in scientific exposition, where the vocabulary has developed from the need t express ideas and information objectively. You must know how to differentiate between words with similar meanings and you must never be content to say "This word will do; it says roughly what I mean". The word should say precisely what is intended (1970: 167).

The idea should be carefully observed when selecting terms for ESP teaching purposes. Word accuracy is important especially when there are several words with similar meanings, e.g.: *mixture* is not the same as *alloy*, *turn* is similar to *rotate* but cannot replace it just in any kind of context.

There can be found lots of similar words belonging to the technical vocabulary (*calculate, compute* and *count, size, dimension, amplitude* and *magnitude*, etc.) which are not interchangeable and consequently, each must be used in its correct context. Authentic materials may serve as a clue. The following are a few examples of the kind:

- a) alter, change, modify, remodel, transform,
- b) imperfect, deficient, defective, faulty, inadequate
- c) oblique, inclined, slanting, diagonal, transverse
- d) rotate, revolve, turn, spin, gyrate
- e) pliable, flexible, plastic, ductile, malleable.

The scientific vocabulary is marked by some other characteristic features such as:

- 1. the exclusion of a part of the general vocabulary which seems to be of no use to science, e.g. the aesthetic vocabulary
- 2. the employment of finite words, the meanings of which cannot be modified in the combinations with other words; there are only few examples from shipbuilding: afterpeak, beam, bilge, bulkhead, hovercraft, hydrofoil, jetcraft
- 3. the use of an important part of the general vocabulary with a specific signification and with a superior frequency as compared to the normal one; names of apparata instruments, tools, neologisms used only by a group of initiates, e.g. *calipers*, *cowntdown*, *deadweight*, *pitching*, *thimble*, etc.

An additional aspect of the ESP vocabulary is, as mentioned before, the presence of a great number of Greek and Latin roots and affixes, such as: <code>aqua-,-ics, mono-, mini-, pre-, post-, zoo-, etc.</code> Knowledge of their meanings could be very helpful in students' decoding work. Besides, the scientific vocabulary has a certain proficiency in abbreviations, symbols, formulae and quantifications which do not pose a reading problem, but which can be troublesome if it is necessary to learn how to say them in English.

Translating scientific or technical books and articles for my colleagues, the individual study for my own documentation, as well as the teaching of English for technical students have enabled me to notice some other aspects of the lexical level of ESP. In a scientific or technical writing quite a number of words belonging to the fundamental vocabulary are used with a different meaning, which is relevant for the semantic evolution of words or for the conciseness of the spoken language. For example, *beam* is used instead of *breath*; *solid* is the lexical ellipsis of *solid body*, the same

case is the reduction of pathological case. Moreover, the increasing popularization of scientific and technical words and phrases and their penetration in the general language, resulted in loss of specificity of the respective terms.

The modifications which take place even in the interior of the scientific vocabulary represent a problem of interest which has called the attention of many linguists. We should briefly refer to N.A. Phal's (1970: 97) concepts about the topic under discussion. This outstanding linguist considers that the scientific vocabulary has acquired a certain degree of autonomy as compared to the general vocabulary through the restriction and the specification of its domain. According to N.A. Phal, the technical vocabulary is not a rigid, unchangeable corpus but one subjected to contingencies which might be classified into two series:

- 1. contingencies determined by the different categories of speakers
- 2. contingencies determined by the level and content of the scientific or technical material.

Conclusions and Implications

The above mentioned features of technical English tend to cluster together as characteristics of the naval architecture discourse as part of ESP. They are not arbitrary but have so evolved as to meet the needs of scientific method, argument, experiments and theories. The technical use of language is devoid of any emotional expression. It is purged from any individual whims, caprices and fancies.

These characteristic features include:

- lack of extra linguistic context (intonation, gestures), formal unity and wholeness of the utterance, less complex syntax (lack of expressive constructions) condensed utterance;
- use of passive construction, objective views, focus on particular data and phenomena, e.g. passive constructions frequently used with such verbs as suppose, assume, presume, conclude, infer, point out, emphasize, inferred,
- use of the impersonal point of view;
- use of modal verbs statements are presented carefully, but sometimes they lose their modal character, and they should preferred to must; modals are used primarily in hypotheses and drawing conclusions;

- use of characteristic constructions, such as the use of participles, gerunds and infinitives, e.g. friction losses, steam consumption, steam corrosion inhibition are hard to translate;
- use of terms which envisage the elimination of emotionality and expressiveness, terms specific to each branch of science, some terms can circulate among the branches of science and gain new meanings, new terms become established quite fast-coining terms should be followed or proceeded by explanation,
- use of Latin terms, abbreviations of quotations and reverences definite compositional pattern;
- defining uses simple, active, affirmative, declarative sentences, relative clauses, definitions are a kind of clincher sentences;
- logical sequence of utterance is a clear indication of interrelations and interdependence.

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DIMINUTIVE AND AUGMENTATIVE USES IN THE SPANISH LANGUAGE

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Abstract:

The category of the diminutive has a widespread use in the Spanish language, given the need to express conceptual notions such as smallness, familiarity, affection or even disdain. Diminutive suffixes such as –ito, -illo, -cito, -cillo, -ecito, -ecillo help convey many different nuances, degrees, or they can even have a different signified, depending on the context. This article is attempting to reveal the various uses of the Spanish augmentative suffixes (such as –on/a, -ote/a, –azo/a) and their semantic functions, their morphological value, in contrast with the first category. This parallel analysis of the two morphological categories will try to denote the richness, expressivity and colorfulness of the Spanish language.

Keywords: Spanish language, diminutives, augmentatives, semantic functions, linguistic expressivity

Introduction

Diminutives and augmentatives are used very often in the Spanish language, as means of expressing smallness, endearment, familiarity, affection, or pejorative nuances, such as the lack of importance, disdain. According to Cinque (2015:68), the realization of this process, studied from the grammatical nature standpoint, could express the fact that these phenomena have a certain functional structure in the given phrases in all languages. One or the same grammatical device can be used to convey various and different functional or grammatical notions, therefore the processes of diminution and augmentation must be defined by analyzing various modalities of expressing them: from a syntactic, morphological and a phonological approach. In each of the languages under study, the nominal components that suggest one of the feelings mentioned above tend to be associated with a certain diminutive or augmentative morpheme, depending on the message intended to be transmitted. Depending on the language in which they are expressed, grammatical changes regarding the use of diminutive or/and augmentative affixes follow a certain path of usage: the nominal components of the phrase can experience changes in

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their phonology (through the alterations of consonants or vowels, the variation of the tone used etc.), in their morphology (by the addition of various morphemes, changes in the gender or noun category, reduplication etc.) or in the functional lexicon (change in the different particles or lexical categories; this domain is not so well known for its contribution to the occurrence of diminutive and augmentative morphemes).

Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi state in 1994 in an important piece of work regarding diminutives, that the English language is said to have no diminutives or very few morphemes that indicate these properties (smallness, endearment etc.), apart from the "little" particle, used before the base word, so there can also exist various means of expressing augmentation through a certain grammatical or functional encoding, that can be overlooked in many cases, as they are not always obvious.

Types of diminutive suffixes in social contexts

While diminutives are used more often in a more familiar context, as to express respect, compassion or endearment towards a loved one, or someone one is closely connected to, the use of augmentatives conveys broader social contexts. The two typologies are a very efficient morphological device, used in order to suggest an emotional connotation. Diminutives are mostly used as a cross-linguistic innate mechanism that expresses emotions regarding children's feelings, or certain attitudes toward them and their actions, moreover in various languages they convey a more profound range of emotions and attitudes. This type of morphemes help express positive or negative feelings, depending on the tone of the discussion, its social or cultural context. On the other hand, augmentative affixes also express the same range of feelings, sometimes contradictory if compared with one another, in different linguistic contexts. The latter help suggest the existence of emotions such as admiration, respect, endearment, compassion or at the opposite end, contempt or even repulsion. (Ponsonnet 2018: 2).

Diminutives and augmentatives can be considered "evaluative particles" because they have the ability and function of attributing a certain linguistic value to a given construction, so that the latter gains a different significance from its initial, standard one. Moreover, an evaluative construction must necessarily comprise the expression/base-word that represented the standard, unmodified value to the given context. (Ponsonnet 2018: 2). For example, in the case of the English and Spanish diminutives, the terms "doggy" ("dog" + dim. affix "-y"; a small dog, a puppy) or "casita" (Sp. "casa" + dim. affix "-ita'; a small house or a welcoming

house), the undiminutivized, initial terms are present in the context, with their initial value, referring to the origins of the signified in the first place, and secondly observing its modified form.

Diminutives and augmentatives can also be referred to as "quantifying evaluative devices" (Mutz, 2015 in Ponsonnet 2018: 4), but can also suggest a qualitative evaluation of the given notions, of the terms which are modified by these concepts, they can also suggest amelioration or pejoration, and not convey the size, as the diminutivized words primarily indicate. The emotions that diminutives and augmentatives express suppose a subjective attitude towards a person / object in question, they represent intellectual judgements (they are based on knowledge and personal beliefs) and cannot be logically explained referring to a certain situation, but always depend on the beliefs or proclivities that the experience had previously. (Ponsonnet 2018: 2).

In the Spanish language, the use and frequence of the diminutive suffixes -ico/a, -illo/a, -ito/a is in a strict connection with the geographic region analyzed, as a major use can be observed in the south of Spain, whilst in the northern region people speak a more formal, accurate and clean standard language. The frequency and use of the diminutives are an idiosyncratic feature, due to the individuals' personality and way of expressing their own feelings, this providing a typical and heterogenic distribution and presence of the diminutive in the spoken language. The great differences between the various regional uses of diminutives rely on a more flexible, self-expressing linguistic structure that allows a more wideopen expression of feelings, personal opinions, emotional reactions and connections that can be easily observed in regions such as Andalusia, Murcia, Extremadura. As we are moving towards the centre and north of Spain, on a geographic imaginary trip, diminutives and also augmentatives begin to lose their colloquial power, their uses slightly fade away, making room for more rigid linguistic norms, for the standard, accurate language. From a geographical standpoint, this is not the only change that occurs when moving from the South of Spain to the North, as phonetic changes are also present (e.g. in the South of Spain phonemes tend to disappear from people's pronounciation: el miércoles pasao, rather than using the correct form el miércoles pasado, in order to say "last Wednesday"). Even though there are multiple diminutive suffixes present in the Spanish language, only some of them benefit from a larger lexical spread and morphological productivity, such as -ito (with a more widespread use) and -illo in Granada, South of Spain. (Manjón Cabeza-Cruz 2016: 420).

Diminutives and augmentatives are normally used as modified particles formed by a process of appreciative or derogatory derivation. Various diminutive suffixes have become lexicalized over time, hence the high number of diminutives, even though constantly used with new base words, has not lead to the increase of lexical productivity over time, but instead it has helped with creating new words repeatedly, while maintaining a steady level of linguistic productivity. Some lexicalized diminutives has a different meaning from that of the base word, such as peso > peseta (weight > currency); torta > tortilla, tortita (cake, scone > Spanish omelet, type of food/ pancake), gancho > ganchillo (hook > a long, strong needle with a hook-shaped end, used for knitting); zapatos > zapatillas (shoes > sneakers / indoor shoes); palo > palillo (stick > toothpick); paño > pañuelo (cloth > handkerchief); bota > botín (boot > boot of fine skin, generally sharp-pointed that goes up until above the ankle; which can be worn with laces or fastened with a zip, buckle or buttons). Such lexicalized terms have warded off from the original semantic charge of the base word, due to their diachronic evolution, although at first the diminutive suffix added has an appreciative or derogatory value. These suffixes can be added to almost any morphological category, as it is a simple linguistic device that throws some light on the possibilities of continuously enriching each given language. Thus, they can be observed added to nouns, adjectives, or even adverbs. (diminutivized adverbs are mostly used in Latin America, in Spain having a very small influence of the different morphological categories). The diminutive suffixes have an unequal distribution all over Spain, as follows: the -ito/a suffix is the most commonly used in the country, -ico/a (with its other form -iquio/a) comes in second, -illo/a has been mostly encountered in the medieval and classic Spanish language, whilst in/a, -iño/a are used in the bilingual Galician- Spanish bilingual area, -ete/a in the Catalan area, and other diminutive affixes that remain are -uco/a, ejo/a, -uelo/a. The choice of the diminutive suffix is subjective and it depends on the locutor's origins and his geographical roots, and it is at the same time a strong indicator of the regional variety. (Lázaro Mora, Bosque, Demonte 1999).

In the Latin-American Spanish many diminutive suffixes extend to the category of adverbs, more commonly than in Spain: deprisa >deprisita (quickly/ very quickly); luego >lueguito (later/ immediately, in this same moment); pronto >prontito (soon/ at once, right now, very soon); ahora> ahorita (now/ right now); tanto >tantito (so much/ not much, a bit of); después >despuesito (afterwards, later/ immediately); no más > nomasito (no more than/ only, just a bit of). (Lázaro Mora, Bosque, Demonte 1999).

In Latin America, here are also interjections and other adverbs who can receive this type of suffix, such as: $ac\acute{a} > acacito$ (here/ right here); adios > adiocito (goodbye/ bye bye, see you soon); $ah\acute{a} > ahicito$ (here/ right here); $all\acute{a} > allacito$ (there/ right there); alrededor > alrededorcito (around/ very close, next to), $aqu\acute{a} > aquicito$ (here/ right here), so on so forth, that in Spain are considered infrequent and odd. Adverbs indicate and describe the state of the action they represent, they are not a flexible morphological category and do not establish concordance relationships with other parts in the phrase, therefore they can receive different affixes (Malaver 2017).

Adverbs of time and place that receive a diminutive affix tend to express a more vague location or temporal duration of a given action, their semantic charges could also refer to two different time axis, the "now" or the "then" ones, if the speaker refers to a certain moment of enunciation in the past or in the present, or even in the future.

- e.g. (1) *Ahorita* te preparo una sopa para que te mejores. I'm going to prepare you a soup *right now*, so that you will feel better.
- e.g. (2) Te he guardado un lugar especial *aquicito*, te quiero a mi lado. I saved you a special seat *right here*, I want you by my side.

In the first example, the adverb *ahorita* reflects the disponibility of the locutor to perfom an action, in order to make his/her interlocutor have a positive reaction or feeling towards it, the use of the diminutive affix does not illustrate the size, or even a certain feeling. Moreover, in the second example, the Spanish form of the adverb reflects the exact place where the locutor wishes the other one meets him/her, it also has an emotional charge. Both adverbs, despite normally reflecting a place or time for the action to take place, do not include these two notions in their semantic charge, here their diminutivized forms help obtain emotional reactions from the part of the interlocutors, they are used in terms of endearment and caring for the other.

An important study has been conducted in order to explain the status and the process of lexicalization oh the Spanish adverb *ahorita*, in the colloquial language of the Caracas region, in Latin America, this morphological particle being representative for the adverbs' category in that area and not only there, because its frequency and recurrence are encountered everywhere, in order to express time approximation, positive or negative feelings so on so forth. It is noticeable that there are various meanings of the adverb *ahora*, present in the colloquial language of the continental countries, which imply that its use follows certain linguistic

norms only known in America. It can refer to "nowadays, in present times" (in regions such as Mexico, Guatemala, Panamá, Puerto Rico, Ecuador, Bolivia etc.), whilst it can also have the semantic charge of "in a short while, during the day" (in other countries like Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador, the Caribbean region), this differences indicating another way of conceptualizing the given notion, following also the cultural and social principles and rules that the members of those communities guide upon. (Malaver 2017).

This time adverb has various morphological values depending on the context, it could refer to a moment close in time to the speaking instant, but it covers a broader temporal spectrum, given its polysemantic value as it can be replaced even with "now" in Latin America. (Malaver 2017).

By using the diminutivized form of this adverb – *ahorita*, the locutor needs to express the closeness of the temporal moment from the moment of speaking, or the approximation of his/her future action, as it tries to intensify the action itself. Sometimes it can be encountered as an intensifier by its repetitive form *ahorita*, *ahorita*, indicating an imminent, immediate action that's about to take place.

- e.g. (3): No llores más hijito, *ahorita* te voy a dar de comer.

 Don't cry no more, my son (my baby), I am going to give you something to eat *immediately* (*right now*).
- e.g. (4): Ya no tienes que gritar, *ahorita*, *ahorita*, ¿no ves que tengo prisa? You do not have to shout anymore, *in a second*, don't you see that I am in a hurry?

In example (3), the speaker expresses the closeness of his/her future action, it could be translated "in a moment", whilst in the example (4) the repetition of the adverb acts like an intensifier of the action, it indicates the hurry, the stir and excitement, the fact that the speaker experiments and his/her desire to do the action so that he could interrupt another one, which needs to be stopped. Intensifying a certain action or process depends on the use of a certain suffix added to the base word, in this case a diminutive one -"ita", and on the quantification of its presence (in this case the repetition), which may be seen as communicative strategies used in order to put emphasis on certain elements of the communication act or on all of them. In this case, the diminutivized adverb emphasizes the temporal element of the action, in order for the speaker to obtain a positive reaction from his/her interlocutor. Sometimes other adverbs in Spanish, used with a diminutive suffix tend to express affection, endearment, irony or even

attenuate the action they are connected to. Other adverbs used with this type of affix can refer to space, dimensions, the quality of a process or action or its quantification, such as: *allacito, ahicito, igualito, mismito* and others.

e.g. (5): Nos podemos encontrar *ahicito*, está cerca de mi casa y puedes venir rápido.

We can meet right here, it is close to my house and you can come quickly.

e.g. (6): Ellos dos tienen el mismito character, por eso se llevan tan bien.

(here the base word consists of an adjective, as it can also be used as an intensifier, together with this type of suffix).

Both of them have *the exact same* character, that is why they get along so well. or

They are cut from the same cloth, that is why they get along so well.

01

They are like two peas in a pod, that is why they get along so well.

In example (5) the diminutivized adverb tends to be an intensifier when expressing the exact place where two can meet, whereas in the example (6) the use of the adjective "mismo" together with the intensifying diminutive suffix delivers a pejorative tone to the affirmation, its derogatory sense affects the reputation of the agents implied in the action given.

Augmentatives

Adding augmentative suffixes ("-ón", "-ona", "-ote", "-ota", "-azo", "-aza") to a word base is considered to be a derivative and appreciate suffixation process, along with the diminutive suffixes, unlike other suffixes which do not characterize the base word from the standpoint of dimensions, qualities or features. The new word formed with an augmentative suffix maintains its morphological value and gender (e.g. pobre [adj.] > pobretón [adj.]; guapo [adj.] > guapetón [adj.] =; triste [adj.] > tristón [adj.]; chico [adj.] > chiquito [adj.] etc.), in comparison with the same process applied to other types of non-appreciative suffixes, where the grammatical category of the newly-formed word changes almost every time (feliz [adj.] > felicidad [noun]; lejos [adv.] > lejano [adv.]; bondad [noun] > bondadoso [adj.] etc., but polvo [noun] > polvareda [noun]). (Martín García 2015: 417).

However, there are some suffixes which carry the same form as for the augmentatives, but cannot be considered per se because of their semantic charge as they rather express a derogatory attitude. They present suffixes in Spanish such as "-udo" or "-esco" or "-ón" (normally considered to be an

augmentative suffix, but if it is used with nouns or some adjectives, its goal is to characterize a person, by emphasizing the importance of his/her qualities or flaws) that are not to be seen as augmentatives. (Martín García 2015: 417).

e.g. (7): Este hombre es tan *barrigudo* que no he visto uno así en mi vida, debería adelgazar rápido haciendo deporte.

This man is the most *potbellied* one that I have seen in my entire life, he should lose weight very quickly by going sports.

e.g. (8): Su hijo me demostró siempre que no es un *llorón*, ha salido de muchas situaciones malas en su vida.

Her/his son has always demonstrated that he is not *weepy*, he got out of many unpleasant situations in his life.

In example (7), the adjective *barrigudo* has the English equivalent of "pot-bellied, fat, overweight", it physically describes a man with a big stomach, without necessarily giving a subjective opinion related to the matter, and the objective narrative line continues in example (8), where even with this suffix added to the base word, the new word only chooses to present a moral quality of flaw of the person analyzed, "llorón" can be used in a positive qualifying process or in a derogatory sense, depending on the morphological context.

Non-appreciative suffixes have a different meaning from the base word, they do no intensify its already existing qualities, its dimensions or importance, but help the new word acquire a new notional semantic charge, which will be definitory for an certain action, process, or characteristic of a person or object. For example, we have the nouns *carro* (Latin Spanish term for "car") and *hombre* (Spanish term for ""man") which along with the augmentative suffix "-ón" we obtain *carrazo* and *hombrazo*, new terms where the former refers to a "fancy, very beautiful car", while the latter has the semantic charge of "macho man or a corpulent, stout man". The first term obtained with this suffix conveys the style, the elegance of the car, which can be extravagant, fashionable whilst the second term can refer to the qualities – moral or physical that a man has, but also to his stature. In the second example, the suffix provided the new word with a polysemantic value, which the speaker can choose to relate to depending on the context.

Nouns sometimes end up changing their gender and semantic value depending on the suffix added – diminutive or augmentative: sorpresa > sorpresita / sorpresón; broma > bromita / bromazo; madre > madrecita / madraza

etc. Other diminutive or augmentative suffixes can be used in various combinations between them, sometimes the diminutive is formed from another diminutivized word, like in the example of chiquitín, formed from pequeño > chico > chiquito > chiquitín, with the alternative form chiquitito, where the resulting diminutivized word is already at the third form with the help of combined diminutive suffixes. In other cases, such as cobardonazo, where the base word is "cobarde" (English term "coward") to which was added the augmentative suffix "-ón" and later on the second augmentative one "-azo", their combination resulting in the given notion for an extremely coward who does not face his/her own obstacles in life. The adjective "grand/gran" also accept two augmentative suffixes in order to form a new word: *grande > grandote > grandotote*, where the same suffix "ote" is used two times, one after the other in order to intensify the physical dimensions of a certain person or objet or moral positive or derogatory qualities. (Martín García 2015 : 417).

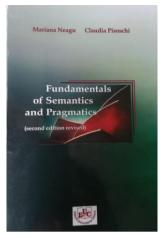
Moreover, the augmentative appreciative suffix can also indicate a notional value, be it with positive or negative connotations, but especially with a negative semantic charge when referring to Spanish verbs such as mascujar (to chew something with difficulty or to speak between the teeth in a low voice, in a barely comprehensive way) or bailotear (to dance a lot and gracelessly), in these type of cases the suffixes add a note of subjective contempt. (Rifón Sánchez 1998: 220).

Conclusions

While diminutives are used more often in a more familiar context, as to express respect, compassion or endearment towards a loved one, or someone one is closely connected to, the use of augmentatives conveys broader social contexts. The two typologies are a very efficient morphological device, used in order to suggest an emotional connotation. Diminutives are mostly used as a cross-linguistic innate mechanism that expresses emotions regarding children's feelings, or certain attitudes toward them and their actions, moreover in various languages they convey a more profound range of emotions and attitudes. Diminutives and augmentatives are normally used as modified particles formed by a process of appreciative or derogatory derivation. Various diminutive suffixes have become lexicalized over time, so that the high number of diminutives, even though they are constantly used with new base words, has not lead to the increase of lexical productivity over time, but instead has helped with creating new words in many cases, all the time maintaining a steady level of linguistic productivity; similarly, some lexicalized diminutives have a different meaning from that of the base word and reflecting the everchanging face of the human language and the constant necessity to adapt to it.

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Mariana Neagu, Claudia Pisoschi (2018) Fundamentals of Semantics and Pragmatics (second edition revised). Craiova: Universitaria, 309 p., ISBN 978-606-14-1280-8

Cecilia CONDEI University of Craiova

Le volume publié par Mariana Neagu et Claudia Pisoschi, intitulé *Fundamentals of semantics and*

pragmatics s'appuie visiblement sur la perspective didactique à laquelle s'associe un élément communication important.. Les mots (perspective didactique) sont à prendre dans un sens primaire qui se construit sur un acte simple, quotidien, pour toute personne qui vit dans le milieu scolaire, peu importe le niveau ou l'âge: l'acte d'expliquer, de fournir des informations avec une préoccupation majeure et constante pour la qualité de la réception de celui qui reçoit l'information. Penser à fournir des fondements d'un domaine est synonyme avec le geste mental d'enseigner. Ce livre le fait à tout moment avec la légèreté qu'ont les auteures (enseignantes dans le milieu universitaire) de se tenir devant une foule curieuse et avide d'informations comme le sont bon nombre d'étudiants d'aujourd'hui. En plus, comme une qualité complémentaire et aucunement négligeable, le texte est conçu sur une base solide d'arguments agrémentés avec une multitude d'exemples. L'objectif didactique subtilement inséré a toutes les chances d'être atteint.

« The intention of the authors was to design a book for the background of all those who want to get (more) acquainted with the essential aspects of communication from the perspective of the intricate relationship between form and meaning, on the one hand, and between these two facets of language and the user, on the other." (Préface)

La binarité contrôle et organise parfaitement la structure : deux parties complémentaires, l'une visant la sémantique avec une insistance particulière sur les spécificités de l'anglais et l'autre – les domaines traditionnels de la pragmatique.

Pour la première partie (dont l'auteur est Mariana Neagu), les raisons pédagogiques imposent un découpage en chapitres correspondant au rythme scolaire d'un cours par semaine, mais sans trahir la logique et la scientificité de l'exposé. Pendant qu'un aperçu théorique placé au début fixe l'aire de la réflexion -les principales théories sémantiques- le deuxième chapitre développe les modèles de Saussure et de Peirce (« two major models of the sign », Avant-propos). La démarche est motivée par une décision de mise en discussion, mais aussi de clarification :

« three central pairs of concepts used in semantics, which are more or less overlapping: *intension* and *extension*, *connotation* and *denotation* and *sense* and *reference*. The first mentioned terms in these pairs (intension, connotation and sense) relate to the conceptual side of meaning and to the issue of how to provide a language-intrinsic definition of meaning. The second mentioned terms (extension, denotation, reference) relate to extralinguistic reality, to the relation between language and the world and to the issue of how to provide a language-extrinsic definition of meaning » (p.37)

Mettre en relation de la partie théorique avec le dispositif pratique du maniement de la langue peut se faire de différentes manières, la traduction en est une. Le quatrième chapitre insiste sur « two opposite ways of studying meaning: one which proceeds from a given form and asks for its meanings (*semasiology*) and the other which starts out from a given meaning and asks for the kinds of forms that are used to express this meaning (*onomasiology*) » (p.51)

L'organisation sémantique se trouve largement exposée dans le cinquième chapitre, dont la conclusion est que

« In structuralist theories of semantic fields the meaning of lexical units is specified in terms of lexical relations (hyponymy or antonymy) to other units constituting the same field. Fundamental to field theory is the assumption that words can belong to more than one field. This is possible due to the polysemy creating devices of metaphor and metonymy » (p.79)

Mais la pragmatique, l'objet de la focalisation de la deuxième partie (signée par Claudia Pisoschi), apporte un très grand nombre d'informations, la plupart inédites pour un public estudiantin motivé dans son engagement sur la voie de la documentation solide, relative au fonctionnement de la langue. Sont évoqués, à tour de rôle, Morris, Mey, Levinson, Kroeger, Leech, Verschueren, chacun avec l'apport dans le domaine de la pragmatique. L'usage des notions, encore fluctuant du point de vue contenu, a imposé un soin particulier pour la définition et la mise en contexte. Il est à remarquer encore une fois la rigueur et la visée pédagogique constante, la préoccupation pour justifier l'ampleur que l'on

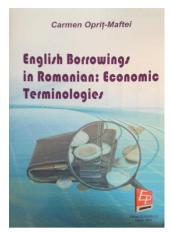
donne à la dimension pragmatique par sa place dans la communication et par les rapports qu'elle a avec les autres branches de la linguistique (sou chapitres: 1.3.1. Connections form-pragmatic meaning/ pragmatic interpretation et 1.3.2. Connections sense – pragmatic meaning). Un résultat pertinent s'enchaine sans difficulté:

"Pragmatics offers a new and distinct perspective on utterance interpretation, representing a necessary direction of analysis. Any utterance has a literal meaning, a structural meaning, i.e. the sum of the meanings of the linguistic items that make it up, and that is the basis to which the speaker adds his/her own meaning (speaker's meaning), depending on the context (linguistic and situational) that plays a disambiguating role, solving the issues linked to indeterminacy and relevance. In their turn, deictics are essential in offering the interlocutor the frame necessary to draw the appropriate inferences and interpret an utterance "(p.99)

Cette deuxième partie apporte une aide considérable et précieuse à ceux qui préparent leur entrée dans la zone de l'école, puisque tout enseignant de langue étrangère, anglais ou autre, se trouve à plusieurs reprises devant des séquences conversationnelles impliquant les éléments de monstration. La complexité des déictiques et leur présence dans le contexte communicationnel de la classe obligent à des classifications catégorielles facilitatrices pour le groupe d'élèves peu habitués aux subtilités discursives. L'auteure s'en charge, le résultat est un chapitre avec des entrées qui traitent la deixis de la personne, du temps, de l'espace, la deixis sociale, discursive et emphatique (« category referring to the attitude of the speaker in showing his/her empathy, i.e. sharing the state of mind of the interlocutor »p.134), autrement dit, la référence démonstrative.

Les implicatures, on le sait, déterminent d'une manière cruciale l'interprétation et en somme, la passation du sens. Leur accorder de la place c'est non seulement un acte de reconnaissance scientifique, mais aussi la preuve d'un souci pédagogique constant et légitime. De même pour les présuppositions et les actes de langage. Les futurs enseignants (qui sont le public privilégié par ce volume) y trouveront une base conceptuelle et des formules explicatives prêtes à être fournies et exploitées dans la classe. Rien de plus exact et utile, puisque tous les manuels de langue étrangère contiennent, pour tous les niveaux, des séquences amples construites à partir des actes de langage, surtout indirects.

Ainsi, le livre se présente non seulement comme un apport théorique visant le public académique en pleine étape de formation et perfectionnement scientifique, mais en égale mesure le public de jeunes enseignants, en début de carrière. Complémentaire au programme de formation continue, ce volume excelle aussi par la rigueur argumentative et la clarté de l'exposé.



Carmen Opriț-Maftei (2018) English Borrowings in Romanian: Economic Terminologies. Galati: Europlus, 206 p., ISBN 978-606-628-193-5

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The present book, aimed primarily at Economics students and academics concerned with the study

of economic terminologies, is a successful attempt at presenting a structured approach to the phenomenon of borrowing English words into Romanian, which has been extremely visible in the past few decades, especially in the field of specialized language. It consists of a brief introduction, four consistent chapters, general conclusions, 11 illustrations (schemes and diagrams) and a rich bibliography and webliography.

The primary objective of the book, as stated in the Introduction, is to "achieve a comprehensive overview of the English element in the contemporary Romanian economic terminologies" (p. 11). The use of the plural here is rather relevant, as the author is not only considering the phenomenon of the English influence in the economic domain at large, but operates useful distinctions between various areas where this influence has been most noticeable, such as Business and Economics, Marketing, Banking, Finance and Accounting, and last but not least, Computer Technology (separately dealt with in detail in Chapter 4).

From the point of view of the theoretical perspective, special attention was devoted to ESP and various issues related to it, such as its origins, the comparison to GE (General English), EAP (English for Academic Purposes) and EBP (English for Business Purposes), with special focus on business discourse as crucial to today's globalized, economically-oriented world. Subchapter 1.5., A Few Facts about Business Discourse, starts from the assumption that "little research has been conducted so far to properly investigate the features that characterize this type of discourse" (p.27), and stresses the importance of Business English as an umbrella term to be used in all areas connected to the business environment, and to be thoroughly studied at university level in order to equip undergraduates

with the necessary knowledge for their future careers on the globalized labour market.

Chapter 2, Lexicological coordinates for the study of borrowings adopts a more practical approach, expounding the basic concepts of word, word-formation, the difference between lexical and functional words, derivation and its types, meaning changes, collocations, phrasal verbs and phrasal nouns, as well as the main principles, strategies and procedures of loan translation. One of the evident strong points of the chapter consists of the plethora of examples, either isolated or contextualized, and the multitude of classifications attempting to provide structure to the numerous challenges that this specific field of study may create for those interested in it.

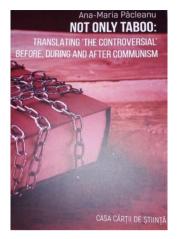
Perhaps the most relevant in point of discussing the concepts in the title is Chapter 3, A Description of the English-Romanian Lexical Trade, dealing with loanwords, Anglicisms and Americanisms, which are approached both synchronically and diachronically; after reviewing the various opinions in specialized literature on the subject of the influence of English transfers on the Romanian language, the author concludes that it is advisable to adopt "a rational attitude towards the use of English borrowings", as "due to their use Romanian is not decaying but, on the contrary, it is progressing", being kept up-to-date with "the most recent scientific and technical inventions" (p.68). An entire subchapter is devoted to the rather thorny issue of necessary versus needless borrowings, the author supplying consistent exemplification for each category. Similarly, the topic of adaptation and assimilation is detailed in subchapter 3.4, which proposes a comprehensive, carefully designed classification of English terms incorporated into the contemporary Romanian economic vocabulary, consisting of no less than 8 categories (pp.73-74).

Another substantial and equally interesting chapter is Chapter 4, entitled *Contributions of English to Romanian Specialty Vocabularies*; it may be seen as a rather challenging and nearly impossible attempt to provide "an up-to-date record of the English borrowings used in the Romanian economic field and business environment", complete with "information about their specialized meaning, and about their phonological, orthographical and morphological adaptation" (p.76). The author's synthesizing abilities stand out in the succinct presentation of the main characteristics of Business English on pages 78-79., pointing out the main difficulties that the Romanian speakers might encounter in dealing with this particular type of terminology. The proposed succession of analysis

takes into account the salient aspects in the discourse subtypes of business and economics, marketing, finance, banking, accounting, IT: the word level, compounds, metaphors, derivation, blending, clipping, acronyms, initialisms, eponyms, collocations, phrasal units, a.s.o., each supported by a wide selection of examples. However, it is not only in this chapter, but in the book as a whole that a definite strength in this case is the rich corpus consisting of examples from a variety of sources, both printed and electronic, which manage to create a quite coherent and comprehensive view of the current status of the English element entering the Romanian business language.

The conclusions underline once more the pervasive English influence in all languages and discursive types, and particularly in Romanian after the fall of communism, when it was facilitated "less through [...] speakers and more through cultural communications and concepts broadcasted by the media and the internet, entertainment, music, fashion, sports, movies [...], besides some other social, cultural and pragmatic factors, not to mention the gradual influence exerted by new technologies" (p.184). The general view of the author is that despite the undeniable existence of certain needless/luxury borrowings, Romanian benefits from the import of English terms, as they are mainly necessary for the communication purposes, especially in the economic field.

All in all, the present volume is clearly a work of interest for a wide range of amateurs and professionals concerned with the study of specialized terminology in the economic domain, providing a well-structured approach to a challenging and still under-investigated issue in current terminological research.



Ana Maria Pâcleanu (2018) *Not Only Taboo: Translating the Controversial Before, During and After Communism.* Cluj Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 335 p, ISBN 978-606-17-1351-6

Mariana NEAGU "Dunărea de Jos" University of Galati

The topic of censorship in the field of the so-called "controversial literature" translated into Romanian is certainly relevant for translation

studies as it provides insights into the way original/source and target texts are conditioned by particular cultural and political/ideological contexts. The term "controversial" in the title functions as an alternative to the term taboo and entails the fuzzy, incoherent and, at the same time, complicated nature of what was considered taboo during communism

Dealing with controversial issues such as politics, religion, social relations and eroticism in terms of norms functioning in accordance with the communist censorship criteria, Ana-Maria Pâcleanu's book focuses on the works of the most translated English author before 1945 – W.S. Maugham and the most censored English prose writer (in both the source and the target culture) - D.H. Lawrence. The book is based on the author's Ph.D. thesis and is organized in four chapters of which the first two make up the theoretical part and the last two chapters analyse the source texts in terms of controversial issues, and compare censored with uncensored translations, placing under the lens communist textual interventions.

Chapter I. *Confining Literary Texts* deals with general aspects of censorship as a core phenomenon and also with communist censorship in Romania that caused translation shifts in the communist literary translations. The purpose of this chapter is to establish the relation between norms in translation as triggered by the social context (the periods before 1945, during communism, and after 1989). Actually, the corpus chosen by the author that will be thoroughly analysed in the last chapter includes Romanian versions of translations made before, during and after communism.

Chapter 2. *Towards a personal blending of translation theories* is not just a description of translation theories, underlying analyses of source and target

texts, but rather a critical overview of approaches wherein the author emphasizes shared and complementary aspects, as well as the advantages and applicability of each theory to her own research. Following a line of thought according to which all participants in the translation process are important, Ana-Maria Pâcleanu chooses elements from three typologies of translation theory (functionalist, descriptivist and cultural turn):

... the theories considered describe the translation process by starting with or emphasizing the importance of certain elements: the key concept in functionalist theories i.e. the function of the target text as a product that should satisfy the needs or expectations of the target culture; target texts as samples that provide information on how the translation process flows and on the norms followed are described by descriptivist theorists; translation as re-writing that should highlight the importance of the author and translator but that is mostly managed by the ideological component is the key element in Lefevere's cultural-turn theory. (p. 109)

She argues that aspects/components from each typology of theory discussed might be employed in a manner consistent with the purpose of her research, in order to identify the 'guidelines' (norms) that operated during communism, whose application resulted in translations that conformed with the communist ideology.

The author finds that closest to this purpose is M. Ammann's (1990) functionalist model for translation critique, due to its capacity to integrate other theoretical elements and to consider the importance of the source text, the target text, their coherence and their functions in the culture they address.

...In the light of the previously stated and considering the importance of this model for the present research, we shall, therefore, recall the five steps proposed by Margret Ammann in her functional model of translation critique (1990). These steps refer to establishing: "(1) the function of the translation in the target culture, (2) the intratextual coherence of the translation, (3) the function of the source text in the source culture, (4) the intratextual coherence of the source text and (5) the intertextual coherence between target and source texts (pp.72-73).

However, given the need to identify the difficulties Romanian translators had to face during communism, Ammann's model is altered, revisited, so that it suits better the translation-oriented type of analysis proposed by Ana-Maria Pâcleanu. The author believes that "a possible way of applying this model to the analysis of the texts in question here is

reordering them [the steps] starting with step (3) and then continuing with steps (4), (2), (5), and (1)." In order to go through steps 3 and 4, Ana-Maria Pâcleanu uses Christiane Nord's (2005) model for the analysis of source texts so that the sound, complex theoretical ground provided by the book leads to a valuable reconstruction of the translation process of the censored texts.

Chapter 3. A translation-oriented type of analysis examines the function and intratextual coherence of the source texts, i.e. the novels *The Painted Veil* (1934 and 1947) by W.S.Maugham, and *The Plumed Serpent* (1981) and *Women in Love* (1969) by D.H. Lawrence. The most relevant levels of analysis considered are the semantic and the pragmatic levels. For instance, the author discusses the category of controversial structures and words referring to politics, religion and social issues (section 3.2.1.), and the category of elements related to eroticism (3.2.2.).

Actually, the categories of controversial elements can be discussed, in our view, in terms of *frames* (in the sense proposed by Fillmore 1977) that consist of knowledge evoked/activated by a concept. An example of an ideological frame that, quite interestingly, as the author observes, was not censored, is provided by the following fragment: "We hate the capitalist because he ruins the country and the people. We must hate him ...But when we can kill all the capitalists, then –" Lawrence, *The Plumed Serpent*, 1981: 59, 1955: 48). As it can easily be noticed, the evoked scene refers to measures taken against ideologies different from socialism or bolshevism. What would be interesting to investigate, the author claims, are the translation strategies applied to excerpts like this. In addition, Appendix 1. *Romanian Criteria for Censorship Following the Patterns of Soviet Criteria for Censorship* (1945-1989) underlines the fact that sympathising or worshipping the capitalist world was one of the main communist censorship criteria.

The analysis of fragments with words and structures referring to religion as in the example below raises the question of how a translator would tackle with the presence, in the same paragraph, of two censorable structures (e.g. I communicated, Holy Communion) with identical semantic content.

But that morning when I communicated I made the vow that I would before nightfall announce my wish to my dear mother. After I had received the Holy Communion I asked Our Lord to give me peace of mind... (Maugham 1934: 204).

Chapter 4. Capitolul 4. Reconstructing the Process of Translation. Operational Norms foregrounds repetition as a stylistic device characteristic of D.H. Lawrence as in the following fragment from The Plumed Serpent (1981):

> We must do something for Mexico. If we don't, it will go under, no? You say you don't like socialism. I don't think I do either. But if there is nothing else but socialism, we will have socialism. If there is nothing better. But perhaps there is (Lawrence 1981: 69).

However, this stylistic feature is neglected by Romanian translators who had to comply with the communist translation policy and opted for omission, the most frequent procedure that unfortunately could have led to vague sentences that sometimes looked out of place in terms of cohesiveness.

> Trebuie să facem ceva pentru Mexic. Dacă nu facem nimic, va dispărea, nu? *Cine știe, poate că mai există ceva.* (Ralian 1989: 78)

The author rightly observes that in the Romanian version of *The Painted Veil* re-plublished after the fall of the regime, Antoaneta Ralian reinserts the missing elements. The next frequent procedure spotted by Ana-Maria Pâcleanu in communist translations was the substitution of words and structures for other more general, and/or more neutral terms and structures as in the following example found at page 231:

To the socialists and agitators he wrote... (Lawrence, 1981: 376). Politicienilor și agitatorilor demagogi le scria... (Ralian 1989: 462)

Hyperonymic substitution was meant to diminish, the author notes, the negative connotations such words (pertaining to communist ideology) had in the original text.

Overall, the book integrates elements of linguistics, translation studies and literary criticism and draws conclusions about translators' behavioural patterns specific to each of the three historical periods under scrutiny. Using four literary original texts and their nine Romanian versions, Ana-Maria Pâcleanu's book is a valuable, original and welldocumented contribution to the field of philology.

Doctoral Theses in Linguistics and Translation Studies Recently Completed in "Dunărea de Jos" University of Galati

- 1. Maria Aciobăniței. Translating English and Romanian Proverbs. (2014)
- 2. Olga Georgiana Cojocaru. Cultural embeddedness and thematic area in the translation of vocative texts (2014)
- 3. Ana-Maria-Pâcleanu. *Not Only Taboo: Translating* 'The Controversial' Before, During and After Communism (2016)
- 4. Raluca-Maria Dumitru (Topală) Translating the Language of *Diplomacy: Procedures, Challenges and Errors* (2017)
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- 6. Liviu Chifane. A Cultural-Linguistic Approach to Postcolonial Literature: Jhumpa Lahiri and Zadie Smith (2018)

Books Published by Members of the English Department in 2018

- 1. Neagu Mariana and Claudia Pisoschi. 2018. Fundamentals of Semantics and Pragmatics. 2nd edition revised, Craiova: Editura Universitaria (309 p).
- 2. Carmen Opriț-Maftei. 2018. English Borrowings in Romanian: Economic Terminologies, Europlus, Galati (206 p).

2018 TRANSLATOR LIST

- 1. Metalious, Grace, Oana-Celia Gheorghiu (trad.) (2018) *Peyton Place*. București, Editura Litera, ISBN: 978-606-33-2320-1, 512 pp.
- 2. Metalious, Grace, Oana-Celia Gheorghiu (trad.) (2018) *Întoarcerea la Peyton Place*, București, Editura Litera, ISBN: 978-606-33-2321-8, 320 pp.
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- 5. Whitehouse, Anna, Matt Farquharson, Oana-Celia Gheorghiu (trad.) (2018) *Parenting de râsu'-plânsu'*, București, Editura Univers, ISBN 978-973-34-1017-1, 336 pp.
- 1. Violeta Craiu, Petru Iamandi (trad.) (2018) *Muze sub aparențe/Muses in Disguise*, Editura Timpul, Iași, 9-789736-127359, 149 p.
- 2. Valeriu Valegvi, Petru Iamandi (trad.) (2018) *Eva printre degete/Eve through the Fingers*, Editura Detectiv Literar, București, 978-606-021-013-9, 83 p.
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