

*Translation Studies:
Retrospective and
Prospective Views*

Year XIV
Volume 24/ 2021

Casa Cărții de Știință
Cluj-Napoca, 2021

Translation Studies: Retrospective and Prospective Views

Annual journal of the Department of English published under the aegis of:

- ▽ Faculty of Letters – Department of English
- ▽ Research Centre *Interface Research of the Original and Translated Text. Cognitive and Communicative Dimensions of the Message*

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ISSN-L 2065-3514

Full content available at translation-studies.webnode.com/

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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

THE GYPSY AS *THE OTHER* IN VICTORIAN LITERATURE

Andreea BĂLAN¹

Abstract: *Discussing 19th-century cultural differences from a present-day viewpoint allows the researcher to examine the literary past of racial discriminations and explore the Victorian presence of the Gypsy as other both romanticised and vilified. This race was portrayed in Victorian literature positively or negatively based on the 19th-century cultural mentalities and stereotypes. This paper attempts to approach some works of the Victorian writers who created a psychological context to understand the complex nature of human personality, focusing on this unconventional ethnic group. We endeavour to examine the figure of the peripheral characters as a form of racialism and cultural difference. In this way, to discover how Victorian writers designed the Gypsy characters, we have explored some literary productions of authors such as Charlotte Brontë, George Borrow, and George Eliot.*

Keywords: the gypsy, otherness, Victorian literature, Charlotte Brontë, Emily Brontë, George Eliot, George Borrow

Introduction

The first Gypsy figure that emerged in a literary work is depicted by Donald Kenrick in *Gypsies from India to The Mediterranean*, where he mentions that the first presence of a “foolish male fortune-teller” was in a “Swiss play” in 1450 (qtd. in Saul 2004: 79). As we can notice, the first Gypsy was introduced as a foreseer; thus, from that time, the Gypsy as a figure associated with occultism has led to the first stereotype of a mysterious and pagan ethnic group. However, even if they are discriminated, Gypsies always leave their periphery and cross the cities. Far from modern civilization, the periphery is regarded as the outskirts of society and also as the natural place that encircles the areas inhabited by the non-gypsies. Consequently, the Gypsies take a double status because they were seen as inhabitants of open spaces and as menacing human beings that step over the threshold of society. These two opposite images, of both wandering and supposedly dangerous persons were clearly framed in the Victorian novels and poetry. The Victorian Gypsy character has begun to adopt a sentimental, romanticised form. Mathew Arnold, George Borrow, John Ruskin, George Eliot and John Clare are five notable examples, but not the only authors who introduce Gypsies in their works.

While George Borrow's experiences with Gypsies inspired his literary works (*Lavengro*, 1851, *The Roman Rye*, 1857, *The Zincali*, 1841), in her *The Spanish Gypsy* (1868), George Eliot presented a romanticised image of the Gypsy position. She produced *Fedalma* as more than a tragic heroine; she was a Gypsy character

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brought up by Spaniards and took back by her Romani people. She did not know her actual origin, but later, when her father told her that she is of Gypsy roots, she had to renounce her Spanish identity to follow her ethnic origins. In the 19th century, a social gap was formed between the dark wanderers, the savage and orderless sons of nature, and the cultured people with goals and ambitions for advancement. In *The Races of Men: A Philosophical Inquiry into the Influence of Race over the Destinies of Nations*, Robert Knox observes the Gypsy character as a wild creature, distinct from the conventional Victorians. Therefore, he promotes racism, and we can discover feelings of hatred, not only in Knox's statements, but also in Lance Jason Wilder's words who displayed no remorse if the Romani race would evaporate one day: "What should we lose? - nothing (...) no inventions, nor discoveries, no sublime thoughts" (Wilder 2004: 188-189). In the first pages of *The Gypsies*, Leland depicts wanderers as symbols of nature ("camping in lonely places, under old chestnut-trees", being "free and at home only with nature") and connects to them the characteristics that brought about their persecution (Leland 1882: 9-10). The writer repeatedly assumes that Gypsies as a peripheral race are in close connection to nature and, hence, threatened with extinction:

"The day is coming when there will be no more wild parrots nor wild wanderers, no wild nature, and certainly no gypsies. Within a very few years in the city of Philadelphia, the English sparrow... has driven from the gardens all the wild, beautiful feathered creatures, whom, as a boy, I knew... So the people of self-conscious culture and the mart and factory are banishing the wilder sort, and it is all right, and so it must be... But as a London reviewer [Arthur Symonds] said when I asserted in a book that the child was perhaps born who would see the last gypsy, 'Somehow we feel sorry for that child.'" (Leland 1882: 15-16)

Like many other 19th-century writers, Leland negatively portrays Roma people- emphasising their dishonesty, robbery, homelessness and disobedience- other authors display them from an exotic, positive perspective. However sentimentally, Gypsies are to be seen, their dark, mysterious identity produces fear among non-Gypsies, creating a threat that emerges from inside or outside. Therefore, the Romani existence simultaneously "beseeches, worries, and fascinates desire" (Kristeva 1966: 1). Besides being positively displayed as excellent maintainers of culture and ethnic roots, the Gypsies are intimately linked to the notion of freedom; they are eternal travellers, reckless adventurers who roam the streets, passing regions and forever disobeying. However, the Romani people enjoy this condition of liberty and cherish their lives simultaneously.

An example of a positive Gypsy image is the scene from George Borrow's work *Lavengro*, where Lavengro encounters the Petulengro tribe, and he is highly delighted to see this unconventional group that the modern society continually marginalises and despises.

As we have seen, some authors positively represent the Gypsy by highlighting the innate goodness and state of liberty which are opposed to the non-gypsy population. The authors also submit realistic representations of the real

Gypsy life in their writings (as in Borrow's *Lavengro*, 2006 or *The Romany Rye*, 2007), where the readers meet the authentic Gypsy character with all his/her qualities and imperfections. The state of liberty is also emphasised by John Ruskin (1819-1900), whose Romani figures embody the "perfect freedom" because they appreciate the liberty to which the other Victorian people could only aspire: "All things that move on earth are swift and free,/ All full of the same fire of lovely Liberty/ This, this is their inheritance - (...)" (Ruskin 1903: 38)

Therefore, we consider that the development of a society strongly depends on developing the cooperation between people. Only when the peripheral characters will be seen as members of society, not only as a margin, the individuals will be recognised as non-racist; only then will the wanderer's positive image be highlighted.

1. George Eliot's exotic Fedalma as a positive other

When we use the word "exotic", we refer to an individual distinct from nearby people or surroundings. The exotic character is seen as different regarding physical features, traditions and culture. In this situation, "different" has a positive meaning, it is recognised as something alluring.

George Eliot's Fedalma, a real dark-skinned woman, raised by Spaniards, encounters two different cultures, being able to choose from each of them only the principles she most values. Another positive perspective is that the woman has the endowment to overcome social barriers and inner impediments. Therefore, she can communicate her feelings for Don Silva, a non-Gypsy individual, who comes to her despised society in the name of love. However, Don Silva cannot be a genuine Gypsy, and the collision of cultures is evident, but Don Silva continues to love her despite them. When he witnesses Zarca's brutal actions, he remembers the doctrines and beliefs of a real Spaniard. He may continue to love Fedalma, but he could never embrace a life of crimes and inhumanity against his Spanish community. Fedalma is depicted as the exotic other, the alluring Gypsy woman who comes from the periphery and succeeds in mesmerising and fascinating the non-Gypsies. The woman is captivating because beauty has always been linked to women since ancient times with Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty. Consequently, we observe that the separate gender spheres originate from antiquity, possibly even from prehistoric times when the cave dweller left his woman guard to the cave while he was hunting.

In literary works, the Gypsy characters are exoticised because they come from a different and distant space or because their physical appearance distinguishes them; the Gypsies awaken the interest and fascination of the local people because they represent freedom, independence and passion. Thus, we have attempted to present the Victorian writers' fascination with the ever-present, nearly unavoidable population of nomads, whose alterity remains a pre-eminent matter even at present.

2. Charlotte Brontë's Edward Rochester as a negative other

When we examine the complexity of the Romani figures, we consider their alterity, the negative stereotypes, unfavourable images and the clash between the racial categories. Throughout the times, the Gypsies have been seen as outsiders, strangers, robbers and criminals. The Victorian people always exhibited prejudicial treatment towards Gypsies, and they also exposed "xenophobic fear and mistrust of aliens" (Mayall 2004:8).

Some authors demonise the Gypsy image, highlighting their deeds of theft and repugnant characteristics. For example, kidnapping or children swapping was always connected to Gypsies out of the necessity to explain the dissimilarity of "blue-eyed, fair-haired Gypsy children, who simply did not fit the swarthy, raven-haired stereotype" (Epstein Nord 2006:11). Not only the Gypsy man but also the dark-eyed women with raven hair are connected to evil, cruelty and dishonesty. Commonly, the Gypsy women were observed foreseeing fates in people's palms, utilising tarot cards and sensually dancing in order to fascinate men; these practices often frightened and threatened the non-Gypsy population. Consequently, it is created a negative perception of the Gypsy people who exemplify a dreadful other in this way.

In Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, Edward Rochester's otherness has unbelievable dimensions. In the first position, the character is tormented by his adventure in the West Indies, where he had married a mentally deranged Creole woman, Bertha Mason, from Spanish Town, Jamaica. Furthermore, the eponymous character- understanding French and learning German- is persuaded by her newly-encountered cousin, reverend St. John, to renounce learning German and begin to study Hindustani, in this form, being prepared to follow him to India. In between these two points of time (one in a distant past, the other in an unknown future), the very accurate image of the Gypsy fortune teller disturbing the party at Thornhill brings the readers to a realistic setting. Rochester, the man disguised as a Gypsy feminine fortune-teller, comes to foresee the fate of the women at the party. The Gypsy topic in this literary work mirrors the Victorian society's suspicious treatment of Gypsy people. The appearance of the Gypsy fortune-teller at Thornfield and the people's attitudes indicate prejudices based on the Gypsies' culture, lifestyle, skin colour, and unfair treatment the wanderers endure.

Conclusions

In conclusion, we have attempted to present some ideas on the Victorians' enchantment with this race of wanderers, whose alterity currently continues to be an essential discussion topic. In addition, literary works such as Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* and George Eliot's *The Spanish Gypsy* are considered outstanding in employing the Gypsy figure as an instrument to confront the Victorian boundaries, constraints and marginalised ideas.

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PRESIDENTIAL DISCOURSE-IN-INTERACTION: HOW GENDER STRUCTURES IRONIC AND SARCASTIC REFERENCES

Adina BOTAŞ¹

Abstract: *This paper presents an analysis of several sequences of talk-in-interaction, highlighting the ironic and sarcastic references made by candidates to the US presidential elections in the debates of 2016 and 2020. The participation framework of the two events (one same male candidate – Donald Trump – in subsequent election debates, first with a female opponent – Hillary Clinton, then with a male – Joe Biden) offers an interesting perspective on how “the gender thing” is manifested in speech. Despite the almost gender-blind character reached by the genre of the pre-election debate as discourse-in-interaction, the analysis addresses the relevance of the speaker’s gender in significant moments of talk, particularly focusing on protagonists’ lexical choices to refer to the other in an ironic and sarcastic way. Trying to fill the is-ought to gap in the minds of the audience, candidates to presidency make sophisticated use of words in debates. In their permanent effort to disqualify the opponent while seducing the people, irony and sarcasm are effective weapons in the battles of words that these events are without exception turned into. The analysis considers the normative component of Political Discourse Analysis, as presented by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012, 2015), as well as the perspective on investigating verbal irony and sarcasm, as presented in Gibbs & Colston (2017) and the formulae for interpreting categories of humour, elaborated by Patrick Charaudeau (2011, 2013).*

Keywords: presidential discourse, political discourse analysis, discourse-in-interaction, irony, sarcasm.

Introduction

In the context of the latest two subsequent American presidential elections of 2016 and 2020, disputed first between a female and a male candidates, in the persons of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump (won by Trump), then between two male candidates, namely the same Donald Trump, this time with Joe Biden (won by Biden), this analysis looks at several particularities of the interactions, namely how irony and sarcasm are operationalised, in the light of the mentioned participation framework. This piece of analysis is part of the larger project of my PhD thesis, entitled *Irony and Sarcasm in Presidential Discourse*, in which I look at the forms, functions and effects of irony and sarcasm used by candidates to presidency in recent pre-election debates in the USA, France and Romania.

From my research so far on the topic, I understood that the main objective for using irony and sarcasm in presidential debates is always to disqualify the target, which in the genre coincides with the opponent. It is an old and well known characteristic of political discourse to formulate speech in such a way that

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the intended meaning be accepted by the audience. Still, the candidates' selection of vocabulary is made in respect to the formal nature of the debates and is appropriate for the genre. It is also clear that "the discourse may enhance its effectiveness by various rhetorical moves" (van Dijk 2017: 89). Particularly, in the samples selected for analysis, these 'moves' refer to uttering of the opposite of what is being meant (literal positive words for conveying negative intended meaning).

In an analysis of discourse-in-interaction, when juxtaposing different-gender talks to same-gender talks, discourse manifests also according to several ideological variables related to the social issue of gender. Thus, this paper aims to examine the differences that may occur in the ironic and sarcastic aspect of talk when a woman debates a man before a presidential election, as opposed to when men debate amongst themselves.

Also, the genre of the presidential debate, particularly in the US, has an almost gender-blind nature, so findings are attributed a local and contextual relevance.

Theoretical framework

This section presents some brief considerations on the notions of the *presidential debate as a genre of discourse-in-interaction* (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2005), *irony and sarcasm as distinct subcategories of humour* (Charaudeau 2011; Gibbs & Colston 2007, Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2013, Wilson & Sperber 2012) and *gender and language* (Lakoff 1975, O'Barr and Atkins 1982, Tannen 1994, Weatherall 2002, Cameron 2005).

a. Presidential debates as a genre of discourse-in-interaction

Presidential debates are a genre of *discourse-in-interaction* (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2005), primarily a media genre, with a characteristic organisational pre-set. The active participants in the event are the candidates to presidency, namely the two finalists to the election and the moderator(s), all with specified interactional roles. Nevertheless, the interaction happens, and only makes sense, in the presence of a mass audience, made of anonymous receptors, as a fourth, and probably most important member of the participation framework, as they are the ones who will vote for one or the other of the candidates and, finally, validate or invalidate their overall performance.

One of the particularities of this discursive genre, as of any type of talk-in-interaction, is the 'two-sidedness' of discourse, namely everything that happens produces an instant echo and is a result of co-construction. Roles are not given but created in interaction, context is not given but shaped by talk and, finally, discourse is a joint production (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2005). The candidates' talks are contextually constrained by the specific norms of the interaction (van Dijk in Wodak & Reisigl 2017: 87). Due to the discursive limitations imposed by the 'serious' nature of these events, direct verbal attacks are avoided as they could create a detrimental ethos of aggressiveness and offensiveness of the speakers, so

in order to accomplish their combative goals, speakers disguise their insults under sophisticated rhetoric.

b. Irony and Sarcasm

In the genre of the presidential debate, laughter, as an effect of humour, namely of something that is designed to be comical or amusing and to provoke laughter for pure entertainment, almost never occurs and is perceived as inappropriate. Humour occurs through subversive mechanisms and is aimed to provoke not necessarily laughter, but rather a sense of ridicule, always targeted against the opponent. In other words, laughter can be found in presidential debates, but it is a bitter, derisive sort of laughter, intended to disqualify the opponent in front of the audience and to place the speaker in a position of superiority. This effect is obtained through ridiculing and can take multiple forms of expression. These forms range from the most classical uses of the salient *incongruity between the literal and the intended meaning*, such as the frequently encountered formulae of *praise for blame* (Gibbs & Colston 2007), to *dialogic irony*, broadly consisting of a repetition of the opponent's utterances, usually joint by a marker of agreement, with clear indications of the fact that the idea does not match the conceptions of the speaker in any way (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2013) and an entire palette of figures based on *pretence* (Wilson & Sperber 2012), in the form of *under- or overstatements*, from *pretences of ignorance* and *ironical litotes*, to *hyper-politeness*, *exaggerated thanks* or *excuses*, as well as *ironical agreements*, often appearing in conjunction with other figures such as metaphor, metonymy, simile, hyperbole, (de)personification etc.

In order to trace a clear distinction between irony and sarcasm, as subcategories of humour, I adopted the formulae proposed by Patrick Charaudeau (2011), who describes irony through a *relation of opposition* between the literal meaning and the intended meaning while sarcasm is described as a *relation of hyperbolization* between the intended meaning and the literal meaning. More precisely, in this approach, irony is the literal positive expression of negative intended meaning and proposes a challenge to the recipient, while sarcasm conveys negative intended meaning through exaggerated literal negative words, speaking loudly of what shouldn't be spoken of, placing the recipient in an embarrassing situation and also adding bitterness to the message conveyed.

c. Gender and Language

Although the aspect of gender and language was not a primary research focus for my study, it naturally came along given the participation framework of the events chosen for analysis. In understanding gender talk, I started from the dominance model in the famous Lakoff '75, which clear-cuts women's place in language, a theory immediately furtherly developed into the difference model by O'Barr and Atkins who claimed that language differences are rather situation-specific than related to gender, relying to who has authority and power in a conversation, and not necessarily the gender of the people involved in the communicative event. Further on, I partially adopted the line of thought developed by Deborah Tannen

(1994) based on the same Lakoff '75, also advocating for the difference model, claiming that research has consistently found male speakers to be competitive and more likely to engage in conflict while females to be more cooperative and avoid conflict. Still, she clarifies that the difference model does not exclude dominance, it just does not strictly relate it to the gender of the speakers. Building on these premises, later gender theories (of which I considered Weatherall 2002 and Cameron 2005) sustain that there is no such thing as "to talk like a woman" or "talk like a man", that there are no straightforward connections between gender and language and that potential differences are to be sought for and found within the conversational style of the speaker and the context. In an analysis of interaction, when juxtaposing different-gender talks to same-gender talks, discourse, which is no longer monologic but dialogic, manifests in more complex ways, also accounting for several ideological variables related to the social issue of gender (such as "women and age", for example).

Data Analysis

There are multiple possible classifications and categorisations for ordering ironic and sarcastic gender-related references to the opponent in the mentioned debates. The data could be organized in direct references vs. indirect references, emblematic gender-references vs. stereotypical gender references, name references, empty references, or references in which irony or sarcasm combine with other figures such as metaphor, metonymy, simile, hyperbole, litotes, all contributing in more or less significant ways to the overall construction of the intended meaning to be conveyed.

For the scope of this paper, I narrowed the classification down to name references framed by various ironic or sarcastic formulae, focusing more precisely on first name references, full name references or avoidance of the name and even replacement of the name with emblematic gender references or empty references.

a. Clinton-Trump debates. Name references

The following extracts have been transcribed from the three debates that took place before the US presidential election in November 2016, between the republican nominee Donald Trump (who was also to take office) and the democrat candidate Hillary Clinton. All debates are publicly available on Youtube.com, direct links to sources are provided in the References section. For each of the fragments below, I specified which debate it was extracted from and the exact timing of occurrence.

- (1) HC: *The kind of plan that **Donald** has put forth would be trickle-down economics all over again. In fact, it would be the most extreme version. I call it **trumped up, trickle down** because that's what it would be.* (1st debate, 10:34)

In this fragment, we deal with a sarcastic allusion to Trump's much debated upon and highly controversial evolution as a business man, going bankrupt and re-establishing his business at least six times in his life. Sarcasm is constructed

through an *ad hominem* attack whose effect is also reinforced through alliteration with “trumped up, trickle down”, literally a direct reference to the name of the target, furtherly linked to the idea of failure with the final “down”.

- (2) HC: *Well, let's stop for a second, and remember where we were eight years ago, we had the worst financial crisis, the great recession, the worst since the 1930s. That was in large part because of tax policies that slashed taxes on the wealthy, failed to invest in the middle class, took their eyes off of Wall Street and created a perfect storm. In fact, **Donald** was one of the people who rooted for the housing crisis. He said back in 2006, “Gee, I hope it does collapse because then I can go in and buy some and make some money.”*
 DT: *That's called business, by the way* (1st debate, 15:30).

As we have seen in (1), this extract also presents reference to the effects of Trump's policies on the economy, in a different light. Cutting taxes on the wealthy businessmen (sustained by Trump) and not investing in middle class families (an aspect strongly advocated for by Clinton), as premises for a “financial crisis” and “great recession”, are rebrought into the discussion as a pretext for an instance of dialogic irony, intended to ridicule the opponent, as well as express disaffiliation from his beliefs and attitude. Dialogic irony is largely understood as a reproduction of the opponent's words, generally forwarded through a marker of agreement, but with clear indications that the ideas do not at all correspond to the point of view of the speaker (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2019). As a type of procedure, dialogic irony is found in the range of intertextuality and generally has a strongly disaffiliative function. The indications here that the echoed words are spoken with the intention to ridicule and expose the original speaker as a selfish profiteer who only cares about making money, regardless of the means and consequences, are the interjection “gee” as an expression of enthusiasm in a context with negative implications for the ordinary people and the country, and the verb “hope”, which expresses desire with expectation of fulfilment, in the same inappropriate context. Trump's response is uttered with the same ironic tone, marked by the listing adverb “by the way” and used with a pretence of breaking news in a situation where all are obviously well-acquainted, for implying the ignorance of the other.

- (3) HC: *Take clean energy. Some country is going to be the clean energy superpower of the 21st century. **Donald** thinks that climate change is a hoax perpetrated by the Chinese. I think it's real.* (1st debate 16:50)

In this fragment, in an attempt to disassociate herself from her opponent, she uses a first name reference to present antithesis based on an overall focus on positive self-representation and negative other-representation (Fairclough & Fairclough 2015: 187-192).

- (4) HC: *Well, **Donald**, I know you live in your own reality, but that is not the facts.* (1st debate, 21:33)

- (5) HC: Well, everything you've heard just now from **Donald** is not true. I'm sorry I have to keep saying this, but **he lives in an alternative reality** and it is sort of amusing to hear somebody who hasn't paid federal income taxes in maybe 20 years talking about what he's going to do, but I'll tell you what he's going to do. His plan will give the wealthy and corporations the biggest tax cuts they've ever had, more than the Bush tax cuts by at least a factor of two. **Donald always takes care of Donald and people like Donald**, and this would be a massive gift. And, indeed, the way that he talks about his tax cuts would end up raising taxes on middle-class families, millions of middle-class families. (2nd debate, 51:51)

In (4) and (5), we deal with a series of claims about the opponent, referred to on his first name. Under the pretence of exculpating his faulty acts, Clinton accuses him of some sort of alienation with "I know you live in your own reality" and "he lives in an alternative reality". She utters these accusations under the form of assertions, inferring that her words are loaded with a burden of proof (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012). "Donald" finally becomes a generic character associated to the broad category of the tax-evasive wealthy.

- (6) DT: And **Hillary**, I just ask you this, you've been doing this for 30 years. Why are you just thinking about these solutions right now? For 30 years you've been doing it and now you're just starting to think of solutions.
 HC: Actually, I have thought about this **quite a bit**.
 DT: **Yeah, for 30 years**. (1st debate, 15:40)

Here, the question of job creation is raised, in the abovementioned context, with Trump calling on his opponent through her first name to account for why she did not do what she now proposes, earlier, translating this into the incapability of completing the task, a fault that he presents in antithesis with his self-reclaimed quality of being capable of completing the same task. Clinton responds with a litotic formula, aimed to justify her preoccupation for the subject, yet stylistically diminish the duration of the period she occupied public offices, "Actually, I have thought about this *quite a bit*". Trump's replies bluntly with an instance of ironical agreement, as a way of exposing the absurdity of the other one's claims, used to literally simulate consensus, while implying dissensus concerning the previous utterances of the opponent.

- (7) DT: She's made bad judgments on Libya, on Syria, on Iraq. I mean, her and Obama, whether you like it or not, the way they got out of Iraq, the vacuum they've left, that's why ISIS formed in the first place. They started from that little area, and now they're in 32 different nations, **Hillary**. Congratulations. Great job. (2nd debate, 56:05)

In this extract we can identify a classical expression of praise for blame directly linked to the first name of the opponent, through the formula of pragmatically insincere congratulations, intended to expose and accuse the addressee, contrary to the salient, literal meaning of the words uttered. In the context of the fight against

terrorism, for the spread of which DT blames the Obama regime in the first place, the exaggeration of praise appears as insincere through its formulation and actually conveys the opposite of a compliment, namely an offense and an attack to her previous performance as an official of the state.

- (8) DT: *We now have ISIS in our country. This is going to be the great Trojan horse. Lots of luck, **Hillary**. Thanks a lot for doing a great job (3rd debate, 01:17:47)*

On the same topic of the fight against terrorism and the former government (which Clinton was part of), DT launches yet another attack against his opponent for her previous allegedly bad moves in the matter. Through the use of a metaphor, he assimilates the situation HC allegedly brought the country in, with having accepted many Middle East refugees into the U.S., to the Trojan horse, which, as we all know, had a disastrous effect on the hosting fortress, ending up with its complete destroyal and plundering. As a pathos enhancer, he ends his line with a formula of pragmatically insincere congratulations and exaggerated thanks for doing a “great” job, addressed directly to his opponent, obviously meant to convey that the job was the opposite of “great” and, for it, she would actually deserve the opposite of congratulations.

Emblematic gender references

- (9) HC: *Well, Chris, I am on record as saying that we need to put more money into the Social Security Trust Fund. That's part of my commitment to raise taxes on the wealthy. My Social Security payroll contribution will go up, as will Donald's, assuming he can't figure out how to get out of it.*
 DT: *Such a nasty woman.* (3rd debate, 1:18:24)

In this example, Trump refers to Clinton with “such a nasty woman”, which comes in to continue a long line of previous assaults against her, pointing at her ethos of slyness and cold-heartedness. The emblematic gender reference was triggered by another sarcastic allusion made by Clinton to point at the much condemned business behaviour of Trump, notorious for not paying his taxes and not publishing his tax returns.

- (10) Moderator: *Mr. Trump, let me follow up with you. In 2008, you wrote in one of your books that the most important characteristic of a good leader is discipline. You said if a leader doesn't have it, “He or she won't be one for very long.” In the days after the first debate, you sent out a series of tweets from 3:00 AM to 5:00 AM, including one that told people to check out a sex tape. Is that the discipline of a good leader-*
 DT: *No, there wasn't “check out a sex tape”. It was just take a look at the person that she built up to be, **this wonderful Girl Scout, who was no girl scout**. By the way, just so you understand. When she said 3:00 in the morning, take a*

look at Benghazi. She said, "Who's going to answer the call at 3:00 in the morning?" Guess what? She didn't answer.

M: Question is "is that the discipline of a good leader?" (2nd debate, 1:16:00)

"The wonderful girl scout" is a classical ironic expression of praise for blame, exposing the contradiction between the literal meaning (positive) and the intended meaning (negative). The negative meaning is reinforced by the subsequent negation "who was no girl scout", intended as a translation of the preceding irony. In the key of Critical Discourse Analysis, different metaphors have different ideological attachments. The connotation of "girl scout" orbits around a young female of courage, confidence and character who is dedicated to making the world a better place. The +ironic component brings in the opposition of the intended meaning, namely the old female of deceit, or "the nasty woman" referred to in the previous extract.

b. Biden-Trump debates. Name references vs. emblematic gender references

First name references	Emblematic gender references
<p>You're all talking and no action, Joe.</p> <p>You know Joe, I ran because of you.</p> <p>Your other brother made a fortune, and it's all through you, Joe.</p> <p>We can't lock ourselves up in a basement like Joe does.</p> <p>Hey, Joe, let me just tell you, Joe. In 47 months, I've done more than you've done in 47 years, Joe.</p>	<p><i>Will you shut up, man?</i></p> <p><i>Keep yapping, man.</i></p> <p><i>This man doesn't know what he's talking about.</i></p> <p><i>This man cares at all? This man's done virtually nothing.</i></p> <p><i>This is the same man who told you by Easter, this would be gone away</i></p> <p><i>This is the same fellow who told you, "This is going to end by Easter"</i></p> <p><i>He's a very confused guy.</i></p> <p><i>This is the guy who's tried to cut Medicare.</i></p> <p><i>I'm here standing facing you, old buddy.</i></p>

While not a single reference to the masculine gender was found in the Clinton-Trump debates, these have been identified in abundance in the Biden-Trump debates. From the very first seconds of debate, Biden salutes Trump with "how you doin', *man*" and Trump responds with "How you doin', *Joe*". Interestingly, they seem to be sticking to these formulae of address throughout the debates.

Whilst no first name references were used by Biden to address Trump, the "man" that Biden started off with, along with numerous other semantic occurrences of the same entry in slightly different structures, is an emblem of masculinity, but also of comradery. It is used with a critical, disaffiliative function, in subsequent structures such as "this man", "this is the man", "this is the same man", "this is the same fellow", or "guy" potentially bringing lack of sophistication into the disaffiliative process, all made by Biden. Another reference to Trump is "old buddy", in a singular occurrence and a possibly affiliative

function as a reaction to the previous ad hominem attack. Something possibly intended like an acknowledgement of disparagement, disqualified by an affirmation of inclusive sameness.

Conclusions

From a contrastive perspective, the female-male interactions present a different approach to referencing the opponent than the male-male interactions. Hillary Clinton calls her opponent many times “Donald”, while Joe Biden never does, not one time did Biden call Trump “Donald” in the two debates before the presidential election of 2020. Trump calls his opponent Joe multiple times, though. There are also multiple full name references in the female-male debate and just one full name reference in the male-male debates made by Biden to Trump, and none made by Trump to Biden. Otherwise, the female-male interactions only present emblematic references to the female gender. These are direct references also touching on the social issue of “age” attached to the female gender. Another salient aspect is the fact that Biden seems to make much use of vernacular language, potentially aiming to reflect the lack of sophistication of his opponent (namely “the Trump style”, notoriously characterised as “linguistically unadorned” by a professor from the Columbia University). Given the almost gender-blind character reached by the interaction in the genre of the pre-election debate (as discourse-in-interaction), the analysis confirms that gender differences in language are to be found locally, within the conversational style of the speaker and the context.

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Transcripts: Rev.com

UNA RESEÑA DEL ITALIANO Y DEL ESPAÑOL JURÍDICO CON ÉNFASIS EN LÉXICO Y MORFOSINTAXIS

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Abstract: *The legal jargon has various distinctive features which distinguish it from other types of specialized language. The specificity of the legal speech which triggers 'the legal character of the meaning' can be described from a double perspective: lexical and morphosyntactic. In this paper, we are doing a review of legal Spanish and Italian languages with emphasis on vocabulary and morphosyntax and aiming at setting a group of reference points that the legal linguistic literature offers us and identifying the linguistic processes in which the legal speech builds its authority.*

Keywords: legal speech, vocabulary, morphosyntax

Introducción

La cultura jurídica italiana y la española tienen raíces comunes debido a los factores culturales e históricos de ambos países y a la pertenencia a la misma familia jurídica (familia romano-germánica, también llamada usualmente derecho civil continental o *civil law*), lo que favorece la coexistencia de semejanzas entre los dos sistemas jurídicos. Tanto las diferencias, como las similitudes, se encuentran no solo del punto de vista conceptual - debido a su origen y desarrollo - sino de orden lingüístico.

El derecho rige las relaciones sociales entre ciudadanos y la administración del Estado y esta actividad genera un gran número de textos (contratos, sentencias, declaraciones, acta de citación, órdenes de ejecución) que disciplinan estas relaciones. Según el tipo de texto empleado *legislativo* (textos legales, como leyes, disposiciones, decretos), *judicial* (textos judiciales, como sentencias, fallo) o *ejecutivo* (textos administrativos, como contratos, declaraciones) éste se caracteriza por una estructura que responde a un esquema antes establecido.

Teniendo en cuenta que el discurso jurídico incluye construcciones específicas, las observaciones siguientes tomarán en consideración algunos fenómenos lingüísticos de los más frecuentemente encontrados en los textos jurídicos (normativos y judiciales).

El italiano jurídico

Leyes y derechos se aplican a todas las actividades humanas. Delitos, infracciones o reclamaciones contra la administración pública pueden sobrevenir por varias razones y sobre cualquier cuestión. Para que la interpretación de los hechos y la emisión de los juicios sean lo más exactos posible, los que escriben las leyes, que las interpretan y que las aplican deben ser informados sobre el argumento y esto implica el uso de una terminología bastante clara y precisa.

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La lengua jurídica es la lengua empleada por las instituciones jurídicas (tribunales, juzgados, administración del Estado) en relación con los ciudadanos, personas físicas o jurídicas. Se manifiesta en forma escrita a través de diferentes documentos como decretos, normas, leyes, disposiciones, notificaciones, citaciones y se caracteriza por una estructura fija, con uso de frases y expresiones con carácter formal. Este lenguaje específico, a diferencia del lenguaje científico, se basa en el lenguaje común, pero tiene muchos defectos: principalmente la polisemia, la imprecisión y la ambigüedad. Esto pasa cuando una palabra puede tener diferentes significados, incluso contradictorias, cuando se emplea en diferentes ramas del derecho.

Tras los filólogos que se han ocupado de lingüística jurídica italiana mencionamos a Bice Mortara-Garavelli, que en su amplio estudio *Le parole e la giustizia. Divagazioni grammaticali e retoriche su testi giuridici italiani* hace una investigación sobre las características y las tendencias actuales del lenguaje jurídico, planteando el discurso sobre las peculiaridades léxicas, gramaticales, estilísticas y retóricas de los textos legislativos, de los actos procesales, de los documentos producidos por las autoridades públicas, sin renunciar a revelar las irregularidades que se encuentran en los textos jurídicos, llamando la atención sobre las precauciones que deben tomarse en la simplificación de la redacción de los textos.

Con respecto a la perspectiva teórica, el lingüista italiano Michele Cortelazzo se ocupó de las formas de comunicación escrita, principalmente de la simplificación del lenguaje burocrático. Sus análisis siempre se enfocaron en las irregularidades que se encuentran en todos los documentos burocráticos, administrativos y jurídicos. En su ensayo *Lingue speciali - la dimensione verticale* la investigación es orientada hacia las características léxicas y morfosintácticas. Para Cortelazzo el nivel de organización textual es esencial en la caracterización de una lengua especial (Cortelazzo 1994: 9) y afirma que el texto:

“deve essere in grado di rispondere alle esigenze di denominazione del settore di attività cui si riferisce [...], dato che si ha a che fare in un settore specialistico di attività, con oggetti o nozioni estranei alle esperienze comuni” (Cortelazzo 1994: 9)

Un estudio sobre la comprensión del lenguaje y la estructura del léxico italiano ha realizado, igualmente, el lingüista Tullio de Mauro en su *Guida all'uso delle parole*. Es un ensayo sobre la simplificación del lenguaje burocrático y el desarrollo de técnicas de escritura altamente comprensibles, como el lenguaje jurídico.

El análisis efectuado por Giuliana Garzone en su estudio *Il linguaggio giuridico: prospettive interdisciplinari* examina los enunciados performativos en el texto jurídico inglés desde la perspectiva lingüística, mientras que Francesca Santulli - en el mismo estudio - analiza las peculiaridades de las selecciones relacionadas con el léxico argumentativo, significativo para los que elaboran documentos jurídicos, por un lado, y, por otro lado, respondiendo a los destinatarios en el proceso de decodificación de los textos.

El *Manuale di stile* escrito por Alfredo Fioritto es una simplificación del lenguaje jurídico-administrativo e incluye una colección de reglas para ayudar a los especialistas de derecho a mejorar la comunicación con los ciudadanos. Son recomendaciones lingüísticas y jurídicas que tienen como objetivo: acostumbrarse a elaborar el mensaje, acostumbrar al escritor a pensar primero en el destinatario final de su trabajo.

Es evidente como, según el ámbito de aplicación, el lenguaje jurídico tiene diferentes características que se distinguen por la finalidad del documento y por los receptores, ya que se considera asimilado a una práctica relativa a las personas que ejercen una actividad específica.

Dado que la comunicación humana no se consigue sólo a través de las proposiciones y de las palabras sueltas, sino a través de estructuras más complejas, por medio de los cuales se transmite el mensaje y que pueden causar algunos cambios en el sujeto individual o colectivo, hace falta tener en cuenta los factores pragmáticos y situacionales del lenguaje. Estas reflexiones se refieren a aquellos fenómenos lingüísticos, varios modos de expresión que conducen al uso de fórmulas específicas, que los especialistas de derecho emplean con el fin de no caer en estos “defectos formales”.

El español jurídico

La función principal del derecho es regular las relaciones sociales, por tanto, el lenguaje debe ser claro y preciso. La Ley de Enjuiciamiento Civil de España expresa que las sentencias judiciales deben ser claras, precisas y congruentes, porque “el derecho, en tanto que regula y condiciona la vida y los intereses de los individuos, ha de emplear un lenguaje claro y concreto, perfectamente comprensible para la gran mayoría de los miembros de la sociedad” (Castro, 2020). En este sentido, la lengua de los textos jurídicos debe ser impersonal y unidireccional, lo que implica concisión, precisión y claridad.

El texto jurídico, teniendo en cuenta su función, está formado por una estructura rígida, un esquema constante establecido anteriormente para cada forma de texto (sentencia, instancia, ley), por la exactitud de su vocabulario, lleno de tecnicismos, de terminología, de fórmulas y frases hechas ausentes en muchos casos en la lengua estándar u otros leguajes especiales. En esta estructura fija se utilizan formulas que enmarcan los apartados de los escritos: *considerando*, *fallo*, *expone*, *dispone* y el canal utilizado, por lo general, es el escrito y la intención de los textos es de comunicar, informar y ordenar (función referencial y conativa).

Existen varios estudios sobre el español jurídico y la mayoría de estos se concentra en la investigación de la terminología y de los aspectos lingüísticos. Así Margarita Hernando de Larramendi clasifica el léxico jurídico atendiendo a “criterio de ordenación basado en relaciones jerárquicas y asociativas”. La misma autora junto con Blanca Aguirre en el estudio *El español por profesiones. Lenguaje jurídico* analiza una investigación más detallada desde el punto de vista de los ejemplos de textos, del formato y del glosario.

Otro enfoque detallado sobre los sistemas jurídicos, acerca el lenguaje de los distintos órdenes civiles, penales y procesales es el estudio realizado por Enrique Alcaraz Varó y Brian Hughes, *El español jurídico*. El estudio se centra en el análisis desde la perspectiva terminológica, lexicológica y sintáctica y es un material completo para los que actúan como traductores jurídicos. Sobre la terminología Alcaraz afirma que:

“La terminología de cada sistema jurídico corresponde al vocabulario técnico en la representación de la realidad de los juristas o terminología jurídica”
(Alcaraz 2000: 42).

Jorge Luís Morales Pastor, por su parte, se ocupa del estudio del lenguaje jurídico que incluye “herramientas didácticas y estrategias de enseñanza para el aprendizaje del español jurídico”. La reflexión sobre la especificidad lingüística y el sistema jurídico se refleja en los estudios presentados en diferentes congresos sobre la enseñanza del lenguaje jurídico “*Acercamiento al español jurídico a través del atestado*”, “*La enseñanza del español jurídico*” o “*Contra la concepción estática de la enseñanza / aprendizaje del español jurídico para alumnos extranjeros*”.

Mientras que Luis Alberto Hernando Cuadrado en *El lenguaje jurídico* realiza un estudio exhaustivo morfosintáctico y lexicológico del lenguaje jurídico y presenta una variedad de textos legales, escritos procesales.

Las investigaciones realizadas por los lingüistas muestran como para cada cultura, el derecho representa diferentes maneras de pensar, siendo determinado por el contexto político y sociocultural en el que se utiliza y refleja a través del sistema jurídico, los cambios sociales. El derecho no se refleja sólo en los términos y en las expresiones de un sistema jurídico, sino también en las formas de expresarlos. Se distingue por una precisión impecable con el fin de una correcta aplicación del significado y del contenido de las leyes, de los tratados o de los acuerdos internacionales. En este sentido, cualquier expresión jurídica formulada tiene su propio estilo jurídico, como expresión de una idea jurídica individual y los fenómenos lingüísticos se encuentran en los diferentes niveles de aplicación del derecho.

A continuación, se expone un enfoque lingüístico comparativo, poniendo énfasis en las principales diferencias y similitudes del lenguaje jurídico, que se encuentran tanto en el discurso, como en y en la mayoría de los documentos jurídicos.

Relación entre el italiano y el español jurídico

El derecho - entendido como un conjunto de reglas y estrategias - da lugar al texto jurídico, representado por leyes, sentencias, decisiones, convenciones o acuerdos y siempre está vinculado a un sistema jurídico que puede ser nacional o internacional, y es parte de un universo de textos jurídicos entre los cuales existen interrelaciones, y puede ser identificado basándose en la actividad llevada a cabo por especialistas en el ámbito jurídico.

El texto jurídico se distingue por características específicas respecto a otros lenguajes de especialidad (como el científico o el técnico) por su temática, por su función propia dentro de la comunidad, por el léxico y la morfosintaxis. Las decisiones o las sentencias redactadas en cualquier idioma y escritas en un lenguaje jurídico se caracterizan por una serie de expresiones lingüísticas para este tipo de lenguaje. Estos fenómenos lingüísticos, si bien pertenezcan a la lingüística jurídica, son, sin embargo, específicos del idioma y dependen de factores históricos y culturales, en los que estas nacieron y evolucionaron. En comparación con la comunicación usual y con otros tipos de lenguajes, la comunicación jurídica presenta algunos rasgos, debido a que el texto jurídico es prescriptivo y casi todos los enunciados son preformativos (especialmente los normativos), porque todas las acciones de las cuales habla deben realizarse y producen efectos jurídicos, porque dan lugar a obligaciones, como afirma Filipponio “non soltanto significano, ma affermano la nascita di obblighi” (Filipponio apud Scarpelli/Di Lucia 1994: 214).

En ambos sistemas jurídicos, los términos específicos del lenguaje jurídico se incluyen en la categoría de las palabras que pertenecen al derecho, necesarios para indicar contenidos jurídicos específicos. La tipología textual puede ser descriptiva o narrativa (en los resultados de las sentencias), expositiva (en la mayoría de los textos legislativos) o argumentativa (en las consideraciones de una sentencia o en una instancia).

Al nivel de *morfología* y *sintaxis*, la mayoría de los textos jurídicos tienen particularidades específicas, debido a la cultura y el desarrollo de la propia lengua. Los textos jurídicos tienen una función prescriptiva, se caracterizan por precisión, objetividad e imperatividad. Si hay definiciones, descripciones o ejemplificaciones, la organización textual y las características morfológicas y sintácticas dependerán del tipo de texto jurídico. Si se trata de un acto normativo (ley, decreto), de una instancia (acta de citación, reclamo) o de una sentencia o una decisión judicial (organizadas por antecedentes del hecho, fundamentos y fallo) éstos recurren usualmente a diferentes modos de discurso (expositivo o conclusivo) y a una estructura fija que favorece el uso de ciertas frases y términos con un carácter formulario o ritual.

Desde este punto de vista, las características que tienen en común ambos lenguajes jurídicos son la construcción *impersonal*, sobre todo en los textos normativos donde se expresa la generalidad, y *pasiva*, que crea un efecto de distanciamiento con respecto al texto; las *formulas estereotipadas*, que pueden ser locuciones o fórmulas fraseológicas que confieren un alto grado de tipificación del texto jurídico; la *supresión del artículo*, para simplificar el discurso; el uso del *gerundio* y del *participio presente*; la *intertextualidad*, que actúa como enlace entre textos y documentos anteriores, utilizando un sinnúmero de referencias, citas directas e indirectas y modelos lingüísticos.

En el plano del *léxico*, las características generales presentes en los dos sistemas jurídicos (italiano y español) se encuentran en el vocabulario. Ambos sistemas se caracterizan por la categoría de los términos jurídicos que proviene del vocabulario general, porque el contacto directo con la lengua común desempeña un

papel principal en la formación del léxico jurídico. Las características comunes que se observan en ambos sistemas jurídicos (como casi en todas las lenguas jurídicas) son los *tecnicismos* - debido a los hechos que forman la categoría de la terminología que denomina nociones y conceptos jurídicos específicos y que no tienen otros usos, afuera del lenguaje especializado. La presencia constante de *términos, locuciones y expresiones latinas* en el lenguaje jurídico constituye una herramienta para la comunicación internacional que se utiliza en todos los sistemas jurídicos internacionales; el uso de *arcaísmos* que, no obstante son considerados antiguos, son utilizados por los especialistas del derecho, a veces para referirse a términos que ya no son más actuales en el lenguaje común; la presencia constante de las *colocaciones* propias de cada sistema jurídico, porque en grupos de dos o más términos designan un referente o expresan un concepto único en el lenguaje jurídico.

Como se observa, el derecho nace y también se desarrolla como un idioma, se encuentra siempre en un continuo cambio en este proceso evolutivo. Debido a la conexión con el entorno social, el derecho se transforma junto con la sociedad, hoy más que nunca y en este mundo globalizado las personas entran en contacto entre sí. Se requiere una comprensión de las reglas que rigen los sistemas jurídicos, se requiere una comprensión común de los derechos y de las obligaciones de las personas. En este sentido, la ciencia del derecho comparado ofrece la formulación de ideas y observaciones sobre la estructura estilística de la lengua, sobre las interferencias lingüísticas y jurídicas, sobre las relaciones lingüísticas y culturales entre los diferentes Estados.

Sin profundizar temas que son objeto de debate en la literatura de especialidad es que el texto - visto como un posible lenguaje universal (Coşeriu 2013: 51) - se configura como una unidad semántica y pragmática, dentro de la cual pueden variar significados, connotaciones, suposiciones de cada secuencia lingüística.

A modo de conclusión, el estudio comparativo orientado para comparar las diferentes realidades terminológicas y jurídicas no sólo reside en identificar una estructura lingüística, sino un estudio metódico de la institución jurídica y del ámbito investigado, con el fin de facilitar la comprensión y la comunicación entre los sujetos que pertenecen a unos sistemas jurídicos diferentes.

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TRANSLATING VULNERABLE VOICES INTO FRENCH : THE CHILD NARRATORS IN EMMA DONOGHUE'S ROOM AND STEPHEN KELMAN'S PIGEON ENGLISH

Virginie BUHL¹

Abstract: *This paper deals with two child narrators: Emma Donoghue's 5-year-old Jack (Room, 2010) and Stephen Kelman's 11-year-old Harrison Opoku (Pigeon English, 2011). Jack's voice delivers the tale of a life spent in captivity in a garden shed. His peculiar voice and mind style challenge both the language use and the world view of the adult readers for whom Donoghue wrote Room. Harrison's narrative voice is Kelman's recreation of a silenced voice, that of a Ghanaian immigrant child who discovers England. His creolized language also offers a decentred perspective on the world that surrounds him. These youthful voices - at once vulnerable and resilient - unravel their stories with striking linguistic inventiveness. Donoghue and Kelman were both praised for their ability to create the "authentic" child-like narrative voices of modern-day Tom Sawyers. What in Jack's and Harrison's voices and highly original narrative style is vulnerable to translation? Rewriting such novels in French is a linguistic and cross-cultural challenge: what pitfalls and lurking dangers can jeopardize the translation process when it comes to recreating a juvenile voice? The translators had to be both faithful to the source text and creative. They also needed pay close attention to tone, register and verisimilitude so that the French-speaking narrators of Room and Le Pigeon Anglais would catch and retain their adult readers' attention with the same endearing and powerful enthusiasm that resonates in the source texts. Coupled with a prospective study of style in the source texts, the approach taken to try and answer these questions is retrospective in so far as it partly draws upon the translator's reflective analysis of one of her own published translations. This analysis is nurtured by theoretical readings and seeks to reach across to another translator's work.*

Keywords: literary translation, cognitive stylistics, child narrator, mind style, reflectivity

Introduction

This paper focuses on two child narrators: Emma Donoghue's 5-year-old Jack (*Room*, 2010) and Stephen Kelman's 11-year-old Harrison Opoku (*Pigeon English*, 2011).

Jack's grim tale of a life spent in captivity in a garden shed is transfigured by his peculiar voice and mind style, which challenge both the linguistic habits and the world view of the adult readers for whom Donoghue wrote *Room*. Harri's narrative voice is Kelman's recreation of a silenced voice, that of a newly-arrived Ghanaian immigrant child who discovers a British housing estate rife with gang violence where some children are stabbed by others.

These youthful and vulnerable voices unravel their stories with a striking linguistic inventiveness. Donoghue and Kelman were both praised for their ability to create the "authentic" child-like voices of modern-day Tom Sawyers. Both

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novels sold very well and were shortlisted for the prestigious Booker Prize. The novels' reception in France was more contrasted. While the French version of *Room* published by Stock was a commercial success, *Le Pigeon Anglais* did not fare so well, as Gallimard's sales figures clearly show².

The main questions that will firstly be addressed are related to the fictional, narrative and stylistic quality of such voices, using the lense of vulnerability. Then I will focus on translating issues: What in Jack's and Harri's voices and narrative style is vulnerable to translation? Rewriting such novels in French is a linguistic and cross-cultural challenge: what pitfalls and lurking dangers can jeopardize the translation process when it comes to recreating a juvenile voice? How can a translator take a *caring* approach to the source texts and their narrative voice as well as to the target audience's needs and expectations?

The child figure in retrospect: a voiceless minor reborn as a subaltern fictional construct

It may seem paradoxical to focus on child narrators in adult fiction, all the more so as the etymology of the word *enfant* focuses on the child's *inability* to speak.

The problematic of the child language and consciousness is radically signified by *enfant*, the French term for child, and its Latin cognate *infans*, "unspeaking". The English derivative, "infant", defines one who cannot speak and whose progressive attempts at articulation must be translated by adults into a world of discourse not yet fully inhabited by the child. (Goodenough, Heberle & Sokoloff, 1994 : 3)

Historically, children have long been at best voiceless characters both in society and literature either because of a temporary inability to use the language of adults or because adults relegated them to the passive position of the well-behaved learner who should listen:

The etymology of the word "infant" ("without voice", "he who does not speak") posits the child narrator almost as an oxymoron, and points to the difficulty of giving voice to a character who is both chronologically and intellectually removed from the writer. Moreover, until recently the silence of the child was the product of rules for good behaviour such as "Speak only when you are spoken to" or "children should be seen and not heard". Giving a voice to a fictional child thus undermines generations of educators [...]. Indeed children's voices are a relatively recent phenomenon in literature. In fact in both society and literature the child's very existence was barely recognised until writers such as

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Book title	Author	Publisher	Date of publication	Sales estimate*
<i>Room</i>	E. Donoghue	Stock	24/08/2011	12 900 copies
<i>Room</i>	E. Donoghue	Stock / Livre de Poche	30/01/2013	23 038 copies
<i>Le Pigeon Anglais</i>	S. Kelman	Gallimard	08/09/2011	1 020 copies

* See www.edistat.com, for the methodology used to produce these figures, which date back to July 1st, 2019.

Mark Twain or Charles Dickens drew them out of their silent obscurity. (Benson, Jaëck & Durrans, 2016: 1)

The 19th century appears to be a turning point in that respect, with the first major English-speaking writers who crossed the border between adult and juvenile language, retrieving and recreating some of the child's lingo. In 20th century adult literature, the child narrator remains a minor voice in so far as it is only an occasional feature in novels such as Emile Ajar's 1975 *La vie devant soi*, Howard Buten's *When I was five I killed myself* (1981) or, more recently, Mark Hadden's *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time* (2003) and *Extremely Loud & Incredibly Close* by Jonathan Safran Foer (2005).

Yet, despite their narrative prominence, aren't such child narrators still subaltern in so far as they are instrumental in their adult creators' narrative? Is their voice only a *means* for writers to reconnect with juvenile creativity and challenge linguistic and cultural norms?

[M]any texts written from a child's viewpoint are brilliantly creative, subversive, or compensatory precisely because children speak from a realm as yet unappropriated, or only partially appropriated, by social or cultural intentionality. (Goodenough, Heberle & Sokoloff, 1994: 4)

A relevant example of the ideological appropriation and use of a child's narrative voice is Scout, the young narrator of *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960) by Harper Lee. Her naïve viewpoint mainly serves to highlight the contradictions inherent in a racist American society. Don't such narrators inevitably serve their creators' *own* purposes and express *their* concerns? Undeniably, *Room* and *Pigeon English* tap into the creativeness of young children's language to provide their readers with a highly original reading experience. Both novels also express some of the concerns of contemporary societies towards the younger generation: how can our children stay safe? Can a child grow, stay healthy and thrive in a cramped, confined environment? What makes migrant children even more vulnerable than the others?

More generally speaking, literature reflects the 20th century's growing interest in children's perception and worldview, and draws upon many studies focusing on their specific cognitive approach both to their environment and to language and meaning.

The development of verbal consciousness in the child is crucial to two fundamental concerns of literary theory: how subjects are constituted or constitute themselves and how meaning itself is established. (Goodenough, Heberle & Sokoloff, 1994: 4)

This is not only a concern of literary theory but also for anthropologists, philosophers and (cognitive) linguists. It justifies the hermeneutical approach taken in this paper and the use of cognitive stylistics to analyze not only the linguistic and literary specificities of child narrators, but also their strengths and weaknesses with regard to expressiveness, verisimilitude and translation. As no child leaves adults indifferent – they can arouse negative or positive reactions and feelings but seldom leave grown-ups unresponsive – notions such as violence,

vulnerability, resilience and empathy will be used to explore what is at stake for those who undertake to translate such voices. The approach taken in the following sections of this paper combines the prospective analysis of parallel corpora taken from both novels and the retrospective, reflexive insights of a translator engaged in research. Indeed, the author of this paper is also the author of the translation of *Room* under scrutiny and will occasionally speak in her own name.

The child figure as an epitome of paradoxical vulnerabilities

The two young narrators under scrutiny for the purposes of this paper appear to be fictional cross-breeds of vulnerability and resilience.

Jack, the 5-year old in *Room* is a young boy born and raised in captivity after his mother was kidnapped and locked in a garden shed. Just like his “Ma”, he is at the mercy of their captor, whom he calls Old Nick. Old Nick has a power of life and death over them. Because he is expendable, Jack is even more vulnerable than his mother who was first kidnapped to be a sexual slave. Besides, the older he grows inside the small space he shares with his mother, the more likely he is to be perceived as a danger or a cumbersome presence by Old Nick. Yet the boy turns out to be the reason why his mother has been able to survive captivity and keep her sanity, as he naively explains: “Before I came down from Heaven Ma left [the TV] on all day long and got turned into a zombie that’s like a ghost but walks *thump thump*” (Donoghue, 2010: 11).

Jack not only escapes from the garden shed but also helps rescue his mother. The physical attributes that make him a frail child then turn out to be assets: his small size, slim body and sickly look help his mother convince her captor that Jack has died; they make it easier to roll up his body and hide it in a large carpet to get it out of the shed as if it was a corpse to be disposed of. Even when he is out of the safe and familiar environment he was born and raised in, Jack turns out to be more resilient than his mother, who attempts to commit suicide a few weeks after they start living in the outside world. Though unsettled, puzzled and initially very uncomfortable, displaced Jack proves to be very adaptable. Not only does this character overcome his vulnerabilities with regard to his new fictional environment but also his vulnerability with regard to his readers. Indeed, the reader could lose interest in Jack’s story once he is freed from the captivity that made him so special. But in fact this is when his displacement and the discovery of the outside world reveal Jack’s difference even more and highlight the strangeness of the “ordinary” world. Being outside raises ontological questions about himself and puts his cognitive abilities and linguistic skills to the test. But as shown in the samples below, his cognitive and linguistic response is up to the challenge. The growing awareness of his peculiar and unique way of being human, which results from his past experience of seclusion and captivity with his mother, fosters portmanteau words such as “me-and-Ma” and a specific use of “roomers” that can be described as a semantic distortion of the standard use:

Corpus sample 1

Source text	Target text
But what I actually meant was, maybe I'm a human but I'm a me-and-Ma as well. I don't know a word for us two. Roomers? (Donoghue, 2010: 274 ³)	Mais moi, ce que je voulais dire, c'est que je suis peut-être un humain mais aussi un Nous-les-deux . Je connais pas le mot pour « moi et Maman ». Un humain de la Planète Chambre, peut-être. (Donoghue/Buhl, 2011: 343)

As a newcomer to England, 11-year-old Harry too is very vulnerable in a country and housing estate which seem so alien to him. The curiosity and thirst for knowledge that he shares with all children turn him into an amateur detective after another boy is stabbed to death. Just like his language, his investigative method is creative and culturally hybrid. Thus, together with his friend Dean, he uses a combination of techniques inspired from the American detective series they have seen on TV and a kind of intuition that draws upon African divination. The excerpts below show not only their resourcefulness but also Harrison's own inventive use of police jargon.

Corpus sample 2

Source text	Target text
I was on binocular duty and Dean was in charge of making the notes. He had to write down whatever I saw for evidence . (Kelman, 2010: 153)	Moi j'étais aux jumelles et Dean devait prendre des notes. Y fallait qu'il écrive tout ce que je voyais comme preuve . (Kelman/Richard, 2011: 195)

Just as Harri and Dean are playing detective, Harri is playing with English syntax, inserting "binoculars" into the set phrase "on duty" and opting for prepositional shortcuts such as "for evidence" instead of saying "to find evidence", which is plain, standard English.

However, Harri's strength proves to be a weakness in the end, as finding the truth and identifying the young killer only serve to get him into trouble. He can be very perceptive and intuitive but because of his naïve mind and failure to grasp the linguistic and social codes of the inner-city housing estate he's living in, he ignores the warning signs that could save him and keeps believing in the powers of magical thinking.

If I eat the crab apples I'll get all the superpowers I need. Then I'll be protected. It was Altaf who gave me the idea. I got tired of waiting for a radioactive spider to come bite me so I'm going to use the magic poison fruits instead. Then the bad guys can't defeat me and I'll be safe the whole summer. (Kelman, 2010: 247)

³ The highlights are mine in all of the parallel corpora presented in this paper.

As a consequence, he does not see the danger he is in, which turns him into yet another victim for local gangs.

Harri's vulnerability as a character is not only intra-fictional. Even as *Pigeon English* was celebrated as a highly original book narrated by an endearing protagonist, even as it sold thousands of copies, some reviewers and readers felt unconvinced, especially by the character's lack of maturity for an 11-year-old⁴ and by the verisimilitude of the language he uses⁵. Meanwhile, some African critics found Harri wanting on other grounds: the dubious, contrived ethnicity of his Ghanaian pidgin and the fact that he was created by a white English writer who has never been to Africa⁶.

Narrative Vulnerabilities: children recounting what they don't fully comprehend

The narrative perspective also exemplifies the paradoxical vulnerability of Jack and Harri. These two child-narrators partly fail to understand what is going on in the complex environment they are living in. When Jack is first described in a closed room that is very familiar to him, his mother protects him from the grim reality of their captivity as much as she can by lying to him. He does not know that the outside world exists for real. Once he and his mother escape, Jack is suddenly immersed in a new, alien environment that feels and sounds like another planet to him. The experience of displacement and immersion in an alien country that Harri is living is also a radical shock, at once cultural and social, as he lands not only in a foreign country but also in a deprived urban area rife with violence and dominated by gang rules. In addition, both characters come fully equipped with their juvenile culture and cognition but face a reality which challenges their cognitive tools and skills – that of an adults' world. Thus, they are aliens on more than one count, as displaced humans and as children.

This de-centered perception has often been studied by linguists specialized in narratology as a vulnerability – a flaw, a lack of understanding, or, at best a fallibility. Admittedly, the first thing an adult reader expects when opening a book

⁴ "With the exception of Harri's growing interest in girls and a sexuality on the verge of emerging, much of his narration seems immature for his age. For the most part Harri comes across as a bit slow, a bit simple, for an eleven-year-old and sounds more like an eight-year-old." "*Pigeon English* by Stephen Kelman – a review", in *Jason's blog* (29/08/2013) <https://weneedtotalkaboutbooks.com/2013/07/22/book-review-pigeon-english/>

⁵ "[...] here, as often in the first half of the novel, Harri's voice feels laboured and faux-naïf." Aspden, Rachel, "*Pigeon English* by Stephen Kelman – review", in *The Guardian* (13/03/ 2011). <https://www.theguardian.com/>

⁶ "Stephen Kelman is a white social worker, which led some West African critics to wonder about the desirability of a white Englishman (who has apparently never set foot in Africa) writing from the point of view of an African boy. [...] Critics owned that Stephen Kelman 'touches deeply on the sensibilities of West African culture', especially through Harri's concern with superstition, his love for nature and his strong family bonds. Yet, objections were raised concerning the writer's use of pidgin English: 'I found it hard to get past the jarringly ungrammatical pidgin English'." (Letissier, 2017: 7)

that delivers a story told by a child narrator is to find a story with missing parts, or a distorted tale. Such gaps and distortions are due to the fact that the truth partly eludes those narrators whom Wayne C. Booth has defined as unreliable narrators. For Booth, unreliable narrators are narrators whose own norms and values contrast more or less sharply with the norms and values of their adult readers (Booth, 1983: 155). Greta Olson's analysis emphasizes the fact that the distortions are *not* a willful alteration of facts; they arise from the child narrator's own vulnerability which fosters epistemological uncertainties, hence the notion of fallible narrators:

*[F]allible narrators do not reliably report on narrative events because they are mistaken about their judgments or perceptions or are biased. Fallible narrators' perceptions can be **impaired because they are children with limited education or experience**, as in *Huckleberry Finn*; or, as in the case of Marlow from *Lord Jim*, their reports can seem insufficient **because their sources of information are biased and incomplete** (Olson, 2003: 101, the highlights are mine).*

However, the descriptions and the events that make up Jack's and Harri's stories cannot be described as perception without interpretation or meaning. Their child-like matter-of-factness is not devoid of attempts at making sense of what is happening to them or around them, quite the opposite. Children try to understand, they relentlessly try to *explain* things. The problem is that their observations do not necessarily focus on what adults pay attention to and that their explanations may differ significantly from those adults will provide. That is why child narrators tend to deliver de-centered and off-the-wall accounts of life which make their tales an interesting and challenging reading experience.

Apart from de-familiarizing adult readers, what are the uses and effects of such a narrative style? Coupled with the naïve, enthusiastic tone and engaging energy which provide a refreshing reading experience, the gap between what is described and what adults readers understand fosters humour and irony. W. C. Booth also highlights that narratives in which the voice of the implied author is rarely or never perceptible require much more participation by the reader in the hermeneutic and semantic activity (Booth, 1983: 301), as is the case when readers have to unravel child narrators' tales.

Alex Clark from *The Guardian* brilliantly summarizes the strengths and vulnerabilities of such narratives:

It's the lot of most children to see more than the adults in their lives but to struggle with how to decode it: observant, helplessly impressionable and hungry for incident, their interpretations of the environment and occurrences that surround them are hit and miss – sometimes uncannily spot-on and sometimes spectacularly amiss. That inherent unreliability makes fictional children appealing vehicles for dramatic irony, protagonist-witnesses of a story of which they have only a partial understanding, whose gaps in knowledge and comprehension

mirror their readers' experience and occasionally leave us terrified in the face of their ignorance⁷.

He goes on to stress their potential weaknesses – among which are caricatured, over-simplistic or excessively naive portrayals of children, and sentimentality. To exemplify Harri's and Jack's attempts at explaining puzzling events, I have chosen the sample below.

Corpus sample 3

Source text <i>Pigeon English</i>	Source text <i>Room</i>
Asweh, there's so many germs here you wouldn't believe it! Everybody's scared of them all the time. Germs from Africa are the most deadliest, that's why Vilis ran away when I tried to say hello to him, he thinks if he breathes my germs he'll die. I didn't even know I brought the germs with me. » (Kelman, 2011: 9)	Ma standing beside Lamp and everything bright, then <i>snap</i> and dark again. Light again, she makes it last three seconds then dark, then light for just a second. Ma's staring up at Skylight. She does this in the night, I think it helps her get to sleep again. (Donoghue, 2010 : 27)

The excerpt from *Pigeon English* provides the reader with Harri's naive interpretation of a classmate's racist behaviour towards him. Does he really believe that Vilis is afraid to die or is he protecting himself from this unpleasant reaction by thinking the other boy is a coward? Is this one of the instances of what a critic called a heavy-handed faux-naïf style? Admittedly, for an 11-year-old, Harri may strike us as gullible. However, Peter Hollindale argues that children are diverse and childness is a composite (Hollindale, 1997: 76 & 79). He also points out that our perception of maturity in juvenile characters may be skewed by experience:

In recent years children have matured physically at an earlier age than they used to, and have also moved at an earlier stage from activities linked with childhood to those associated with adolescence. Partly under the influence of the media, commerce and marketing, and peer-group fashion, they have seemed to leave childhood behind much earlier. We may doubt whether external behavioural maturity is accompanied by the emotional maturity to cope with it, but it is still an observable fact of life. (Hollindale, 1997: 86)

As far as Jack is concerned, intra-fictional parameters such as his age (only 5 years old) and the fact that he has been raised in permanent contact with his mother may help readers to accept his lack of emotional maturity combined with an advanced intellectual development. However, the passage taken from *Room* clearly shows that he fails to understand what his mother is doing – i.e. using light to signal and send a message. But how could he understand that she is trying to escape when he does not even know the outside world exists? His perceptiveness is not sufficiently developed to give meaning to what he sees, so he falls back on a

⁷ Clark, Alex, "Pigeon English by Stephen Kelman – review", in *The Guardian* (19/03/2011). <https://www.theguardian.com/>

simple explanation that relates to his own experience of using visual tricks and counting to go to sleep. He expresses the epistemological uncertainty highlighted by Greta Olson (Olson, 2003 : 101) by saying “I think”, showing that he is unsure he has found the right explanation. These cognitive considerations lead me to focus on style as a reflection of how children’s minds process reality and use not only reason and deduction but also imagination to do so.

Prospecting for distinctive traits in juvenile mind styles in *Room* and *Pigeon English*

What signs of textual childness should we look for in the two young narrators’ narratives? The notion of mind style appears to be a relevant tool that serves to map out the strengths and weaknesses of such narratives. To define and explore mind style, Geoffrey N. Leech and Michael H. Short (*Style in fiction: a linguistic introduction to English fictional prose*) first used Roger Fowler’s 1977 definition.

Cumulatively, consistent structural options, agreeing in cutting the presented world to one pattern or another, give rise to an impression of world view, what I shall call a “mind style” (Fowler, 1977: 76).

They proceeded to deepen the analysis of the cognitive perceptions of specific narrators or authors and focused on the traces such perceptions leave in the narratives under study, hence the term mind style. This approach provided the foundations of a methodology which they described as follows: “In studying style, **we have to select what aspects of language matter**, and the principle of selection **depends on the purpose we have in mind**” (Leech & Short, 1981: 14, the highlights are mine).

I have applied this methodology extensively to my study of Emma Donoghue’s *Room* as part of my PhD dissertation⁸ to exemplify Jack’s mind style. My research objective was to select specific features that reflect the child narrator’s own approach to and understanding of life and the world he is living in. I chose to focus on the features that de-familiarize adult readers the most: the greater the gap between adults’ linguistic and cognitive expectations and the children’s narrative, the better. Admittedly, these are easier to prospect for. But deviant, creative language use was all the more interesting to me as it is the most challenging for the translator. As a novel’s incipit is usually packed with such traits, we will now examine the beginning of *Room* and *Pigeon English*, looking for stylistic features which evoke childness – i. e. a juvenile mind style that convincingly conjures up a child’s world view in the reader’s mind.

Corpus sample 4: *One dies, the other survives* - INCIPIT 1

Source text	Target Text
Today I’m five. I was four last night going	Aujourd’hui, j’ai 5 ans. Hier soir j’en avais

⁸ Buhl, Virginie, 2021. *La défamiliarisation d’une langue à l’autre : traduire la voix de l’enfant-narrateur en français*. Thèse de doctorat, Paris 3, École doctorale Sciences du langage. Sous la direction d’Isabelle Collombat. En ligne (accès restreint) : <http://www.theses.fr/s154268>

to sleep in Wardrobe , but when I wake up in Bed in the dark I'm changed to five, abracadabra . Before that, I was three, then two, then one, then zero . (Donoghue, 2010: 3)	4 quand j'ai été me coucher dans Petit Dressing, mais abracadabra ! il fait encore nuit et je me réveille dans Monsieur Lit avec mes 5 ans . Avant, j'avais 3 ans, et 2, et 1 an, et encore avant 0 an . (Donoghue/Buhl, 2011: 13)
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The most striking stylistic features in the source text are the following:

- The syntactic shortcut Jack takes at the beginning of the second sentence by saying "going to" instead of "when I went to" immediately signal a child's erratic grammar. It also shows that the child's expressivity and enthusiasm prevail over normative language.
- The idiosyncratic use of some nouns, which are written with capital letters and used like first names, shows that Jack, as a captive, personifies objects and considers them to be friendly, human-like items.
- Magical thinking is perceptible in "changed to", especially as it is used next to "abracadabra". It sounds as if Jack thought some fairy had turned him into a 5-year-old by magic overnight.
- Jack's perception of time and the way he reflects upon his growth is described as a countdown. Most adults' retrospective view is reorganized in a chronological order so this description also challenges the adult reader's worldview.

Corpus sample 5: *One dies, the other survives* - INCIPIT 2

Source text	Target Text
Me and the dead boy were only half friends , I didn't see him very much because he was older and he didn't go to my school . He could ride his bike with no hands and you never even wanted him to fall off . (Kelman, 2011: 4)	Moi et le gars qu'est mort , on était qu'à moitié copains , je le voyais pas beaucoup parce qu'il était plus âgé et qu'il allait pas à mon bahut . Il savait faire du vélo sans les mains et même que tu avais jamais envie qu'il se casse la binette . (Kelman/Richard, 2011: 14)

The most striking stylistic features in the source text are the following:

- The word order immediately signals a juvenile mind style: "me and the dead boy" sounds like the common childish syntactic deviance in which children put themselves first. Also, the collocation fosters an uncanny feeling for a few seconds: is Harri friends with a ghost?
- With "half-friends", a creative word formation based on half-brother, Harri's unconventional use of English appears to suit his own nuanced view of human relationships and friendships.
- The dead boy could ride his bike "with no hands"; this memory conjures up another uncanny, surreal vision through the description of a fairly common bike riding skill.

A quick look at the target texts featured on the right-hand side shows that both translators had to pay close attention to tone, register and verisimilitude so that

the French-speaking narrators of *Room* and *Le Pigeon Anglais* could catch and retain their adult readers' attention with the same endearing and powerful enthusiasm that resonates in the source texts.

The perils of translating juvenile mind styles

Parting with academic norms, I chose to entitle the aligned corpora samples "One dies, the other survives" for two reasons.

Firstly, because Jack survives whereas Harri Opoku dies. Their fates as characters and as linguistic beings are radically and tragically different. Harri's voice is brutally silenced by the one of the violent youths he was trying to emulate (behaviorally and linguistically) and expose as a criminal. The English pigeon he thought was his guardian angel may be perceived as indifferent and paternalistic: the bird⁹ seems to know more about life and death than anyone else in the novel, yet it is powerless or unwilling to protect Harri either by warning him against danger or by raising the alarm.

Jack's survival as a character will inevitably lead to a gradual metamorphosis of the linguistic inventiveness and off-the-wall worldview that make him so peculiar. The transient quality of child language and culture means they are bound to change and ultimately morph into adult, normative language and reasoning. Examples of how fast Jack adjusts as soon as he is out of the room will be presented and analyzed next as we discuss translation issues.

Secondly, "One dies, the other survives" is also relevant because translation is often said to destroy the source text so as to identify what will survive in the target text. Hence the sense of violence and betrayal often attached to this endeavour, and especially to literary translation. Thus we are now going to examine how vulnerable the source text is as a translation material and how perilous translation is as a journey across languages and cultures.

Juvenile mind styles as victims of the cross-linguistic, cross-cultural journey of translation?

Delving into the vulnerability of translation and reflecting upon translation as a perilous journey shouldn't just boil down to prospecting for mistakes and awkward translation choices. As a translator I think that passing judgment on a translation is what people do when they have nothing more interesting to share about the translated text. As researchers in translation studies, we put source and target texts under such close scrutiny that we inevitably question some of the translation choices that were made by professionals. The epistemological value of such analyses and comments depends on the purpose they serve. My objective in

⁹ This bird is a complex epitome of power, persecution – a vulnerable creature whose voice can only be heard by Harri – and domination – it oversees, overhears a lot and its command of English is closer to the norm despite its oral quality. Paradoxically, while the English title of the novel reverses the word order so as to point to *pidgin English*, the title chosen for the French version is closer to standard syntax and brings the well-spoken Pigeon anglais to the fore, thereby erasing any hint to ethnicity and Creole.

the following pages is to highlight the challenges raised by rendering juvenile mind styles in French and the creativity that can be used to do so.

Starting with N. Richard's translation of *Pigeon English*, one of the pitfalls exemplified in the previous sample consists in exaggerating certain features that are considered teenage-like and suburban. For example, the use of a casual register, with slang words that can sound very dated (e. g. "bahut" or even more strikingly "se casser la binette") and may be at odds with Harri's juvenile naiveté. Georges Letissier writes about "the difficulty for educated writers to articulate, let alone do justice to, a form of speech at variance with their own linguistic practices" (Letissier, 2017: 3). Just like writers, translators may find it difficult to recreate a youth speak that is neither the language they use as adults nor the one they used themselves as children or teenagers, a language that is in keeping with the time and age of the character using it – or at least that strikes a convincing note in readers' minds. This may sound highly subjective, but when I quoted "se casser la binette" at a graduate conference at Oxford, there seemed to be a consensus that no young boy today would use it.

As far as my translation of *Room* is concerned, I have also made choices that other translators or some readers may regard as questionable; the choice of "Petit Dressing" & "Monsieur Lit" to translate "Wardrobe" and "Bed", rendering the animist mind style of Jack is a case in point. Similarly, when translating "Roomers?" in the first corpus sample presented in this paper, I decided upon "**Un** humain de la Planète Chambre", which focuses only on Jack, instead of Ma and Jack. Also, this translation choice makes the semantic of "Roomers" more explicit and adds an extraterrestrial touch to it, which is consistent with Jack's world view in the rest of the book but is nonetheless an addition. Finally, I have also opted for a semantic rendering of the question mark which corresponds to Jack's epistemological uncertainty. The reflexive analysis of a larger sample of my translation of *Room* shows that this is not only an explication tendency inherent in the process of translation¹⁰ but also that as a professional translator I am prone to writing translations that seek to *help* the reader understand. It is a tendency I may have to fight when translating texts or passages that deliberately seek to leave the reader in the dark or that seek to foster a more active participation in their hermeneutic activity.

Thus, both Richard and I have *singled out* some latent stylistic features in the source texts to *enhance* them – or should I say hyper-translate them. This is consistent with a view of translation as *creative destruction*: some things are inevitably lost in translation but the choices made by translators also contribute to a re-creation(al) process. Just like children discovering language and playing with

¹⁰ Jean Delisle defines this translation strategy as follows: "l'explicitation est le résultat d'un étoffement qui consiste à introduire dans le texte d'arrivée, pour obtenir plus de clarté ou en raison de contraintes imposées par la langue d'arrivée, des précisions sémantiques non formulées dans le texte de départ, mais qui se dégagent du contexte cognitif ou de la situation décrite" (Delisle, 2013: 212).

it, translators turn themselves into sorcerer's apprentices: they may toy with and distort the target language so that it can accommodate some of the inventiveness and strangeness of the source text. Relevant examples of such destructive creativity may be found in the samples from *Pigeon English* presented below. Harri's world view often comes across as an enthusiastic expression of wonder and astonishment which partakes of his naïveté. The naïve mind style is illustrated below by the underlined word sequences which are emphatic. The words highlighted in bold letters serve to enhance and express such feelings but also borrow from Ghanaian Pidgin English.

Corpus sample 6

Source text	Target Text
1/ She painted one fingernail pink and the next fingernail green, and the next one pink again, in a pattern. It took a <u>very</u> long time. She was <u>very</u> careful, she didn't make a single mistake. It was <u>very relaxing</u> . (Kelman, 2011: 45)	1/ Elle s'est fait un ongle en rose, l'autre en vert, celui d'après encore en rose, et ainsi de suite. Ça a pris <u>rudement</u> longtemps. Elle était <u>super</u> soigneuse, elle a pas fait une seule erreur. Ça a été <u>hyper à la fraîche</u> . (Kelman/ Richard, 2011: 64)
2/ <u>Asweh</u> , it was <u>very vexing</u> . (<i>Ibid.</i> : 45)	2/ <u>Jtejure</u> c'était <u>rudement fâcheux</u> . (<i>Ibid.</i> : 65)
3/ I got new trainers. [...] <u>Asweh</u> , they're bo-styles . [...] It was a dope-fine ¹¹ piece of luck. [...] I even tried them on the corridor where the floor's proper shiny and they made a mighty squeaky sound. (<i>Ibid.</i> : 144)	3/ J'ai des nouvelles baskets. [...]. <u>Jtejure</u> , elles sont stylées . [...] C'était un hyper coup de bol. [...] Même que je les ai essayées dans le couloir où le sol est rudement brillant et elles ont hyper couiné. (<i>Ibid.</i> : 184)

We can observe that the word "very" and its pidgin slang equivalent "proper" are translated in a variety of ways by N. Richard, maybe to avoid repetition. They give the impression that Harri's vocabulary is more varied than it is in English, and its ethnicity is lost. Also, the choice of French slang gives Harri's French mind style a smack of the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, "rudement" may elicit memories of children's stories set in the 1960s, such as *Le Petit Nicolas* by Sempé & Goscinny. Similarly, "à la fraîche" rings much like the kind of argot that adult readers may associate with movies such as *Les Valseuses* (1974) by Bertrand Blier¹². There is, however, some inventive use of the French language, with unexpected collocations such as "hyper coup de bol", which is *one way* of representing Harri's peculiar idiolect.

Moving on to examine short corpora samples from *Room*, the items below illustrate Jack's striking ability to adapt to his new linguistic environment as soon as he is outside the garden shed, and the shift in his language that matches a fast-changing world view.

¹¹ "Dope-fine" is most probably Ghanaian English but I have not been able to find it in the Ghanaian English lexicon I have used for my research. Stephen Kelman explained that he borrowed from the hybrid sociolect he heard on the streets of his Luton neighbourhood, which may explain why the "dope-fine" entry is missing from dictionaries based on the Ghanaian English spoken in Africa.

¹² Especially Gérard Depardieu's iconic cue "Alors, on n'est pas bien là ? Paisibles? À la fraîche? »

Corpus sample 7

Source text	Target Text
the Raja dog (Donoghue, 2010: 144)	Raja le Chien (Donoghue/Buhl, 2011: 187)
the Ajeet man (<i>Ibid.</i> : 144)	le monsieur Ajeet (<i>Ibid.</i> : 187)
the Naisha baby (<i>Ibid.</i> : 144)	le bébé Naisha (<i>Ibid.</i> : 187)
the baby Naisha (<i>Ibid.</i> : 144)	le bébé Naisha (<i>Ibid.</i> : 187)
the baby Naisha (<i>Ibid.</i> : 145)	le bébé Naisha (<i>Ibid.</i> : 188)

This may just sound like “baby talk”, but Jack’s peculiar use of nouns *in* and *outside* the garden shed shows that his cognitive and linguistic skills enable him to process a new reality.

As I briefly mentioned earlier, while being a captive Jack described objects almost as if they were people: “The names of the objects, preceded by the zero article and written with an initial capital letter, function as proper nouns, suggesting Jack has a personal relationship with objects” (Pillière, 2018: 235). By contrast, almost as soon as he escapes and sees animals and human beings in the outside, Jack is able to process the fact that there are *multiple* living creatures in this world. But as he does not have a personal relationship with them, the way he describes them *reifies* them. The linguistic traits which reflect that world view are the use of “the” and the unexpected word order that can be observed in the Source text column of sample n° 7. The first baby girl he sees seems to confuse his ability to categorize human creatures: is she a “Naisha baby” or a “baby Naisha”? In any case, Jack’s slightly erratic use of nouns and names soon gives way to a more standard use of first names: “Ajeet” and “Raja” (Donoghue, 2010 : 145).

My own rendering of those stylistic traits relies on two syntactic categories which do not quite coincide with those of the source text. Indeed, I chose “Raja le Chien”, which makes him a special kind of creature compared to the reified humans. This may appear as a questionable choice in so far as it does not match with E. Donoghue’s stylistic treatment of this animal. However, it *does* give extra reality to the dog that bit Jack and it *does* matches the fact that the boy is more familiar with animals (having seen real ones in the garden shed) than with human beings who are neither his mother nor Old Nick. So it is consistent with Jack’s experience of the world at that stage in the story. Besides, the syntactic structure of *Raja le Chien* is quite familiar to Jack since one of his favourite TV shows is *Dora the Explorer*¹³. Why didn’t I translate “the Naisha baby” into “le/la Naisha bébé” ?

¹³ These observations and reflections show that methodologies based on examining aligned corpora should also take into account the intra-textual and intra-fictional coherence of the whole source text. As J. Delisle shows, « les mots d’un texte perdent leurs virtualités de signification et acquièrent un sens en fonction du contexte et des compléments cognitifs dont ils s’enrichissent. [...] Un texte n’est pas une simple succession de phrases ». (Delisle, 2013: 217). Such methodologies inevitably lead researchers to hit upon what *appears to be* discrepancies because the whole context is missing, « la critique se focalisant alors sur des réalisations micro-textuelles décontextualisées mettant en évidence l’absence de correspondance exacte » (Collombat, 2019: 84).

This is a more questionable choice than the previous one and it can be described as a loss or as a homogenization¹⁴ of the target text. I have no memory of the reason why I may have decided to translate this item in that way – or may have overlooked this discrepancy in the source text. In hindsight, I can only suggest that I may have decided against that option as I had already introduced some degree of heterogeneity with “Raja le Chien” in the target text.

Conclusion - Translation as empathetic creative salvation?

We have just seen that some of the pitfalls when translating juvenile mind styles pertain to re-creating a complex language: an unstable mix of mature and immature language, of slang, childish words and standard language which will be assessed by individual readers who use their own experience of child language to gauge and appreciate its verisimilitude.

How should we describe the person at the helm in this hazardous cross-linguistic and cross-cultural journey? Traditionally the translator is described a go-between – or *passer* – and translation as a voyage which can be perilous for the source text but is also a *rebirth*. So, couldn't the translator also be seen as a *humane* (i.e. sensitive and fallible) *carer* who saves the source text to deliver it into a new culture, to other readers? Such a process highlights the vulnerability of the source text: translation necessarily transforms it in unexpected ways; translators are only human and to err is human. Translation choices reflect one specific text interpretation and one special way of rendering the source text among many others. As I. Collombat argues, translation is the art of interpretation in the hermeneutic and *artistic* sense of the term, and should be fully recognized as such: “une œuvre littéraire [...] représente bel et bien une actualisation interprétative de l'un des sens globaux possibles de l'œuvre” (Collombat, 2019: 89). Therefore, she calls upon translators to seize as many opportunities as possible to explain their translation choices and *educate* critics on their *artistic choices*, imperfect though they might appear to be (*Ibid*: 90).

Indeed, if translation can be aptly described as a perilous journey during which translators prey on the source text, after predation comes creative salvation. Yet, without denying that translators are artists in their own right, I wish to draw upon another paper by Collombat to argue in favour of the *carer* metaphor. The selective and oriented rendering of meaning and style in translation is achieved through the *humane* mediation of the translator who builds a rational but *empathetic* relationship with the narrative voice perceived in the source text. This

¹⁴ My study of homogeneity in translation draws upon a paper by Julie Tarif published in *Palimpsestes* : « De l'homogénéisation des associations lexicales créatives dickensiennes : le style dickensien mis à l'épreuve en traduction ». I will thus borrow the definition used in her paper, Antoine Berman's. « L'homogénéisation [...] consiste à *unifier* sur tous les plans le tissu de l'original alors que celui-ci est originellement hétérogène. [...] Face à une œuvre hétérogène – et l'œuvre en prose l'est presque toujours – le traducteur a tendance à unifier, à homogénéiser ce qui est de l'ordre du divers, voire du disparate » (Berman, 1999 : 60).

narrative voice elicits a response from the translator that is both rational and emotional through a process called “rational empathy” (Collombat, 2010).

In the long run – because translating a novel takes time –, this response develops into a form of attachment towards the narrative voice. Even more so when the narrator is a child narrator designed to be both unsettling and endearing for the adult reader. Hence a conception of translation as, ultimately, an empathetic creative endeavor to salvage as much of the source text in the best way possible by a translator who will try to *take care* simultaneously of the source text and of the target readers.

As G. Letissier wrote in *Voicing Inarticulate Childhoods in Troubled Times*:

Paradoxically, it is not the fact of being granted a voice which is in itself conducive to an escape from an oppressing situation, but rather the realisation that moments of creativity, or release, may be salvaged from within an adverse, inimical environment, thanks to these vulnerable voices, which are seldom represented in the realm of fiction. (Letissier, 2017: 11, the highlights are mine)

This applies to child narrators, but it can also be applied to translators themselves: literary translators *do* work in an adverse inimical environment where they often are in a subservient position; they are oppressed by the stylistic constraints of the source-text; often constrained by the market place and the publishers’ conditions; however, they definitely are the ‘*vulnerable voices, which are seldom represented in the realm of fiction*’ and offer transformative moments of creativity that salvage the source text.

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TERMINOLOGY AND TRANSLATION. THE LEXICAL FIELD OF PERFUMES

Gabriela DIMA¹

Abstract: *An incursion into the fascinating world of perfumes by linguistic means, where lexicology and borrowing, semantic and stylistic elements revealed using parallel corpora in translation shows the multifarious ways in which we can research terminology.*

Keywords: terminology, borrowing, fragrance family, olfactory semantics, parallel corpora

The wide perspective from which we can approach terminology underlines the tremendous evolution registered in world culture, science and technology, starting with the 20th century up to the present day. A scientific, autonomous and interdisciplinary academic discipline, terminology is considered a constant source of enriching the vocabulary of modern languages.

Literature in the domain includes numerous studies devoted to the typologization of terminology and of the term as a terminological unit. The various definitions, classifications and illustrations show the complexity and functionality of terminology along two dimensions: the first, of a communicational nature, having as target-users specialists in various domains who may contribute to a *bona-fide* communication by using well-formed sentences containing an exchange of specialized terms ; the second, of a linguistic nature, whose target-users are terminologists and terminographers who store data, describe and include terms in reference works, such as dictionaries and glossaries. (Cabr , 1999: 11-12)

Terms may come from various sources, borrowings being considered the most dynamic of all. Otto Jespersen, synthesizes the cultural universality of their role: "Loan words have been called the milestones of philology because in a great many instances they permit us to fix approximately the dates of linguistic changes. But they might, with just as much right, be termed some of the milestones of general history, because they show us the course of civilization and the wanderings of inventions and institutions, and in many cases give us valuable information as to the inner life of nations [...]" (Jespersen, 1912: 29).

In any natural language, borrowing depends on both linguistic and extralinguistic factors. The borrowed terms in a specialized domain possess a certain semanticity, defining things in nature, substances, materials, procedures, etc. One such domain is the *lexical field of perfumes*, where the terms include reference to the extralinguistic reality, making up the so-called "fragrance families" defining certain perceptions and their natural sources.

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Spicy	Citrus	Edible	Herbal	Floral	Resinous	Woody	Earthy	Animalic
<i>allspice</i>	<i>grape-fruit</i>	<i>vanilla</i>	<i>Lavender</i>	<i>geranium</i>	<i>benzoin</i>	<i>sandalwood</i>	<i>patchouli</i>	<i>ambrette</i>
<i>cardamom</i>	<i>orange</i>	<i>tonka</i>	<i>Rose-mary</i>	<i>jasmine</i>	<i>storax</i>	<i>bois de rose</i>	<i>vetiver</i>	<i>musk</i>
<i>cinnamon</i>	<i>mandarin</i>			<i>Tube rose</i>				
				<i>ylang-ylang</i>				
				<i>rose</i>				

Table 1: Fragrance Families (adapted from Aftel, 2020:161)

Completely or partially naturalized as borrowings, some of the terms denoting sources of fragrances are common to other domains such as food, chemistry, cosmetics, e.g. *cinnamon*, *grape-fruit*, *orange*, *lavender*, *benzoin*, etc. Within the lexical field of perfumes, they denote sources for perfume fragrances, as provided by the descriptions in Tables 2 and 3.

L'Eau de Parfum <i>Plein Soleil</i>	Apă de parfum <i>Plein Soleil</i>	<i>Plein Soleil</i> l Eau de Parfum
L'Eau de Parfum <i>Plein Soleil</i> offre une parenthèse hypnotique et colorée. Les corolles des Tubéreuses et les fleurs d' Ylang aux notes onctueuses et solaires, épousent la lente ondulation du Santal . Quelques gouttes de Cardamome réveillent cette mélodie florale narcotique d'un éclat de fraîcheur.	Parfumul <i>Plein Soleil</i> oferă o paranteză hipnotică și colorată. Petalele de Tuberoză și florile de Ylang-Ylang cu note netede și solare, îmbrățișează căldura lemnului de Santal . Câteva picături de Cardamom trezesc această melodie florală cu o explozie de propețime.	<i>Plein Soleil</i> Eau de Parfum allows you to indulge in a colorful, hypnotic escape. Tuberose petals and Ylang-ylang flowers, with their smooth and radiant fragrance, embrace the slow wave of Sandalwood . A few drops of Cardamom awaken this mesmeric floral melody with a burst of freshness.
Parfumeur: Fabrice Pellegrin	Parfumierul Fabrice Pellegrin	Perfumer: Fabrice Pellegrin

Table 2: L'Eau de Parfum *Plein Soleil* – extract from Yves Rocher, Cosmétique Végétale@<https://www.yves-rocher.com>

<i>Mon Evidence</i>	<i>Apă de parfum Mon Evidence</i>	<i>Mon Evidence</i>
« La Nature procure un sentiment de plénitude et nous donne une énergie nouvelle. Nous avons imaginé un parfum à son image, un parfum aux notes vibrantes et	«Natura ne oferă un sentiment de împlinire și ne ajută să ne revitalizăm. Am creat un parfum asemenea naturii, cu note vibrante și reconfortante pentru a se reconecta la sinele	"Nature provides us with a feeling of plenitude and fills us with renewed energy. We imagined a fragrance reflecting its image, a fragrance with vibrant and comforting notes

<p>réconfortantes pour renouer avec soi. La lumière de la Mandarine et la délicatesse de la Rose Damascena s'enveloppent de la douceur de la Vanille et de la puissance du Patchouli. <i>Mon Evidence</i> est une respiration, un sentiment de plénitude. »</p> <p>Annick Menardo et Olivier Cresp, Parfumeurs</p>	<p>interior. Lumina Mandarinei și delicatețea Trandafirului Damascena sunt învăluite de dulceața Vaniliei și de aroma puternică de Patchouli. <i>Mon Evidence</i> este o respirație, un sentiment de plenitudine.»</p> <p>Annick Menardo și Olivier Cresp, Parfumieri</p>	<p>to reconnect with oneself. The light of the Mandarin and the delicateness of the Rose Damascena are surrounded by the softness of Vanilla and the strength of the Patchouli. <i>Mon Evidence</i> is a breath, a feeling of plenitude."</p> <p>Annick Menardo and Olivier Cresp, Perfumers</p>
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Table 3: *Mon Evidence* – extract from Yves Rocher România - <https://www.yves-rocher.ro>

The texts refer to the composition and texture of the perfumes *L'Eau de Parfum Plein Soleil* and *Mon Evidence* and are highly descriptive and persuasive. Our option to provide the same text in parallel corpora in three languages – French, Romanian, English-aims at showing a token of the universality of the „fragrance families” in translation. The same borrowed terms denoting fragrances are present in all the texts, their origins differing up to the point where linguistic contact took place.

Within the French texts, the Floral *tuberéuse* and the Spicy *cardamome* are borrowings from Latin, the Woody *santal* comes from Greek, the Citrus *mandarine* and the Edible *vanille* come from Spanish, while the Earthy *patchouli* has been borrowed from English (Dictionnaire Larousse-online).

In Romanian, the same fragrance terms all come from French, with the exception of *vanilie* which has entered the Romanian vocabulary from Italian. (Dex-online)

In English, the Floral *tuberose*, the Spicy *cardamom* and the Woody *sandalwood* are borrowings from Latin, the Citrus *mandarin* comes from Portuguese, the Edible *vanilla* comes from Spanish, while the Earthy *patchouli* has been borrowed from Tamil, an Asian Language, the same as Ylang-Ylang, coming from Tagalog. (Chambers 1977)

We can notice that almost all the fragrances have been adapted to the French, Romanian and English phonetical and spelling systems, with the exception of the Floral Ylang-Ylang.

Another interesting issue raised by the topic of this paper is the olfaction-related semantic content of the fragrances discussed above, since the relation between olfactory perception and cognition is strongly feasible:

"The most practical way to start describing a perfume is according to the elements of the fragrance notes of the scent or the "family" it belongs to, all of which affect the overall impression of a perfume from first application to the last lingering hint of scent."
(https://www.streetdirectory.com/travel_guide/print_article.php?articleId=34845)

Senses are slowly activated by the overwhelming incandescence of the *tuberose* petals and *Ylang-ylang* flowers, kept alive by the *sandalwood* constant presence, reaching for a final refreshing note of the *cardamom*. Olfactory and visual images witness nature's other creations, such as the light of the *mandarin* as the fruit of the sun, the soft, but audacious *vanilla* fragrance and the final strong note of Earthy *pachouli*.

The ideas described here in connection with the role of the fragrances in deciding on the *sillage* of the perfume, so to say, can extend the research to the composition and making up of perfumes, the terminology implied and, finally the compilation of small multilingual glossaries.

Another interesting topic will be to make the most of the interdisciplinary nature of terminology and extend it to the translation of specialized texts in the domain of perfumes and related areas.

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TOWARDS AN ENGLISH-ROMANIAN GLOSSARY OF THE COVID 19 PANDEMIC

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Abstract: *New realities impose the need for new language, and the Covid 19 pandemic is no exception. The past two years have witnessed the emergence of a completely novel pandemic-related lexicon that is now part of our everyday linguistic sphere, pervading all the levels of public and private discourse. The Romanian speakers have once again been faced with the necessity to adopt and adapt new terminology as part of the global community affected by the current health crisis. In an attempt to contribute to effective communication, the present paper examines various English terms pertaining to the fields of healthcare, medicine, sociology and politics and their "official" Romanian counterparts.*

Keywords: lexicographic analysis, semantic content, adaptation, literal translation, loan

Preliminary remarks

The infamous year 2020 has been replete with new terms and syntagms unheard of so far, many of them alien to the Romanian language, thus adding to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic not only on a social level, but on a linguistic one as well.

Usually Romanian terminology in almost all areas is fashioned after the foreign influences and models, mainly English, so it is no surprise that this has been the case in the current pandemic situation. We have suddenly found ourselves in a new context, faced with a dangerous, even lethal phenomenon, when efficient communication and speedy countermeasures are key factors in the successful management of the crisis. The pandemic hit unexpectedly and thus Romanian had to adapt to the new realities by creating a completely new Covid-related terminology; most of the times it simply resorted to the easiest way out, i.e. borrowing numerous terms used to describe the current situation, mostly from the WHO communiques issued in English which needed to be translated into Romanian.

Thus, it goes without saying that this type of translation should be adaptive, communicative, culture-bound and stylistically-marked; it is impossible to resort to literal equivalence, and the focus lies on similarity of effect, in an effort to achieve the same results as the original in relation to the target audience.

1. Premises of research

Obviously, it is still too early to tell which terms that are currently in use in the media in relation to the Covid-19 pandemic are going to pass the test of time and

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be eventually included in the "official" dictionaries of the Romanian language, like DOOM or the like. However, in order to become an entry in a specialized glossary, a term should meet certain requirements, among which usage seems to be paramount, but not sufficient. It stands to reason that it should also fill a conceptual or communicational gap, as well as be understandable to the great mass of speakers.

As far as the Covid-related lexicon is concerned, it is completely of foreign origin (just like the phenomenon it describes), so that Romanian had to quickly accommodate the influx of English medical terms taking the media by storm. So, it is only normal to wonder how accurately these source elements have been translated and/or adapted in the target language. Obviously, there is no question of discussing the standardization of this new terminology, as it is a premature endeavour, but it may prove worth exploring the translation strategies employed, as well as their accuracy.

2. Definition of terminology

In the general acceptance, terminology is not only the discipline concerned with the principles and methods governing the study of concepts and their designations (terms, names, symbols) in any subject field, and the job of collecting, processing, and managing relevant data, but also the set of terms belonging to the special language of an individual subject field (Azzamova, 2020: 8496). The latter meaning is of relevance to the present study, as it is our aim to tackle what has managed to penetrate the Romanian language in the past two years of fighting the pandemic.

3. Multidisciplinarity of terminology

It has recently been remarked that in its study of concepts and their representations in special languages, terminology is first and foremost characterized by multidisciplinary, as it borrows its fundamental tools and concepts from a number of disciplines (e.g. logic, ontology, linguistics, information science, to name just a few) and adapts them appropriately in order to cover particularities in its own area.

Other researchers, such as Valeontis and Mantzari (2006:1), opine that the interdisciplinarity of terminology results from the multifaceted character of terminological units, as they operate as both linguistic items (and thus belong to linguistics), and conceptual elements (and so are dealt with by logic, ontology, cognitive sciences, etc.), not to mention their additional quality of vehicles of communication in both scientific and generic language contexts.

4. Dimensions of terminology

According to Cabré (2003), terminology may be studied according to three dimensions, which are deemed of equal importance in any analysis of a specialized lexicon:

a) the cognitive dimension, which examines the concept relations and thereby how the concepts make up structured sets of knowledge units or concept systems in

every specialized field, as well as the representation of concepts by definitions and terms;

b) the linguistic dimension, arguably the most important for the present study, which examines existing linguistic forms as well as potential linguistic forms that can be created in order to name novel concepts;

c) the communicative dimension, which treats the use of terms as a means of transferring knowledge to different categories of recipients in a variety of communicative situations, including the comprehensive activities of compilation, processing and dissemination of terminological data in the form of specialized dictionaries, glossaries or terminological databases, etc.

These can only coexist in real life, as the analysis of any given term should be threefold in order to provide the “full picture”, i.e. the interconnectedness of the concept expressed, its linguistic form, and the situation of communication in which it is normally encountered.

5. Dynamicity in terminology

It goes without saying that every area of human knowledge, including the one related to the present pandemic, is constantly evolving, which makes it so hard to capture it in static instantiations like dedicated databases. Consequently, lexicographic and terminographic tools are supposed to keep abreast of this evolution, and constantly account for the dynamic way in which the surrounding reality is conceptualized.

In Faber's words (2012), the increasing emphasis on dynamicity in terminology has led to the proposal and elaboration of more flexible and dynamic specialized knowledge representation models that are better capable of managing and integrating information from different sources, and adapting terminological information to user needs. It is precisely the user that has gained prominence during this confusing period, when efficient communication and the property of terms has proved crucial in surmounting the hardships inherent to the unfolding medical phenomenon in need of immediate address.

6. Terminology formation

In point of enriching the vocabulary of a given language with new terms, it is quite evident that the means available are quite limited, and terminology is formed by three distinct methods:

1. creating new forms;
2. using existing forms;
3. translingual borrowing.

Undoubtedly method 1 is the rarest, as it is quite a challenge to propose new lexical forms in the present day and age. Already existing forms may be quite readily be given new meanings, but in the present case, it is method 3 that stands out as the means of choice for the formation of Romanian Covid-related terminology, constantly resorted to in the media and professional jargon alike.

7. Terminology appropriation in Romanian

It is common knowledge that Romanian is particularly adept at integrating English terms into its neological vocabulary, and it has a long tradition of building terminologies for multiple areas of human activity on the basis of the foreign counterparts (usually more advanced and/or productive).

At first sight, it seems that most often than not Romanian tends to preserve the L1 form and pronunciation, so the terminological transfer usually involves (genuine or perceived) phonological identity. On the whole, most cases refer to direct borrowing and loan translation, a simple, straightforward manner of terminology appropriation, according to the linguistic principle of the least effort.

The various types of terminology formation by direct appropriation from the English original are succinctly explored below.

7.1. Explicitation

Explicitation, roughly definable as explanatory paraphrase, may be seen as a means of concept clarification, heavily relying on the cognitive dimension of terminology. Although the length of the newly coined terms may sometimes be considered as hindering fluency and ultimately obstructing communication, it seems to be the most user-friendly in the given circumstances. Here are just a few examples:

respirator= aparat de ventilație, ventilator

intensivist= (medic) de terapie intensivă/ urgențe, urgentist (fam.)

immunosuppressed= cu probleme de imunitate, imunocompromis, imunodeprimat (blend)

Sometimes the Target Language counterpart acquires familiar nuances, or preserves the blend structure in the Source Language, as shown above.

7.2. Direct borrowing

The loan-prone nature of modern Romanian terminology, especially where a global phenomenon is concerned, is visible in the terms that have been adopted directly from the source language, either totally, as in examples like:

lockdown

screening

or partially, as in:

spike protein= proteina spike

where only one component is literally translated, and the other is preserved as such, with an identical spelling and pronunciation.

One downfall of this particular vocabulary-enriching procedure is that it may obscure meaning from a less initiated part of the target audience, typically of an older age or less advanced educational background; in the era of confusion and fake news, this may easily become critical and hinder communication on multiple levels.

7.3. Literal translation

Perhaps the most productive of all, word-for-word translation gives rise to a numerous nominal and adjectival structures with a wide distribution in the Covid-related discourse. Here are a few cases in point:

pandemic= pandemie

quarantine= carantină

patient zero= pacient zero

social distancing= distanțare socială

community spread= răspândire comunitară

herd immunity= imunitate de turmă/masă

incubation period= perioadă de incubație

symptomatic/ asymptomatic= simptomatic/ asimptomatic

infection rate= rată de infecție

In this final instantiation, an alternative equivalent that is becoming ever more popular seems to be "număr de infectări/ cazuri", predominantly used in the media.

7.4. Questionable equivalents (lack of sufficient linguistic evidence and/or standardization)

It is quite normal, especially since standardization is not yet possible with such a brand-new terminology, to come across quite a number of cases where equivalence seems doubtful at best. Only time will tell the definitive form of terms like:

immunity surveillance= ? monitorizarea imunității

flattening the curve= ? aplatizarea curbei/ scăderea ratei de infecție

contact tracing= ? monitorizarea/ urmărirea contactelor/ persoanelor de contact

shelter-in-place= ? izolare la domiciliu

support bubble= ? structură suport/ de susținere

The difficulties arising in the appropriation of these terms stems from their multi-element structure, with frequent metaphorical valences.

7.5. Abbreviations and initialisms

The same resistance to immediate appropriation is exhibited by the special case of English abbreviations and initialisms whose degree of opacity is considerably higher. The treatment they are subject to varies between literal and calque translation, direct borrowing, explication, etc.

PUI (Person Under Investigation)= persoană de interes/ suspectă de boală

PPE (Personal Protective Equipment)= echipament de protecție

SARS-COV-2 (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Coronavirus 2) = SARS-COV-2 (no change)

WHO (World Health Organization)= OMS

WFH (Work from Home)= muncă de acasă/ ?telemuncă

RNA (Ribonucleic acid) vaccine= vaccin (cu tehnologie) ARN

Again, it will remain to be seen which of these forms are going to become the norm, disappear or undergo subsequent changes and adaptations.

Conclusions

The present research is by no means exhaustive, and the corpus is purposefully limited to instances that have actually been included in existing glossaries, not to mention the fact that the phenomenon under study is still evolving as we speak; however, some conclusions may be drawn at this stage.

As expected, Romanian is very permissive and easily integrates loanwords into specialized terminologies, and the new Covid 19-related lexicon is no exception. The most widely used procedures in terminology appropriation from English into Romanian in this particular area are literal translation, direct borrowing and explication. It is to be remarked that most loan words preserve the original spelling and pronunciation. There are also cases of adaptation, but not very numerous, basically hinting at the communicative dimension of terminology, overtly aimed at meeting the objective of being understood by the community of speakers and conveying intelligible meaning to the target audience. Also, some instances in English have not been adequately documented in Romanian, so the equivalents that are currently in use have not been standardized yet, and their lexicographic and terminographic evolution is still uncertain.

However, since the Covid-19 terminology is so new, it suffers from a definite lack of standardization and only exhibits a rather limited degree of conventionalization. Despite the rather trying times we are currently living, it is quite interesting to witness the phenomenon of the new terminology in the making, and only time can tell what a Covid-19 dictionary will look like in the future.

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NEOLOGISMS AND NEW IDIOMS THROUGH A PLAGUED WORLD

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Abstract: *This article proposes an analysis of some cases of advertisements localization, falling into two main categories, international brands and generic (natural) products that belong to tradition in some countries but are being spreading in some “new” countries; the prototype is wine. It is assumed that there are two different models of advertisements, product promotion and story telling, but only this latter will be given more attention. Advertisements will be analysed taking into account either their phonetic aspects or the difficulty of translating them still keeping the identity of the promoted product. This article is more a methodological proposal than an exhaustive typological classification of advertisements localization.*

Keywords: localization, translation, advertisements, story-telling, cultural mapping

Introduction

Important historic events sometimes create new conceptual systems, which are carried by the introduction of new words, but also stimulate the birth of new lexical systems. The spreading of Christianity, the barbaric migrations after the fall of the Roman Empire, the rise of Enlightenment introduced entire sets of new words originated by the new system of ideas, which these events gave birth to.

In some cases also catastrophes had a similar effect, although in a reduced measure and, often, limited in time. Thus, the Italian term “untore” had its literal meaning “who stains with oil or grease” until the plague of 1630, when it changed its meaning into “plague spreader”, following the popular belief that some evil people used stain things with an infect unguent, in order to intentionally spread the illness, as it is explained by Manzoni in the first writing of his novel *Fermo e Lucia*, then *I promessi sposi* (Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana, http://www.gdli.it/pdf_viewer/Scripts/pdf.js/web/viewer.asp?file=/PDF/GD-LI21/GDLI_21_ocr_567.pdf&parola=unt%C3%B3re). This is a clear case of conspiracist stance, which probably is not the first one in the history of humans.

The Covid-19 is a pandemic, perfectly comparable with previous plagues, but for the richness of the new conceptual systems it originated and their presence in different languages, probably favoured by the large use of social media and by a sort of cultural globalization.

In this article, after a brief sketch of the conceptual systems introduced during the pandemic, the different mechanisms of word and idioms formation will be presented with some example. The results can be considered neither exhaustive nor final, as the phenomenon is still in progress.

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1. Concepts for a pandemic

1.1. Three conceptual systems

The present pandemic has produced an explosion of different views and reactions, which have introduced different conceptual models. Elsewhere (Ferrari to appear) the different conceptual systems have been modelled in terms of frames, following the theories of Fillmore (1985) and the linguistic resources FrameNet (Baker et al. 1998) and MetaNet (Petruck 2018).

For the sake of simplicity, the different views can be summarised in the following table

IS-A	Lockdown	Mask-wearing	Social distancing	Vaccine
Catastrophe	NECESSARY PREVENTION MEASURES			
Exaggeration	UNNECESSARY INCOMPREHENSIBLE MEASURES			
Conspiracy	Violation of freedom	Harmful	Social control	Physical integrity threat

The three main positions, Catastrophe, Exaggeration, and Conspiracy label respectively the official stance, taken by the governments and part of the press, the minimizing view and the conspiracist view, according to which the pandemic is the criminal plan of a small group of very powerful people.

The consequences of these three views are listed following the main measures recommended by the governments, i.e. lockdown, mask-wearing, social distancing, and finally vaccine. These basic conceptualisations keep generating new concepts, which complete the respective conceptual systems.

1.2. Processes of lexicalization

The process by which a concept is translated into words or idioms is called in cognitive linguistics 'lexicalisation' (Talmy 1985); one concept can be translated into one word (like dog, go) or a sequence of words (like go into, kick the bucket). However, the pandemic being a global event occurring in a globalised world, monolingual lexicalisation intersects with cases of linguistic contacts like borrowing words from a foreign language, translating it (calque), or reconstructing a paradigm. Thus, the creation of neologisms becomes a complex phenomenon in which the migration of words from one language to the other

contributes to the creation/updating of a conceptual system, which, in turn, further produces new words.

In the following paragraphs the different mechanisms of word formation will be examined, comparing the different processes in English, French, Italian, and Romanian.

2. Lexical creations

2.1. Loan words

2.1.1. Tsunami

A short search through the web shows that the term *catastrophe* as a reference to COVID-19 is used mostly in the collocation ‘*catastrophe modelling*’. But the most widely used simile is *tsunami*, a word used for both the pandemic and its economic and social consequences (see Ferrari, to appear), such as lack of therapies for other diseases, psychological diseases, or economic crisis. The word *tsunami* is used (sometimes between quotes) in English, Italian, French, Romanian and, probably, other languages.

All these languages used different words to indicate a huge wave produced by a submarine earthquake, and the Japanese word *tsunami* (“harbour wave”) was introduced in relatively recent times. It entered into the English lexicon in 1896, in reference to one, which struck Japan on June 15 in that year (Online Etymology Dictionary, etymonline.com s.i.), and appeared in French in 1927 (online Trésor de la langue Française; cntrl.fr s.i.). In Italian it is used for the first time in 1987 (Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana - gdli.it s.i.) and the Romanian dictionary (dexonline.ro) explicitly declares its English and French origin. In its first appearances the word *tsunami* was used in its original Japanese meaning, but later it acquired the extended meaning of catastrophic event. However, the frequency of use in this sense has soared in connection with the pandemic.

The simile became soon a metaphor and source of further metaphors, although not much used. The director of a hospital in Genua declared in February 2021 that “hospitals must reinforce levees” (Ilmeteonews.it, 18/2/2021).

Also in Romanian the term *tsunami* is used to indicate the catastrophic aspects of the pandemic, generating metaphors similar to the one mentioned above, as in the title “Medic român din Austria: „Suntem ca în fața unui tsunami în care încercăm să punem saci de nisip. Am vrut să fim campionii relaxării” (Mihăilă, Adevarul, 17/10/2021; trans. “we are as if facing a tsunami against which we try to put sand sacks. We wanted to be champions of relax”).

Summing up, the Japanese term *tsunami* entered into European languages from English in the first half of the 20th century, extended its meaning to indicate a generic *catastrophe* and, finally, has been massively used to refer to the pandemic and its consequences.

2.1.2. Lockdown

Moving to another case, a drastic measure adopted to limit the diffusion of the virus is lockdown. The Cambridge dictionary defines it “an emergency situation in which people are not allowed to freely enter, leave, or move around in a building or area because of danger” (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/lockdown>). The term has been borrowed in Italian and is used to indicate a number of restrictions to free motion, like the closing of the majority of shops, bars, restaurants and the recommendation to stay home. Italian purists are dissatisfied and propose terms like quarantena (“quarantine”) or isolamento (“segregation”), but with little success. Also Romanian accepts the English term, which appears in various news media.

In French, instead, the term has been translated as confinement, creating also the verb déconfiner, to indicate the end of the lockdown. This last phenomenon shows a further ability of the French linguistic system to create paradigms.

The word lockdown is also largely used in Romanian media, and the dictionaries apparently do not offer alternative terms.

2.1.3. Smart work or teleworking

The term smart work or working has been largely used to designate the practice of working at home using a computer and the Internet to stay connected with one's own office. In fact, this term in English means “model of work that uses new technologies and the development of existing technologies to improve both the performance and the satisfaction that is obtained from the job” (<https://www.lumapps.com/blog/digital-workplace/smart-working-definition-benefits-tools/>).

Different sources stress the fact that it would be more appropriate to call it teleworking, that is “working from home via the internet” without changing the structure of the work itself, as real smart working would require (<https://www.morningfuture.com/en/2020/11/23/smart-working-telework-pandemic-covid/>). In addition English documents often prefer homeworking, or remote working (<https://demos.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Distanced-Revolution.pdf>).

This is a curious case of a loan word, which has been accepted in the borrowing language with a meaning, which matches neither the meaning of the source language nor the technical meaning. The discussion about the difference between teleworking, or *telelavoro*, and smart working, or *lavoro agile*, is still in progress, including some legal implications (https://www.laleggepertutti.it/461638_quale-differenza-tra-telelavoro-e-smart-working). However, this term has been integrated into the Italian Covid vocabulary, replacing the original Italian word *telelavoro*, whose meaning it acquires with the occasion of the pandemic.

lucruri diferite” (<https://www.bursa.ro> transl. “...we have the tendency to confuse the concept of telework with smart working. They are two different things”).

French uses télétravail without exceptions.

2.1.4. Covidiot or covidiota

The English word covidiot is formed by ‘COVID + idiot’ and its meaning is very complex and ambiguous. The Oxford Learner’s Dictionary ([oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com](https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com)) offers the following explanation: “a person who annoys other people by refusing to obey the social distancing rules designed to prevent the spread of COVID-19”. The same meaning has migrated into French (covidiot) and German (Covidiot). The same meaning is also kept in Italian, but looking at the posts on Twitter under the hashtag #COVIDIOTA, it is clear that it is also used in the contrary meaning: one who blindly believes in what government and media say, especially relating to vaccines.

In Romanian the term covidiot (pl. covidioți) seems to appear only in the original meaning (Nablea 2020).

Thus, the original English meaning is modified, or even reversed, as in Italian. It rises as a word used to identify and vilify a social group; this can explain the reversing of meaning as a sort of retaliation (we are the idiot? You are the idiot!).

2.2. Calques

The first measure proposed by most health authorities was the so-called social distancing. Actually the original formulation was the more appropriate physical or social distancing (<https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/prevent-getting-sick/social-distancing.html>), but in the present version of the CDC instructions only the former survived (https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/prevent-getting-sick/prevention.html?CDC_AA_refVal=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.cdc.gov%2Fcoronavirus%2F2019-ncov%2Fprevent-getting-sick%2Fsocial-distancing.html#stay6ft). However social distancing was the most widely accepted form, and it entered into the Italian vocabulary as *distanziamento sociale*, indicating the set of measures taken to prevent the spreading of the virus, including quarantine, domestic isolation, and the ban of gathering (https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/distanziamento-sociale_%28Neologismi%29/). In French, instead, the term *distanciation sociale*, directly translated from English, has been accepted with some difficulties. An article by Devey and Conruyt in *Le Figaro* of 19/4/2020 suggests that a better formulation would be *distanciation physique*, as, interpreting the article *distanciation* in the *Trésor de la langue Française*, *distanciation sociale* seems to take the meaning of “social gap”, “gap between social classes”. The Office Québécois pour la langue Française propose *espacement individuel* or *espacement mutuel*. Also in Romanian, the basic term is *distanțare*, but the discussion is lively whether it should be *fizică* or *socială* (Iftimoaei, Adevărul, 17/4/2020).

With regards to the French term *télétravail*, discussed above (§ 3.1.3), it is dubious whether it is a calque from English, or an autonomous creation; according to the French Wikipedia telework appears for the first time in 1972 in Washington Post, but it is unclear when the French equivalent appears for the first time. The *Trésor de la langue française* quotes an attestation of 1981, thus licensing the hypothesis that the origin is English.

2.3. Paradigms

The policy of mass vaccination has raised a conflict between people who are in favour and people who are against. The English dictionaries present *anti-vax* or *anti-vaxxer* (Cambridge Dictionary <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/anti-vax>) or simply *anti-vaxxer* (Macmillan online <https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/anti-vaxxer>); none of them report the item *pro-vax(xer)*.

Romanian has rare cases of *antivaxx* (Mihăilă, Adevărul 20/10/2021), but also *antivaxerii* (Serb and Mohăilă, Adevărul 7/9/2021). The contrary view is *pro-vaccinare* (Lică, Adevărul July 27th 2021, and other attestations), but also *pro-injectare* (comment to Florescu, Adevărul August 12th 2021), while a milder position is characterised as *vaccino-sceptic* (ibid.).

French has the pair *vaccinophile* and *vaccinophobe* (Belkina 2021), together with *anti-vaccin* (<https://news.knowledia.com/CA/fr/articles/vaccin-covid-19-il-est-urgent-d-attendre-7c8e96cd0e1b66de688cf7009ad404fdca5f663b>) and *pro-vaccin* (<https://www.letelegramme.fr/coronavirus/des-vaccines-et-des-pro-vaccins-dans-les-manifestations-contre-le-passe-sanitaire-05-08-2021-12802706.php>).

Finally, Italian had *antivaccinista* since 1915, but at present the most used words are *no-vax*, or the form *no vax*, which goes back to 2016 (Treccani dictionary s.i.) and has been created to identify a group of parents which fought against the obligation of vaccine for the children to be admitted into school. On the other hand, the term *pro-vax* has been introduced in the same period. When mentioning the group of people fighting against vaccination as a compact movement, the word *anti-vaccinazione* has been used even before the pandemic (Smith 2019).

Summing up, it is difficult to put all the forms into some order. It is clear that the attempt is to create a paradigm of the type portrayed below

Language	Pro	Anti
English		<i>anti-vax</i> <i>anti-vaxxer</i>
French	<i>vaccinophile</i> <i>pro-vaccin</i>	<i>vaccinophobe</i> <i>anti-vaccin</i>

Romanian	pro-vaccinare (pro- injectare)	antivax antivaxerii vaccino-sceptic
Italian	pro-vax (2017)	antivaccinista (disappeared) no-vax (2016) anti-vaccinazione

The conclusion is that in all the examined languages there is a trend to create a paradigm, a situation suggested by the distinction between pro and anti. All languages use the prefixes anti/pro, while Italian uses pro/no, but also anti, although in rarer cases. The new lexical items meet only loosely the morpho-phonology of the Romance languages, while fit into the structure of English, but this is not sufficient evidence to hypothesise a false Anglicism. The paradigm is even particularly productive as is the model of pairs like no-mask vs pro-mask (this last being used only to identify a Swedish which criticise the freedom of behaviour left by the government); according to the same model <no X> no DaD (Didattica a Distanza “distance learning”) as been created.

The capacity of French to create paradigm is also proved by the series zoomapéro, coronapéro, and skypeéro, from -apéro (aperitif) and a set of modalities to organize those aperitifs, via Zoom, via Skype of simply during Coronavirus period.

2.4. Meaning extensions

Many people do not believe that COVID-19 is a real pandemic, but rather a conspiracy by some obscure power to seize the full domain on humanity. These people are in general referred to as conspiracists. The term has migrated to French as conspirationniste, in Romania as complotistă, as the adjective conspirativo in Spain, and in Italy as complottista.

In English the term conspiracist is present in the Oxford Learner English Dictionary (thefreedictionary.com), as well as in the Macmillan (macmillandictionary.com) as “someone who believes conspiracy theory”, a phrase which, in the meaning of “explanation of an event or situation involving unwarranted belief that it is caused by a conspiracy among powerful forces”, appeared by 1937 (see etymonline.com s.i).

The Larousse online (larousse.fr) reports the term with roughly the same meaning.

In Italian the translation complottista has been chosen, although also the term cospirazionista could have made sense. This word has been used since 2007 (see gdli.it under the entry ‘genialata’, but without its proper entry). It is interesting that in Italian the term is often associated with the dialectal pronunciation ‘gomblotto’, because the first person to use it was a famous sport journalist who had a heavy dialectal southern accent.

Another interesting fact is that in Romanian, DEXonline indicates that complotist is “persoană care participă la un complot” (“a person who takes part in a plot”), but the newspaper Adevărul uses it (“mișcarea complotistă QAnon”).

The evolution of the term conspiracist has taught us a number of facts. The word has been, apparently, created in English to designate a specific group of people, but it has hardly been accepted in many dictionaries. French uses it, in translation, exactly in the same meaning. In Romanian it existed with a meaning opposed to the one used in the media, but if QAnon is mentioned it is used in its opposite sense. Finally, in Italian it existed since 2007 and it has a complex history, which merges with the incoming English meaning. In any case, in Italian and Romanian, the English influence has pushed the term towards an extension of the original meaning.

The conspiracist movement created the term *plandemic*, to stress the fact that the pandemic is the result of a precise plan set up by some great powers. The term has been created in English, following the positions taken by Judy Mikovits, and moves towards other languages, as a rare *plandemia* in Italian, *Plandemie* in German, *plandemie* in French, and Romanian *plandemie*. This is a term strictly connected to American conspiracy theories (QAnon, Mikovits etc.) so that in the other languages it is often introduced as a quotation or in connection with some quotation from American sources.

3. A general schema

The cases discussed in the above paragraphs do not contribute to a neat distinction of the different phenomena. Loan words, calques, meaning extensions are certainly present in the languages taken into account, but they often interact with one another to produce intricate lexical relations. The languages involved are, in fact, three, as all the COVID terminology seems to start in English speaking countries (mainly USA), from where it spreads over the main European countries. The mechanisms of reception vary from language to language but stick to the same conceptual models.

Loan words can keep the form of the language where they come from, as *lockdown*, or be adapted to the morpho-phonetic constraints of the receiving language, as It. *covidiotà*. Probably, the most interesting cases are the false anglicisms created in Italian more than elsewhere, such as *no-vax*, *no-mask*, or mixed constructions as *no-DaD*.

Also, the case of Italian, and, possibly, Romanian, *smart work* is a case of a misinterpreted loan words, which acquires a meaning different from the original and technical one.

Calques are the words that are translated into the target language. Italian has *distanziamento sociale*, a perfect translation of the English form, similar to Romanian *distanțare socială* or *fizică*. In French, instead, the term *distanciation sociale*, does not seem to have been easily accepted and many alternatives have been proposed (*espacement individuel* or *mutuel*).

Many words were already present in a language, but their meaning has been extended under the pressure of the incoming word. This is the case of Italian *complotista*, and, even more, Romanian *complotist*, which reverses the meaning. The phenomenon may affect also loan words, like Italian *covidiotà*, which in

Italian may be used both in the original and in a reverse meaning. Also the loan word tsunami (from Japanese) has been first accepted in all Western languages in its original meaning and then extended for the occasion of the pandemic.

All the languages taken into consideration have created paradigmatic series such as French vaccinophobe, vaccinophile. Regardless of the origin of this trend, this phenomenon represents the full exploitation of the linguistic resources of each language.

To sum up, the creation of a new Covid lexicon cannot be represented only by the known linguistic phenomena of linguistic contacts, but the neologisms stand along a cline from pure loan to autonomous creations. The points on this cline are:

- pure loan words: lockdown in Italian and Romanian
- semantically modified loan words: smart work in Italian and possibly in Romanian
- morphologically adapted loan words: covidiota in Italian
- calque: distanziamento sociale in Italian, distanțare socială in Romanian, and possibly distanciation sociale in French
- paradigms really or falsely modelled on English: no-vax vs pro-vax in Italian, anti-vaxx vs pro-vaccinare in Romanian
- regular paradigms: vaccinophile vs vaccinophobe in French.

Apparently Italian and Romanian are more sensitive to English influence than French.

Conclusions

As shown in the previous paragraph, the mechanisms of formation of the neologisms related to the pandemic are those already known and studied in linguistics in the domain of loan words, calques, and adaptation to the diverse morpho-phonologic systems. At present, the spreading of such lexical innovations creates also situation of hybridization.

However, the phenomenon, which draws the attention, is the globalization of the lexical areas, which responds to the globalization of the lines of thought connected with the virus. Loan words are almost all of English origin, for two reasons. The World Health Organization uses primarily English as communication language, while, on the other hand, the conspiracist movements are rooted in American movements which pre-date the pandemic. The pressure of English words has produced different phenomena like meaning extensions, meaning reversals, creation of false Anglicisms. The rising of paradigmatic series suggests that in some lexical areas the intra-linguistic creative mechanisms are stimulated. However, some of the paradigms have been simply created according to an English model, but reflect no corresponding situation either in British or in American English.

Two questions remain open to explain such a globalised lexical innovation. The first one is whether the cultural and linguistic pressure is exerted by English speaking countries, as hypothesized above (§ 4) or by the so-called International

English. The American origin of the conspiracist lexicon is to be taken for sure, but the same does not hold for the other lexical innovations. In any case, the same structure of the whole lexicon of pandemic suggests the hypothesis that some form of international English-biased language is the origin. From a linguistic and cultural point of view, this is the most important aspect of this phenomenon as it points out its global scope and cultural relevance.

The second question is whether such lexical innovation wave is due to the availability of powerful communication and social media, or to the global scope of the pandemic. To answer this question, it would be necessary to compare the terminology related to COVID-19 and that related to the Spanish flu of 1918-1920.

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NOTE: All the websites were last accessed on November 25th 2021.

LA TRADUCCIÓN DE LOS CONCEPTOS DE TRADUCTOLOGÍA PROBLEMAS Y ESTRATEGIAS DE TRADUCCIÓN

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Abstract: Translation science had to find a foothold among other scientific fields that had competed for the subject of its study, since translation was alternatively seen as a branch of contrastive linguistics, applied linguistics, textual linguistics, psychological linguistics, or also a form of intercultural communication without neglecting literary, philosophical or anthropological approaches to which translation has provided an opportunity over time. Translation science is today a broad and open field of research, but it deals with special questions and concepts that coincide with its theme. The taking of concepts and approaches from other scientific fields should not be qualified as a contradiction, but rather as an integration, because each approach in reality shows a special aspect. Translation studies intertwines scientific fields in its essence because it seeks to understand the totality of the translational phenomenon, and it is not surprising that it needs many research methods that it borrows from other scientific fields to understand the totality of its subject in addition to being variable in form and type. And the issue of terminology in translation is one of the thorny issues to express your thinking. Since understanding translation science and what it contains as terms and concepts has become a difficulty for different readers and researchers, translating them has become more difficult, so this article will address a study of the translation of concepts and the difficulties that impede the process of the latter.

Keywords: translation science, concept, terminology, sociocognitive theory, translation process

La traducción conceptual

El desarrollo que ha conocido la humanidad en diversos campos ha propiciado una revisión de la traducción como medio de transferencia de conocimiento, ya sea general o especializado. Y dado que estamos tratando el tema del concepto en este punto, centraremos nuestra atención en la traducción conceptual, es decir, la que se ocupa únicamente del concepto. Y antes de monitorear la traducción conceptual, debemos ocuparnos de la definición del concepto para despejar las ambigüedades predominantes en torno a su definición e intentar comprenderlo para poder traducirlo.

Definición del concepto

Es evidente que los conceptos constituyen el elemento básico en la cuestión idiomática, ya que los términos son símbolos de conceptos de acuerdo a nuestra percepción de los mismos, lo que significa que los conceptos han existido y se formaron antes que la terminología, por lo que nombrar un concepto puede ser el primer paso en su coherencia. Esto se debe a que el término al inicio de su

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formación como requisito sociológico y entidad utilizable es una idea en la mente y luego su imagen se materializa en la realidad, y viene el papel de los otros elementos para construir el término.

La definición del concepto vino en la escala 2: 2000 ISO / 10871- 1 como:

Le concept est une unité de connaissance crée par une combinaison unique de caractères.

Si buscamos las definiciones de los grandes teóricos de la ciencia del término, encontramos que Eugen Wüster define el concepto de la siguiente manera:

Todo concepto, con excepción de los conceptos de objetos individuales, corresponde a los elementos comunes que los seres humanos perciben en un gran número de objetos y que utilizan como medio de clasificación mental para entender, y, por consiguiente, también para comunicarse. Por lo tanto, el concepto es un elemento de pensamiento. (Wüster Eugen, 1998:39)

En su libro “La terminologie: theories, méthodes y application” María Teresa Cabré, por su parte, presenta la siguiente definición del concepto:

Les concepts, ou représentations mentales des objets, sont le fruit de choix de caractères pertinents qui définissent une classe d'objets et non pas des objets individuels. Les concepts d'ailleurs confèrent au terme la propriété de référence. Cette face du terme qui est la dénomination nous permet de nous référer à la réalité concrète et abstraite, interne ou externe, individuelle collective. (Cabre, 2000 : 12).

La comprensión del concepto

Comprender el concepto significa tener la capacidad de explicar e interpretar su definición de manera adecuada, así como los subconceptos relacionados con el mismo. Comprender en este caso representa una capacidad cognitiva y operativa para realizar conductas que demuestren que el individuo es consciente de un tema y puede desarrollarlo al mismo tiempo. Una persona que tiene la capacidad de comprender puede obtener conocimientos y beneficiarse de ellos en varios campos. Por tanto, se deben crear alternativas que permitan pensar y actuar con flexibilidad en los conocimientos adquiridos en lugar de la memoria y el pensamiento rutinario, esto lo que viene detallado en la siguiente definición:

La comprensión conceptual es el proceso cognoscitivo y operativo a partir del cual alguien logra explicar los argumentos o razones de peso, ejemplos, relaciones y aplicaciones en contextos flexibles, entre otros desempeños y experiencias de tipo cognitivo, metacognitivo socioafectivo y /o psicomotriz, que el mismo efectúa alrededor de las características generales e ideas inherentes a un concepto u objeto de conocimiento. (Arboleda, 2005:15)

Basándose en esta definición podemos concluir que la comprensión del concepto incluye pasos que mencionamos a continuación:

- Establecer el campo de conocimiento al que pertenece.
- Definir los elementos del concepto y las relaciones que los unen.
- Definir las características del concepto.

- Encontrar relaciones que vinculen el concepto con otros conceptos.

Ejemplo:

La comprensión del concepto "átomo":

Un átomo es una pequeña parte que constituye la materia. El campo cognitivo al que pertenece el concepto es la química y la estructura de la materia específicamente. Los elementos del concepto son moléculas, y las relaciones entre sus elementos se representan en la forma en que se organizan las partículas y la relación de cada parte. En último, y en lo que se refiere a las características del concepto de átomo, se refiere a la estructura, dinámica y tamaño del átomo, y el concepto de átomo tiene relación con otros conceptos como espacio, iones, partículas, materia ... etc.

Problemática de la traducción conceptual:

La traducción conceptual siempre ha sido y sigue siendo un punto de interés para muchos investigadores, en general y traductores terminológicos, en particular. A partir de las definiciones presentadas para el concepto y la confusión que rodea a esta palabra, se nos hizo evidente las dificultades que plantea durante el proceso de traducción, y lo más importante que se puede mencionar en este punto es lo siguiente:

- Primero, la singularidad del concepto y ser una conceptualización mental de nombrar un objeto impide el éxito de su traducción, ya que la traducción depende del nombre o del término y no va más allá de eso para traducir el concepto que expresa ese término, y por lo tanto la traducción se hace a nivel del término y no del concepto.

- Además, la posibilidad de expresar el concepto mediante más de una designación plantea el problema de la doble traducción, lo que significa que el traductor se enfrenta a dos cuestiones, a saber: ¿Cuál es el concepto apropiado en la traducción? Y ¿En qué fuentes documentales debe apoyarse?

- Otro tema al que se enfrenta el traductor a la hora de traducir el concepto, que es el problema de la comprensión del concepto que desempeña un papel muy importante, ya que el traductor muchas veces se encuentra frente a un concepto ambiguo que es incapaz de comprender y por lo tanto no puede traducirlo.

- El contexto geográfico y temporal también incide en el proceso de traducción del concepto, es decir, que el concepto aparece en un lugar y tiempo específicos, lo que dificulta al traductor trasladar el concepto a un lugar y tiempo diferentes conservando el significado que le da este concepto.

- Los neologismos también presentan un problema de traducción, y esto se debe al desarrollo de algunos países frente al retraso que viven otros países, por lo que el traductor se encuentra frente a conceptos que no los conoce y que no tienen equivalente en el idioma traducido. A partir de aquí, nos queda claro que la traducción conceptual se enfrenta a muchas dificultades que debemos darnos cuenta y tratar de abordar.

De entre las teorías que se interesan por el estudio del término y la traducción del concepto destacamos la teoría sociocognitiva de Rita Temmerman,

una de las teorías que ha desarrollado el estudio terminológico conceptual inspirándose de la Teoría General del Termino establecida por el Famoso Eugen Wuster.

La teoría socio-cognitiva

La teoría sociocognitiva apareció como un nuevo enfoque en la terminología y un complemento de lo que podríamos conocer por la vieja tradición o más bien la teoría clásica general de la terminología. Esta teoría fue propuesta por la investigadora Rita Temmerman basada en modelos de semántica epistemológica, y según esta teoría, los principios clásicos de la terminología no son realistas, ya que se basó en el proceso de normalización del término que es solo una parte del estudio en la terminología, aunque el proceso de normalización es un paso necesario. La teoría sociocognitiva se centra en dos objetivos principales que monitoreamos de la siguiente manera:

- El primer objetivo es sentar las bases de la teoría de terminología.
- Mientras que el segundo objetivo es buscar una metodología para la realización del trabajo terminológico.

En este sentido, Temmerman distinguió entre el principio y el método, ya que el principio es los supuestos básicos en los que se basa una teoría, mientras que el método representa los medios y técnicas utilizados para exponer y analizar datos con el fin de encontrar soluciones o respuestas a preguntas teóricas.

La novedad de esta teoría es que estudia el término dentro del texto que contiene y, desde esta perspectiva, considera que tanto la clasificación como la comprensión del mundo exterior son cuestiones importantes.

Frente a la corriente clásica de la terminología, que se caracteriza por su simplicidad y especificidad, la teoría socio-cognitiva cree que los términos existen para el intercambio de conocimientos, expertos en un campo especializado y por lo tanto pueden ser estudiados solo dentro del contexto en el que aparecen, y al respecto la teoría considera que lo que el término mismo implica en Los diferentes textos debe tener diferentes fondos o símbolos. La teoría socio-cognitiva ensalza la importancia del individuo en la actividad de la capacidad creativa de la mente y facilitando el proceso de comprensión, además de contribuir a la formación de ideas a través de modelos cognitivos. El término también funciona para transferir la comprensión de un usuario a otro porque el proceso de comunicación e intercambio de experiencias a través de la lengua es parte del camino social, y la singularidad tiene la capacidad de moverse en forma de redes, lo que indica que controla la forma en que pensamos. Por tanto, se puede decir que la terminología del discurso especializado, como el singular, puede definir y cambiar nuestras experiencias.

Principios de la teoría sociocognitiva

Rita Temmerman reemplazó los principios clásicos de la teoría clásica general del término por nuevos principios sociocognitivos, y los limitó a cinco principios, que mencionamos a continuación:

- Temmerman cree que la mejor manera de entender la realidad es por símbolos O modelos cognitivos formulados en ideas encarnadas por diferentes unidades de comprensión y organizadas según el prototipo. De esta forma, al embarcarse en un estudio de la terminología de un campo especializado, Temmarman sustituye el concepto por la unidad de comprensión y ve que estas unidades dependen de la estructura del prototipo, que se puede denominar clases.

- El segundo principio de la teoría sociocognitiva parte de la idea de que el proceso de comprensión nos lleva inevitablemente a la clasificación, y cada categoría emerge en forma de modelos cognitivos, de modo que cada uno depende de la estructura intracategorial del prototipo que contiene información dentro de la misma categoría.

- El tercer principio de esta teoría es que la información que construye una definición cambia según el tipo de unidad de percepción, así como el nivel y tipo de especialización del emisor y receptor en el proceso de comunicación. Y la teoría sociocognitiva excluye las condiciones necesarias y suficientes para una definición, porque el proceso de descripción del concepto se relaciona con la calidad de la unidad de comprensión y los participantes en el proceso de comunicación, como se mencionó anteriormente.

- El cuarto principio se relaciona con la función de la sinonimia y polisemia durante el proceso de comprensión y el desarrollo del proceso comunicativo. En la teoría clásica, se apoyaba en el principio del término monolítico que excluye la sinonimia porque se consideraba que no era deseable que un solo concepto tuviera muchos términos expresándolo en un proceso de comunicación específico. Por el contrario, la teoría sociocognitiva cree en los principios de flexibilidad y diversidad presentes en el proceso de clasificación.

- Según el quinto principio, los modelos cognitivos cambian constantemente. Es por eso que el desarrollo continuo de unidades de comprensión se puede explicar como resultado de varios factores que ocurren al mismo tiempo.

Los principios de la escuela vienesa comparados con los principios sociocognitivos² (mi traducción)

Teoría tradicional	Teoría sociocognitiva
P. 1: El punto de partida es la noción claramente delimitada.	P.1: LA Terminología sociocognitiva parte de unidades de comprensión más a menudo caracterizadas por una estructura prototípica.
P. 2: Es posible asignar a cada noción su lugar en una estructura conceptual lógica o ontológico.	P. 2: La comprensión es un evento estructurado. Una unidad de la comprensión está estructurada de manera intra e inter categoría y funciona dentro de modelos cognitivo.

² -Temmerman, Rita : Une théorie réaliste de la terminologie : Le sociocognitivism, dans terminologies nouvelles « Terminologie et diversité culturelle », N°21, Juin ,2000,148.

<p>P. 3: Cada noción se puede definir en una definición intencional (noción superordinada más características diferenciales) y / o extensional.</p> <p>P.4: Se asigna un término a un concepto de forma permanente. Idealmente se asigna un término único a cada noción.</p> <p>P. 5:</p> <p>a) Se estudian nociones y términos de forma sincrónica.</p> <p>b) La relación entre concepto y término es arbitraria.</p>	<p>P.3: la definición variará según el tipo de la unidad de comprensión y el nivel de especialización del emisor y receptor de mensajes.</p> <p>P.4: La progresión de la comprensión está relacionada con la sinonimia y polisemia. Desde entonces, deben describirse.</p> <p>P. 5:</p> <p>a) Las unidades de comprensión están en constante evolución.</p> <p>Según el caso, los períodos cronológicos serán más o menos esencial para la comprensión de la unidad.</p> <p>b) Los modelos cognitivos (por ejemplo, ICM metafóricos (Lakoff 1987) desempeñan un papel importante en el desarrollo de nuevas ideas, lo que implica que los términos están razonados.</p>
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El proceso cognitivo en la comprensión y la traducción

El proceso cognitivo en la comprensión

La etapa de comprensión en el proceso de traducción, ya sea general o especializada, se considera un tema clave para llegar a una traducción sólida que refleje el texto original y convenza al destinatario. Se nota la importancia de la comprensión en la traductología desde su aparición y esta importancia se vio reforzada con el surgimiento de nuevos enfoques en la traductología (textual, comunicativo, cultural y sobre todo cognitivo), en este sentido Blanc y Brouillet definen la comprensión, basándose en el enfoque psico-lingüístico, como sigue:

Un proceso dinámico de construcción en la memoria de una representación coherente de la situación evocada , situación a la que vienen a añadirse las inferencias generadas , siempre dentro de los límites de los recursos atencionales del individuo .Comprender un texto requiere ,en consecuencia, ser capaz de integrar en un todo coherente las informaciones descritas y los conocimientos movilizados durante la lectura .Comprender un texto requiere asimismo flexibilidad para adaptarse al contexto situacional descrito y la capacidad de discernir las características más pertinentes de la situación .Por último ,comprender un texto conlleva necesariamente seleccionar ,entre el conjunto de informaciones disponibles ,aquellos que resulten más pertinentes y/o apropiadas para el desarrollo exitoso del proceso de comprensión (Tolosa Igualada, publicado en 04/11/2014).

El enfoque cognitivo ve que, para comprender un texto, el lector no tiene que satisfacer con los datos lingüísticos, sino que debe usar complementos cognitivos, y por lo tanto activa los procesos cognitivos durante el proceso de

comprensión. También distingue entre dos tipos de comprensión: comprensión del lenguaje (que se encuentra en el nivel del idioma) y comprensión de un texto o discurso. Mientras que la comprensión del lenguaje se limita a conocer las reglas o el vocabulario de un discurso, la comprensión del discurso es el proceso de extraer significado de una serie fonológica o escrita gracias al intercambio de símbolos lingüísticos y complementos cognitivos.

Daniel Gilles, por su parte, subraya la importancia de la comprensión en la traducción y cree que el proceso de comprensión se enfrenta a diversas dificultades, entre ellas: falta de conocimiento meta-lingüístico, incapacidad total para el idioma inicial, mala calidad del texto inicial, falta de condiciones adecuadas para el trabajo de traducción y falta de conciencia profesional.

Podemos enumerar las operaciones cognitivas que realiza el lector de un texto para comprenderlo de la siguiente manera:

- Exponer las relaciones entre significados.
- Activar el significado basándose en similitudes léxicas.
- Buscar en la memoria.
- Activar tarjetas de conocimiento o modelos mentales para el trabajo.
- Inferencias o conclusiones.
- Formular hipótesis sobre el significado general o la estructura del texto.
- Formular sugerencias semánticas.

Por tanto, estos pasos en el proceso de comprensión muestran que el lector está llevando a cabo un amplio proceso cognitivo, y si esto indica algo, indica la importancia del conocimiento del universo. Con base en estos pasos, el lector puede deducir el significado del texto.

El proceso cognitivo en la traducción

Muchos investigadores en el campo de la traducción se han interesado por lo que ocurre en la mente del traductor cuando realiza su traducción; y esto con la aparición de La psicología cognitiva. Según Amparo Hurtado Albir (2011) la traducción se basa en varios enfoques teóricos, entre ellas:

- El enfoque lingüístico.
- El enfoque textual
- El enfoque comunicativo y sociocultural.
- El enfoque filosófico y hermenéutico
- El enfoque cognitivo

El modelo cognitivo en la traducción apareció alrededor del año 1970 en la Escuela Superior de intérpretes y traductores ESIT con el surgimiento de la teoría del sentido. Este modelo es complementario a los enfoques textuales y comunicativos. La tarea del modelo cognitivo es estudiar lo que sucede en la mente del traductor mientras realiza un proceso complejo cuyos objetivos se determinan en función de elementos textuales y contextuales. Está claro que no se puede observar el proceso de traducción directamente y lo que se estudiaba antes no es más que los resultados de la traducción, y gracias al desarrollo que conoce la

neurociencia, es posible observar algunos fenómenos neurológicos durante el proceso de traducción.

Kiraly es uno de los actores más destacados en el campo cognitivo de la traducción, ya que propone un modelo cognitivo para la traducción en el que cree que la mente del traductor es un sistema de procesamiento de información, por lo que la traducción es el producto de la interacción de procesos intuitivos y de observación con el uso de información lingüística y extralingüística. El modelo cognitivo de Kiraly consta de elementos básicos que mencionamos a continuación:

- las fuentes de información, que incluyen la memoria a largo plazo y la información sugerida por el texto original, así como fuentes externas (libros relacionados, bases de datos, consultores especialistas ... etc.);
- Espacio de trabajo intuitivo, que no es del todo precepto;
- El centro de procesamiento observacional.

La memoria a largo plazo incluye información sobre el mundo sensorial, la cultura de origen y la cultura receptora, información semántica gramatical para los idiomas nativos y traducidos, además de la información que el traductor utiliza de su memoria o de fuentes externas. En cuanto al espacio de trabajo intuitivo, Kiraly cree que la información en la memoria a largo plazo se combina con la información en el texto, así como con fuentes externas sin supervisión.

Por tanto, Kiraly no considera al traductor como un lector monolingüe en la primera fase de la traducción, pero ve que cuando el traductor lee un texto para traducirlo, activa todo tipo de información almacenada en la memoria: información para comprender el texto e información para la traducción en general y de textos similares traducidos...etc.

Cuando Jensen realizó su estudio de los procesos mentales del traductor mientras realiza su misión de traducción, presenta un conjunto de indicadores de los esfuerzos cognitivos del traductor, los mencionamos de la siguiente manera:

- 1- Las pausas: las pausas que hace el traductor indican su esfuerzo cognitivo, y siempre que las pausas son más largas, el esfuerzo cognitivo sea más fiable y eficaz.
- 2- Posponer decisiones: posponer decisiones es otro indicio del esfuerzo cognitivo del traductor, ya que este último puede posponer sus decisiones para resolver un problema de traducción y omitirlo para traducir otra frase.
- 3- Correcciones: El traductor corrige su traducción al mismo tiempo que continúa. a traducir el texto, si esto indica algo, indica el esfuerzo cognitivo que está realizando para el éxito de su traducción.
- 4- Revisión: La revisión consiste en las correcciones que el traductor pospone hasta después la etapa de escritura, que indica la actividad intelectual y mental del traductor.
- 5- Las fuentes de información electrónica durante la fase de reformulación son un indicio de esfuerzos cognitivos del traductor.

Estrategias cognitivas y metacognitivas

Antes de abordar las estrategias cognitivas y metacognitivas en la traducción, debemos presentar una definición de la estrategia en general. Krings define la estrategia de traducción como sigue:

Les stratégies de traduction sont des plans potentiellement conscients, activés par le traducteur pour résoudre des problèmes de traductions concrets, dans le cadre d'une tâche de traduction concrète. (Alexander Kunzli, 2003)

El enfoque cognitivo divide las estrategias de traducción en dos tipos: Estrategias cognitivas y estrategias metacognitivas.

Estrategias cognitivas

Las estrategias cognitivas son el conjunto de acciones coordinadas y sustanciales que permiten a resolver problemas de traducción en diferentes situaciones, requiere un conjunto de competencias para determinar lo que el traductor debe conocer o al formar las combinaciones temáticas y terminológicas que necesitaría en cualquier proceso traductivo.

Entre las estrategias cognitivas más destacadas sugeridas por el enfoque cognitivo, mencionamos las estrategias de "protocolos de pensar en voz alta" que vienen en dos formas: la introspección verbalizada y la observación inferida.

En el primer caso, se le pide al traductor que describa lo que hace durante el proceso de traducción. En el segundo caso, monitorea cuidadosamente el comportamiento del traductor (pausas, frecuencia, corrección, velocidad, las intervenciones, el uso del diccionario ... etc. ...), para luego concluir observaciones generales sobre el proceso de traducción.

Las estrategias "Think Loud" permiten la exploración de procesos mentales y cognitivos del traductor, lo que ayuda a superar todos los obstáculos a los que se enfrenta durante su misión de traducción.

Estrategias Metacognitivas

Estas son estrategias que Flavell estudió en 1969, y Falafel presenta la definición siguiente:

La métacognition se rapporte à la connaissance qu'on a de ses propres processus cognitifs, de leurs produits et de tout ce qui y touche, par exemple, les propriétés pertinentes pour l'apprentissage d'information ou de données. (Frayssinhes, 2011:61)

Las estrategias metacognitivas requieren necesariamente un conocimiento previo, es una competencia necesaria que todo traductor debe desarrollar para poder beneficiarse de ella en necesidad.

Esta competencia impulsa las estrategias cognitivas y las activa según el tema y contexto. También permite al traductor evaluar su nivel y su capacidad para controlar los procesos cognitivos según sus necesidades, su misión de traducción es lo que él llama La regulación metacognitiva.

Estudio sociocognitivo de la traducción de conceptos traductológicos

Los términos traductológicos, considerados como la unidad lingüística representativa de un concepto, forman parte de la lengua especializada dada la especificidad que presentan. Hemos notado a través la consulta de varias obras que tratan de la traductología, la dificultad de entender estos conceptos y aun su traducción que se considera una tarea tan difícil para el traductor. Si decimos esto no es para nada ya que el surgimiento de un concepto en un dominio ocurre siempre dentro de un contexto sociológico y contiene una carga cognitiva, lo que Temmerman (2000) llamó el contexto sociocognitivo.

En este sentido, exponemos en lo que se sigue un estudio sociocognitivo de la traducción de unos conceptos de traductología sacados del libro de Amparo Hurtado Albir “traducción y traductología”; la traducción la realizó el traductor egipcio Ali Ibrahim Menufi hacia el árabe.

El estudio de la traducción de estos conceptos nos situó en una serie de casos, que se pueden resumir de la siguiente manera:

- O existe un equivalente árabe que no se corresponde en absoluto con el concepto a traducir.
- O existe un equivalente árabe del concepto en español.
- O el concepto tiene varios equivalentes en lengua árabe.
- O no hay equivalente en árabe al concepto en español.
- O hay una falta de traducción del texto del concepto.

Por ejemplo, el concepto “acto del habla”³ ha sido traducido al árabe por “حدث كلام” (evento del habla), el problema se plantea aquí al nivel de la palabra “acto” y su traducción “حدث” que no es la traducción adecuada porque la palabra árabe حدث refiere a la palabra española “evento” mientras que “acto” es el equivalente de la palabra árabe “فعل”. La diferencia entre las dos palabras árabes حدث y فعل es clara y evidente como la está en español para las palabras “acto” y “evento”.

En los diccionarios árabes aparecen las dos palabras con las siguientes definiciones:

- حدث (evento): Evento: qué pasó, pasó, sucedió, cosas inusuales, como un evento político, adverbio relacionado con una serie de circunstancias que ocurrieron en la vida de alguien.
- فعل (acto): Es cada acción que realiza una persona.

Y en base a la explicación presentada para el término فعل (acto) y dado que el acto de habla lo realiza una persona concluimos que la traducción más adecuada es فعل (acto), no حدث (evento).

Además, la traducción aquí se hizo al nivel lingüístico y no subió al nivel del discurso para llegar al verdadero significado de este término.

Si analizamos la traducción propuesta apoyándonos en la teoría sociocognitiva, notamos que el error se realizó a causa de la polisemia, ya que este término puede tener múltiples significados según el contexto que contiene. Al respecto, Temmerman dice:

³ Es un concepto que aparece en la obra de Amparo Hurtado Albir “traducción y traductología”.

« Nous avons constaté que la polysémie est entre autres le résultat de la réflexion humaine sur le monde. En outre, d'un point de vue purement sémasiologique, la polysémie est le résultat de l'évolution sémantique du langage » (Temmerman, 2000:61).

Deducimos a partir de este ejemplo que la traducción del concepto traductológico ocurre a nivel extralingüístico y no se contenta con los datos lingüísticos, esto implica el funcionamiento de los mecanismos cognitivos y metacognitivos. Los ejemplos son muchísimos y nos dejan descubrir cada vez mas que la tarea del traductor de los conceptos traductológicos no es de ningún modo fácil dado a la complejidad que presenta este tipo de conceptos.

Por otro lado, el concepto “equivalente acuñado” es un concepto que ha planteado un problema a la hora de traducirlo al árabe, ya que este concepto aparece en español como se sigue:

Equivalente acuñado: «Técnica de traducción que consiste en utilizar un término o expresión reconocido (por el diccionario, por el uso lingüístico como equivalente en la lengua de llegada)» (Hurtado Albir, 2011: 113).

pero la traducción árabe propuesta a este concepto no refiere al mismo significado expuesto en español, puesto que el texto de la traducción dice:

- التساوي المسكوك: نظرية الترجمة : و هو عبارة عن استخدام مصطلح أو تعبير معروف على أنه مساوي في اللغة المترجم إليها.

Leyendo los dos textos español y árabe podemos deducir que no se trata del mismo concepto, ya que por el concepto español se entiende que el traductor debe traducir usando un término reconocido por un diccionario o cualquier otro recurso reconocido, pero por el concepto árabe no es eso lo que se entiende sino otra cosa casi diferente. En la lengua árabe, se entiende por el concepto que el traductor debe usar un término conocido como correspondiente del término de la lengua de partida. El traductor habla aquí de correspondencia y no de equivalencia que son dos conceptos totalmente diferentes, puesto que la correspondencia ocurre a nivel de la lengua mientras que la equivalencia ocurre a nivel del idioma.

Los ejemplos son varios y las dificultades de traducción de los conceptos son aún múltiples y se varían de un caso a otro. Lo único que se puede mencionar en este sentido es la importancia que ocupa la traducción de los conceptos sobre todo los conceptos de traductología que se consideran el nudo de esta disciplina.

Conclusión

Al concluir este estudio, deducimos que la formación de conceptos relacionados con la traductología, así como su comprensión e incluso traducción, no es una tarea fácil. Dado que este tipo de conceptos se caracteriza por una particularidad específica que podemos resumir en el hecho de que la traductología es una disciplina moderna que continúa desarrollando y afinando sus conceptos. La comprensión del concepto, como se mencionó anteriormente, requiere muchos mecanismos entre lo cognitivo y lo metacognitivo, y lo mismo ocurre con la traducción en la que el traductor invoca todos los mecanismos cognitivos que le

ayudan a comprender las unidades lingüísticas y traducirlas a otros idiomas. Todo esto y aquello fue resumido por la investigadora Rita Temmerman en su teoría denominada teoría socio-cognitiva, a través de la cual propuso un conjunto de mecanismos para la formación de términos en un contexto socio-cognitivo.

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MINOR EXCHANGES: ROMANIAN ANTHOLOGIES OF TRANSLATED JAPANESE POETRY PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST DECADES OF THE COMMUNIST REGIME

Irina HOLCA¹

Abstract: *This paper analyses the translation of Japanese poetry published in Romania during the last decades of the communist regime in the form of anthologies. To this end, I will look, on the one hand, at relevant examples of literary translations, and on the other hand, at complementary sources such as translators' forewords& afterwords and other materials outlining the contemporaneous theoretical discourse about the methods and aims of poetry translation.*

My analysis will discuss the mutual influence between theories and practices of translation emerging under the communist regime, with a focus on the period following the "cultural thaw" of the late 1960s. I will specifically concentrate on the tendencies, commonly equated with a return to the ideologically-driven socialist realism, that started after Ceaușescu's visit to China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Mongolia in 1971.

My intention is to shed light on how translations of poetry from Japanese into Romanian – two non-Western, "minor" languages – intersected with politics, especially with socialist state ideologies and (self-)censorship mechanisms. Special attention will be paid to the fact that translations of Japanese poetry were often indirect, usually drawing from a multitude of diverse texts from French, English, Italian, and German anthologies, re-compiled by the Romanian translators.

Keywords: Japanese poetry, communist Romania, indirect translation, anthologies

Introduction

Japan and Romania are geographically remote (10,000 km apart) and have little to nothing in common linguistically. During the period that I am going to discuss in this paper, i.e., the 1970s-80s, they were also under diametrically opposed politico-economical regimes: the former, a capitalist country with an (imposed, yet readily internalised) affinity towards the US after WWII, and the latter a communist country exhibiting varying degrees of ambivalence towards the Soviet Bloc as well as the so-called West, while attempting to emulate North Korean and Chinese models.

What the two countries do have in common is the fact both Japanese and Romanian are usually included in the category of "minor" languages, with corresponding "minor" literatures. As "minor" cultures, they are both also predominantly "translation cultures" (Jeanrenaud 2017), meaning that translation from (or via) various "major" languages (such as English, Russian, French, or German, depending on the time period) has been an enterprise vital for the two countries' modernisation processes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries – and continues to make up a great part of their cultural production even today.

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This paper looks at the theories and practices of translation that inform the contact between these two "minor" literatures from the Romanian side, under the special conditions of late communism— an aspect that has not been paid sufficient attention to in previous research. I have chosen here to narrow my discussion to anthologies of translated Japanese poetry, which I will analyse against the background of the main ideas about "indirect translation" and the professionalisation of the translator circulating in the last two decades of the Ceaușescu regime (1970s-80s). The discussion will build on some of my conclusions from a previous study (Holca 2019), in which I analysed Japanese poetry translated into Romanian via English or French and published in the cosmopolitan magazine *Secolul XX* (The 20th century) in the 1960s, against the background of emerging theories of translation introduced in the same magazine. The main difference between the two periods analysed is that during the 1960s, in the wake of Nicolae Ceaușescu's coming to power, translations from various languages outside the Socialist bloc were encouraged and the relations with Western countries were temporarily relaxed; on the other hand, the last decades of Romanian communism, i.e., the 1970s-80s, saw the closing of this window of free exchange with contemporaneous world literatures. Ceaușescu's new approach following his visit to China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Mongolia is explained in his "July Theses" (full title of speech delivered on July 6, 1971: "Proposed measures for the improvement of political-ideological activity, of the Marxist-Leninist education of Party members, of all working people"), and points to a renewal of the control of the party apparatus over cultural and intellectual interactions with the "West," all while striving to preserve an illusion of cosmopolitanism.

Communism, Censorship, Translation

In this section I will briefly summarise the socio-political situation in communist Romania, in relation to cultural production, censorship patterns, and the evolution of translation studies discourse from the 1950s to the 1980s. To this end I will refer to the summary I gave in my previous paper (Holca 2019), specifically the section on the political and cultural context of the decades in question.

Romania's almost half a century of communism is usually divided into three periods. The years between 1945 to 1961 are the so-called Stalinist age, during which Romania emulated the USSR in all aspects of political and cultural life. Led by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej from 1948, the country experienced in 1953, after Stalin's death, a brief opening towards the West, followed from 1961 by a process of clearly distancing itself from Moscow; this became more marked in the years after Dej's death, when, under the leadership of Nicolae Ceaușescu, Romania further opened to the Western world, making clear its refusal to align with Soviet Union's position (1965-1971). The last two decades (1971-1989) of the Ceaușescu regime, under the direct influence of his official visits to China, North Korea, and Mongolia, are characterized by increasingly oppressive (self-)

censorship, stifling “culture planning,” (Antochi 2012), as well as an exacerbated nationalism hidden beneath a thin veneer of internationalism.

Under Romanian communism, the mainstream tendency was for foreign works to be translated only if they had the potential to be read in a way that conformed to the state ideology, or if they could be somehow repurposed to serve “the greater good” of the socialist state. As Baghiu explains, “any writer who could be considered socialist internationalist was appreciated as worth translating,” a fact that “created an alternative literary scene which still retained a ‘global’ outlook or coverage” (2016: 7). Thus, literary models from the “West” that were deemed appropriate or could be appropriated permeated Romanian culture and functioned as “labels for their country of provenance,” simultaneously “pointing out how the deciding agents at the receiving end wished to relate to certain geographical and political zones” (Antochi 2012: 37). When necessary, changes such as additions and omissions would be made to the original text in translation, and it was also common practice to accompany such translations with forewords or afterwords in which the translator/ editor would try to “pacify” the censors by condemning the shortcomings of the translated work (Ionescu 2010). It has also been pointed out that the author— or, in this case, the translator— and the reader were constantly engaged in a game of double-entendres and attempts to deceive the censor; a text published under communism could be “understood and not understood in its intention at the same time,” through the use of the so-called Aesopic language (Terian 2013) and the practice of “paranoid reading” (Negrici 2003).

Tailoring world literature to socialist canons went hand in hand with favoring “free translation” as opposed to literal translation, at least in the early stages. Furthermore, in the Soviet Union as well as in Eastern Europe, with many writers unable to publish their own works because of censorship, such translation was also seized upon as a “creative opportunity” by these agents. At the other end of the publishing system, “free translation” was used as a means to enable “censorship and intervention on source texts” (Popa 2013: 28). Nevertheless, overall, the preference for “free translation” was becoming less and less conspicuous by the 1980s, when the “fidelity” of translation had been established as a requirement in the academic world (Jeanrenaud 2017). This development was supported at the level of practice by the publication of dictionaries and translation guidebooks, and by the emergence of professional translators from among the ranks of philologists and professors, (such as Leon Levițchi, Dan Duțescu, Mircea Ivănescu et al), which further led to the recognition of the status and importance of the translators and their work (Dimitriu 2000).

The new type of professionalised translator would ideally abide by the principles put forth at the “National Colloquium on Translations and Universal Literature,” organized in June 1980 (proceedings published in 1981 in a special issue of the magazine *Viața Românească* (Romanian Life)), which emphasised that (1) translation should be complete, (2) direct, and (3) faithful to the form (verse or prose) of the original; (4) the translator should not “overstrain or understrain the

reader;" (5) the end product should not read as a translation; (6) translators should have their readers in mind, just like authors have theirs, (7) and finally, 'affinities' between translators and the work they are translating should exist (quoted in Petraru 2014).

Anthologies of Japanese Poetry in Translation

Japanese novels (realistic and proletarian works) make up the bulk of the translations from Japanese literature in the 1950s and 1960s; the translation was often done collaboratively, and via a third language, in most cases Russian. Involved in the "relay translation"² are usually a relatively famous Romanian writer (who is not fluent in either Japanese or Russian), and a basically unknown collaborator (Russian-sounding names stand out; see, for example, the Gheorghe Voropanov- Jaques Costin pair, who translated Ōta Yōko's "Doko made" (Până când) and Takakura Teru's "Buta no uta" (Cântecul porcului) in 1956, as well as Ion Caraion and Vladimir Vasiliev, in charge of rendering Shimazaki Tōson *Hakai* into Romanian (Legământul călcat) from Russian in 1966). According to Witt, such joint translations carried out by "(monolingual) poets and native speakers" are not uncommon in the anglophone world, either (2019: 55). However, my assumption, which I discuss elsewhere (Holca 2018), is that in the case of Japanese novels translated into Romanian during this period the situation was slightly more complex – not only because of the indirectness of the translation, but also due to the power dynamics between the two collaborators, of which one was quite likely in a "supervising" position, i.e., making sure that the content is appropriate, etc.

Joint relay translations of novels and short stories from Russian become less frequent from the 1970s onward, when Japanese prose is more commonly translated from English (and, more rarely, directly from Japanese) by one individual, often a professional translator or an academic, not a novelist/ poet, as had been the norm in the previous decades (see, for example, the translations of Japanologists Stanca Cionca or Angela Hondru from the late '70s and early '80s). This change illustrates the move away from the Soviet sphere of influence and control, but also reveals a tendency to "play it safe" by choosing older texts: classics such as Sei Shōnagon's *Makura no sōshi*, translated in 1977 by Stanca Cionca as *Însemnări de căpătîi*, or Chikamatsu Monzaemon's *Gikyokushū*, translated as *Poeme dramatice* by Angela Hondru in 1980; or popular folk tales like *Taketori monogatari* and *Ochikubo monogatari*, which appeared in 1986 in Alexandru Ivănescu's translation.

On the other hand, Japanese poetry seems to have been translated mainly from "major" European languages other than Russian even in the early years of the communist regime. Thus, in a sense, poetry translation appears to bypass the power relations that governed culture production in postwar Romania – indeed,

² According to Dollerup (apud Witt 2019), relay translation is one where "the mediating text is a work in its own right with its own target audience," i.e., a published translation in a third language, as opposed to the Soviet practice of using "intermediate intralines" (*podstrochniki*) in the same language as the target text (Witt 2019: 55).

we might argue that translated poetry was conceived as inhabiting a space beyond political entanglements, thanks to the multiple layers of “defamiliarisation” that characterise it: first, Japanese poetry was the cultural product of a geographically and linguistically extremely distant Other; next, the selection, leaning heavily towards ancient and pre-modern poems, added temporal distance, too; and finally, the choice to translate especially Japanese fixed form poetry such as *tanka* or *haiku* functioned as an additional “estrangement” mechanism, further removing the texts from everyday language (in Russian formalist terms) and from life itself, thus presenting them as ideologically safe expressions of a quasi-alien nature.

I have analysed in more detail elsewhere (Holca 2019) the role that the cosmopolitan “magazine for literature and art,” *Secolul XX*, played in bringing Japanese poetry to the attention of its readers in the 1960s. It is also in this magazine that we find an early example problematising the indirectness of translation and the otherness of Japanese poetry. The February 1966 issue of the magazine carries the article “Cronica traducerilor: O antologie a dragostei (Translations review: An anthology of love),” wherein Edgar Papu discusses Maria Banuș’s *Din poezia de dragoste a lumii* (The love poetry of the world, 1965, Editura pentru literatură universală), which contains thirteen Japanese poems among its over 500 compiled pieces. As the poet-translator herself confesses in the “Preface,” the poems are rendered into Romanian through the “imperfect method” of indirect translation, which does not allow her to “always interact with the intimate tissue of poetic thought.” In his review in *Secolul XX*, Papu makes special note of the problems encountered by Banuș when it comes to translating the prosody of *tanka* and *haiku*, and concludes that “this type of poetry is too foreign to us and too different from our language to ask that the translator follows its original rhythm.” Interestingly, even though the anthology also includes African, Chinese, Aztec, Indonesian, and other poems, Papu is using the Japanese fixed forms to make his argument— perhaps because they are exotic enough for his purpose, but also fairly well known to the Romanian audience thanks to the previous interventions I will discuss next.

To shed further light on the ways in which translators and readers interacted with Japanese literature in Romanian, let us take a closer look at the anthologies of Japanese poetry published in the country. Some early examples are those by Al.T. Stamatiad: *Din cântecele curtezanelor japoneze* (Songs by Japanese courtesans; 1942, Editura Vremea), and *Eșarfe de mătase* (Silk scarves; 1943, Editura Contemporană)³. Stamatiad’s second anthology, compiled based on no fewer than eighteen French sources (as listed in the bibliography) is particularly important, as it received the prize of the Romanian Academy in 1944. The translator, a famous poet, had also published an anthology of translated Chinese poetry, *Din flautul de jad* (The jade flute; 1939, Cartea Românească), and had been praised by Al. Anestin (*Ordinea* 1939 Vol.13; quoted at the end of *Eșarfe de mătase*) for the “beautiful

³ I have not been able to consult an earlier example, Traian Chelariu’s *Suflet nipon* (Japanese soul); 1936.

language, rich in limpid images with well-defined contours, which appeal through their sincerity and clarity" that he used in his translations. Romanian literary historian and critic Perpessicius too commanded Stamatiad for his ability to capture and convey the "internal rhythm of each poet" by foregoing an overdependence on formal features such as rhyme (which "is one of the most fertile means of attaining virtuosity in poetry, but has more than once caused a translator to drown") and instead relying on his "mastery of the sources of the Romanian language" (*Romania*, 1939, Vol. 18; quoted at the end of *Eșarfe de mătase*).

Stamatiad's 1943 anthology consists mainly of fixed form short poems (*tanka* and *haiku*) from the classical and early modern periods, with only a few examples of new style poetry and free verse from the later decades of the modern period. Interestingly, from the Meiji period (1868-1912), alongside poems by famous writers such as Yosano Tekkan, Yosano Akiko, or Ishikawa Takuboku, the anthology includes a selection of anonymous poems written by soldiers in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). This is prefaced by a page-long note by Stamatiad, starting with the comment: "In Japan, everyone is a poet." The comment echoes the well-known adage by man of letters Vasile Alecsandri "The Romanian is born a poet," included in his collection of popular poetry *Balade adunate și îndreptate* (Collected and adapted ballads, 1852). Responding perhaps to Alecsandri, Stamatiad explicates his appreciation for the Japanese poetic spirit by adding that in Japan "if one is not born with the gift of poetry, education will fill in that gap." He goes on to explain the formal characteristics of the *haiku* and *tanka* and justifies their ubiquity in the Japanese life through their brevity—which encourages the reader to finish the poet's "often unfinished phrase" through a "subtle and intimate collaboration"—but also through the direct social roles they tend to play, as "gifts, or expressions of thanks, (...) or as ways of putting into words the tears of those saying goodbye." Interestingly, the tendency to include a fairly great number of anonymous poems in anthologies is maintained in later volumes, too; while for Stamatiad it more likely had to do with the characteristics of the sources he was working with (which also included many anonymous poems), in later years this particular focus is arguably linked to the tendency to attach value (at least on the surface, as a gesture to "pacify the censor") to the "poetry of the masses," opposing it to the decadent ethos of the aristocracy (Ioan Timuș, *Secolul XX*, 1963.9), or the "arbitrariness of an exacerbated feudal military system" (Dan Constantinescu, *Secolul XX*, 1966.3).

There are no new anthologies of Japanese poetry published in the 1950s and 1960s, as far as I was able to ascertain; instead, translated prose took centre-stage for a while, and poetry was only occasionally published, in magazines such as *Secolul XX*. Starting with the 1970s and '80s new anthologies appear; in the following, I will analyse three representative works, looking at their contents as

well as their paratexts (forewords, afterwords, covers, illustrations, etc), and considering the compilers' choice of sources, genres, scope, etc⁴.

The first work analysed here is the anthology *Din lirica japoneză* (Japanese poetry) edited by Ioan Acsan, which appeared from Editura pentru literatură universală (Publishing house for world literature) in 1970. The volume contains circa 500 poems, ranging from ceremonial poetry from the Nara period (710-794) to free verse from the Shōwa period (1926-1989). The texts are translated by six more or less well-known poets of the time: Ioan Acsan, Violeta Zamfirescu, Vasile Zamfir, Ioanichie Olteanu, Dan Constantinescu, and Virgil Teodorescu. Some of the poems included had been previously published in *Secolul XX* in the 1960s – but interestingly enough, usually in someone else's translation (for example, Shimazaki Tōson's *Hatsukoi* is translated by Mihai Beniuc in *Secolul XX*, and by Dan Constantinescu in the anthology; Nakano Shigeharu's *Kikansha* is originally rendered in Romanian for *Secolul XX* by Tașcu Gheorghiu, while the version included in the anthology belongs to Virgil Teodorescu, etc). This indicates that all the poets who wanted to try their hand at translating Japanese poetry had to choose from the same limited pool of “originals” and thus sometimes ended up translating the same works. Acsan et al.'s sources are listed in the bibliography at the end of the volume, which contains eleven foreign language anthologies: four in English, four in French, one in German, one Italian, and one Russian.

A post-communist edition of the same anthology, entitled *Țara cireșilor în floare: poezia Japoniei* (The country of cherry blossoms: the poetry of Japan) appeared in 1995 from Editura Grai și Suflet – Cultura Națională. It contains a note by Acsan, in which he details his efforts to republish the volume in 1974; according to him, these efforts were thwarted by the censoring authorities as a result of the fact that two of the contributors to the first edition (one of the translators, Dan Constantinescu, and the illustrator, Emil Chendea) had fled to Germany and Canada, respectively. While fleeing the country would indeed make one a persona non grata, Acsan's hypothesis in this particular case might not hold: after all, the “runaway” Constantinescu published his own compilation of translated *haiku* in 1974 (see footnote 2), and in 1981, the pair was able to publish another anthology together (see below). More likely, the publication of new works was prioritised over the republication of an older one for economic reasons.

The post-communist edition omits the courtesan songs included in the older one, and subsequently removes from the bibliography the French anthology that had been used for their translation; no reason is given for the omission, but we could assume that it was a combination of economic factors and the fact that courtesan songs had appeared already twice in Romanian translation by that time. The new edition also removes the Russian volume, which does not seem to have served as the source of any particular text and was likely included in the list only as a “safety measure.” The bibliography for the revised edition contains eighteen

⁴ I have not been able to consult a fourth important anthology of the period, *Haiku – lirică niponă* (Haiku: Japanese poetry, 1974, Editura Albatros), compiled and translated by Dan Constantinescu.

volumes: nine in English, six in French, two in German, and one in Italian, the oldest from 1909 and the newest from 1964.

The thirty-nine *sumie* (brush sketches in black ink) by Emil Chendea are unfortunately not included in *Țara cireșilor în floare: poezia Japoniei*, which came out in paperback, on low quality paper. This deprives the reader of the Japan-inspired, beautifully abstract visual element (see Fig. 1&2) that was likely part of the charm of the 1970 edition – published as a hard cover and on better quality paper.

On the other hand, the preface written by poet Vasile Nicolescu is present in both editions. After a brief reference to Romanian poet Alexandru Macedonski's experiments with short form poetry on Japanese topics in the 1920s, Nicolescu goes on to discuss the "essentialisation," "the science of nuances" and the "simple, almost ritual magic" that characterises Japanese poetry. Even though the anthology contains a good deal of longer poems, such as classical *chōka* or modern "new style poetry" (*shintaiishi*) and free verse, Nicolescu focuses on fixed forms, especially *haiku*, stressing the brevity and exoticism of Japanese poetic expression, with its special focus on natural elements ("a fairy-like company of butterflies, flowers, birds, snow, insects, dew, cranes, frogs, the moon, the scents") that concentrate "human dramas" with "unexpected density." We see here an emphasis on the "traditional" poetry of Japan that will continue in the next anthologies and will also leave its mark on the more general discourse about translation that we find in the seminal works of Gelu Ionescu and Ioan Kohn discussed at the end of this section.

In 1981, the same Ioan Acsan edited, together with Dan Constantinescu, *Antologie de poezie clasică japoneză* (Anthology of classical Japanese poetry), published from Editura științifică și enciclopedică (Scientific and encyclopedic publishing house). The volume, with the Japanese characters for *tanka* and *haiku* featuring prominently on the cover (Fig. 3), includes only poems belonging to the two genres, further increasing their visibility and popularity among the Romanian readers. The bibliography is extensive (twenty-two volumes for *tanka* and fourteen for *haiku*) and contains anthologies and critical works about Japanese literature, history, and philosophy, in English, French, German, and Italian – the oldest from 1892 and the newest from 1974.

Based on the title of the anthology, one might expect a collection of poems written during Japan's antiquity, perhaps all the way to its pre-modern times; actually, the volume also contains "modern classics," i.e., *tanka* and *haiku* written by Meiji reformers of the genre such as Masaoka Shiki and Takahama Kyoshi, or by poets well-versed in new style and free style poetry who also experimented with the "classical" genres, such as Ishikawa Takuboku and Kitahara Hakushū. In the short vignettes introducing some of these poets, even though the compilers mention their achievements in other genres, the discourse tends to "reclaim" them as creators of traditional fixed form poetry – albeit a modernised one that is striving to adapt to the times. For example, the one-page introduction of Masaoka Shiki discusses briefly his *tanka* and *haiku* reforms, his focus on "objective description," "preference for real images" and desire to break with the pre-

modern tradition burdened by artificiality and mannerisms— but ends with a comment on Shiki's "connecting the past with the present," in the face of a contemporary fascination for European literature that was "threatening to shake Japan's traditional balance." Likewise, the turn of phrase describing Hakushū's abandoning free verse in favour of *tanka*, or the notes on Takuboku's and Yosano Akiko's poetic oeuvre seem to attach more value to their involvement with the "classical" genres than with "modern" (western-inspired) ones. It is worth noting here that the same vignettes are present in the 1995 edition of the 1970 anthology edited by Acsan; this proves once again that *haiku* and *tanka*, in spite of the inclusion of a wider range of poetic forms in some of these anthologies, were the genres that more often than not continued to catch the imagination of Romanian poet-translators and their readers. Further proof is the double special issue on Japan in *Secolul XX* (1972.6-7), which contains a thirty-page section entitled "Clipa și durată" (Instant and duration), of which more than half is dedicated to considerations on the *haiku* by Romanian (Dan Constantinescu, Aurel Rău) and foreign authors (Kenneth Yasuda, Octavio Paz). Here, many of the previous discussions about the Japanese appetite for brevity and essentialisation are reiterated, with examples from Bashō, Shiki, et al. The same special issue includes detailed accounts about other Japanese "traditional" arts, especially theatre, with translations of Nō, bunraku and kabuki plays, but also introductory pieces about ceramics, calligraphy, and architecture, with numerous images, demonstrating the continued fascination for "exotic" Japan.

Alongside brief introductions for some of the major poets, the anthology includes a preface, written by Acsan, in which he gives detailed definitions of the main Japanese poetic forms, again exalting their brevity and linking it to the preference for "miniature" in other Japanese arts. This is followed by a compact history of Japan, which dwells at some length on the tradition of poetry anthologies— i.e., official collections compiled from the 8th century until the 15th, often under the patronage of the imperial family. Acsan mentions the "afterlife" of Japanese poetry in the *haiku* and other short poems written by European and American poets but quotes François Toussaint's cautionary observation in his chapter on Japanese literature from *Histoire des littératures* (Encyclopedie de la Pléiade) that "due to its Japanese origin and its essence, *haiku* cannot be adapted or copied, nor, if we are completely honest, can it be translated. A French *haiku* is as absurd and inconceivable as a Japanese alexandrine."⁵

Acsan concludes his preface with technical details on the translation process of the anthology at hand: according to him, the translators worked with bilingual editions (Japanese original transliterated in alphabet and a European language), as well as editions with ample notes by established scholars. He adds: "the Japanese five-syllable verse can only coincidentally be rendered with its Romanian equivalent. What I have tried to follow is the original structure,

⁵ It should be added here that there had actually been a "*haiku* boom" after 1965 in Romania, and even established poets such as Marin Sorescu and Nichita Stănescu experimented with the format, albeit briefly.

alternating short and long lines. (...) The Japanese language does not have rhythm, but Romanian does, and this rhythm sometimes asks to be obeyed. (...) Seeing that *tanka* and *haiku* are fixed form poems, many are tempted to equate them with a sonnet or a rondel, forgetting that we are dealing with different rules, that cannot be rendered mechanically." Here too, Acsan stresses the otherness of Japanese fixed form poetry, and proposes it as an exception to the rule of faithfulness to form in translation that had been put forth at the "National Colloquium on Translations and Universal Literature" in June 1980. It should perhaps be mentioned that earlier discussions on poetry translation in *Secolul XX*, e.g., "The prosody of fixed forms" by Romulus Vulpescu (1965. 4) and "How to translate Latin poets" by Lascăr Sebastian (1965. 6) did take a more nuanced approach than the National Colloquium's "rules." For instance, Vulpescu points out the need to translate both content and form, but not mechanically, while Sebastian argues that the impact of poetic forms changes over time, and hence it is their effect on the reader that needs to be "translated" (for a more detailed contextual analysis of this discussion, see Holca 2019).

Acsan ends his preface with Constantinescu's translation of a *haiku* by master Matsuo Bashō, which he says sums up the ideal of the translator (as one who goes beyond the "shell" and allows himself to be consumed by the essence of the "song"): "Pojghița unui greier:/ El s-a mistuit în cântec/ cu totul..." Constantinescu likely worked from R.H. Blyth's English translation in *Haiku* (1952-64), "A cicada shell;/ it sang itself/ utterly away;" the Bashō original reads "koe ni mina/ nakishimōte ya/ semi no kara," literally "[putting] in its voice everything/ cried [itself] away/ a cicada's shell." The structure followed in the Romanian rendering is clearly that of the English translation. Furthermore, the Romanian version appears to favor more "poetic" words, such as "pojghița" (film, thin layer of a substance) and "a se mistui" (to be consumed/ to pine away), instead of the straightforward equivalents in Japanese/ English (*kara*= shell, *nakishimofu*= sing [oneself] away). It can be argued that this example is representative of the translation methods employed in the entire anthology.

Constantinescu, who was in charge of selecting and translating the *haiku* included in the anthology, writes his own preface included halfway through the volume. Drawing on several French (Karl Petit, Georges Bonneau), English (R.H. Blyth, Kenneth Yasuda) and German (D. T. Suzuki) sources, Constantinescu gives his reader a detailed account of the formal features of *haiku*, its historical development, along with keys to interpreting it. He stresses the fact that "striving to analyse, to dissect, the 'explicate' the *haiku* goes against its very nature," which is born when words and experience become one. Quoting a "pure *haiku*" by Bashō, he also refutes the perceived darkness of some of the short poems; with these two arguments, he is likely responding to socialist realism's criticism against the *haiku*'s penchant for allusion and abstraction, as well as the more general directive against gloomy, depressing literature (the communist "new man" was an optimist par excellence).

The Bashō *haiku* chosen to illustrate the “reduction to essentials” is “kare eda ni/ karasu no tomaritaru ya/ aki no kure;” a word for word translation would be “on the barren branch/ a crow is perched/ autumn dusk.” Numerous translations of this poem exist⁶, and, according to Constantinescu’s bibliography, he had been able to consult at least three—most of them quite similar to the literal one given by the author of this paper above. Constantinescu opts instead for a more elliptic rendition: “The branch—barren/ The raven—above/ evening, autumn,” criticising the excessive focus on rendering the *haiku* in foreign translation using the same seventeen syllable structure. He argues that the effect of immediacy (“uttered in one breath”) in Japanese is likely lost in other languages, and recommends a more flexible approach, reminding one of Sebastian’s idea of “translating” the effect prosody has on the reader, and not prosodical forms per se. We might also add here that Japanese *haijin* were often not as strict about the syllable count as they appeared to be in the discourse of Western translators: as a matter of fact, Bashō’s “barren branch” *haiku* has twenty (and, in another version, nineteen) syllables instead of seventeen; this is a stylistic device, called *ji-amari* (excess of signs), which, along with its counterpart *ji-tarazu* (insufficient signs), were often used to break the established rhythm, stressing an image or a feeling. Also, technically speaking, what was excessive or insufficient were “signs,” not syllables; the *haijin* were in fact counting moras, or *haku* in Japanese, which are rhythmic units each rendered with one phonetic sign, and might or might not correspond to syllables. For example, the verb “nakishimōte” in Bashō’s *haiku* that Acsan mentions in his preface has five syllables, but is actually made up of six moras and written with six *kana* signs (な き し も ふ て), the sixth used one to indicate the long “o” sound. For the Romanian translators, who did not work with original texts, such details were immaterial, and also likely unknown; all they could do is react against a too strict focus on the fidelity of translating form, an unnecessary practice that they perceived as detrimental to the “natural breath” of the *haiku*.

The next anthology to appear is *Poezie japoneză contemporană* (Contemporary Japanese poetry, 1984, Editura Dacia), translated and compiled by Emil Eugen Pop. Pop is not a poet, but a professional translator, and as a result almost no information is available about his life and work, except a handful of publications with his name on them and a listing in the directory of accredited translators in the early 2000s. As opposed to all its predecessors, Pop’s anthology is translated directly from Japanese and compiled based on original Japanese sources, four individual poetry collections and two anthologies; the sources are comparatively new, dating from 1969 to 1979. Pop’s anthology is also the only one to focus on new style, free verse, and modernist poetry, including poems in prose. Interestingly, the existence of Pop’s anthology stands in contradiction with the commonly held idea that communist authorities rejected modernism as an expression of Western decadence. We might note here that comments against the

⁶ For a comparative analysis of the English language translations, see Elin Sütiste 2001.

pitfalls of modernism also accompany two of the series of Japanese translations published in *Secolul XX* in the 1960s—all the while including works by modernists in the selection; this is likely an instance of the translators paying lip service to the censors, anticipating and defusing their criticism ante factum (for details, see Holca 2019).

The volume includes several Japanese ideograms/ *kanji* (e.g., for "taste" "nothingness" "brush" etc— see Fig. 4&5), which might seem to perpetuate an older practice of inserting signs of "Japaneseness" as mere decoration, as seen for example in some issues of *Secolul XX*, where random *ukiyo*e woodblock prints or upside-down characters are reproduced alongside the Japanese poems. In Pop's case, though, these ideograms can be "read" as echoing the observation he makes in his postface: "to compensate for 'musicality,' the Japanese language has a great potential for 'pictoriality,' easy to understand if we remember that the ideogram (pictogram) is not a conventional sign, but rather a simplified, stylised graphical representation of an object." He illustrates this argument by quoting the famous poem "Plates" (*Sara*) by Takahashi Shinkichi, which is made up by the ideogram for plate (皿) repeated twenty four times, like a stack of twenty four plates. To this, Pop claims, the reader's first reaction is "to hold the book as steady as possible so as not to break the twenty-four plates—which will, nevertheless, turn to pieces in the last two lines of the poem: 'When you break plates/ one can hear boredom echoing.'" Pop's work with the original Japanese helps him bring to the reader a new way of looking at Japanese poetry, shifting the focus from fixed form to the materiality of the written language (i.e., the meaning hidden in the shape and display of the signs themselves).

Pop adds: "lexical segregation, which characterises the fixed form of classical prosody, is abolished; poetry becomes a parliament of language where every word can raise its voice, regardless of its number of syllables or how far back the branches of its etymological tree extend," stressing, thus, the democratisation of poetry and poetic language in modern Japan. And yet, like his predecessor Acsan (and Toussaint et al before him), Pop still feels the need to warn his readers that "the attempt to render *haiku* exactly as is in other languages will be as successful as translating and singing a mourning *doina* [Romanian peasant song] in German, expecting Johann and Annemarie to experience the same feelings of despair. With his predecessors, he concludes that "the spirit of the *haiku* (...) can be assimilated by non-Japanese people too, but not necessarily in its 17-syllable form," finishing his tirade with an allusion to a Romanian poet who traveled to Japan in the 1970s⁷ and, "stirred by his encounter with the country of Bashō," wrote *haiku*-like verse, which, according to Pop "get the form right, but are confused about the content"—an issue with most non-Japanese trying to write Japanese fixed-form poetry.

⁷ Pop is likely referring here to Aurel Rău, who traveled to Japan in 1971 and published *În inima lui Yamato – 9 priviri lirice asupra Japoniei* (In Yamato's heart: 9 lyrical views of Japan) in 1973 from Albatros Publishing House.

As other anthologists before him, when discussing *haiku* Pop cautions against mechanically translating the formal characteristics of the genre, especially the number of syllables and lines; these were all well-discussed features in foreign as well as Romanian literature, and readers likely associated the very idea of "Japanese poetry" with its brevity constraints—which formed the core of its alterity and also the reason why so many were drawn to it. In this context, it is not surprising that Pop and his predecessors often strongly object not only to the mechanical translation of *tanka* and *haiku*, but even more so to the appropriation of the form while ignoring its spirit, in what they perceive as forcing together different realities and poetic traditions, thus creating impossible mutants such as "a French *haiku*," "a Japanese alexandrine," or "a German *doina*."

Finally, it should be noted here that in the contemporaneous discourse on translation in general there is a marked tendency continuing well into the 1980s for critics to take Japanese poetry or literature as the perfect example of the incomprehensible (and untranslatable) Other. Pioneering works of Romanian translation studies such as Gelu Ionescu's *Orizontul traducerii* (The horizon of translation, 1981) and Ioan Kohn's *Virtuțile compensatorii ale limbii române* (Compensating features of Romanian in translation, 1983) are cases in point. In his "Interlude: in the Japanese literary salons of the year 1000," Ionescu refers to the 1977 Romanian translation of Sei Shōnagon's *Makura no sōshi* (The Pillow Book/Însemnări de căpății; Stanca Cionca tr.), while also mentioning the poetic form of *haiku* briefly, and stresses their foreignness and cultural distance. He concludes that Shōnagon's story feels "unrealistic," "fantastic", and "indecipherable" to us, because the very essence of the soul it describes is "different from ours, as Europeans." To understand Shōnagon, he has to compare her with Proust, "europenising" it.

Kohn too illustrates some of his ideas about the difficulty of translation by stating that notions such as "table" or "fountain" are different in Japanese and French, and pointing out, with Ortega y Gasset, that languages are different because they stem from different mental patterns. He repeatedly takes the *haiku* as an example of distant other, arguing that its translation must "at the same time be an autonomous artistic event, and carry in it the national-historic specificity [of the original]." In another chapter, he does claim that prosodic elements should be preserved in translation— but this particular argument he illustrates with Greek and Latin poetry, with which European languages, Romanian included, have an arguably different relationship, i.e., a sense of belonging to the same cultural space.

Conclusions

To sum up, from the 1970s to the 1980s translation discourse sharpens its focus on direct and faithful translation, and professional translators working directly with the original source language become predominant. References to Japanese literature continue to revolve around short fixed-form poetry, especially *haiku* and its limitations in translation. Indirectness does not come up in these discussions, mainly because by this time it was no longer a problem as far as "major" languages

were concerned. On the other hand, "minor" languages such as Japanese were used mostly as stand-ins for indecipherability and otherness, and indirectness in translation does not garner any references even in the anthology paratexts discussed above. We could perhaps construe some of Pop's observations about working with original texts and being able to "read" the materiality of language as hidden criticism directed at his predecessors who used mainly English or French texts as their sources, but this is nowhere made clear.

Acsan& Constantinescu's work draws heavily on the choice of poems and technical solutions of their English, French, German, Italian, etc, counterparts, from the late 1890s to the 1970s. This might be a shortcoming from today's vantage point, but such indirect translation practices actually have an important silver lining. While perhaps not a conscious choice of the compilers, what these collections translated from one "minor" language to another accomplish is placing in dialogue the various "major" languages and translating traditions that they take as their sources, across both time and space. The indirectness can be seen as a mark of the "minority" of the Romanian language, but it also acts as a means through which the translators and readers internalise the Western orientalisng gaze. This mechanism helps them temporarily—and subversively—reclaim an intellectual and spiritual belonging to European culture, by enabling them to position themselves both on the side of the "major" (versus the Japanese "minor") and of "us, the Europeans" (as opposed to "us, the socialists").

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Figure 1. Illustration from Acsan's 1970 anthology, by Emil Chendea

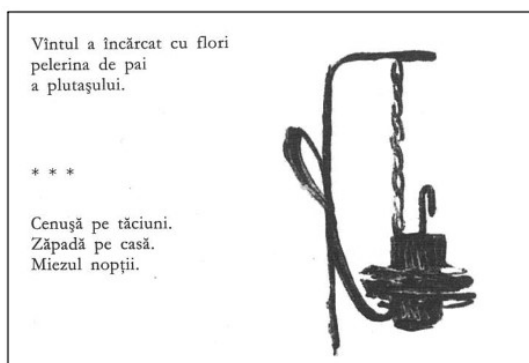


Figure 2. Illustration from Acsan's 1970 anthology, by Emil Chendea

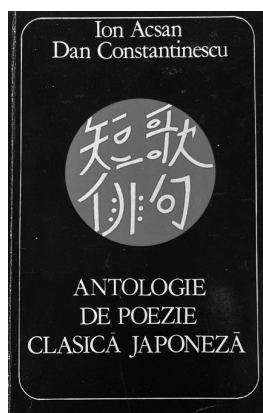


Figure 3. Cover of Acsan& Constantinescu's 1980 anthology

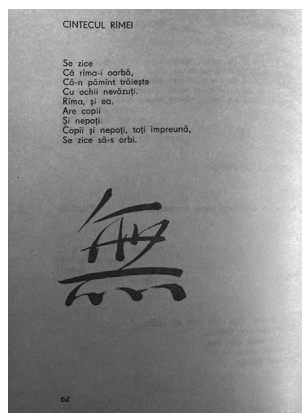


Figure 4. Ideograph for “nothingness” from Emil Pop’s anthology

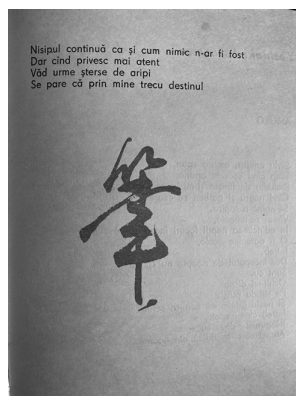


Figure 5. Ideograph for “brush” from Emil Pop’s anthology

OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES: RECONSIDERING TRANSLATION IN THE EFL CLASSROOM

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Abstract: *Translation enables effective communication between people around the world. It is a courier for the transmission of knowledge, a protector of cultural heritage, and essential to the development of a global economy. When it comes to translation in language teaching, one thing seems to be obvious, the use of translation in the EFL classroom has become somewhat of a hot potato over recent years and it seems as if we are seeing a shift in certain ideas surrounding its effectiveness as a teaching tool. A number of foreign language scholars (Bagheri and Fazel, 2011) might consider translation as a useful medium to assist students in acquiring writing, facilitating their comprehension, helping them develop and express ideas in another language, and increasing their motivation to learn English. However, others might entirely discourage using the first language in the classroom (Malmkjar, 1998, Liao, 2006) and believe that translation of first language impedes the acquisition of second language and encourages learners to use L1, often for long periods of class time, when the aim of modern teaching is to remove it from the classroom. The present study is an investigative approach in exploring the two contradictory tendencies toward using translation as a teaching method and the pedagogical implications of the survey devised to measure degrees of translation and the use of the undergraduate students, both philological and non-philological, the use of translation in the English language classroom, its effects, benefits, and limitations.*

Keywords: translation, teaching method, EFL classroom, mother tongue

Introduction

We live in a globalised multilingual world where multimedia communication across distances, cultures and languages is prevailing. Despite the fact that people need English, they do not necessarily want or need to abandon their existing identity and language. The old notion that one learns English to go to an English-speaking country and mingle with a monolingual community, speaking English without reference to one's own language, is simply obsolete and not beneficial.

Throughout the recent history of research into ELT there has been stated the widespread belief that a language is best taught through the medium of that language itself, without reference to, or use of, the students' own languages. So strong is this belief that in many ELT contexts it is not just a recommendation but a law. There are textbooks, methods, syllabuses and organisations in which an English teacher must never use the students' own language; absolutely everything must be in English, always and without exception.

Translation was seen as a long-lived method in learning and teaching foreign or second languages. Prior to emerging Grammar-Translation Method

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(GTM) in the 19th century, grammar had been underlined in language teaching through translation techniques that had been devised in the sixteenth century (Bowen, Madsen, & Hilferty 1985). While GTM was a dominant method focusing almost entirely upon written accuracy achieved through the accumulation of staged grammar rules and vocabulary, and then tested student knowledge through the tedious translation of invented sentences – back and forth between the two languages. Then, for the 19th century the emergence of Direct Method, was of more practical, political, and commercial reasons than theoretical or pedagogic. In the new language schools for business people and tourists, and in classes for immigrants to English-speaking countries, it was simply not possible to use translation. Either the class had speakers of too many different languages or, while the students all spoke the same language, the teacher only spoke English.. The same was often true of the lessons delivered by the new wave of young native-speaker teachers flooding out through the world from the English speaking countries from the 1960s onwards, who were believed to be better models than their non-native counterparts. When thinking about translation current use within the language classroom, it has been observed that non-native English speakers are often much better prepared and willing to use translation effectively with their own students; having experienced its benefits as students and have therefore incorporated it into their own teaching without question.

The spread of English as a lingua franca has led to the belief that students should acquire communication skills rather than knowledge of English, starting at an early age (Nunan 2003:581-613). The reasons are varied, but of economic essence (Enever & Moon 2009:5-21). Consequently, the more recent curricula of TEFL emphasized communication skills and the view that using the native language in the class is a real barrier to effective language learning. Hence translation was considered a poor learning strategy when it comes to the communicative language teaching (CLT) approach, where the best way for the learner to gain aptitude in the target language is to think, particularly, in that language, an act that can increase proficiency in the target language (Husain 1995:59-84).

However, in a cross-linguistic multicultural world translation seems to be real, necessary and communicative and happens wherever there are speakers of more than one language with differential knowledge. Thus there is translation in mixed-language families, or in families whose home language is not that of the majority outside. Granny and Grandad may need a younger generation to help them with filling in a form, and vice versa a grandchild is travelling back home. And translation will be needed when relatives or friends come to stay – even if it's only of a restaurant menu. Schools with a multilingual catchment translate documents for parents and provide new arrivals with buddy interpreters. Any mixed language workforce is going to need some translation. In addition, some Arab bilingual educators (Al-Musawi 2014:2) argue that Arabic is facing a serious

threat by the dominance of English at higher education institutions in Arab world. Hence, they suggest that a consortium of translation centers in Arab countries be established and made available on the internet, and that university students' "ability to translate Arabic technical terms need to be developed". In our globalised economies there is translated information all around us: food labels, airport announcement, subtitles. And all this before we even consider formal interpreting and translation; an activity on which international communication still depends. In short, translation is a widely practised and needed communicative activity.

1. Translation as a teaching method: pros and cons

The use of translation in the EFL classroom has become somewhat of a hot potato over recent years and it seems as if we are noticing a shift in certain ideas surrounding its effectiveness as a teaching tool. Throughout much of the history of research into second language acquisition (SLA), the role of learners' first language (L1) has been a hotly debated issue. Prodromou (2000:7) refers to the mother tongue as a 'skeleton in the closet', while Gabrielatos (2001) calls it a 'bone of contention'. Such views are but a mere reflection of the different methodological shifts in English Language Teaching, which have brought about new and different outlooks on the role of the mother tongue. The conflict itself is taking place in academic circles rather than in classrooms, where the use of L1 is still considered unacceptable owing to the predominance of the communicative method in language teaching.

In the present post-communicative approaches the potential strengths of utilizing translation as a method in the second or foreign language classrooms are as follows (Machida, 2011:742-743):

1. It naturally opens up more opportunities for the learners to focus on forms as well as the meaning of the context;
2. Working back and forth between source and target language may realistically bring not only discussion on linguistic and non-linguistic forms; but also explicit attention to form and meaning of the text,
3. Translating can supply learners the challenging activities such as problem-solving, and integrated linguistic, cultural, and pragmatic knowledge beyond communicating by means of language.

In spite of the negative view toward using the first language of learners in the classroom, most non-native speaker teachers of English have quietly been using the L1, to a lesser or greater extent; "the skeleton has been there all the time, we just haven't wanted to talk about it". According to Vaezi & Mirzaei (2007) "the reason for such treatment of the first language lies in the fact that the psycholinguistic or pedagogic framework which justifies the place of mother tongue in L2 instruction does not exist yet." Smith (1994) in support for bilingual education states that providing children quality education in their first language gives them two things: knowledge and literacy. The knowledge that children get

through their first language helps make the English they hear and read more comprehensible.

Moreover, translation can decrease foreign or second language learners' anxiety. Wenden (1987:573-597) in his study found that interviewing adult learners while speaking English made them anxious; when they were told to plan what they were supposed to say in their first language and give their thoughts via translation, the learners felt calm. They said that planning their thought in the first language and expressing it in the target language via translation could relieve their conflicting emotions.

Calis and Dikilitas (2012) have reported that translation enables students to compare and contrast first and second language playing a positive role in social and compensation strategies. Students feel more approval in learning process when they can find the equivalent of the target structure in their mother tongue and use them in communication. They tend to include translation in target language learning without anxiety and manage their independent study skills as well as develop their interpersonal abilities. Students not only reveal that translation inclusion allows them to interact with their peers, but also it provides them an insight into the effectiveness of translation in communicative language learning and teaching context. Thus, translation may be a useful learning technique through which learners are able to acquire vocabulary, grasp grammar, and eventually comprehend a text.

To reinforce the arguments mentioned above, Karen McGhie (2019) suggests some activities that could be integrated into EFL classes and adapted for different ages and levels

1. **Simultaneous translation of a particular lexical group:** If you are practising vocabulary on a particular topic in class, you can use translation to revise and recycle this. With younger learners, get them to stand in a circle and give one student a ball. Ask them to say a word in English and then throw the ball to another student who has to translate this into the students' L1. Then they have to say another word in English and pass the ball to someone else. Make this more challenging by asking students to repeat the chain of words each time a new one is added, in both languages! For older learners, this can be done in pairs, using small prompt cards too see how quickly they can translate simultaneously.
2. **False/true friend recognition:** Using common false friends or errors identified by the teacher, give students two words (in English and the students' L1) and ask them to raise a 'true' or 'false' card to show whether or not they believe them to be true or false friends. Why not make it more engaging for younger learners and ask them to stand up/sit down or move to one side of the room or the other depending on their answer.
3. **Retranslation of common phrases or sentences:** Student A either writes or copies a phrase or sentence in English which they then pass to Student B. Student B translates this in to their L1 and passes it to Student C. Student C has to translate the phrase back into English (without seeing Student A's

original sentence). Student C passes the phrase/sentence back to Student A and they analyse any differences in the original and the retranslated version. This is very useful for set phrases or structures which are often mis-translated from the students' L1 and allows students to notice their errors in a way that other correction methods simply can't.

4. **Translation of songs:** Ask students to translate lines of their favourite English songs into their L1, and to make it even trickier they have to try and fit their translated version into the rhythm of the song. With younger learners, ask them to translate certain words in songs from the coursebook and then sing the song with words from their L1 to make it more memorable for the students and to help them think about the language in context.
5. **Multiple translations in context:** Use this activity for words in either English or the students' L1 which has multiple translations in the other language. Give students the word in a certain linguistic context and ask them to choose from the translation choices available. You could also use this to help students learn how to use online translation tools such as *Google Translate* or *WordReference* correctly when there is more than one option for translation.

2. Research methodology

The major aims of this research are to show the students' attitudes towards native language usage and interference, to find out the extent of native language usage and to explore impact that mother tongue on English language proficiency. In the research survey there were included 193 students at "Ovidius" University of Constanta, Romania, 120 non-philological, and 73 majored English. All the students were given a short teacher-designed questionnaire consisting of 4- item multiple-choice and an open question referring to the strategies involving translation they use to learn English in an EFL classroom.

Thus, students' responses on the use of mother tongue in the English classes can be discussed as follows: the results show 48% of the non-philological students believe the mother tongue should sometimes be used in the classroom, whereas 33% feel that mother tongue cannot be absolutely neglected from EFL classroom and 18% say that it cannot be used at all. As for the philological students, things are different as 87% of students consider that mother tongue can be totally neglected.

Students' responses on the use of translation in the class:

31% - to help define some new vocabulary items, 17% - to practice the use of some phrases and expressions, 14% - to explain complex grammar points, 26% - to explain difficult concepts, 7% - to give instructions and 4% - to give suggestions on how to learn more effectively. As seen from these results, there are many cases when students need to be provided with translation in their English classes. Moreover, 31% of students need assistance in the learning a new vocabulary, and 26% of them believe that mother tongue can help them in explaining difficult

concepts and ideas. However, the percentage of students who need mother tongue for practicing the use of phrases and expressions, such as collocations and idioms (17%), as well as the ones who find mother tongue supportive in grammar classes (14%), is a percentage that cannot be neglected.

The results from this question "To what extent do you consider translation into native language in the classroom help you learn this language?" show that 53 % of them answered that mother tongue helps a little in learning English. The interpretation of such results is that the students who study English, influenced by new trends in teaching and learning English, generally believe that mother tongue should not be used in the classroom. However, the answers given in the previous questions show that there are many cases and moments when mother tongue is a precious source in gaining new vocabulary, grammar and instructions.

The most frequent strategies that students use in learning English, which represented the answer to the open question, aim at technology aids, electronic dictionaries, and translation to learn English vocabulary words, phrases, idioms, and grammar, to read and to write. They also use translation to clarify differences and similarities between English and their mother-tongue language. Also, students tend to use mental translation to recall the meaning of English words, to understand English texts, and to verify whether they correctly comprehend the articles and reading materials in English in an EFL context.

3. Discussion

The students participating in the survey frequently used translation to learn English vocabulary words, to read, and to write. Moreover, they used several resources, such as electronic dictionaries and online devices, to check reading and listening comprehension. In various situations, they practised mental translation for their thoughts and to ask questions that helped them better understand English words and phrases in their mother language. Through translation, they attempted to clarify any differences and similarities between Romanian and English. Also, when reading and speaking English, they attempted grasp the meaning of what they read without first thinking of the Romanian equivalent. These findings partially confirmed the results of Liao (2006), Bagheri and Fazel (2011), studies that considered translation as an effective strategy to improve reading skills in English.

The strategies that the students used least were not using translation as a strategy to learn English idioms and phrases or to learn grammar through Romanian explanations of English grammar rules. These findings are somewhat inconsistent with Liao (2006), in which these strategies were found to be frequently used by Taiwanese college students to learn English.

Based on students' responses, it can be indicated that the translation of some words, complex ideas, or even whole passages is a good way to learn a foreign language. Good language learners tend to use limited translation to gain a focus on form, which is then made fluent through more immersion-based communication.

There are some limitations of using questionnaire as a tool for collecting students' opinions on issues of teaching and learning as respondents tend to change or hide their real attitudes to be sociably acceptable. Finally, limitation is related to the possibility of generalization of the findings of study, as this can be limited only to populations with similar culture.

Conclusion

To sum up, there is no harm in using translation as a teaching strategy for learning English in an EFL context as long as it is not overused in class.. The research mentioned in the study states that translation in language teaching is a natural language learning tool providing teachers can harness it to a certain extent.

Students in early stages of learning the language are certainly exposed to some explanation in their mother tongue especially when explaining difficult grammar rules that the students cannot grasp in English. Thus bilingual method or approach to teaching English has always been welcomed only when a need arises.

In upper levels, however, students are expected to understand explanations in English. They should not be encouraged to rely on translation as this will eventually become a habit and they will have less interest in learning the language in its natural native context.

At the University level, the whole strategy becomes rather subtle. If a teacher has a rather weak class whose overall level in English language is very poor, he or she may find himself shifting to the translation approach when a need comes up. English major students, and students who are learning all their courses through the medium of English, are exposed in their courses only to English. They are not encouraged by teachers to use their mother tongue as this certainly conflicts with the college's objectives of learning their degree program.

This study is not advocating that translation should be used when teaching a foreign language. No matter how learners' proficiency level is, using translation in teaching grammar is efficient. Understanding some difficult vocabularies or grammar points without translating them to Romanian is impossible. However, it should be extremely limited and only used as a last resort, particularly in teaching vocabulary; when the teacher cannot explain anymore.

Generally speaking, foreign language teachers, regardless of the levels taken in their teaching, overtly or covertly integrate translation to their teaching activity. This may be done to contribute students' better comprehension or to help teachers overcome a time-consuming activity in the class and make it easier to cover. On the one hand, some teachers deem translation appropriate as a time saving medium which can reduce students' anxiety and endorse their understanding. Yet, they believe that using constant translation will make students start using it as a matter of course, and even teachers may become over-reliant on using translation as a form of clarification and checking understanding.

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STYLISTIC CHOICES IN CLIMATE CHANGE COMMUNICATION. A CASE STUDY

Mariana NEAGU¹

Abstract: *The paper deals with the different contextual factors that may influence the speaker's stylistic choices. The perspective taken follows (Kovecses, 2015) who looks at contextual components as frames that are nested in one another: the physical setting as the outermost frame, which includes the social frame that contains the cultural frame and so on, and the innermost frame where we find the speaker, the hearer and the topic*

The topic under analysis is climate change communication, more precisely the British Prime Minister's address at the conference known as COP26 (Conference of the Parties, the 26th edition), hosted at Glasgow, at the beginning of November, 2021.

Keywords: metaphor, local context, global context, cultural allusion, cognitive style.

Introduction

One of the world's most pressing problems, climate change or, more realistically put "climate crisis", was lately debated at the conference known as COP26 that took place at Glasgow, at the beginning of November, 2021. This global summit (also referred to as the "planet saving" summit) attended by 200 countries was seen as crucial if climate change is to be brought under control. Opening this conference, the British Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, said the world is "at one minute to midnight on that doomsday clock and we need to act now."

The aim of the article is to analyse how metaphors, analogies and cultural allusions in the PM's address can contribute (or not) to conveying and reinforcing ideas and thoughts, changing attitudes and behaviours. The research questions relate to the role of contextual factors that may explain the shaping of a personal style that sometimes has been labelled as "strangely unsuited to the grave occasion and to his non-British audience". Thus, one of the issues to be addressed is "to what extent is the understanding of a text dependent upon a particular cultural background?"

The theoretical framework of the present study has been provided by Zoltan Kovecses book, published in 2015, "Where metaphors come from?", as well as Ritva Leppihalme's 1997 work on allusions. Equally useful for climate change communication was Anne Armstrong, Marianne Krasny and Jonathon Schuldt (2018) who explain the greenhouse effect: gases in the atmosphere such as CO₂, nitrous oxide, and methane trap heat radiated from the earth just as the panes of a greenhouse trap the sun's heat.

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The problem of the climate crisis is made easy to understand by THE CLIMATE IS A BIG BATH TUB metaphor, where the bathtub represents the climate system, the water level represents CO2 and adding water from the tap means addition of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere from human sources. If we keep adding water, eventually the tub will overflow unless we pull the drain to let some water out. Similarly, the atmosphere will overflow with CO2 unless we drain enough of it through carbon sinks.

A report made by Carbone 4, a provider of Climate, and Biodiversity Data Solutions warns that

"the bathtub is now full. ... As long as the tap remains open, the water will continue to rise and the tub will eventually overflow, which means more concretely that the rise in temperature will reach a particularly dangerous level."(<https://techunwrapped.com/the-bathtub-metaphor-explains-the-whole-problem-of-the-climate-crisis/>)

Opening the COP26 climate conference, the British Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, put even more emphasis on this idea by saying that the world is on a path to destruction and humanity has to take immediate measures.

The next section will investigate how metaphors, analogies and cultural allusions in the PM's address can contribute (or not) to conveying and reinforcing ideas and thoughts, changing attitudes and behaviours.

1. Data Analysis and Findings

The data under investigation come from PM Boris Johnson's address at COP26 World Leaders Summit Opening Ceremony and from PM address to the COP26 Forests & Land-use event: 2 November 2021; the texts produced a corpus of 2328 words.

The physical setting and cultural frame

As it is known, genre is a conventionalized form of speaking or writing associated with a particular communicative event and reflects the cultural context within which it is constructed. From the beginning, Boris Johnson's opening address to the Glasgow climate change conference outlines the context of situation by using an element of cultural context, a British cultural icon: James Bond:

(1) "... welcome to COP, welcome to Glasgow and to Scotland whose most globally famous fictional son is almost certainly a man called James Bond

who generally comes to the climax of his highly lucrative films strapped to a doomsday device

desperately trying to work out which coloured wire to pull to turn it off..."
(<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-address-at-cop26-world-leaders-summit-opening-ceremony>)

The metaphor FIGHTING THE CLIMATE CRISIS IS WRESTLING WITH A TICKING BOMB is the underlying metaphor of the speech by means of which the idea of extreme emergency is expressively conveyed:

(2) while a red digital clock ticks down remorselessly to a detonation that will end human life as we know it

and we are in roughly the same position, my fellow global leaders, as James Bond today (ibidem)

The TICKING BOMB metaphor is linguistically realized in varied forms, as can be seen in the fragments below:

(3) ... the tragedy is that this is not a movie, and the doomsday device is real. (ibidem)

(4) It's one minute to midnight on that doomsday clock and we need to act now. (ibidem)

(5) We have the technology to deactivate that ticking doomsday device. (ibidem)

(6) ... and yes my friends – we have brought you to the very place where the doomsday device began to tick. (ibidem)

Example (6) interestingly alludes to the very invention of a great British scientist who, in 1776 came up with the steam engine that brought about significant changes in the Industrial Revolution. This scientist is more or less ironically associated with the place where the climate change summit was organized:

(7) ... it was here in Glasgow 250 years ago that James Watt came up with a machine that was powered by steam that was produced by burning coal.

(<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-address-at-cop26-world-leaders-summit-opening-ceremony>)

The speaker uses this reference to stress the idea that even though for 200 years the industrialized countries did not realize the problem they were creating, now it is mainly their duty to find the funds for green technology. This intertwining of the local context conceptualized through prominent figures with the global context reminding of what is urgently needed to be done shows one of the speaker's stylistic preferences.

The main advantage of allusions and figurative structures is provided by their functions that otherwise may be difficult to perform literally (e.g. to express disapproval, criticism or condemnation in a socially acceptable way).

Forest-related metaphors and analogies

The British leader's address to the COP 26 Forests and Land use event, held on 2 November 2021, opens with a word of gratitude to Sir David Attenborough, a famous English broadcaster known for his natural history documentary series that

stands for a comprehensive survey of animal and plant life on Earth. Boris Johnson names him “*a giant redwood of environmental campaigner*”, a metaphor that points both to the immediate communicative situation and its topic (redwood, environment) and to the remarkable, long-standing activism of Sir David Attenborough.

The “stewards” of the natural environment, i.e. the indigenous people, provide the next focus in the PM’s speech:

(8) *We cannot deal with the devastating loss of habitats and species without tackling climate change, and we cannot deal with climate change without protecting our natural environment, and respecting the rights of indigenous people who are its stewards.* (<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-boris-johnsons-address-to-the-cop26-forests-land-use-event>)

Actually, humanity as a whole has to take responsibility and protect natural environment, by putting an end to its role as “nature’s conqueror” and become “nature’s custodian”.

More specifically, the topic of deforestation and land use is approached through metaphor variation ranging from cliché (*forests as the lungs of our planet*) to beautiful original ones (*forests as pillared cathedrals of nature*)

(9) *These great teeming ecosystems – these pillared cathedrals of nature – are the lungs of our planet, and their destruction, together with agriculture and other land use change, accounts for almost a quarter of all global emissions.* (ibidem)

The ending part of Boris Johnson’s address to the COP 26 Forests and Land use event contains an analogy that is seemingly “not for a domestic audience”:

(10) *So ...protecting our forests is not only the right course of action to tackle climate change but also the right path to a better and more prosperous future for us all.*

Like the advance of Birnam Wood at the end of Shakespeare’s great Scottish tragedy, let’s work together to not just protect the forest but to ensure that forests return. (ibidem)

The reference to Birnam Wood, a wood in central Scotland that is mentioned in Shakespeare’s play “Macbeth” seems too subtle and complex and not very easy to grasp by an international audience and presumably challenged some of the interpreters present at the conference.

Syntactically, forest-related metaphors often have this structure: NounPhrase1 of NounPhrase2 (N1 of N2): N1 is the Vehicle term (V-term) which refers to the source domain of real world knowledge, directly experienced; it confers qualities on an abstract concept; N2 is the Topic term (T-term) which relates to the metaphoric target domain and designates the subject to which the attributes are applied.

Concluding remarks

The British Prime Minister's preference for cultural allusions and metaphor is noticeable in his addresses at the opening ceremony of COP26. Whether they are out of place or unsuited to the grave occasion (as stated by some journalists) has not been relevant to this study. Most important is their persuasive power, if they convinced global leaders to channel funds to protect the environment and to actively involve in diminishing the planet crisis.

The TICKING BOMB metaphor, usually associated with war, is very powerful, but placed within the cultural frame provided by the fictional character, James Bond, becomes less scary and only suggests a sense of urgency and risk.

The forest-related metaphors in the Prime Minister's second address at the COP26 (Forests and Land use event) seem to look at people as part of the solution of the problem as he refers to Indigenous people as "the stewards of natural environment" and to humanity as "nature's custodian", thus expressing positive emotions that might have a stronger impact on the audience. This would probably be a more suited way to bring about the change in the fundamental way we treat the planet because only people can maintain the balance of the world.

Corpus

<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-address-at-cop26-world-leaders-summit-opening-ceremony>, last accessed November 22, 2021

<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-boris-johnsons-address-to-the-cop26-forests-land-use-event>, last accessed December 13, 2021

<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/nov/05/bit-like-a-clown-boris-johnson-makes-impression-cop26>, last accessed December 15, 2021

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES (ESP) THROUGH ON-LINE TRANSLATION AND VOCABULARY INSTRUCTION

Violeta NEGREA¹

Abstract: *The development of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) competences aims at making students professional knowledge transfer smoothly and actively between their native and second language to facilitate competence and innovation. Our article spotlights the didactic contribution of ESP instruction for the development of the students' professional competence through e-learning. The present case study shows the e-learning didactic approach to develop knowledge progress through an active language management of ESP texts. It explores and suggests an intensive and extensive on-line instruction of ESP vocabulary through complex language exposure and use. The qualitative analysis of the applied vocabulary acquisition through on-line teaching and learning targets the asset of applied language instruction and it vows, explicitly, for the improvement of Romanian students capacity to transfer and develop professional knowledge actively and produce professional accurate expertise. Our local-size case study focuses on financial English text sample selected for the students in Insurance, finance, banking and stock exchange faculty in the Bucharest University for Economic Studies.*

Keywords: ESP, translation, on-line instruction, professional training, knowledge transfer and developmen

Theoretical insights

The effectiveness of specific language teaching and learning plays an important role for the development of the student language skills and cognition capacity aiming at professional training through explicit language instruction. The new culture of teaching and learning (Brown, 2011) and its fast implementation has been accelerated by the COVID 19 pandemic forced reclusion and social distance rules which locked down schools and universities and made students and teachers move their work in a virtual academic environment which turned e-learning into a compelling instructional tool. Although no university was ready for a complete shift to online education, and empirical studies have found that physical classrooms are considered more efficient than the online education (Bojovic et al., 2020), our article provides arguments that online education helped not only the continuation of students study during the pandemic (Mishra et al., 2020), but also the improvement of their instruction experience through the complexity of the internet sources. ESP professors in the Academy of Economic Studies in Bucharest have been using their own institutional online platforms, videoconferencing software, and social media to use their language adjusted materials for ESP instruction (Patricia, 2020) that made possible the share of notes and multimedia resources with their students and keep track of their learning progress.

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The on-line language experience with the students in economics derives from the newly enforced technology which has made ESP classes develop in a highly technical way. The practical research outcome acknowledges that the linguistic competence indicators (reading and listening comprehension, speaking and writing, etc) are widely opened to the on-line learning theory and practice that help learners use their ESP competencies appropriately in a growing technical world. Recent class experience brings forward our case-study research which corresponds to the on-line language teaching/learning approach suggested by recent literature in the domain. (Dede, 2009) The implications go well beyond the surface conclusion: institutions of higher education and their students are powerfully committed to the new literacy styles emerging from upcoming conditions and need which lead to brand-new creation, sharing, and mastery of knowledge. (*ibidem*, p.20)

The results of our specific pedagogical investigation promote translation and on-line vocabulary instruction technology as critically explicit comprehension and interpretation tools aiming at raising students' applied language acquisition capacity, proper meaning comprehension, knowledge transfer and employment.

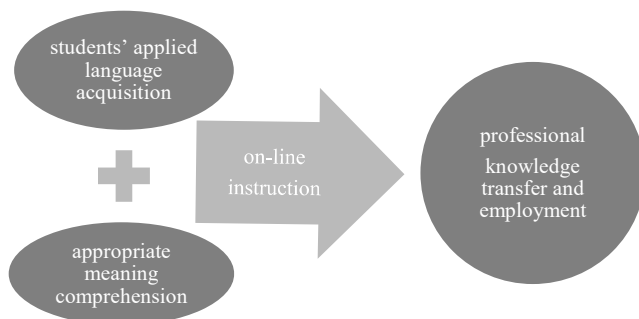


Figure 1. Appropriateness of on-line language instruction for the development of professional knowledge transfer and employment

The receptive and productive steps of the language instruction and learning process are detailed plainly through a qualitative approach, since it goes for the study of context-dependent factors analysis which is subject to theoretical and practical investigation.

We refer to the language class experience with the students in economics and we focus on specific on-line learning vocabulary strategies aiming at developing self-learning capacity even at advanced levels (Lewis, 1993; Young-Davy, 2014)

Our on-line learning class research is limited to the experience of applied English for economics at academic level and it supports the vitality and relevance

of technology in language teaching as a means to improve specific comprehension and productive language skills.

Vocabulary development and translation through on-line instruction

The class experience has demonstrated that second language text comprehension is inherently correlated to native language use which makes translation an inevitable component of teaching/learning strategies. (Thiery&Wu, 2007; D'Amore, 2015) The analysis of our on-line teaching experience drives us back to the actuality of translation in language teaching and its rehabilitation. (Cook, 2010; Niamh&Bruen: 2014) Our on-line approach to translation and applied vocabulary learning is compared to the traditional face-to-face instruction, visual material, and paper-based assessments (Stacey and Mackey, 2009). The ESP development case study provides unparalleled access to the skyrocketing internet language learning resources and open translation pedagogy to complex opportunities, "rather than a ratio of delivery modalities." (Dziuban, Hartman and Moskal, 2004)

The investigation is limited to the assessment of both English and Romanian applied language texts in terms of reading comprehension, knowledge transfer and critical thinking training based on translation and applied vocabulary. The use of on-line technical approach aims at developing:

- reading comprehension
- vocabulary knowledge and building
- accurate knowledge transfer
- creative/critical improvement of innovative cognition

The case-study shows the Romanian student needs to understand the detailed and specific meaning of applied vocabulary in his/her mother tongue to make it easily and effectively translate into contextualized and localized English. The following short English text sample is appropriately comprehended if a vocabulary parallel between English and Romanian can be drawn based on etymological and historical cultural localization strategy.

English	Romanian
Tradesmen and merchants would employ bookkeepers to keep records of what they owed and who owed them. Up until the late 1400s, this information was still arranged in a single-entry row. In the 15th century, the Italian monk Luca Pacioli laid the groundwork for modern accounting system which provides the basis for business accountancy.	Comercianții și negustorii angajau contabili care să țină evidența sumelor pe care le datorau și a celor pe care le aveau de încasat. Spre sfârșitul anilor 1400, această informație era încă organizată în partidă simplă. În secolul al 15-lea, călugărul Italian, Luca Pacioli, a elaborat fundamentele contabilității moderne care stau la baza încrederii acordate firmelor.

Table 1. Romanian translation of the English content text

The focus is limited to specific vocabulary items that currently create confusion in terms of parallel comprehension and knowledge transfer. It is the case of "accounting" and "bookkeeping" (rom. contabilitate primară/contabilitate secundară) that provide distinct explicit cultural information through critical language analysis.

It is suggested that the analysis of both English/Romanian applied vocabulary items will consider comprehension monitoring in terms of word content historical evolution and contextual occurrence that enable students comprehend and use them appropriately in professional contexts and concept vocabulary combinations. The synergic terminology analysis suggests the following stages of investigation:

etymological, historical and cultural contextualized meaning

word family development

terminological combinations leading to new concepts

The needed contextualization will make the two terms comply with the differences between the two languages evolution in terms of historical and cultural background meanings, as follows:

bookkeeping	First recorded in 1680-90; book + keeping https://www.dictionary.com/browse/bookkeeping the work or skill of keeping account books or systematic records of money transactions (distinguished from accounting).
accounting	the theory and system of setting up, maintaining, and auditing the books of a firm; art of analyzing the financial position and operating results of a business house from a study of its sales, purchases, overhead, etc. (distinguished from bookkeeping). a detailed report of the financial state or transactions of a person or entity: an accounting of the estate. the rendering or submission of such a report

Table 2. An etymological study of ESP vocabulary

It is the numerous internet language sources that provide the needed Romanian translation of the two specialized terms that make the distinction between the difference of the two professional activities :

<https://context.reverso.net/traducere/engleza-romana/accounting%2C>

<https://www.google.com/search?q=accounting+traducere&oq=accounting&aqs=chrome.2.69i57j0l3j0i395l2j46i395j0i395.6446j1j15&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>

It is also the internet source that the family words can be accurately analyzed and developed into comprehensive diagrams, like the one to follow, which brings far more dictionary explanations than the one that can be achieved in a face-to-face English class.

Also found in: Dictionary, Thesaurus, Legal, Acronyms, Idioms, Encyclopedia, Wikipedia.
Related to accounting: bookkeeping, Financial accounting, Accounting Concepts, Accounting Principles
Accounting
The practice or profession of maintaining financial records, noting expenses or revenue, and determining how much one owes or is owed. Accounting seeks to assure that every individual or company pays or is paid the correct amount. There are several different types of accounting, each of which reports revenue and earnings differently from other methods. Two major accounting methods are accrual accounting and cash

accounting. Accrual accounting recognizes revenue and matches it with the expenses that generated that revenue. Cash accounting, on the other hand, recognizes revenue and expenses in the order in which they are received or spent.

Accounting is important in personal finance as well. One must maintain accurate records to ensure that enough money remains to pay one's bills. Likewise, accounting is necessary to pay personal or corporate taxes in the correct amount. See also: CPA, LIFO, FIFO.

Figure 2. For a better understanding and use, the students can compare meanings and uses from different internet sources that will assist them to translate and understand professional texts appropriately.

Source: <https://financial-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/accounting>

Source: <https://www.flatworldsolutions.com/financial-services/differences-between-bookkeeping-accounting.php>

The sample of the following contextual “bookkeeping vs. accounting” explanation provides complex choices for translation opportunities. They are highly recommended for the applied vocabulary acquisition which can improve not only the students reading comprehension skills, but also their knowledge transfer and making them ready for their career.

The students are stimulated to further independent language research and analysis by specialized dictionaries like:

<https://www.thefreedictionary.com/tradesman>

The development of term explanation according to their contextual affiliation will contribute to the students professional area understanding and use: the legal, the financial dictionaries provide students with independent and proficient comprehension capacity to complex professional informational texts clear up and interpret meanings of unknown and multiple-meaning terms and phrases by using context clues, analyzing meaningful word parts, and consulting general and specialized reference materials understand figurative language, word relationships, and nuances in word meanings Translation tasks and practice will make students track terms and word parts offline and online visual diagrams, worksheets, and graphic organizers to visualize the relationship between words and store new vocabulary and meaning and contextualizing.

The exuberant language resources on the internet call for further language analysis to make it manageable for on-line instruction. Translation assignments aiming at the students’ comprehension capacity and knowledge transfer from Romanian into English and back can use on-line learning technology open for a convenient and recommended workload for the students.

On-line instruction focus on systematic and consistent translation and vocabulary development approach improves the students’ capacity to develop language skills and critical thinking in both their native and secondary language. It is the teacher responsibility to find ways to make them work intensively on their language proficiency in terms of their professional application domain. Translation tasks assist the students in improving their knowledge of the foreign

language through reading comprehension exercises, contrastive analysis, and reflection on written texts. (D'Amore, 2015)

The evaluation of the student performance in problem-solving tasks through explicit vocabulary instruction demonstrated the validity of pedagogical translation in applied English for finance as a means to improve reading skills and knowledge transfer from L1 to L2 and back and consolidate productive language competences.

Conclusion

The growing challenges of the nowadays extensive on-line learning makes English language teaching reconsider "natural" methods and admit translation and vocabulary development as an effective and necessary teaching instrument. The class experience and the applied linguistic research has demonstrated that second language comprehension and independent use is inherently correlated to native language use which makes translation an inevitable component of teaching/learning strategies.

Our small sized class research has grown from the need to find updated language instruction solutions which led to the reconsideration of translation in terms of on-line instruction corresponding to the new technology tools. The face-to-face text-book, as a sole source of language skills development and knowledge transfer is ready to be switched off and replaced by immersive flexible learning experiences which make students centrally focused in language learning process. Teaching ability is called to a higher engagement in moderating translation options and opening new threads of forums to customize and adapt to the students language development needs. The association with pedagogical translation will make on-line learning not only an instruction tool option, but a new and highly challenging one, for both teachers and students.

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ATTICUS FINCH'S PERSPECTIVE OF SOCIOCULTURAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN HARPER LEE'S *TO KILL A MOCKINGBIRD*

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Koffi Eugène N'GUESSAN ²

Abstract: Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960) remains a timeless work of reference that highlights American social and cultural heritage regarding the issue of race. Lee reveals the character of Atticus Finch as a champion of justice as well as an activist for black people's social freedom. In this paper, we consider the consistency of Atticus Finch's moral message as he seeks to change American sociocultural consciousness. His participation in building a society of equity and justice is unparalleled and requires a change of perspective concerning cultural diversity to preserve social bounds.

Keywords: sociocultural consciousness, racism, freedom, ethics, society

Introduction

Diversity often leads to serious social and cultural conflicts among different ethnic or racial groups. To facilitate cultural integration, develop multiculturalism and support cross – cultural understanding, community leaders must seek to represent such diverse cultural contexts and possess “the capability to shift cultural perspective and adapt behavior to bridge across cultural differences involving increased cultural self-awareness; deepening understanding of the experiences, values, perceptions, and behaviors of people from diverse cultural communities” (Hammer 116).

Decisions and actions leaders engage in and the ways they influence others impact sociocultural values. This indicates that leaders must consistently commit themselves to “break down cultural stereotypes” (Carrington and Skelton 25). It is that kind of leadership that Harper Lee presents in *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960), an American classic published in 1960 just before the peak of the Civil Rights movement in America.

Harper Lee is an American novelist, born on April 28, 1926. She grew up in Monroeville, Alabama, USA. Like Atticus Finch in the story, her father Amasa C. Lee was a lawyer. A year after the publication of *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Lee won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction, making her the first, and only woman to win the award since 1942.

To Kill a Mockingbird is set in the small town of Maycomb, Alabama State, USA during the years of the Great Depression when poverty and unemployment

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were almost general in the United States and racial segregation was still prevailing. Told in the first person, Scout an eight years old girl narrates from her perspective the story of her father, a White man called Atticus Finch. The story begins during the summer when Jean Louise Finch, nicknamed Scout, is six years old. Her brother Jem is about to enter the fifth grade. Atticus Finch, their father is a single man raising the two young children. The plot revolves around Atticus Finch and Tom Robinson, a black man who is falsely accused of raping a white girl. As a lawyer, Atticus Finch wholeheartedly defends Tom in a courtroom in the small city of Maycomb.

To Kill a Mockingbird is a fictional story, but it bears an accurate picture of the Scottsboro trial in which nine young black people were accused of raping two white girls in Alabama (Scottsboro Trials). Both the fictional and the historical case take place in the 1930s, a time of turmoil and social change in America, and both trials occur in Alabama.

Further, the novel explores several different issues that are still relevant for leaders who face social and cultural tensions. Like Samuel Leibowitz in the Scottsboro trial, Atticus Finch in *To Kill A Mockingbird* gets the reader's attention on his social consciousness and his leadership qualities as a lawyer and representative of Maycomb in the State legislature. Atticus Finch represents a model for his children, and he is very much admired by the community of Maycomb for his capability to bridge the cultural differences.

Harper Lee presents Atticus Finch as a primary means for communicating societal norms and raise readers' awareness about the social and cultural implications in the US justice system.

This paper seeks to show how Atticus Finch sets a particular orientation and tone in his community based on his cultural and social values in Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Finch exemplifies harmony between different cultures and sociocultural awareness through a perspective that places social and cultural issues at the center of the story.

1.The Impact of Racism on American Culture and Social Values

Harper Lee portrays the social norms of her generation characterized by racism. Racism is a negative opinion or feeling about a group of people, and discrimination is the expression of this feeling (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary 1142). It is also associated with hatred against a certain community group. A dominant focus in *To Kill a Mockingbird* is the history and manifestations of racism in America towards black people. Lee's description of the southern town of Maycomb reflects how racial discrimination is embedded in the American society. She also demonstrates how Atticus Finch, as an American leader, confronts those dark sides of their history.

The main character and narrator Jean Louise Finch is Atticus Finch's daughter whose nickname is Scout. She starts the story from when she is six years old and relates many of the experiences and events from her childhood. Although she is a child, she is very intelligent and curious as she interacts with people. She

spends most of her time with her older brother Jem because her mother passed away when she was only two.

Scout and Jem start to understand their social environment through the stories their father Atticus tells them. Finch is described as a man who is consistent in his beliefs and values of cultural diversity and social cohesion. To some extent, Atticus tolerates racism, gender discrimination, and class discrimination and the polite fictions that support them, because he cannot by himself change the society he lives in (Maureen 2010).

Their black housekeeper, Calpurnia represents a mother for the children. She also participates in developing and framing the children's social consciousness. The Finches do not share their community's racial beliefs because their lives are ruled by Atticus' social standards. However, his family live in the town of Maycomb where social bounds are based on race.

The issue of race is dominant in the second part of Lee's novel, and it can be explored from many different perspectives. After the American Civil War in 1865 and the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation, black and white people were supposed to have equal rights. But the social system in Maycomb County remains predominantly unfavorable for the development of an African - American community. Blacks live in the "Quarters outside the southern town limits" (Lee 134). Bob Ewell described it as the "nigger nest" (Lee 199). This division sets the stage for a system of classification that affected the whole community of Maycomb.

The skin color determines where people live, whom they marry, to which schools and hospitals they go, which jobs they do and what kind of church they attend. Blacks and whites are separate in every situation. They attend separate churches: "You ain't got no business bringin' white chillun here—they got their church, we got our'n," commented Lula, a black woman (Lee 136). Black people attend a church called First Purchase: "Negroes worshiped in it on Sundays and white men gambled in it on weekdays" (Lee 134). They are separate in the Maycomb County jail: "...he was not a criminal. The sheriff hadn't the heart to put him [Boo Radley, a white man] in a jail alongside Negroes" (Lee 12). They lived in a separate part of the town: "A dirt road ran from the highway past the dump, down to a small Negro settlement... most people turned around in the Negroe's front yards" (Lee 194 - 195). In the courtroom, they sit in separate places: "The Colored balcony ran along three walls of the courtroom like a second-story veranda" (Lee 187). Jem, Scout's brother, identifies different types of people belonging, according to their color or social status, to the normal or abnormal category (Lee 258). He tries to understand the mystery of racial division. Gradually, through experiences and the observations of events, Atticus' children come to the realization that the existence of this 'color boundary' negatively affects relationships between the people of the same city.

This constant separation built upon the prejudice of race represents a firm barrier between black and white. This leads white people to formulate evil assumptions and false accusations "that all Negroes lie, that all Negroes are

basically immoral beings that all Negro men are not to be trusted around our women, an assumption one associates with minds of their caliber" (Lee 232). White people, in their majority, develop the habit of accusing or associating black people with immoral actions.

These assumptions are manifested in during Tom Robinson's case in court, a gentle black man, falsely accused of raping a white girl, Mayella Ewell. To the consternation of the white community, Atticus Finch, as a lawyer, decides to defend Tom Robinson. Because of that decision, he and his children become subjects of disrespect and despise. Tom is found guilty of rape and is sentenced not because of evidence provided by the accusation side but his black color.

Harper Lee described Tom Robinson as "a quiet, respectable, humble Negro" (Lee 232). During the trial process, Atticus questions Mayella and Bob Ewell, her father. In the meantime, he discovers that Mayella has bruises on her right eye and all around her neck. This more likely demonstrates that someone with two good hands, and left-handed, is her aggressor. Bob Ewell is left-handed with two good working hands. Tom Robinson has only one good working hand, his right hand. His left hand is useless due to an accident with a cotton gin.

Bob is known as a violent person who constantly beats his children, including Mayella. This proves that he is the one who attacked Mayella. She has conspired with her father to blame Tom. However, Tom's testimony is overwhelming. On several occasion Mayella tried to kiss him, but he resisted. He mentions that he frequently helps Mayella with small household tasks because he feels sorry for her and her hard life. "Tom Robinson was probably the only person who was ever decent to her" (Lee 218). However, the all - white jury finds it improbable that a white girl tries to kiss a black man. It also shocks them, as it is not common to hear that a black man can feel sorry for a white girl.

The jury is blinded by their prejudice of race, and consequently they convict Tom. A couple of days later, Tom realizes there is no hope for him to be released from jail. He tries to escape from the prison. But all - white guards shoot him down.

The circumstances of Tom's trial and death confirm hatred against black people in Maycomb even though they try to live as honest and decent people. They are already condemned even if they do not commit any crime. Lee writes, "Atticus had used every tool available to free men to save Tom Robinson, but in the secret courts of men's hearts Atticus had no case. Tom was a dead man the minute Mayella Ewell opened her mouth and screamed" (Lee 276).

Harper Lee raise the reader's awareness about the experience of the minority group. She demonstrates how American legislation does not provide people with equal rights and opportunities. Howard Zinn shares the same view on the black people's experience in *A people's history of the United States: 1492-present* (2003). In his book, Zinn's account of the African American experience in the United States is one of subjugation and subordination. He depicts an image of the American history that is tainted with discrimination against black culture and draws attention on minorities' struggles and class conflicts.

People consciously or unconsciously distinguish themselves based on what they see: skin color. It determines the type of relationships white and black people can form. Dolphus Raymond's marriage experience, a white landowner illustrates this situation.

Tired of the hypocrisy of the white community, he chooses to live with the black community. He has children with a black woman and pretends to be drunk so that the white people of Maycomb could excuse him for going against their social norms. He drinks Coca Cola out of a paper bag trying to confound his detractors. When Dill and Scout discovers that he is not a drunk, they are surprised. He tells Scout how sometimes you can pretend to be someone you are not so that people can be more willing to accept you (Lee 227 – 229).

The existence of racial discrimination in important institutions like court is a challenge that requires leaders to be resolute and steadfast in their social responsibility. Atticus Finch is that kind of leader: "Atticus Finch represents the moral law as that sanctioned by rational thinking and reflected in our constitutional guarantees of equality, justice, fairness, freedom, and respect for the rule of law" (Maureen 5). As Atticus said to Scout, he has decided to defend Tom Robinson "for a number of reasons... The main one is, if I didn't, I couldn't hold up my head in town, I couldn't represent this county in the legislature, I couldn't even tell you or Jem not to do something again" (Lee 86). From Atticus' response to his daughter, we have identified two core elements that are essential to build a society of tolerance and inclusiveness.

First, Atticus Finch's integrity and dedication to stand against racism and defend the weak. Tom Robinson's case is an opportunity for him to impart his values of inclusiveness in the community. As a lawyer, he is in a situation where his professional responsibilities and his moral values are against the beliefs and practices of his community. He mentions, "Tom Robinson's case is something that goes to the essence of a man's conscience" (Lee 120). He is feeling the moral obligation to take Tom's case because he believes that Tom Robinson also deserves justice and equity. To achieve that, he must confront common beliefs in racial discrimination. He chooses to follow his moral values and defend Tom Robinson and does not compromise his integrity. This is an important step in influencing people around and his children's mentality and attitudes towards colored people.

Secondly, Atticus' decision to defend Tom Robinson reveals his determination to preserve equity in the social and judicial system. Racism is perceived in legal institutions and benefits white people. Taking Tom's case shows that he wants to confront racial rules in court and serves as an example for other lawyers. As a community leader in a segregated society, his social responsibility is also to address inequities and demonstrate to all people, black or white, the right thing to do.

Atticus Finch demonstrates the essence of his leadership and social consciousness in a segregated environment. He represents a motivation to leaders who often lack the courage to speak out their thoughts or convictions. He remains unwavering in his convictions to fight for social inclusion. This is exactly what

Kathryn Stockett means in her book *The Help* (2009) when she writes “kindness don’t have no boundaries” (319). Her statement points out the essence of Atticus’ belief that a ‘color boundary’ cannot be accepted between people of the same community.

Racism has a serious impact on the American society. Its negative influence distorts the structure and the values of the American society. But Atticus Finch, as a virtuous, generous, and provident leader, rises above racism and injustice to defend the principle that all men and women are equal and deserve justice and love (Lee 233). He believes in equality and justice for all people in American institutions.

In *To Kill a Mockingbird*, various theoretical concepts also allow us to identify and name the ideological constructions related to American social differences. Harper Lee’s describes Maycomb as “a tired old town” (Lee 7), where gender stereotypes are also present. Under a feminist analysis, we can see that gender stereotypes are related to the sexual division of labor in Maycomb. Discrimination as a phenomenon affects women as a group no matter their skin color. It is necessary to ask why gender stereotypes are prevailing among the American community, particularly when they create problems of exploitation, discrimination, or exclusion.

To Kill A Mockingbird shows us how gender stereotypes can affect children social development. Atticus Finch says that women could not sit on juries because women are considered frail, and their presence can prevent the judicial system from being effective: “I doubt if we’d ever get a complete case tried - the ladies’d be interrupting to ask questions” (Lee 252). Scout is affected by this statement when she comes to know that women cannot serve on juries. She realizes that women cannot get involved in some businesses and legal affairs.

Because of gender stereotypes, men are always expected to be in leadership positions. In many cultures and societies men are encouraged to take control and lead. When it comes to important responsibilities in society, women are considered not suitable to function as decision makers. However, from Harper Lee’s novel, we see not all men are fit to lead. When we look at the attitude of Bob Ewell, he lacks the moral obligations and faculties to be a father for the Ewell family. He is unable to provide food for his children, he abuses them, and worse, Mayella and Tom Robinson are the victims of his lack of social responsibility.

Bob Ewell’s actions and attitude contrast with Atticus Finch who educates his family in a responsible way. Profound societal, political, and institutional changes are needed to fight black racism and other forms of systemic oppression, and these changes must begin in the family as Finch shows us.

Harper Lee forces us to rethink our model of education and parenting and draws our attention on devices in the development process of a collective social consciousness. We need to broaden our field of vision. Harper Lee highlights a set of social and cultural mechanisms that contribute to enhance social inclusion and leaders must seek to integrate them in the roles they play in society.

2. Atticus Finch's Plea for Interracial Understanding

Based on the staging of slavery, supremacist, racist or sexist exactions, Lee's work sets narrative scenes in a very raw way, to better denounce racial tensions. Her choice of scenes is an appeal in favor of the black cause through the negative representations of racism.

Harper Lee represents America through the city of Maycomb as a community that still bears the visible traces of racial conflicts. She describes a society that still struggles with inter-ethnic violence. She documents and compiles scenes of hostility against black people. Her work allows the passage from a state of social unconsciousness to that of conscious regarding the issues racial inequalities, and subsequently requires the attention of influential people among the white community: "As you grow older, you'll see white men cheat black men every day of your life" (Lee 252).

Douglas Massey's book, *Categorically Unequal* (2007), based on sociological and empirical research, also provides an overview of racial inequalities in the United States to speak to leaders and policy makers. His classic study of social stratification is extended by a reflection on the production of categories through hierarchization of individuals just like in Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*.

Harper Lee and Douglass confront social unconsciousness by showing that American classification system and social inequalities are "history and contemporary consequences of the fundamental categories of race, class, and sex" (American Sociology Journal). In contrast to the Marxism analysis that present capitalism as the source of inequality, Lee and Massey shows that lasting and institutionalized exclusion can create social inequalities.

Both Lee and Massey deal with how the justice system benefits mostly white people, and Atticus tells this to his children, to forewarn them. They meet these people, and they find themselves in environments where social injustice would be rewarded. But they must decide to be a different kind of people who value other people no matter their social origins. Atticus made a direct contrast with society by stating, "let me tell you something and don't you forget it—whenever a white man does that to a black man, no matter who he is, how rich he is, or how fine a family he comes from, that white man is trash" (Lee 252). Atticus's statement indicates he is firm and consistent advocate for the cause of social inclusion.

When one examines *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Harper Lee connects the events in the novels to a double purpose: on the one hand, to raise readers' awareness on the social problems that affect life in the American society, and on the other hand, her plea to create a more equitable society. Three essential themes seem to feature the latter: a strong denunciation of the abuses of segregation, a contestation of the social system and finally an effort to impart social values and responsibilities that would lead to the inclusiveness of categories of people.

By weaving Tom Robinson - Mayella Ewell case, Harper Lee effectively uses narrative techniques to tell African American's journey to justice. This text provides opportunities to discuss a broken justice system and reflect on new

mechanisms to build a better society. She uses this story to strengthen social inclusion through the character of Atticus Finch whom she describes as a hero based on his moral values.

3. Atticus Finch's Ethical and Moral character: a Foundation to Strengthen Cultural Diversity and Social Inclusion

To Kill a Mockingbird can be considered as an eloquent interpretation of the United States' social structure because of the social conflicts and turmoil that occurred during the 1930s. Considering the inequalities and discrimination that took place in the South, this novel remains a story of an oppressed people. However, the novel gives us tools to rebuild a society of equity through the leadership model of Atticus Finch. He offers practical approaches to strengthen social bounds and intercultural relationships.

In chapter four, Lee writes that Atticus "had served for years in the state legislature, elected each time without opposition" (Lee 35). Atticus Finch's leadership and influence are undisputable. He is approved by both the white and black community. When the case about Tom Robinson raping Mayella comes up Atticus Finch already has a reputation of being a loyal lawyer. When he decides to defend Tom Robinson, many white people in the city are surprised. They expect him, as a white lawyer, to be on the side of the Mayella family. But Atticus Finch is a man of virtues who gives evidence of an irreproachable integrity in this case:

The implication is that Atticus knew what to do, knew what must be done, and did it. He didn't weigh the possibilities and dangers of accepting the appointment, he didn't try to determine how the case might affect his political career, or the pressures it might create for his young children. Atticus was rational...He did not act like he was facing a moral quandary, or even that he had a choice to make (James).

In this passage, Atticus is portrayed as a lawyer of good values. He does not hesitate when it comes to doing the right thing. He represents Tom Robinson in court because of his moral values.

Harper Lee uses the character Atticus Finch to provide white people with reasons for an equitable justice system. Atticus is seen disturbed by the constant distinction between black and white people, especially in the judicial system. Just before the verdict, Atticus advocates for a culture of ethics in court. As a closing argument in Tom Robinson's trial, Atticus make the following statement:

There is one way in this country in which all men are created equal – there is one human institution that makes a pauper the equal of a Rockefeller, the stupid man the equal of an Einstein, and the ignorant man the equal of any college president. That institution, gentlemen, is a court (Lee 233).

Atticus learns from his profession as a lawyer and he uses his position to plead a case for people such as Tom Robinson, who have been excluded society based on the skin color. He reveals that it is the duty of the court to make it evident that "All men are created equal" (Lee 233). The jury bears the moral responsibility of applying that law. They have a moral obligation to society and

Tom Robinson, and the only verdict that can use to restore justice and equity is to release Tom Robinson from jail and rehabilitate him because he is not guilty. Atticus argues that the main witnesses for the trial, Mayella Ewell and her father, are not trustworthy. In his address to the jury, he says that Mayella and her father have presented themselves to you, to the court, in the cynical confidence that you gentlemen would go along with them on the assumption - the evil assumption - that all Negroes lie, that all Negroes are basically immoral beings, that all Negro men are not to be trusted around our women (Lee 232).

This statement shows that discriminations against black people are a constant pattern in the fabric of American society, woven from the threads of slavery. However, Atticus Finch's ethics and actions can serve as a foundation to strengthen cultural diversity and social inclusion.

Atticus Finch possesses a strong sense of ethics that distinguishes him from other leaders in the community. In his book, *Leading in a culture of change*, Fullan (2001) makes it clear that ethics are necessary for leaders to act "with the intention of making a positive difference in the lives of employees, customers, and society as a whole" (3).

To Kill A Mockingbird is a story of Atticus's key attributes of ethics and social responsibility. Although they are presented through one of the most difficult situations of his career as a lawyer, Harper Lee uses his character, actions, and attitudes to spark our understanding of social consciousness and social inclusion.

Throughout the text, Harper Lee makes a range of judgments: what moral values to teach, what kind of social practices can appease racial conflicts and how children can be educated in relation to the world around them. In the context of systemic racism and other forms of inequity, Atticus Finch's values can participate in social advancement.

Conclusion

Harper Lee uses her novel *To Kill A Mockingbird* to condemn the unjust racial and class-based social structure of the United States of America in the 1930s, showing how often the social system can condemn good and innocent people. She focuses on three areas that should particularly undergo major reforms: social classes, the justice system, and education. She conveys much of her message through the character of Tom Robinson, a symbol for the many good but miserable people led to desperation because unfair social systems. Through Tom Robinson, Harper demonstrates a society that excludes people, encourages class and race divisions, and fails to educate its people. This shows the lack of transparency in the American judicial system during racial segregation.

However, through the many social inequalities described in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Harper Lee gives us tools for social progress based on Atticus Finch's moral values to help society transition to a new culture of equity, justice, and mutual understanding.

She reveals specific features about leadership and social responsibility and the ways leaders should work to ensure equal rights and opportunities for people. The leadership that Harper Lee praises in her book is grounded on love, integrity, and humility to replace discrimination and race conflicts. Atticus embraces these values and resolves to take charge of the destiny of the oppressed and the poor in his community. Atticus Finch represents non-conformism and free expression, both intellectual and spiritual, and maintain his individuality, integrity, and purpose. The virtues that guide his battle can direct the hearts and the minds of many people today toward social inclusion.

To Kill a Mockingbird opens conversations about shared values to help emphasize leaders' role in a world of differences. Doing so can move audiences into multiculturalism, which is not a fixed doctrine, but a conceptual tool that allows any society to change and define, according to its heritage and culture, a better society and maintain the social bonds.

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IS BRUSSELS ENGLISH STILL ENGLISH?

Delia Denis STĂNESCU¹

Abstract: *The English used in the European Union for negotiation purposes is often referred to as a distinct form commonly called “Brussels English”, “Euro-English” or even “Eurospeak”. The article analyses the arguments for a self standing profile of English used for EU purposes and the prospects of its further development after the United Kingdom’s leaving the European Union (BREXIT) considering its severe under representativeness of native speakers in the EU.*

Keywords: Brussels English, BREXIT, flexicurity, mobility, Berlaymont

Introduction

As one of the 24 European Union’s official languages, according to the most recent statistics² English is the most taught foreign language in the European Union: in 2018, 96 % of pupils in upper secondary education in the EU-27 learnt English as a foreign language. In the same year, for 96,1% of the general pupils in the upper secondary education, English was the most commonly studied foreign language, followed by Spanish (25,9%), French (22,0%) and German (20,4%).

But English as a foreign language develops a profile of its own when used as a tool for negotiations in a distinct institutional culture like the one of the European Union. The peculiarity of the English used in Brussels (where “Brussels” stands for “the European Union’s institutional culture and its output”) is that it is not the mother tongue of all its speakers, but rather a skill for reaching a compromise among a multitude of actors originating from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

It is well assumed that these factors bear a great influence upon the shape of the language used for communication and negotiation. The EU area as a negotiation playground sets the scene for both cultural benefits and challenges as it promotes the linguistic choice of the strongest negotiator. Like in any international negotiation, what happens in the EU proves a high degree of sensitiveness to words, nuances and potential translation problems because the outcome must ensure the same understanding for all the parties involved in a uniform manner. Negotiation is about words, irrespective of the negotiator being a native speaker of the negotiation language or not.

In such circumstances the translator of EU-related documents needs “a high degree of cultural flexibility and sensitivity to reach the level of contextual evaluation” (Croitoru, 2006: 4). The peculiarity of the translation in the EU context

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²As of September 2020, available at https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Foreign_language_learning_statistics, last retrieved on 7 June 2021

resides in the translator's awareness about the EU notions and concepts, which may differ from the concepts used in his/her own national background.

One of the difficulties often encountered in the translation work in the EU is taking the right distance from the personal/national background of the translation and assuming awareness in respect to the concepts bearing "EU meaning". Moreover, the translator of an EU text is expected to translate into the target language the EU meaning, which may differ from the "national" reality designated occasionally by the same word.

At present, in practice the main negotiation language in the European Union is English. Since the United Kingdom's accession to the European Union in 1972, English has become one of the official languages of the political block and among the three working languages. In time, English turned to be the *lingua franca* for the life of the European Union. Unlike the other sub-varieties³ of the standard (British) English, which are geographically-relevant, what it is commonly called the "Brussels English" or the "Euro-English" (sometimes also pejoratively called "Eurospeak") is also very much associated with the institutional culture developed in the EU's institutions and policies.

Tentative Euro-English dictionary

At the borderline between jargon and a new language, the English used in connection with the European Union's policies developed in time some **new semantics for a native English speaker**.

For example, "the Schengen Area" stands for the EU Member States applying the Schengen *acquis* and not requiring visas for entering their territory; the "stakeholders" are the "interested parties" (and not the "person or group with an investment or interest"); the "Berlaymont" is to designate the European Commission's headquarters in Brussels, after the name of its main building where the Commissioners have their offices; by extension, "Berlaymont" is also used for referring to the European Commission's stand or policy; the "European Semester" signifies the economic and budgetary policy of the European Union which is being assessed every six months, usually with the occasion of the spring and autumn European Councils; a "green paper" is not about its colour, but about a document presenting new ideas meant to be further discussed, negotiated and – if the case may be – agreed upon.

In the EU "mobility" is not that much about the ability of a body to move, but rather about a horizontal policy encouraging people (especially in their capacity of workers, students, researchers, etc.) to travel and relocate in consideration of the fact that experiencing more than one working environment is seen an advantage for the labour force market and a factor for ensuring social cohesion and growth across the EU. Unlike in Standard English, in Brussels English "mobility" also refers to "sustainable/green transport" or travel in general.

³e.g. American English/Mid-Atlantic, Australian English, Canadian English, Irish English, Indian English, Australian English, Canadian English

In the same vein a “sunset clause” is less pictorial than at a first glimpse; it is about a type of clause in legal agreements indicating a cessation of the obligations at a specific date.

It was noted that “the use of *eventual* as a synonym for possible or possibly is actually showing signs of being accepted and may, in the near future, be considered a feature of Euro-English” (Modiano. 2017:322).

The English used in the EU environment was subject of its cultural influence and by consequence it **borrowed words from other EU languages** together with the meaning in the original language or with a new meaning relevant for the EU context. This is the case of, for example: “*acquis*” (borrowed from French) which designates the totality of the EU law and jurisprudence; “actors” (also borrowed from French) who are not the performers on a scene, but the “entities expected to take action”; in the same vein “competence/ies” add(s) to the original French meaning (1. “the ability to do something well”; 2. “the power that a court, an organization or a person has to deal with something”; 3. „a skill that you need in a particular job or for a particular task”) the idea of “portfolio”, “area of responsibility”, “powers”.

A distinct case is represented by the situation when Standard English itself adopted neologisms. Recently the European Commission tabled a draft regulation addressing situations of crisis and *force majeure* in the field of migration and asylum⁴. In this case, it may appear that English and French mingle in the same phrase, whereas in reality “*force majeure*” [forță majoră] is a neologism bearing the same legal meaning as in original French.

According to research, [...] within the EU institutions, “training” is often used as a countable noun, meaning you can say: “I’ve had three trainings this week”. In British English, however, it is uncountable, meaning you would probably say something like: “I’ve had three training sessions this week” (Seddon. 2019).

Thanks to the resources of **creativity that English offers**, new words came into being in order to express concepts emerged in the EU area. This is the case of “flexicurity” which denotes the approach took by the European Union in respect to its labour force policy, whereby the flexibility of the working time and the security of the work and employer aim to reach an optimal balance point.

The European Union has developed its own language and codes, like any other ecosystem. Sometimes it is accessible, some others rather not. An indicator for the need to translate the English developed under the logic of the institutional environment of the European Union is the publication by the European Commission of an official institutional guide for the editorial, legal, technical, visual and contractual aspects, called *Europa Web Guide*⁵. Its importance resides in the fact that the European Commission is at *step one* of the legal process in the

⁴ Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council addressing situations of crisis and *force majeure* in the field of migration and asylum - COM(2020) 613 final of 23.9.2020, 2020/0277 (COD)

⁵ Available at <https://wikis.ec.europa.eu>

European Union, thereby assuming an important role as for the linguistic aspect of the EU's output.

In early 2000' the General Secretariat of the EU Council produced several multilingual thematic guides suggesting validated corresponding terms in all the EU official languages for core terminology in certain policy area (such as migration⁶ or foreign policy⁷), basic EU terminology for a specific target language (e.g. Finnish⁸) or a guide to transliteration and alternative geographical name forms (e.g. foreign names in Swedish⁹). Designed with the IATE¹⁰ help, such linguistic tools supporting the implementation of the multilingualism principle require today some update both in conceptual and linguistic terms.

For example, "selected/targeted immigration" ["immigration sélective"/"imigrație selectivă"] is an obsolete and politically downgraded concept in the EU migration policy. It was associated with the political line promoted by the President Nicolas Sarkozy ever since accomplishing his mandate of Minister of Interior in France¹¹. In French the concept was designated by "immigration choisie", not by "immigration sélective", as indicated by the Glossary on migration.

Also, as the Glossary on migration mentions the "Pact on Asylum and Migration"¹², an update would be served by mentioning the "*New* Pact on Asylum and Migration" published by the European Commission in September 2020.

Prospects for English in the European Union

Researchers support the argument that since „some 70 per cent of 'native speakers' use [...] [the American-English] spelling convention, which dominates the Internet, [this] further strengthens the argument to implement it for Europe as well". Irrespective of a defined goal as for the applicable spelling rules for the English used in the European Union, it is only natural to expect such an outcome in the medium/long-run, considering the reduced pool of native English speakers after BREXIT compared to the number of non-native English speakers. (Modiano. 2017: 320)

⁶ Available at Publications - Consilium (europa.eu)

⁷ Available at Foreign policy - key terms in 24 Languages - Consilium (europa.eu)

⁸ Available at Publications - Consilium (europa.eu)

⁹ Available at Publications - Consilium (europa.eu)

¹⁰ European Union's terminology database

¹¹ In April 2006, when Minister of Interior, Nicolas Sarkozy explained the line promoted by France at EU level in respect to the migratory policy like an objective of determining yearly national contingents for immigrants. [*«Il ne s'agit pas d'accueillir les seules élites de ces pays. Il ne s'agit pas non plus de mettre un terme à l'immigration en provenance d'Afrique, mais de déterminer des objectifs quantifiés, définis chaque année par le Parlement et le gouvernement. La France doit pouvoir faire le choix des immigrés qu'elle accueille en fonction de ses besoins et de ses possibilités, même si cela se construit dans le cadre d'un dialogue avec les pays d'émigration.»*]

¹² With reference to the European Commission's document issued in 2008 [the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum] which was replaced conceptually by the European Agenda on Migration in 2015.

We can testify a growing temptation of vernacular usage of English into formal writing and the tendency risks to grow even further, after BREXIT leaving the European Union with less English native speakers than Hungarian native speakers.

Although studies have indicated in July 2020 an increase in naturalisation figures of the British citizens in the EU after BREXIT¹³ (Auer. 2020: 12) – which is relevant for the general population¹⁴, no data is available as for the native English speakers involved at present in the EU negotiations so as to estimate the possible impact on the language used in the EU official outcomes after 29th of March 2019 when BREXIT turned effective.

We find it interesting to follow up upon the evolution of English used in the European Union after the United Kingdom having left it, as it was observed that “languages also die because their functional uses have ceased, no new speakers exist and, as a consequence, linguistic change within that language becomes stagnated.” (Friedrich, 2016: 12)

What appears to be at stake in these circumstances are the representativeness of English in reference to the native speakers (in the general population¹⁵ and, more importantly, among the EU negotiators) and the EU's institutional resources to steer the linguistic path ahead.

From a historical perspective, the choice of the language to be used in a negotiation is an indicator of power and authority as traditionally it was about the language of the most powerful among the negotiators (see also Meerts. 2015). If this stands true and letting aside the exception of the case where a negotiation language other than the one of the negotiators is being used as a sign of neutrality, then English would have achieved a rare result by imposing itself as main negotiation language in an environment where its native speakers are severely underrepresented. In political terms, some may also argue that French has lost a tremendous, long-longed opportunity for imposing itself in this role in the European Union.

However, when compared with German and French which turned out to be the most spoken languages in the EU after BREXIT (16% and 14% respectively of native speakers among the EU population), we see English lacking the safety net of a sufficient natively-speaking population (theoretically 1,2%). In such a context there is a high probability for the Brussels English to consolidate its profile

¹³ The numbers increased by more than 520% relative to approximately 20% for within-EU/EFTA naturalisations, reflecting an increase in the share of UK naturalisations relative to intra-EU naturalisations from 0.5 to 2.5%.

¹⁴ Indicating however a limited impact in concrete terms: an estimation of additional 360 to 407 naturalisations of British citizens per EU/EFTA country per year after the referendum (to the average 75 naturalisations prior to the BREXIT vote), which corresponds to an increase of approximately 600%.

¹⁵ Currently, we estimate the theoretical share of native English speakers in the EU roughly around 1,22% of the EU population, considering the Irish and the Maltese as native English speakers. The figures of British citizens claiming naturalization in the EU after BREXIT may only have a limited impact on this estimation.

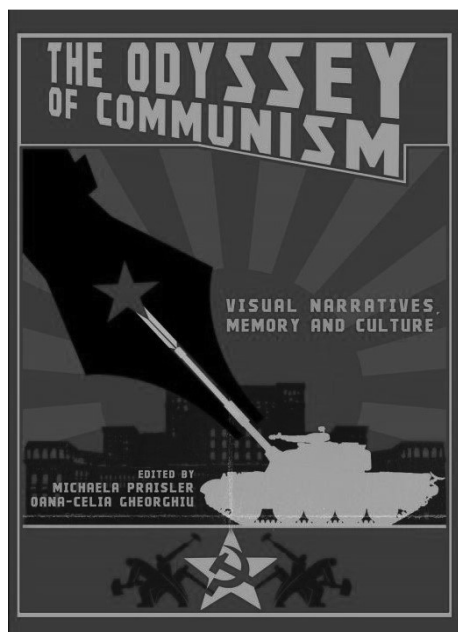
of distinct form of English developing its own semantics, use and even grammar rules under the influence of the melting-pot of the numerous cultural backgrounds coexisting in the European Union.

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Michaela Praisler, Oana-Celia Gheorghiu (eds.) (2021) *The Odyssey of Communism – Visual Narratives, Memory and Culture*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, ISBN (10): 1-5275-6902-0, ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-6902-7, 270p.

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The present volume is part of what has been deemed the necessary repair work for the communist era, whose declared objective is 're-producing' and 're-textualising' the "imposed narratives of the recent past" under the form of "an

Odyssean journey of remembrance through visual means and techniques" (p.10). Specifically aiming at "telling the truth" about the so-called communist "golden age" (in fact the age of horrors), the volume examines the latter half of the 20th century as it was represented in filmic and literary productions on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The contributors belong to a vast array of geopolitical backgrounds, including the countries of the former communist Bloc, as well as China, the USA, the Netherlands, Turkey, Hong-Kong, etc., thus occasioning a varied, yet consistent approach of the topic.

The three sections of the book, organized according to the Homeric and Joycean vein into *Hades*, *The Lotus-Eaters*, *Nostos*, and rounded up by a *Coda: Cyclops*, inspiredly hint at the subtle intertextual play between classicism and postmodernism, and consequently provide insights from a literary, sociological and philosophical point of view into the most striking aspects of life under the communist regime as viewed mainly through the lens of filmic representation.

Thus, the first section, *Hades: The Red turns to Black*, is as ominous as the title announces: it deals with the horrors condoned by the powers of the period, affecting all areas of life. Thus, a wedding, supposedly a joyful occasion, has to be held in surrealist silence as a sign of respect to Stalin's recent passing, and the comic gradually fades into the tragic as the clandestine silent wedding party is crashed by the Russian tanks at dawn, symbolically stifling any attempts at individual freedom in a totalitarian society where 'the light comes from the East': the article by Michaela Praisler and Alexandru Praisler, *The Repercussions of Finding a Voice: Silent Wedding*, focuses on the manner in which the tragi-comic dimension of the film by Horațiu Mălăele brings to the fore "the Sovietisation of

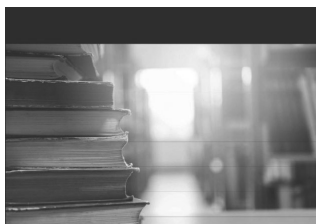
the Romanians in the wake of the Second World War" [...] thus occasioning "the plunge into dark representations of conflictual history and the politics shaping it" (p.18). Attention was devoted to this carceral universe unwilling to acknowledge the ineffable aspects of the human soul in the analyses of other relevant films on similar topics, like Tarkovsky's *Stalker* (*Hope, Desire, the Mind and the Soul: Tarkovsky's Stalker* by Dennin Ellis), and the Yugoslavian black wave cinema (*Hidden Messages in the Yugoslav Black Wave Film Movement* by Srdan Radaković). The grim Romanian realities regain focus in the papers dealing with an acclaimed novel by Marin Preda (*The Meaning of History and Concentrationist Ideology in The Most Beloved of Earthlings* (1993) by Ion Cordoneanu), or the highly sensitive issue of abortion (*Abortion in Ceausescu's Era: From Personal Drama to Social Problem* by Felicia Cordoneanu).

The second section shifts the focus from this gloomy perspective to the more accommodating attitude of placid acceptance and hope for a bright future: *Lotus Eaters. Propaganda, Intoxication and Complacency* groups together film analyses authored by researchers of various extractions and perspectives (Ukrainian, Romanian, and Chinese/ American), whose main topic is the huge influence of state propaganda exercised upon the masses in the communist Bloc. The films under discussion are emblematic: *Spring on Zarechnaya Street* (Daria Moskvitina and Bohdan Korneliuk), *Tales from the Golden Age* (Oana-Celia Gheorghiu), *Comrade Detective* (Gabriela Iuliana Colipcă-Ciobanu), or the Chinese filmic productions of socialist inspiration (Ying Zhu). The lotophagi are not just the ones who were unfortunate enough to live through those difficult times, but also their offspring and the outside world who only saw what the regime wanted them to see, thus creating a rosy, cosmetised image of the communist inferno.

This dichotomic view is completed by the third section, consisting of the present-day reflections on the past. Communism is put face to face with post-communism, in what is seen as the 'impossible return home': *Nostos. Returning to the Past as Pleasure and Pain* revisits recent history in a constant pendulation between positive and negative, and proving that there is no common vision nor definite answer in its assessment. The range of the topics approached is quite wide, providing a bitter-sweet perspective and allowing the reader to ponder on the stance to be taken: Kaixuan Yao brings forward the Cold War nostalgia, Eleni Varmazi revisits Germany's communist past after the fall of the Berlin wall, Olga Szmidt zooms in on the difficult times in Poland during the 1989 transition, and Monica Manolachi examines the image of the mayor, as the representative figure of authority in any community, in communist and post-communist filmography. The scientific discourse of the authors, although allegedly objective and detached, still allows for catching a glimpse of the unavoidable identification with the collective memory of their respective country's totalitarian past, which undoubtedly strikes a chord within any reader, no matter his/her background or previous knowledge of the topics under discussion. This section is apparently the most relevant to the contemporary audience, as it refers to coming to terms with a crucial part of our personal and collective history.

Maybe the most interesting case is the *Coda: Cyclops*, which includes Gabriela Debita's paper on Ursula K. Le Guin's "Unlocking the Air", a short story that uses cinematic techniques to describe the revolution taking place in the imaginary country of Orsinia, in fact a disguise for Czechoslovakia. The final words of the author seem to provide an adequate description of the aftermath of the communist period in the revolution-torn Central and Eastern European space, i.e. "difficult journeys through the uncharted lands of the transition period, rife with the traps of corruption and predatory capitalism, into the new digital age, through political landscapes fraught with amnesia and the dangers of extremism, all under the watchful eyes of millions of cameras" (pp. 250-1).

Truly relevant and eye-opening, the collective volume stands out as a useful instrument to the initiated and uninitiated alike, bearing testimony for how art, mainly filmic productions, can reshape, reinterpret and retextualise the imposed narratives of the past, and in doing so provide food for thought for the generations to come. The poliphony of auctorial voices (as the contributors make up a heterogeneous group in point of age, origin, academic affiliation) allows for a diverse and nuanced approach of the period under focus, making it clear once more that historical truth is multifaceted, and art, through its ineffable and interpretation-prone nature, can and will affect our perception of it.



Isabela Merilă (Ed.)
**Romanian Contributions to
English for Specific
Purposes**



Isabela MERILĂ (ed.) (2020) *Romanian Contributions to English for Specific Purposes*. Lambert Academic Publishing, ISBN 978-620-2-67282-5, 276 p.

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Caught in a whirlwind of activity in the present, while directing our efforts and our sights to the future, we sometimes forget that we continue or add to trails blazed by others in the past. The title above attempts to change all that and pay tribute to the predecessors. As Floriana Popescu, the initiator of the project, states in the Introduction: "Following the pathways created by other academics bringing homage to their professors, the authors of this volume considered it as a gesture of respect for their own mentors and inspiring models. Spending long hours in the university, they contributed to its creation, and consolidation over the decades. [...] As this volume is dedicated to the contributions in ESP, its authors express their gratitude to Nicolae Bejan, Eugenia Gavrilu, Elena Croitoru and Carmen Racoviță, the founders of this field at the University of Galați." (2020: 3) The result is a complex combination of historiography and literature review that manages to shed light on the contribution of foreign language teaching and modern language studies not only to the development of philological education, but particularly to several other fields.

Thus, the first section, titled "An overview of ESP in Romania" is structured into three chapters: "Romanian academia: past and present", "The dawns of ESP in Romania" and "The growth of ESP in Romania", all by the same author, the above-mentioned Floriana Popescu. In a logically and convincingly constructed narrative, she underlines the auspicious setting that the so-called Springtime of Nations and the 1918 unification of the Romanian historical regions have created for the emergence of universities in the newly formed state. The demonstration moves coherently towards its main interest, providing relevant historical data along the way, and managing to set ESP studies in Galați in the European, national, and multidisciplinary context it entails.

The following chapters support the same view and provide further details. The contributions included in the second section, "Contributions to EP and pre-ESP literature", and the third, "Contributions to ESP literature", for example, are all structured according to the same basic principle: opening with a presentation of the faculty specialized in a given field, and then reviewing the didactic materials created by the philologists for the students and any interested specialists in that respective field. Namely, the chapters cover "English for Engineering at 'Dunărea

de Jos' University of Galați", by Antoanela Marta Mardar, "English for Shipbuilding and Naval Architecture", by Alexandru Praisler, "English for Food Engineering", by Carmen Opreț-Maftei, all in the second section, as well as "English for Economics", by Iulia Veronica Cocu, and "English for Automation, Computers, Electrical Engineering and Electronics" by Corina Dobrotă, in the third section. The latter two chapters also include annexes listing books (173-174), research papers (174-175, 189-190, 196-7) and course syllabi (191-196) of English for the two domains under focus. As Mardar states in her chapter, "Good knowledge of English was regarded as a means of facilitating the students and specialists' access to information and specialized literature, as well as a means of ensuring visibility to the specialists of our university who chose to present their research results abroad." (112)

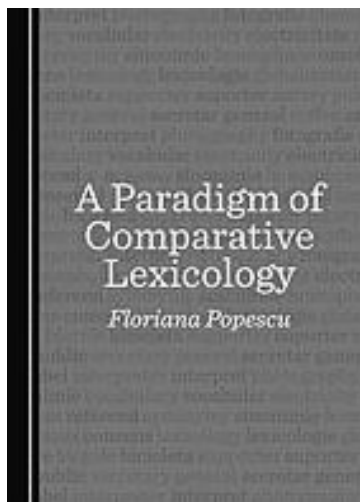
The last section of the book, "Further approaches to the field of ESP", allows for a further widening of the scope, but not outside the relevant area of interest. Since dictionaries, glossaries, lexicons were a constant presence in the previous contributions as well, the tenth chapter is a welcome unifying and informed look at "Contributions to terminographic literature", by one of the established and recognized names in this field, Gabriela Dima. Finally, chapter eleven "Further contributions to ESP. Varia", by Corina Dobrotă and Floriana Popescu, besides mentioning materials for other specializations than the ones listed above (i.e. sports and physics), also provides a possible glimpse into the future or hope that the impressive amount of work reviewed in the previous pages will be continued by other specialists, alumni of the Faculty of Letters in Galați. In other words, sub-chapter 11.3 covers "ESP in the curricula of the Faculty of Letters: BA and MA Programmes", while sub-chapter 11.4 deals with "Approaches to ESP in the doctoral dissertations elaborated at the Doctoral School of Humanities of 'Dunărea de Jos' University of Galați". The contribution ends with a list of doctoral dissertations defended in foreign universities, thus closing the circle with the same reference to the international character of the local philologists' endeavours and their ramifications.

The "Final Remarks", by Carmen Opreț-Maftei and Antoanela Marta Mardar, besides providing a bird's-eye view of the book and thus allowing a glimpse into the efforts behind a project of this scale, announces once more (after the introduction), that the book is intended to be one of a series dedicated to the "local contributions to the comprehensive study of English language, literature, culture and civilization." (253)

Although covering such a multifaceted and vast array of information, the result is well-structured, logically organized and easy to follow, not only due to the index of authors at page 259, but throughout. Moreover, the tables, figures, photographs that accompany the text have the added effect that they often provide palpable illustrations and involve the reader in the proceedings, turning them into witnesses to history: see, for example, the lecture notes on pages 95-96.

Therefore, the volume edited by Isabela Merilă and containing valuable contributions from seven more specialists in the field of English studies addresses

not only past and present students of the “Dunărea de Jos” University, be they philologists or not, with an interest in the history of the institution, but also those keen on the development of Romanian higher education, on the way foreign language teaching serves various specialized fields, on approaches and views on the organization of the didactic materials, etc. Last but not least, the book is a welcome and well-documented initiative that comes to fill a gap on the map of ESP studies in Europe.



Floriana Popescu (2019) *A Paradigm of Comparative Lexicology*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2019, ISBN 978-1-5275-1808-7, 310p.

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This book contributes to the field of comparative lexicology, breaking the century-old tradition but not its principles. Comparative lexicology dwells on language families and usually scrutinizes two or more ramifications of the same branch, be it the Germanic, Slavic or Romance branch. To

explore the lexical common core of English with its Germanic roots, and Romanian with its Latin would seem uninspired, risky, and doomed to failure. Nevertheless, this book provided reliable and consistent evidence that such an unexpected language pair is worth analysing and practical. It is worth analysing as both languages bear the touch of Latin, which binds them together very tightly. English and Romanian do have their phonetic and morphological particularities, but the insights into word formations and other major lexicological issues presented in this book point to the validity of the whole analysis.

This study consists of eight chapters which are included in the following main parts:

Part One: Prolegomena to Comparative Lexicology

Part Two: A Compendium of Word Formations

Part Three: A Mapping of Foreignisms in English and Romanian

Part Four: Intralinguistic and Intralinguistic Lexical Connections

The architecture of the book also includes a few closing sections, i.e. Final Remarks, Notes, Bibliography, Appendix, Index of Main Terms and Concepts, and Index of Authors.

Part One consists of only one chapter, Basics in Comparative Lexicology. It has a double-fold view, with its former part tackling both introductory elements of comparative lexicology and its related terminological abundance, and its latter part describing the book aims, structure and rationale, accounting for its coming into being.

Part Two joins together five chapters which synthesize in a personal manner the lengthy list of coining processes operational not only in the English but in the Romanian lexicon as well. The book introduces a new mapping of these coining processes which are based on the structural transformations of common words that result in new lexical units or lexical formations. Thus, any word may act as a lexical base which can take a wide range of lexical morphemes, i.e. (a)

prefixes and prefixoids, (b) suffixes and suffixoids, or simultaneously both prefixes and suffixes to create new words. The term “enriching” was also applied to the mechanisms of compounding and reduplication, as particular cases of already existing words, which put together either different words, such as *grandfather’s clock* and *brother-in-law*, or the lexeme (e.g. *hush-hush*) or rhyming words (e.g. *pitter-patter*, and *culture-vulture*). Enriching means of making new words also include “blending” and “telescoping”, two notions which have been misused quite frequently. Starting from such confusing statements, the discussion delineates accurate distinctions, defines and illustrates each of these mechanisms. Based on the same principle of structural interpretation, the presentation of the mechanisms which reduce already existing words into more practical lexemes is the third chapter of the book, Base-reducing Word formations. It approaches “Abbreviation”, “Clipping”, “Back-formation”, “Lexical Ellipsis”, “Contraction” and “Elision”, specifying the differences which individualize each of them. Chapter four, Base-creating Word Formations, is very interesting as it identifies several types of coinages separating those created by men of science from those created by men of letters. There are also two incursions into the words derived from personal names and geographical names. The next group of lexical creations covers those words which preserve their form but renew their meanings, i.e. the words mirroring formal, functional, semantic, and stylistic shifts. The last chapter comments upon the “Base-altering Word Formations” that include “corruption”, “false analogy”, “folk etymology”, “metanalysis”, “metathesis” and “deflection”. It is the novelty of nearly each set of illustrations which complements the theoretical specifications in all these chapters that is worth emphasizing.

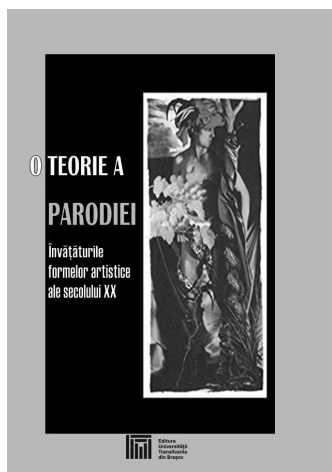
Part three, also comprising one chapter, Naturalizations and Adoptions in English and Romanian, tracks the roots of foreignisms in our language pair that lead to such language families as Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Dravidian, Uralic, Altaic, Hamito-Semitic, Sino-Tibetan, North or South American, Australian and African.

Part four looks into the multi-layered webs of words that are separated into lexically- and semantically-related webs. A brief presentation of the lexical strata of the English language concludes this final chapter of this comparative paradigm.

The section of Final Remarks succinctly enumerates the aspects which bond the English and Romanian lexicons and resumes the main issues dealt with in each chapter.

The *Bibliography* is comprehensive and generous as it includes classical works in the field and brief but modern contributions which bring inventive ideas in the field of comparative lexicology.

In sum, this volume is cohesive and coherent, full of interesting and renewed data, thus arranged as to make it easy to read and user-friendly.



Translation Review: Linda Hutcheon, *O teorie a parodiei. Învățăturile formelor artistice ale secolului XX*. Traducere: Oana-Celia Gheorghiu, prefață: Michaela Praisler. Brașov: Editura Universității Transilvania, 2021. ISBN: 978-606-19-1419-7, 130 p.

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"Omnia mutantur, nihil interit."

This Latin aphorism perfectly illustrates how parody functions and it is what Linda Hutcheon proves in a very complex, yet extremely well-structured study. The extent to which parody has evolved – from a form of ideologically uncomfortable criticism to a means of drawing attention to contemporary issues – brings to the fore the re-thinking of parody through modern and postmodern art works.

The Canadian academic's influential studies *The Politics of Postmodernism*, *A Poetics of Postmodernism*, *The Canadian Postmodern*, "The Post Always Rings Twice: The Postmodern and the Postcolonial", etc. are evidence of an overtly confessed passion and thorough knowledge of modernism, postmodernism and other concepts related to parody. This has enabled the theorist to provide some of the clearest and detailed insights into this bi-directional cause-and-effect relationship between parody and the value acquired by some works of art.

A Theory of Parody, originally published in 1985, at Methuen, and in 2000 at the University of Illinois Press, assigns parody the feature of a sort of bond that connects the molecules of modernism and postmodernism, and, amongst other teachings (as the explanatory title shows – *The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms*) proves that the existence of **parody** makes both **the ridiculed** and **the ridiculing** art outlive works that do not have corresponding parodies.

The study starts with the phrase "Incipit parodia" (Nietzsche), that seems to suggest that the existence of parody is not limited to a few ridiculed literary works and never ceases to exist because it has become an essential means of expression nowadays, despite it having been disapproved for centuries.

The purpose of the book is explained in relation with the title as addressing issues related to "modern artistic practice" in which parody is so recurrent that has come to be common practice in all forms of art, hence the complexity that can cause a sort of 'terminological distress' to translators attempting to deal with this typology of texts.

If a subtitle were to be given to this review, that would be "As Serious as Parody Can Get" because the essential principle of this study could be synthesized as follows – parody, the only type of art not relying on external criticism, should

be taken seriously as its critical dimension (yin) is successfully completed by the creative one (its yang) to achieve art.

In the actual twenty-nine-page introduction that comes after “A New Introduction, an Old Concern”, parody is repeatedly defended and praised and the translator *captures* every single feature of the original.

Therefore, the seriousness required for rendering Hutcheon’s complex analysis of parody into another language is somehow paradoxical inasmuch parody used to be considered mere ridicule, but the importance it has acquired in time makes it the object of a study as thorough as the present one.

The study is available for the Romanian audience as *O teorie a parodiei. Învățăturile formelor artistice ale secolului XX*, translated by Oana-Celia Gheorghiu, with a preface by Michaela Praisler and published by Transilvania University Press.

It can be agreed that the translator has undertaken quite a challenging task – to treat parody seriously in translation, to render every single shade of meaning that Hutcheon’s *overloaded* study contains. However, it is interesting to notice the fact that an author of several papers on literature, literary criticism and translation ventured in this journey, to translate something that, despite it being topical, was written more than three decades ago and focuses on a variety of art forms.

Thus, as Hutcheon goes beyond parody in literature, so does Oana Gheorghiu by defying her passion and tendency to translate literary texts and embarking on a journey in ‘other worlds’ such as pragmatics and the “parodic communicative interaction” presented in Chapter 3.

Just like translation depends on the existence of a source text, parody would not exist without the work that it ridicules. Nonetheless, translating studies that have titles of this type (“*A theory of...*”) might not seem a great endeavour as this apparently displays features of a scientific study whose nature (based on theories and laws) could be too precise and steady.

But those who are familiar with the complexity of this type of ‘combo’ (literature, literary criticism, linguistics and translation theory), would agree that translating a study like this is a Sisyphus’s type of task and the boulder (*tones of art, literature and linguistics*) has to be rolled up *the hills of translation* in a very skillful manner. It implies dealing with field-specific elements, a task even more difficult when a study is replete with examples that are meant to shape the theoretical dimension.

Since parody has evolved along time by moving away from imitation and by attempting to enhance difference (not similarity), these aspects of theory (its definition and function) have become problematic too. This *from-examples-to-theory* strategy increases the complexity of the topic by adding up information referring to a variety of art forms.

By comparing parody and its relativity with “beauty” – “Parody is in the eye of the beholder” (2000: xvi) – the author herself explains that the clues that are supposed to be provided in parodies (that depend on the “the skill of the encoder”) are meant to be interpreted by a competent *decoder*. Similarly, *A Theory*

of *Parody* abounds in examples and theoretical elements to be efficiently decoded by other scholars, researchers, teachers etc.

Therefore, in *O teorie a parodiei*, we are witnessing the skills of the third type of encoder (the translator) who, in this case first assumes the role of a decoder so that she can, in her turn, encode the theory of parody in the target language (Romanian).

This dual nature of the translator made it possible for important findings (such as the functions of irony as a rhetorical strategy that causes the "terminological confusion between parody and satire" - page 55 in the original text and 47 in the translation) to be available for scholars who need to use a theory of parody in analyses of Romanian literary texts or other forms of art.

Every chapter, especially "Sfera pragmatică a parodiei" and "Paradoxul parodiei" are evidence of how this vast knowledge of theoretical elements from linguistics, literary criticism (that is, in fact, the translator's cup of tea) and translation theory is *in service* of both the original text and the target audience.

The clearest examples of accuracy in translation are the field-related terms or collocations like "self-reflexivity", "inter-art discourse" (2000:2), "inter-art-traffic" (2000:8), "self-reflexiveness of all cultural forms" (2000:1) etc. that can be confusing if their Romanian equivalents are not adequate. However, the meticulous translator found that in Romanian "auto-reflexivitate" is the equivalent of both "reflexiveness" (that is more technical and recurrent in linguistics and mathematics) and "reflexivity" that is a more general term.

Noun phrases like those containing the word "art", kept as "discurs inter-arte" and "traffic inter-arte", are examples of faithfulness and commitment to the original study.

Another important contribution of the translator is the skillful use of notes and appositions to semantically supplement the message of the theorist or to provide the translation into Romanian of samples of texts written in other languages. As the Canadian scholar repeatedly states, samples of text are essential to contouring this 'map' of parody.

Undoubtedly, a detailed analysis of the translation strategies employed by Gheorghiu would be an interesting endeavour for researchers studying certain dimensions of English for Specific Purposes, but for reasons of space, it was necessary to only briefly point out some important aspects of the decision-making process in a translation of this type and acknowledge the value of the final product.

Translations are a sort of replicas of the originals but a translation of such a detailed study is not a mere replica of it. It could be described as a study per se, where accuracy, precision and thorough subject knowledge are at work for the best result – a translation that reads as a source text.

To conclude, recreating the experience of the original by means of translation does not consist, in this case, in a 'copy' of a fictional work or re-depiction of some events in the target language for readers that are more or less keen on reading a story. It reflects the absolutely compulsory 'multiple

personality' of the translator, hence one can often wonder – who does the translator see when she looks in the mirror – a translator, a researcher in the field of literary criticism or a linguist? As we see it, it is evident that *O teorie a parodiei* is a result of all these diligent selves working together.

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