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Retrospective and  
Prospective Views*

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# *Translation Studies: Retrospective and Prospective Views*

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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

# TRANSLATING SALMAN RUSHDIE. A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

Izabela-Daniela ANTON (RADU)\*

*It is normally supposed that something gets lost in translation;  
I cling, obstinately, to the notion that something can also be gained.  
(Salman Rushdie, Imaginary Homelands, p.17)*

**Abstract:** *The process of translation has always been dynamic and challenging, as well as the process of investigating metaphor. And when the two are analysed together, the challenge is even greater and the result is metaphor translation, an issue tackled by both traditional linguistic approaches and recently, by cognitive approaches. The main difference between them is that the traditional view sees metaphor as an exceptional employment of language while the cognitive one considers it a conceptual mechanism of reasoning. When it comes to translation, the research has experienced a still increasing interest for metaphor translation from a cognitive point of view in the last 20 years, the turn in Translation Studies leading towards a Cognitive Translation Theory. Within this context, this paper aims at elaborating a cross-linguistic analysis from a Cognitive linguistic perspective, focusing on metaphors and metonymies utilized by Salman Rushdie in his novels *The Ground Beneath Her Feet* and *Two years, eight months and twenty-eight nights*. The translations to analyse are *Pământul de sub tălpile ei*, accomplished by Antoaneta Ralian and published in 2011 and *Doi ani, opt luni și douăzeci și opt de nopți*, accomplished by Dana Crăciun and published in 2015.*

**Keywords:** conceptual metaphor, cognitive turn, translation method, metaphor translation

## Introduction

History of scientific research has recorded numerous attempts to connect the study of language to the study of mind, especially in the past two decades. The endeavours to relate language structure to cognition have brought firstly linguistics closer to cognitive science, and afterwards, Cognitive linguistics closer to Translation studies.

Translation and linguistics have always experienced a tense relationship in which love and hate mingle and the evolution of this connection shows that “the principles of Cognitive Linguistics can provide a suitable meeting point where linguistics and translation can finally forget their differences and start working together towards a cognitive theory of language and translation” (Rojo, Ibarretxe – Antuñano 2013: 4).

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The relevant contribution of Cognitive Linguistics for Translation studies emerges primarily from the so – called experiential notion of meaning provided by cognitivists, that disclaims the classical notion of referential truth and emphasizes the central role of human experience and understanding. This experience – based approach brings together thought, language and culture in the speakers' cognitive context and translation becomes part of the participants' mental life so as the pragmatic and socio – cultural factors can be integrated in cognitive models as part of the interlocutors' cognitive context. As a result, the notion of **context** finally turns into the principal concept within the translation activity. Moreover, the translation process viewed from a cognitive perspective is supplied with enough explanatory capacity to account for the role of human cognitive abilities in both linguistic and translation issues (Idem, p.7) given the importance of these cognitive abilities and the part played by language into the translation process in relation to them.

Cognitive Linguistics not only describes translation as a cognitive process, but it supports the cognitive nature of translation as a mediating process between two different conceptual worlds. Cognitive Linguistics proposes an integrated view of language, cognition and culture with the role to reinforce the connection between the translator's behaviour and the cognitive strategies that lead to it. This way, the relationship between the product and the process of translation fortifies. Metaphor translation has become a matter of concern in Translation studies as its interlinguistic transfer can be impeded by cross – cultural and crosslinguistic differences. Moreover, the cognitive approach provides significant insights into translation as cross – cultural communication by giving a redefinition of culture. Metaphor is common to all languages and cultures. Although the use of metaphor is undoubtedly universal, the choice of metaphor for comprehending and interpreting the world may be cultural – specific: different cultures can interpret the same issue employing different metaphors, according to their cultural patterns of thought. This leads to the following matter: conceptual metaphors expressed in language may serve as an indicator of a particular culture, since language is the outward expression of human thinking and it is usually coloured by individual experiences or spiritual development.

As Ana Rojo and Iraide Ibarretxe – Antuñano, further argue, “the emphasis of Cognitive Linguistics on cognitive aspects gives prominence to the role of the translator, who would no longer be considered just as a specialist in two languages, but rather an intercultural mediator between source and target texts” (Idem, p.12-13), who is aware of the cultures in which the translation process takes place and manipulates the texts based on his own knowledge and experience about the world. The translator is no longer considered a language expert who must be faithful to the source text, because in fact he/she can and should adapt it to the target language and audience, both conceptually – appropriate information – and linguistically – appropriate constructions



(Idem, p.19-20). This transforms the translator into a cultural wonderer, an encyclopedic person able to connect two different cultures, to create patterns of communication between the two, so as the linguistic and conceptual correlations he/she makes to be accurate and authentic, revealing his/her solid linguistic and cultural skills. Therefore, translators should not only be bi – lingual, but also bi – cultural.

The idea proposed by the cognitive view is clear: translation is seen as a process which occurs between cultures rather than simply between languages, because all meaning is culturally conditioned and the response to a given text is culturally conditioned, as well. Moreover, since every text is anchored in a specific culture, conventions of text production and reception may vary from culture to culture. At the same time, translation is viewed as a process which occurs between conceptual systems rather than simply between linguistic ones. All these aspects lead to a cognitively founded translation theory, based on a solid epistemological foundation relying on the relationship between language and cognition, as well as on the embodied character of language.

### 1. Translating metaphor

While the central problem of translation is the overall choice of a translation method for a text, the most important particular problem is the **translation of metaphor**. Because the Cognitive theory considers metaphor an essential cognitive mechanism for meaning – making and translation as a cognitive process, it can get to the heart of both metaphor and translation.

The theoretical turn in Metaphor studies began in 1980s with Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By*: the cognitive approach to metaphor led to a fundamental paradigm shift for metaphor research, metaphor translation included. As our conceptual system functions automatically without our being aware of it, one way to grasp its metaphoricity is to look at metaphor use across languages.

As such, translators have a double amount of work when dealing with metaphors, because they must have a firm, clear understanding of the meanings of metaphors from the source text and they must be able to find equivalent senses conveying similar functions in the target text. On the other hand, metaphors present translators with other two problematic issues: “one situated at a conceptual level, the other at a linguistic level. It remains to be seen how they are associated with cultural factors – a major obstacle to be reckoned with in translation” (Hong and Rossi 2021: 9), as the cognitive approach provides important insights into translation as cross – cultural communication by offering a redefinition of culture.

Being a theoretical framework able to provide a realistic prospect of metaphor translation which “reflects the true nature of metaphor” (Samaniego Fernandez 2011: 262), the cognitive approach improves human understanding of translation as an activity mediating between different conceptual systems.

As Maalej (2008) argues, translation is not about matching linguistic codes, it is rather about mapping conceptual systems. It is the result of metaphorical reasoning which determines conceptual systems that function within languages and make them their concrete manifestations.

A cognitively founded translation theory does not regard metaphor and metonymy as a matter of translating words from one language into another. Instead, it takes into account the issue of decoding and recoding conceptual systems from a source culture into a target culture. Moreover, according to Samaniego Fernandez, novel metaphors have the capacity of enlarging the target conceptual world because translators are aware of the potentiality of a given conceptual metaphor in the source text and consequently can adapt it and utilize it in the target text (Rojo and Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2013: 22).

There is a clear distinction in Cognitive Linguistics between metaphors as conceptual information objectified in the cross - domain mappings from the conceptual systems - and metaphorical expressions as the linguistic realizations of the mappings, revealing the linguistic structure specific to each language. This distinction is fundamental in metaphor translation studies and paramount to understanding the potentiality of metaphor as a cognitive mechanism.

In accordance with this view, the metaphor does not constitute a problematic issue for translation because "all conceptual metaphors are translatable from the source into the target text" and all that the translator has to do is "to establish which conceptual domains are involved in the metaphorical mapping that appears in the source text, and then find either the equivalent linguistic means to codify that mapping in the target text or find alternative conceptual domains that are equivalent to those in the source text" (*Ibidem*), since the notion of translatability of metaphor - one of the major points of disagreement among scholars in metaphor translation studies - is connected to the conceptual systems in both source and target culture. Because the patterns of conceptualization of the source text are constrained by source language conventions, translators must reconceptualize the source text message so as to fit the intended meaning to the target language conceptual system in an appropriate manner (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2010). Consequently, an essential challenge for translators lies in conceptual asymmetries, that is the gap between different ways of conceptualization of reality, giving rise to different conceptual metaphors. There can be further sketched two scenarios (Mandelbit 1995 cited in Hong and Rossi 2021: 9): SMC - similar mapping conditions, where the source text conceptual metaphor has a counterpart in the source language, and DMC - different mapping conditions, where there is no counterpart.

Therefore, because translation is a dynamic activity which emphasizes the complex interplay of a multitude of linguistic factors (metaphor type, text

type, context) and extra – linguistic factors (translation direction, socio – cultural conventions, communicative purpose), a cognitive approach would improve our understanding of translation as “an activity mediating between different conceptual systems” (Kövecses 2014 : 22).

## **2. Cultural variation**

The close connection between language and culture and the fact that culture has an essential role in translation have always been acknowledged by both cognitivists and researchers interested in Translation studies. It is the cross – linguistic metaphor variation that occurs both at a conceptual level and a linguistic level, the latter being even more culturally marked. This idea should also be born in mind by translators and linguists alike.

Therefore, as the translator is always torn between source culture and target culture, it is not sufficient for translators to be bi – lingual, they also have to be excellent connoisseurs of the target culture in order to master specific cultural issues related to that culture. Moreover, figurative language use across languages has both universal and culture – specific elements, so the translator may face more challenges when dealing with cultural variation. That is so because translating culture – specific items in literary translations seems to be one of the most challenging tasks to be performed by a translator.

Given the crucial part played by culture in shaping metaphorical thought (Gibbs 1999: 153), the literary translator is concerned with differences not just at the linguistic level – transposing word for word – but with the same range of cultural factors that a writer must address when writing to a readership belonging to a different culture. The translator is faced with a source text which includes both cultural and linguistic elements, considered as givens for the translator which typically involve particularly problematic factors for the receiving audience. Therefore, the translator is confronted with the dilemma of faithfulness: to be “faithful”, such problematic factors must be transposed despite the difficulties they might cause to the sensibilities or cognitive framework of translator or audience; in obscuring, altering or muting the cultural disjunctions, he/she ceases to be “faithful” to the source text (Tymoczko 2002 : 21).

The concept of culture is undoubtedly essential to understanding the implications for literary translation and culture – specific items in translation, but the process of transmitting cultural elements through literary translation is a complicated and challenging task. The cognitive approach to metaphor has been accused that it undermines the cross – cultural metaphor variation, focusing too much on the universal aspects of metaphor. The study of universal embodiment resulting in universal metaphors was indeed dominant for a period of time, but the work of Zoltán Kövecses has balanced the situation with the study of how variable context accounts for variation and flexibility in metaphorical conceptualization (Kövecses 2014 : 7). He views the

substantial influence of contextual factors on metaphorical conceptualization as one of the main difficulties in metaphor translation.

Kövecses formulates a theory of metaphor variation based on the fact that there is both universality and variation in the conceptual metaphors people construct, employ or comprehend in everyday language and he also proposes a principle he calls “the pressure of coherence in metaphor” to explain the inception of these two phenomena. In his endeavour to redress the balance by focusing on what he takes to be the equally important role of context, Zoltán Kövecses proposed the **metaphor variation theory**: it is a powerful explanatory framework which complements the main tenets of conceptual metaphor theory.

Kövecses (2014 : 7-8) studies the way specific cultural contexts in which conceptual metaphors are embedded influence the linguistic expression of these metaphors: he argues that if the linguistic expression of a conceptual metaphor existing in both languages is influenced by differences in cultural context, then an important source of difficulties in translations involving the corresponding linguistic expressions arises. This means that a particular conceptual metaphor can occur in both languages, but the linguistic expression of the conceptual metaphor most likely will be influenced by differences in cultural – ideological features, which brings difficulty in conveying accurate meaning in the two languages and cultures.

The translation of metaphors may present a large number of challenges and difficulties, as the same figurative meaning can be rendered in several different ways in different languages, the result being the large degree of flexibility which characterizes this process. Hence, the translator’s task is to choose the most adequate option of translation. Tackling the issue of the patterns in metaphor translation, Kövecses argues in several of his works (2005, 2014) that when studying similarities and differences in the metaphorical expression of a conceptual metaphor, scholars need to take into account a number of factors, such as: the literal meaning of the expressions used, the figurative meaning to be expressed and the conceptual metaphor on the basis of which figurative meanings are expressed. All these give rise to different patterns that characterize the differences in metaphorical expression, and the patterns can be: different literal meanings generating the same figurative meaning, the same conceptual metaphor producing the same figurative meaning or, finally, different conceptual metaphors leading to the same conceptual meaning. Therefore, Kövecses views **context** as playing a key role in both the production and comprehension of metaphors, a variety of contextual factors being responsible for variation in the use of metaphors. Thus, metaphor translation poses different challenges. Even if two languages share a conceptual metaphor, there are at least three different possibilities for translating a metaphor from one language to another and, as a result, the translator has to choose the most adequate possibility.

### 3. The cognitive stylistic translator

If there is a cognitive approach to language, there is also a new cognitive approach to meaning and style in terms of mind: Cognitive Stylistics, which is based of course on Cognitive Linguistic Theory. One of the recent developments in the study of style, it has as a fundament the analysis of style viewed “as a cognitive process of mind that goes beyond the boundaries of surface meaning to unearth the truth behind it” (Ghazala 2018: 4). This process, Ghazala argues further, “draws heavily on the cultural, social, political, and ideological conceptualization of style and meaning” (*Ibidem*), which leads to the fact that contemporary cognitive stylistic approaches viewing meaning as the product of style as mind influence fundamentally the cognitive process of translating. Therefore, the Cognitive stylistic translation is a style – based translation, a reflection of the diverse features and functions of the style of the source and target texts from different points of view of the author, the translator, the target text reader and the target language style, so as translation becomes triggered and directed by style (Idem, p.5)

Although the concept of “style” has many areas of application, in language it refers to those aspects of language assumed by the hearer, reader or translator, and indeed by the speaker, original writer, or writer of translations, to be the result of choice. Therefore, style is inextricably related to choice, being actually a reflection of choice in a way other aspects of language are not, and ultimately, a cognitive state driving the choice. Hence any translation contains both the author’s and the translator’s choices. Needless to say, it is option, choice and the realm of stylistics, that should remain the translator’s main concern. As Vinay and Darbelnet put it (1977 : 16), the role of the translator is “to choose from among the available options to express the nuances of the message”. Style is fundamental to the way humans construct and interpret texts. According to Jean Boase – Beier (2014 : 1), its effects upon translation can manifest in at least three ways: firstly, in the actual process of translation, the way the style of the source text is viewed certainly influences the translator’s reading of the text; secondly, the translator’s own style becomes part of the target text, since the recreative process in the target text is also influenced by the sorts of choices the translator makes, and style is ultimately the outcome of choice; thirdly, the sense of what style is affects not only what the translator does, but how the critic of translation interprets what the translator has achieved.

The main task of the translator is to transfer the meaning and interpretation of the choices made by the text’s author from the language structures of different types (with particular socio – cultural, ideological and mental backgrounds), into the target text with his/her own socio – cultural, ideological and mental background, also taking into account the target readers’ mental and other backgrounds. This way, the translator becomes “a cognitive

stylistic translator who is more of a creative writer of translation than a dull imitator or producer of the source text's meaning" (Ghazala 2018 : 22) thought to be intended by the writer. Simultaneously, the main focus of Cognitive Stylistics becomes "the style of the source text as perceived by the translator and how it is conveyed or changed or to what extent it is or can be preserved in translation" (Boase-Beier 2014 : 5).

The role of style in translation is viewed as a complex one because there are the styles of two texts, the source text and the target text, to take into account. And in each case, the style of the text can be seen in its relationship to the writer, as an expression of choice, or in its relationship to the reader, as something to be interpreted and hence to produce effects.

On the one hand, the translator is a reader of the source text, and so the effects of its style upon the translator need to be examined. On the other hand, the translator writes a new text in translating, and so the style of the target text is an expression of the translator's choices. (Idem, p. 4-5). It is obvious that no text can ever be fully translated in all its aspects as perfect homology is impossible between translation and source text. Nevertheless, choices must be made by the translator; there are additions and omissions in the process, no matter how skilled the translator. But this is not the point. It is the prominence of the translator's role that Cognitive stylistics insists on, and the relative "freedom" that it gives to him/her as a "writer" of a new text.

The translator is first of all a reader, a careful and informed one, who also has his/her own style and stylistic choices, mind, socio - cultural background, ideology, conventions, experience and knowledge of the world and who understands the original text, interprets and constructs it according to both the author's terms and conditions and to his own. During the process of translation, he/she transforms the original text because he/she cannot and should not neutralize himself/herself when reading and translating a text. He/she reads the source text with the aim of constructing what he/she perceives as the text's meaning - rather than reconstruct the author's meaning - to construct it this time in the target text (Ghazala 2018:10), which would be a monotonous task to complete.

This leads to the idea that the translator can be viewed as a writer, who first makes his/her choices from those made by the writer of the source text, as long as both the translator and the author's voices co - exist in the translated text. The translator becomes the writer of the translation who is initially responsible for the style of the translated text to which readers of the translation respond and from which he/she creates meaning, instigating discovery in the reader.

Obviously, a distinction has to be made in order to avoid confusion: the translator is a writer or creator, but a writer and creator of translation, not in the same way as the original writer and creator of the source text. Accordingly, the translator as a writer and creator of translation is different from the writer

of the source text (Idem, p.12-13): the translator is the writer and creator of the translation firstly because, without a translator, a target text does not even exist and secondly, because the translator is the constructor of the translated text emerging from the source text.

What the translator does is not only reproducing, reconstructing, or recreating the author's meaning of the original into the target text; he/she is in fact the constructor of the meaning of the source text in terms of the cognitive stylistic approach to translation. It is clear that the source text writer is the original creator of the work. As to the translator, he/she is a writer and creator of a translated text in the target language which is not completely the product of his/her own work, but a production that has as its basis somebody else's original creation in the source text. Because literature appears to work by combining the universal with the particular, cognitive approaches to style and translation rely on the interplay of stylistic universals with stylistic characteristics peculiar to an individual language, culture or view. This leads to the idea that for translation, at least from a cognitive point of view, what is universal is more easily translated than what is culturally or linguistically diverse. Hence, the interplay of universal and specific is fundamental in translating literary texts.

At the same time, it should be mentioned that stylistic figures in the text such as metaphor have cognitive correlates and in this cognitive sense, they have both a universal basis and an individual context which is to some extent culturally – bound. Translators need to make decisions especially about what to do with their culturally – bound and individual aspects.

Jean Boase-Beier maintains that literary translation is, in its very basic sense, the translation of style, because style conveys attitude and not just information, because style is the expression of mind, and literature itself is a reflection of mind. At the same time, style is fundamental because the attitude expressed in the text is in its style, the basis for reader engagement is in its style and the expression of cognitive state is in its style (mind style). Therefore it is highly important for a translator to be as stylistically aware as possible, and to use the style as the basis and focal point for a translation (Idem, p.112). Hence the importance of style in literary translation: it has been perceived as being closely related to what makes the text literary and, automatically, with the creative element in literary translation.

Since the style of a text is the one which allows the text to function as literature, **literary translation can be seen as the translation of style**. And as the direct reflection of the author's choices, the style carries the speaker's meaning, both conscious and unconscious, thus the translation of a literary text is the translation of a particular cognitive state as it has become embodied in the text. Interestingly enough, because of the translator's role as active participant in creating a textual reading, different readers will read the same text differently and will produce different translations reflecting different

aspects of the mind behind the text (Idem, p. 114), fact which emphasizes multiplicity and diversity in translation. Conceptual metaphor reflects, and can influence, the way humans pursue their thinking. This means that a translator who is aware of metaphor, and of the modern views which emphasize the centrality and ubiquity of metaphor and how it structures human thinking, will certainly be influenced by this knowledge and it will affect the way he/she produces the translation.

In conclusion, the literary translation is first and foremost the translation of style. This means that a literary translation, characterized of course by stylistic awareness, is a more literary text than an untranslated text.

#### 4. Translating Salman Rushdie's novels. A brief analysis

In this section, aspects of metaphorical language from two novels by Salman Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet* and *Two years, eight months and twenty-eight nights*, will be analysed according to the cognitive perspective proposed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson mainly in their seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), on the one hand, and in agreement with the cognitive stylistic approach proposed more recently by Jean Boase – Beier in *Stylistic Approaches to Translation* (2014) and H. S. Ghazala in *The Cognitive Stylistic Translator* (2018) on the other hand, also taking into account Vinay and Darbelnet's classical translation techniques.

*The Ground Beneath Her Feet* can be compared to an Orphic song, while *Two years, eight months and twenty-eight nights* is a story about fantastic creatures, love and migrants, about war and the darkness within human souls. The first examples are from the novel *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*.

(...) *I saw no ring on her finger, except for the talismanic moonstone she always wore, her link to Ormus Cama, her reminder of his love* (p.6) is translated through inversion and modulation as (...) *nu am văzut nici un inel pe degetul ei, în afară de piatra lunii, talismanul pe care îl purta tot timpul, legătura ei cu Ormus Cama, suvenirul iubirii lui* (p.12). The translation of the noun *reminder* as *suvenirul* shows the fact that their love is lost. This idea is enforced in translation more than in the original. THE RING IS A REMINDER is a novel conceptual metaphor occurring here, translated by another conceptual metaphor, namely THE RING IS A SOUVENIR.

An enumeration of similes can be seen in the following passage: (...) *she looked stretched, unstable, too bright, as if she were on the point of flying apart like an exploding lightbulb, like a supernova, like the universe* (p.7), translated literally as *ea păru-se extrem de stresată, instabilă, excesiv de strălucitoare, ca un bec gata să facă explozie, ca o supernovă, ca universul* (p.12).

Phrases such as *inescapable truth* (p.8) are translated as *adevărul ineluctabil* (p.14), *thundering cheers* (p.8) as *ovații tunătoare* (p.14), *the back of an unsteady hand* (p.10) as *dosul unei palme tremurânde* (p.16), *life's bruises* (p.154) as *loviturile vieții* (p.164), *thundering symphony* (p.209) as *simfonie tunătoare* (p.220),



*deafening cacophony* (p.210) as *cacofonie asurzitoare* (p.220), *polyphonic reality* (p.238) as *realitatea polifonică* (p.249), *these troubled times* (p.309), translated as *vremuri de bejenie* (p.320). The sense of loss and destruction caused by the earthquake is described in the following words: *This is how people behave when their dailiness is destroyed, when for a few minutes they see, plain and unadorned, one of the great shaping forces of life. Calamity fixes them with her mesmeric eye, and they begin to scoop and paw at the rubble of their days, trying to pluck the memory of the quotidian (...) from the garbage heaps of the irretrievable, of their overwhelming loss* (p.16), translated through inversion and modulation as *Așa reacționează oamenii când cotidianul le este distrus, când, preț de câteva minute, văd cu ochii lor una dintre marile forțe modelatoare ale naturii în nuditatea și cruditățile ei. Calamitatea îi fixează cu ochii ei hipnotici, iar oamenii scurmă și rîcîie în molozul zilelor lor, încercînd să smulgă amintirea normalului (...) din mormanele de relicve ale irecuperabilului sau ale pierderii lor covîrșitoare* (p.22). The phrases *one of the great shaping forces of life*, *the rubble of their days*, *the garbage heaps of the irretrievable* display the pattern NOUN 1 (concrete) + OF + NOUN 2 (abstract), so dear to Rushdie. There is a personifying metaphor CALAMITY IS A HYPNOTIST, the basic metaphor being CALAMITY IS A HUMAN BEING. At the same time, *the rubble of their days* suggests a novel metaphor, namely DAYS ARE DESTROYED BUILDINGS. Interestingly enough, the phrase *garbage heaps* is translated as *mormanele de relicve*.

*The town looked like a picture postcard torn up by an angry child and then painstakingly reassembled by its mother. It had acquired the quality of brokenness, had become kin to the greatest family of the broken: broken plates, broken dolls, broken English, broken promises, broken hearts.* (p.17) shows an interesting simile and a zeugma. It is translated literally: *Orașul arăta ca o fotografie ruptă de un copil poznaș și apoi reconstituită, stîngaci, de mama copilului. Dobîndise calitatea stricăciunii, intrase în mare familie a tot ce e rupt și spart: farfurii sparte, păpuși stricate, engleză stricăță, logodne rupte, inimi rupte* (p.22), except for *angry child* (*copil poznaș*) and *broken promises* (*logodne rupte*), which are translated through modulation. The same procedure is used for the translation of the sentence *Vina Apsara lurched towards me through dust* (p.17) as *Vina Apsara mi s-a materializat în praf* (p.22). The metaphor VINA IS A FAIRY occurs only in translation, not in the original. Equivalence is used in the translation of some surnames containing puns: *the Readymoneys, the Cashondeliveris, the Fishwalas* or *Sodawaterbatliopennerwala* (p.19) – *Banigata, Banigheață și Coșdepește* or *Sodawaterdeschizătordebatliwala* (p.25), the last one combining equivalence, naturalization and borrowing. Another pun interestingly translated in Romanian through adaptation is related to the chief consultant gynaecologist's name from the *Maria Gratiaplina*, Ute Schaapsteker, known as *Snooty Utie – Uty Sluty* (p.30). An example of modulation is the phrase *we'll show them what-for* (p.30) and the sentence *But Sir Darius had lost his head* (p.30), translated as *o să le arătăm care pe care* (35) and *Dar Sir Darius își pierduse controlul* (p.35). The

noun *head* stands for the person, being a PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy, and at the same time symbolizes self – control through the metaphor HEAD IS SELF – CONTROL. Hence, it is a metonymically – motivated metaphor.

An interesting translation through modulation and amplification is given by the sentence *What a cricket ball started could not be stopped* (p.40), translated in Romanian as *Avalanșa declanșată de o minge de crichet nu a mai putut fi oprită* (p.46).

The idea of *the ground beneath our feet* (p.54) is recurrent in the novel and it is also related to the *unsolidity of solid ground* (p.54) – *netrăinicia trainicului pământ* (p.61), a beautiful oxymoron.

*That was how we spoke my mother and I: in puns and games and rhymes. In, you might say, lyrics. This was our tragedy. We were language's magpipes by nature, stealing whatever sounded bright and shiny. We were tinpan alleycats, but the gift of music had been withheld.* (p.56-57). The translation uses adaptation *Așa discutăm noi, mama și cu mine: în jocuri de cuvinte și rime. S-ar putea spune că în poezioare. De aici pornea toată tragedia. Eram, prin firea noastră, două coțofene lingvistice – furam tot ce ne suna vesel și luminos. Alcătuiam o lume a compozițiilor și a muzicii, dar talentul muzical nu ne fusese hărăzit* (p.63). The phrase *we were tinpan alleycats* is translated as *alcătuiam o lume a compozițiilor și a muzicii*. The same procedure of adaptation can be seen in the following puns: *her off-key siti-bajana had curdled my favourite dessert* (p.56), translated as *fluieratul ei fals făcuse să se taie desertul meu favorit* (p.63); *"Ma, keep mum."* *"Silent ice is wholly nice."* *"Ice cream not younce cream"* (p.56) translated as *Mamă, ține – ți buzele strânse. Înghețata în tăcere te umple de plăcere. Crema la gheață nu înseamnă cremă cu gheață* (p.63). Moreover, the slogan *"A dream without scream"* (p.56) is translated as *"Un vis mut e un vis plăcut."* (p.63).

A beautiful simile can be seen in the description of Rai's house: *Villa Thracia, where I was raised, was one of the series of wedding-cake fantasy bungalows that formerly lined that gracious promenade like proud courtiers standing in a row before their queen, the sea* (p.57), translated as *Villa Thracia, în care am crescut eu, era una dintre acele căsuțe de turtă dulce, care se înșirau pe vremuri de – a lungul grațioasei promenade, ca niște mîndri curteni aliniați în fața reginei lor, marea* (p.64).

Another multiple simile can be observed in the description of V.V.Merchant, Rai's father: *skinny as an excuse, earnest as a promise, joyful as a birth* (p.58), translated as *un om subțiratic ca o scuză, onest ca o promisiune, vesel ca o naștere* (p.65).

A plastic image of the sea is rendered in the following passage: *It was the sea. Its come – hither murmur, its seductive roar. That was the music that could wash my soul* (p.59). The translation is literal: *Era glasul mării. Murmurul ei îmbietor, mugetul ei seducător. Muzica aceasta îmi scălda sufletul* (p.67). Therefore, THE SEA IS MUSIC. Another sentence depicting the water, *The sea, the wine-dark, the fish-rich* (p.59) is translated through adaptation, using a simile: *Marea, întunecată ca vinul, clocotind de pești* (p.66).

*In those days of upheaval the ground itself seemed uncertain, the land, the physical land, seemed to cry out for reconstruction* (p.62) is translated literally as *În zilele acelea de zguduiri pînă și pămîntul părea nesigur, pămîntul fizic părea să țipe după reconstrucție* (p.69). The personifying metaphor occurring here is THE GROUND IS A PERSON.

Another enumeration of puns occurs in the dialogue between Rai and his mother, Ameer, on the beach Juhu: “Skyscraper”, “Beachscrapers”, “Sandscrapers”, “Camelscrapers”, “cocoscrapers”, “fishscrapers”, “chowscrapers at Chowpatty Beach and hillscrapers on Malabar Hill”, “Cuffescrapers on Cuffe Parade” (p.64), translated as *Zgîrie-nori, Zgîrie-plajă, Zgîrie-nisip, Zgîrie-cămile, zgîrie-cocos, zgîrie-pești, zgîrie-papură la Plaja Papurei și zgîrie-deal la Dealul Malabar and Zgîrie-Cuffe* (p.71), respectively.

Other puns occur in the description of Piloo Doodhwala and his famous “magnificentourage”: “magnificentestine”, “arrogantourage” (p.65), translated as *al său faimos “magnificanturaj”, “magnificantipatic” and “aroganturaj”* (p.71), respectively. All these puns are translated through adaptation.

*That Egyptian profile which, many years later, I saw again in a portrait of the female pharaoh, Queen Hatshepsut, the first woman in recorded history, whom dismissive Vina (...), referred to as Hat Cheap Suit* (p.68) is translated through adaptation and modulation, as *Profilul acela egiptean, pe care, mulți ani mai târziu, l-am revăzut în portretul faraonului femeie, Regina Hatshepsut, prima femeie faraon din istorie, pe care Vina, o numea, în bătaie de joc Ha ce put*, although the pun gains a different meaning.

*It is possible I am pouring the wine of several beach weekends into the bottle of a single day* (p.64), translated literally as *E posibil să torn vinurile mai multor weekenduri petrecute pe plajă în sticla unei singure zile* (p.73). Thus, the container metaphor DAY IS A BOTTLE OF WINE and the novel metaphor ACTIVITIES ARE WINE.

*Did I quit Bombay, in other words, because the whole damn city felt like my mother’s womb and I had to go abroad to get myself born?* (p.76) is an interesting question of Rai’s introspection, translated through adaptation as *Cu alte cuvinte, am părăsit Bombayul pentru că era, pentru mine, ca pîntecele mamei mele și a trebuit să mă smulg ca să mă pot naște?* (p.84)

The same idea is rendered in another part of the narration: *Many youngsters leave home to find themselves; I had to cross oceans just to exit Wombay, the parental body. I flew away to get myself born* (p.100). Translated literally, the paragraph emphasizes the pun Bombay – Wombay, comprehensible only in English and untranslatable in Romanian: *Mulți tineri pleacă de acasă pentru a se regăsi pe ei înșiși; eu a trebuit să treversez Oceanul pentru a părăsi orașul, pentru a ieși din Wombay, din placenta pîrintească. Am plecat pentru a mă putea naște* (p.108). Therefore, DEPARTURE IS BIRTH, a completely novel metaphor.

The next examples are from the novel *Two years, eight months and twenty-eight nights*.

At the beginning of the novel, when describing the jinns, Rushdie uses a beautiful metonymy: *(at least some of those powerful beings do know the difference between good and evil,) between the right-hand and the left-hand path* (p.4), which has the same effect in translation: *(măcar o parte din aceste ființe puternice cunosc diferența dintre bine și rău,) dintre calea mâinii drepte și calea mâinii stângi* (p.12). Therefore, THE RIGHT HAND stands for THE GOOD and THE LEFT HAND for THE BAD.

In the first chapter, the writer presents the story as *a tale (...) of the time of crisis, the time-out-of-joint which we call the time of strangenesses, which lasted for two years, eight months and twenty-eight nights, which is to say, one thousand nights and one night more* (p.4). The translation is *istoria (...) unor vremuri de criză, vremuri ieșite din fițini, căroră le spunem vremurile ciudățeniilor și care au durat doi ani, opt luni și douăzeci și opt de nopți, adică o mie de nopți și încă una* (p.11). The translation is literal, except for the *time-out-of-joint* phrase, which sounds poetical in Romanian: *vremuri ieșite din fițini* (p.11). There is a conceptual metaphor in translation, which actually does not exist in the original, namely THE TIME IS A DOOR, which actually sounds strange enough to raise the question of the existence of a magic portal. But the story is not about such things yet, even the term *strangenesses* and the magical number from the *Arabian Nights* appear now for the first time in the novel. The description of Ibn Rushd as *a philosopher who was no longer permitted to expound his philosophy, all of whose writing had been banned and his books burned and as the philosopher who could not speak his philosophy, living modestly and being terribly oppressed by the absence of light* (p.5), perhaps sunlight as well as his philosophy and wisdom light, cannot be missed by the readership as a glimpse of Rushdie's autobiography.

Similarly, another hint of the writer's own belief can be grasped from the following excerpt: *The philosopher who could not philosophise feared that his children would inherit, from him, the sad gifts which were his treasure and his curse. 'To be thin – skinned, far – sighted and loose – tongued', he said, 'is to feel too sharply, see too clearly, speak too freely'* (p.6), translated as *Filosoful care nu putea filosofa se temea ca nu cumva copiii să-i moștenească tristele haruri, care erau atât comoara, cât și blestemul lui. 'A fi sensibil, clarvăzător și dezlegat la limbă', spunea el, 'însemna să simți prea intens, să vezi prea limpede, să vorbești prea slobod'* (p.13).

*There was a deep, sad wound in him, because he was a defeated man, had lost the great battle of his life to a dead Persian, Ghazali of Tus, an adversary who had been dead for eight-five years and who had become the greatest scourge of philosophy in the history of the world* (p.8), phrase translated as *cea mai mare pacoste care existase vreodată pe capul filosofiei*. (p.15) Thus, in the Romanian version, there is a conceptual metaphor, namely PHILOSOPHY IS A PERSON. The epithet *sad* from *a deep, sad wound in him* is translated as *dureroasă - rană adâncă și dureroasă* (p.14): *Avea în el o rană adâncă și dureroasă, căci era un bărbat învins, pierduse marea bătălie a vieții lui în fața unui persan răposat, Ghazali din Tus, un adversar mort de*

*optzeci și cinci de ani* (p.14). Therefore, in both the source and the target texts there are the structural metaphors THE PHILOSOPHER IS A WARRIOR, PHILOSOPHY IS WAR, an echo of the classical conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR.

Moreover, the epithet *resigned* from *resigned smile* (p.8) (*zîmbetul resemnat*, p.15) and the idea *He smiled his sad crooked smile* (p.11) (*El a zîmbit trist și strîmb, ca de obicei*) (p.19) emphasize once more the philosopher's sadness because of the fact that *some of his stories could get them both killed if the words were accidentally to escape from the darkness of the bedroom* (p.11). Hence the conceptual metaphor WORDS ARE LIVING BEINGS WHICH CAN MOVE (ESCAPE). The invented words *un-disgraced* (p.17), *their ant-ness* (p.111), *anthillia* (p.112) and *terraphile* (p.182) are translated literally as *de-dizgrațiat* (p.19), *furnicității lor* (p.127), *mușuroială* (p.127) and *pămîntofil* (p.201), respectively, while *mighty rivers* (p.14) is translated as *riuri învolburate* (p.22), *location* (p.14) as *vatră* (p.22) and *the birth of an impossible joy* (p.152) as *mijirea unei bucurii imposibile* (p.169) through modulation.

Dunia slipped out of history, he took it with him when he left, along with his robes, his bubbling retorts, and his manuscripts (p.12), translated as *a rămas în afara istoriei, căci istoria a luat - o el atunci cînd a plecat, laolaltă cu robele, replicile spumoase și manuscrisele sale* (p.20) is an interesting combination of conceptual metaphor with a zeugma. Ibn Rushd took history with him, therefore HISTORY IS A VALUABLE OBJECT (ontological metaphor). He took history along with his robes, retorts and manuscripts (zeugma).

At the same time, *history is unkind to those it abandons, and can be equally unkind to those who make it* (p.14), translated as *Istoria este neîndurătoare cu cei pe care îi abandonează și poate fi la fel de neîndurătoare cu cei care o scriu.* (p.22), implying the epithet *unkind* as *neîndurătoare*, shows that HISTORY IS A PERSON (personifying metaphor).

Another conceptual metaphor occurs in the phrase describing the communication between the world of humans and the world of jinns after Dunia returned to *Peristan, the other reality, the world of dreams* (p.13): *the slits in the world became overgrown by the unimaginative weeds of convention and the thorn bushed of the dully material* (p.14), translated as *fantele spre lume au fost năpădite de buruienile golate de imaginație ale conformismului și de mărăcinișul materialismului anost* (p.21). The conceptual metaphor is CONVENTION IS A LAND WITH WEEDS and THE MATERIAL IS A LAND WITH THORN BUSHES.

In the second chapter, called *Mr Geronimo*, the book depicts a great storm which *fell upon our ancestors' city like a bomb* (p.19) – *asupra orașului strămoșilor noștri s-a abătut o furtună ca o bombă* (p.24). The simile *like a bomb* anticipates a complex description and the translation makes use of inversion and modulation, the verb *fell* being translated as *s-a abătut*. The original implies the structural metaphor STORM IS A MOVING OBJECT, while the translation implies the structural metaphor STORM IS A MISFORTUNE/PLAGUE.

*The childhoods slipped into the water and were lost, the piers built of memories (...), the promenade of desire (...)* (p.19) is translated using a different word order: *Copilăriile – debarcadere construite din amintiri (...) pasarelele din lemn ale dorinței (...) le-au alunecat în apă și s-au pierdut* (p.24) through inversion.

A deep sense of loss is further underlined: *The roofs of houses flew through the night sky like disoriented bats, and the attics where they stored their past stood exposed to the elements until it seemed that everything they once were had been devoured by the predatory sky. Their secrets drowned in flooded basements and they could no longer remember them. Their power failed them. Darkness fell.* (p.19)

*Acoperișurile caselor și-au luat zborul prin văzduhul nopții ca niște lilieci rătăciți, iar podurile unde-și păstrau trecutul au rămas lipsite de apărare în fața elementelor naturii, pînă cînd a părut că tot ce reprezentaseră cîndva a dispărut, devorat de cerul prădător. Secretele li s-au înecat în subsolurile inundate și nu și le-au mai amintit. Puterile i-au părăsit. S-a lăsat întunericul.* (p.24)

The translation is literal, rendering the same stylistic effects in Romanian. Besides the simile *like disoriented bats* and the epithet *predatory sky*, there are four conceptual metaphors, as well: THE ROOFS OF HOUSES ARE BIRDS, THE SKY IS A WILD ANIMAL/BIRD, SECRETS ARE LIVING BEINGS and THE PAST IS A VALUABLE OBJECT. All of them are structural metaphors.

*For three days and nights nobody spoke because only the language of the storm existed and our ancestors did not know how to speak that awful tongue* (p.19). *Timp de trei zile și trei nopți nimeni n-a scos nici un cuvînt, căci n-a existat decît limba furtunii, iar strămoșii noștri nu vorbeau acel grai cumplit.* (p.24) Therefore, STORM IS A BAD PERSON who speaks an *awful tongue*. The translation is literal.

Rushdie's predilection for the particular patterns for metaphors that use sensory experience to evoke emotions and attitudes: NOUN 1 (concrete) + OF + NOUN 2 (abstract) can be seen in this novel, as well: *unimaginative weeds of convention and the thorn bushed of the dully material* (p.14), translated as *buruienile golite de imaginație ale conformismului și de mărăcinișul materialismului anost* (p.21), *the promenade of desire* (p.19), translated *pasarelele din lemn ale dorinței* (p.24), *the fabric of the real* (p.207), translated as *urzeala realului* (p.226), *a reign of terror* (p.209), translated as *domnia terorii* (p.229), *frontiers of the possible* (p.210), translated as *frontierele posibilului* (p.229), *cloud of unknowing* (p.210), translated as *norul ignoranței* (p.229), *disease of tiny minds* (p.210), translated as *o boală a minților mărunte* (p.230).

### Concluding remarks

*Look out, Vina. Nymph, watch your step. Beware the ground beneath your feet* (p.55). This advice occurs in *The Ground Beneath Her Feet* and strengthens both the role played by the ground and the feet in humans's life, leading to the idea of the migrant who leaves the ground where he belongs and uses his feet to walk away, often very far away from his homeland.

Therefore, FEET stand for THE PERSON or better said, THE MIGRANT, which is a PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy. The migrant's life implies a lot of moving, travelling, so the idea mixes with the conventional metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The result is a fresh image occurring in the novel *Two years, eight months and twenty-eight nights*, namely *uneasy feet* (p.39), which is a creative, novel metaphorically – motivated metonymy, translated as *picioare fără astâmpăr* (p.40). Altogether, THE GROUND stands for HOMELAND as in *beloved ground* (p.172), which actually means the lost home. This idea is very frequent in *Two years, eight months and twenty-eight nights* and has a lot of variants: *his lost home* (p.172) both in space and time, *his beloved lost* (p.172) *home*, *his lost soil* (p.172). The epithet lost shows the migrant's hollow journey, the idea that THE MIGRANT'S JOURNEY/LIFE is empty and equals with LOSING THE HOMELAND. This image is recurrent and can be found in the rich meanings on various suggestive phrases: *this mighty conflict between the fantasy of Home and the fantasy of Away, the dream of roots and the mirage of the journey* (*The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, p.55); *the dreams of the displaced* (*Two years, eight months and twenty-eight nights*, p.149).

The novels are very complex and full of figurative language. Rushdie both uses basic metaphors and invents novel ones, creating new conceptualizations of experience and thus transforming basic, simple metaphors in novel, creative metaphors which astonish the reader. In this regard, he uses extending, elaborating and composing in order to create novel metaphors which have an essential aesthetic impact.

The types of metaphors frequently utilized by Rushdie in the novels *The Ground Beneath Her Feet* and *Two years, eight months and twenty-eight nights* are: personifying metaphors, container and structural metaphors. Nevertheless, many of Rushdie's metaphors express selfhood and otherness, fact which represents a key feature of the novels.

Given that the universe of translation is completely challenging, finding the possibilities of bringing Salman Rushdie's linguist and cultural universe into Romanian, through translation, must be even a bigger challenge. Rushdie's literary works prove their complexity in many ways, only if we take into account the countless perspectives from which we can read and interpret them: there are postmodern, magicorealist, post – colonial, feminist approaches to his novels. These aspects also prove the writer's popularity among readers and the quality of his novels' translations in other languages.

Regarding translation procedures, there can be noted a tendency towards borrowing, naturalization, adaptation, transposition, modulation and synonymy in both novels. Barrowing is the common translation procedure of culture specific and foreign words, maybe because it opens a window for the TT readers into the cultural identity of India and, eventually, it gives the possibility to enrich both the TT and the TL.

Concerning the translation of figurative language, the predominant procedures are adaptation, transposition, modulation and literal translation. Nevertheless, the ultimate goal of the translations is to render Rushdie's magical style in the Romanian versions.

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# JANE EYRE: CULTURE TRANSLATOR

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**Abstract:** *This paper presents the analysis of the differences between various translations of the novel Jane Eyre, by comparing several extracts belonging to distinct authors, eras, and cultures depending on the target language and context. It also aims at illustrating how the abovementioned factors influence the outcome of the translation. Furthermore, it also shows how important all these factors together with the strategies and methods used by the translator are for providing a good quality translation for the target readers.*

**Keywords:** Jane Eyre, culture, language, translation, translation strategies

Translation is a very complex process that involves more than being fluent in at least one foreign language and rendering a written text from one language to another. A good translator must take into consideration several factors, such as the type and register of the text, the target culture, and the context. Therefore, a good translation must convey the meaning of the source text in a way that is suitable for the target reader.

In this paper, I will analyze different translations of the word 'plain', one of the key words in the novel *Jane Eyre*, in various languages, cultures and contexts, in order to illustrate the importance of these three factors in the process of translation and how they influence its outcome.

The first instance for this analysis is 'the plain truth', from the sentence 'Oh, romantic reader, forgive me for telling the plain truth!' that can be found in chapter 12, 'not long after Jane's arrival at Thornfield Hall. She has already got used to her new situation and is even a little bored of it: often, she climbs to the roof and longs to see beyond the horizon to the 'busy world' or walks back and forth along the corridor of the 'third story.' (<https://prismatic.janeeyre.org/plain-truth/> accessed on 20.05.2023 at 12:26).

Furthermore, the use of 'plain' in this sentence also describes the atmosphere at Thornfield and emphasizes the contrast between Jane's life there so far and the life that she desired to live. This 'hidden meaning' of the word is preserved in some translations, while in others it is not, depending on the target language and culture or on the choice made by the translator, as shown below.

Moreover, 'there is also a counter-current in the word, for as the novel proceeds it will turn out that the *plain truth* about Grace Poole's liking for porter (i.e., a *black beer*) is not the whole truth about the thrilling laugh. There is

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a hint of this in the address to the reader, which sounds rather knowing, given that what is being read is a novel in which some elements of romance are likely to appear' (<https://prismaticjaneeyre.org/plain-truth/> accessed on 21.05.2023 at 14:46). Again, just like the word 'plain', the meaning of this address to the reader in some translations is rendered, in others it is not, or it is even omitted.

In French, for instance, 'the plain truth' was translated with *la 'vérité entière'* (Lesbazeilles-Souvestre, 1854), *'ce détail'* (Gilbert and Duvivier, 1919), *'la simple vérité'* (Redon and Dulong, 1946; Brodovikoff and Robert, 1946B; Jean, Dominique, 2008), and *'la vérité toute nue'* (Monod, Sylèvre, 1966), which mean 'the whole truth', 'this detail', 'the simple truth' and 'the wholly naked truth', respectively. As you can see, there are significant differences even in the translations into the same language, some of them revealing the entire meaning, while others kept only the literal meaning of the word or replaced it with an equivalent that does so. I believe that the translation that best conveys the meaning is 'the wholly naked truth'. Hence, the French translators used techniques such as literal translation, equivalence, or adaptation.

In Italian, the entire sentence was translated with *'perdonatemi questo particolare, anime romantiche'* (Rosa, Elvira, 1925), *'tu, romantico lettore, perdonami se dico la schietta verità'* (Pozzo Galeazzi, G. 1951), *'oh! romantico lettore, perdonami se dico la semplice verità'* (Dettore, U., 1974), *'oh, mio romantico lettore, perdonami se dico la verità nuda e cruda!'* (Pareschi, Monica, 2014) and *'oh, romantico lettore, ti chiedo scusa, ma questa è la pura e semplice verità'* (Sacchini, Stella, 2014S). In English, they all mean 'forgive me this particular, romantic souls', 'you, romantic reader, forgive me if I speak the plain truth', 'oh! romantic reader, forgive me if I speak the simple truth', 'oh, my romantic reader, forgive me if I speak the nude, raw, truth', and 'oh, romantic reader, I ask your pardon, but this is the pure and simple truth', respectively.

The anonymous translator who wrote the 1904 version, on the other hand, chose to skip this passage, perhaps because they thought that the address to the reader might be too much, or simply because that this was something additional that only distracted the reader and its omission would not affect the message of the story.'In Elvira Rosa's 1925 Italian version, on the other hand, the phrase 'romantic reader' is itself romanticized, to become *'anime romantiche'* ('romantic souls'): this is in line with the generally sentimental tendency of her translation' (<https://prismaticjaneeyre.org/plain-truth/> accessed on 22.05.2023 at 14:31).

To sum up, the translators had multiple approaches on this passage. While some chose to delete or foreignize it, others, as opposite, domesticated it, adapted it to the target language and culture, and even added a small personal note to it.

In Spanish, the phrase romantic reader was kept like in the original, being translated with its equivalent *'lector romántico'* in the versions from

1943 (de Luaces, Juan G.), 1947 (Pereda, María Fernanda) and 2009 (Hill, Toni), while for 'plain truth' the translators chose 'la verdad desnuda', 'la verdad escueta' and 'la verdad sin adornos', meaning 'the naked truth', 'the plain truth' and 'the unadorned truth', respectively. In Spanish, like in Italian, the translators chose to foreignize, domesticate or adapt the phrase to the target culture.

In Romanian, the parenthesis was translated with 'oh, cititorule romantic, să-mi fie iertat că spun purul adevăr' (2005, 2009), that in English means 'oh, romantic reader, may I be forgiven for telling the unvarnished/pure truth'. Thus, the Romanian translator opted for dynamic equivalence in this case. But there are other equivalents for this phrase, such as 'simplul adevăr', which means the 'simple truth', or 'adevărul gol-goluț', that means 'the naked truth'. Another option would be 'crudul adevăr' that translated in English means 'the raw truth'. Nevertheless, I believe that 'purul adevăr' is the most suitable choice for this register and context.

The next example is 'hear plainly', from the following passage in chapter 12: 'On the hill-top above me sat the rising moon; pale yet as a cloud, but brightening momentarily: she looked over Hay, which, half lost in trees, sent up a blue smoke from its few chimneys; it was yet a mile distant, but in the absolute hush I could hear plainly its thin murmurs of life.' (<https://prismatic.janeeyre.org/hear-plainly/> accessed on 23.05.2023 at 18:41).

Just like the previous example, this one combines the senses of sight and sound, but the emphasis is opposite here. There, 'eccentric murmurs' could not be explained by the 'plain truth' which presented itself to Jane's eyes; but here 'thin murmurs' can be heard 'plainly', though their origin is distant and not wholly visible. And if, earlier, the 'plain truth' was in a flirtatious relationship with the desires of the 'romantic reader', appearing to deny excitements which nonetheless remained a possibility, here again a plain appearance seems connected to the energies of romance' (<https://prismatic.janeeyre.org/hear-plainly/> accessed on 24.05.2023 at 18:05).

In French, the adverb *plainly* was translated with 'its equivalent distinctement' (Brodovikoff, Léon and Claire Robert, 1946B; Maurat, Charlotte. 1964; Monod, Sylvère, 1966) or with the synonyms 'clairs' (Lesbazeilles-Souvestre, Noémie, 1854) and 'nettement' (Jean, Dominique, 2008) which mean 'distinctly', 'clear' and 'clearly'. On the other hand, in the translation from 1919, the adverb was replaced with the verb 'distingueait', and the sentence was changed into 'mon oreille distinguait, dans le silence absolu qui m'entourait le murmure léger', meaning 'my ear distinguished, in the absolute silence around me, the soft murmur'. Thus, while the first two translators used the technique of equivalence, the third translator resorted to transposition.

Similarly, those who translated into Italian chose the same procedures. For instance, in the translations from 1904 and 1925, transposition was used. Hence, 'I could hear plainly' became 'distinguevo', that means 'I distinguished'

and 'il mio orecchio distingueva' meaning 'my ear distinguished'. As opposed to these examples, Dettore and Pareschi used equivalence instead. Thus, 'I could hear plainly' became 'potevo udire distintamente', 'sentivo chiaramente', and 'potevo percepire chiaramente', that in English would translate as 'I could hear distinctly', 'I heard clearly' and 'I could perceive clearly', respectively. Furthermore, in the version from 1951, translated by Pozzo Galeazzi it seems that the translator combined these two techniques, 'I could hear plainly' becoming 'ne distinguevo nitidamente', that means 'I clearly distinguished'.

In Romanian, in both translations from 2005 and 2009, Mirella Acsente chose to use equivalence. Thus, 'I could hear plainly' was translated as 'puteam auzi limpede' which means 'I could hear clearly'. Here, 'plainly' could have been translated also with 'clar'.

The next example comes from two separate passages in chapter 14: 'I brushed Adèle's hair and made her neat, and having ascertained that I was myself in my usual Quaker trim, where there was nothing to retouch—all being too close and plain, braided locks included, to admit of disarrangement—we descended.' (<https://prismaticjaneeyre.org/plain-too-plain/> accessed on 27.05.2023 at 14:45) and 'Sir, I was too plain: I beg your pardon. I ought to have replied that it was not easy to give an impromptu answer to a question about appearances; that tastes differ; that beauty is of little consequence, or something of that sort.' (<https://prismaticjaneeyre.org/plain-too-plain/> accessed on 27.05.2023 at 14:47). They are from the scene in which Mr. Rochester invites Jane and Adèle to join him after dinner, and, after he asks Jane if she considers him handsome, she answers with a simple 'no, sir'. Then, he asks: 'when one asks you a question ... you rap out a round rejoinder, which, if not blunt, is at least brusque. What do you mean by it?' In her reply, Jane reaches for the word 'plain' (<https://prismaticjaneeyre.org/plain-too-plain/> accessed on 27.05.2023 at 14:54). So, the concrete example that will be analyzed is 'all being too close and plain (...) Sir, I was too plain'.

In Italian, regarding the word 'plain' that describes Jane's image, it was translated in various ways and the translators used different techniques. For instance, the anonymous translator from 1904 chose modulation, changing 'plain' to 'in ordine' ('in order'), a phrase that seems to be more common in the target language and culture.

In contrast, Elvira Rosa had a different approach, translating 'plain' with the phrase 'così austera nella sua semplicità', which means 'so austere in its simplicity'. Hence, they used both expansion and transposition, changing the adjective plain into the noun 'simplicity' and adding several words in order to preserve the meaning.

On the other hand, Pozzo Galeazzi resorted to reduction in order to preserve the meaning. Thus, 'in my usual Quaker trim, where there was nothing to retouch—all being too close and plain, braided locks included'

became 'la mia semplice veste e la liscia acconciatura', that in English means 'my simple dress and smooth hairstyle' the words 'simple' and 'smooth' rendering Jane's plainness here. Other translators chose to use equivalents of plain, such as 'semplice' (Dettore, Sacchini), meaning 'simple' or 'austero' (Pareschi), meaning 'austere'.

As for the second use of plain in this example, the translators either replaced the word with 'franca' (Anonymous, Pozzo Galeazzi) or 'sincera' (Rosa, Dettore) or used the word 'schietta' (Pareschi, Sacchini), the literal translation of plain.

Overall, these two new instances of 'plain' give yet more evidence of the enormous semantic productivity of Brontë's repeated use of the word. Just occasionally you can find an equivalent that has appeared before: for instance, Dettore (1974) chooses 'semplice' both for Jane's clothing here and for 'the plain truth' in chapter 12, while Monica Pareschi (2014) and Stella Sacchini (2014S) both employ 'schietta' for Jane's speech, a word that had also been used for 'the plain truth' by G. Pozzo Galeazzi in 1951. It is all the more striking that Pareschi and Sacchini both sought other terms for 'the plain truth', while Pozzo Galeazzi chooses a different word for Jane's plain speech here. (<https://prismaticjaneeyre.org/plain-too-plain/> accessed on 29.05.2023 at 17:15).

In Romanian, the first 'plain' in the example was translated with 'simplă', its Romanian equivalent, while the second 'plain' was translated as 'directă', the translator changing 'plain' to 'direct' here in order to preserve the meaning in this context. Hence, she used both types of equivalence in these particular cases.

Another two instances analyzed together are 'a plain, unvarnished tale' and 'Disconnected, poor, and plain' from the following passages of the 16<sup>th</sup> chapter: 'Reason having come forward and told, in her own quiet way, a plain, unvarnished tale, showing how I had rejected the real and rabidly devoured the ideal;—I pronounced judgment to this effect:—That a greater fool than Jane Eyre had never breathed the breath of life ...' (<https://prismaticjaneeyre.org/plain-unvarnished-poor-and-plain/> accessed on 2.06.2023 at 15:39); and 'Listen, then, Jane Eyre, to your sentence: to-morrow, place the glass before you, and draw in chalk your own picture, faithfully; without softening one defect: omit no harsh line, smooth away no displeasing irregularity; write under it, "Portrait of a Governess. Disconnected, poor, and plain."' (<https://prismaticjaneeyre.org/plain-unvarnished-poor-and-plain/> accessed on 2.06.2023 at 15:39).

As you can see, the first use of plain is for the description, of Jane's face, even though it is a metaphorical one, while the latter is used to describe her as a whole.

In Italian, there are several variants in which these phrases are translated. For instance, the anonymous translator from 1904 replaced 'a plain, unvarnished tale' with 'le cose così com'erano', that means 'things as they

were' choosing explicitation in order to clarify the meaning of 'a plain, unvarnished tale' for the Italian reader. Moreover, in this translation 'Disconnected, poor and plain' became 'brutta, povera, e senza attinenze di famiglia', that translated word for word is 'ugly, poor and without family connections'. Thus, they changed the term 'plain' to 'ugly', using dynamic equivalence, so that the target reader can better understand the meaning of 'plain' in this context.

Elvira Rosa did almost the same thing as the anonymous translator for 'Disconnected, poor and plain'. The only differences are the word order ('povera, brutta e senza famiglia') and the reduction of 'senza attinenze de famiglia' to 'senza famiglia'. For 'a plain, unvarnished tale', on the other hand, she chose to omit the term 'unvarnished' and change the word 'plain' with a synonym, 'semplice', but it became 'semplicissimo', resulting in the translation 'un semplicissimo racconto', meaning 'a very simple tale'. By using the word 'semplicissimo', she emphasizes Jane Eyre's *plainness*.

In Pozzo Galeazi's translation from 1951, 'a plain, unvarnished tale' became 'le cose così come realmente stavano', that means 'the things as they really stood', a translation which is very similar to the one from 1904. The phrase 'Disconnected, poor and plain' was translated as 'brutta, povera, e senza parentela', which means 'ugly, poor and without kin'.

Dettore's version from 1974 is the one that has the most significant changes so far. 'Thus, a plain, unvarnished tale' was translated with 'una semplice e disadorna storia', meaning 'a simple and unadorned tale' and 'Disconnected, poor and plain' was changed to 'a bit foolish, poor and simple' ('un po' sciocca, povera e semplice') (<https://prismaticjaneeyre.org/plain-unvarnished-poor-and-plain/> accessed on 7.06.2023 at 18:23). Here, the translator used formal equivalence. When translating 'Disconnected, poor and plain', however, he made a completely different choice than the others. While for 'povera e semplice' the approach chosen seems to be a combination between formal and dynamic equivalence, which was used by other translators as well, the word 'sciocca' (foolish) chosen to replace 'disconnected' renders a totally different meaning than in the original and in the rest of the Italian translations.

'According to the Oxford English Dictionary, 'disconnected' means 'without family connections of good social standing; not well connected.' (<https://prismaticjaneeyre.org/plain-unvarnished-poor-and-plain/> accessed on 8.06.2023 at 12:23). Hence, it seems that in the translations analyzed so far, the word 'disconnected' was translated with equivalents that render this meaning, but the translator from 1974 opted for a word that means "not related to or connected with the things or people around" (<https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/disconnected?q=disconnected> accessed on 8.06.2023).

In my opinion, the first meaning is more suitable in the context than the latter. Even though Jane may consider herself foolish because she has feelings for Mr. Rochester, the fact that she does not have family connections of good

social standing is another feature of hers that supports the judgement that she is not good enough for him.

Moving forward the last two translations in Italian, the ones from 2014 by Monica Pareschi and Stella Sacchini, they are idiomatic and sound more natural in the target language. Hence, Monica Pareschi translated the phrases analyzed with 'una storia semplice e senza fronzoli', meaning 'a simple tale without frills', and with 'povera, scialba e sola al mondo', meaning 'poor, dull and alone in the world' (2014). At the same time, Stella Sacchini translated them with 'una storia, nuda e cruda...', which means 'a nude, raw tale') and with 'senza famiglia, povera e insignificante', which means without family, poor and insignificant'. So, the use of formal equivalence is illustrated by the words 'semplice', 'scialba' and 'insignificante', while the phrases 'senza fronzoli' and 'nuda e cruda' show the use of adaptation. As a result, these two translations are the closest to the target language and culture.

Furthermore, there are many differences between each translation, even though they are in the same language, and while the first ones seem to be foreignized, the last two ones are most certainly domesticated. These differences show that, in time, the tendency of staying true to the original structure and language of the source text when translating changed, as the centuries passed by, and now the tendency is to translate more freely so that the translations can be perceived better by the target reader. Nevertheless, almost all of the translations presented conveyed the meaning successfully, no matter what strategies or techniques were used.

In Romanian, 'a plain, unvarnished tale' is translated with 'o poveste simplă și adevărată' (2005, 2009), that means 'a simple and true story', while 'Disconnected, poor and plain' becomes 'fără familie, săracă și ștearsă', (2005, 2009) that means 'without family, poor and ordinary'. In this case, the translator used dynamic equivalence in both instances.

I believe that the translator made the right choices here, because she managed to keep the reference to Othello, by translating 'a plain, unvarnished tale' with 'o poveste simplă și adevărată', and by opting for 'ștearsă' instead of any other synonym of 'plain' in Romanian, she conveyed the exact meaning of the word in this context, while also adapting the phrase to the target language and culture, and thus making it easier to read for the target audience. She could have translated it with 'urâtă' ('ugly'), like many other translators did, but in this particular context 'ugly' seems a little too strong, in my opinion, while 'ștearsă' seems to be the most appropriate option.

Finally, the last example of this analysis is the phrase 'I am poor, obscure, plain and little' from this passage of chapter 23:

Do you think I can stay to become nothing to you? Do you think I am an automaton? ... Do you think, because I am poor, obscure, plain, and little, I am soulless and heartless? — You think wrong! — I have as much soul as you, — and full as much heart! ... I am not talking to you now through the medium

of custom, conventionalities, nor even of mortal flesh: –it is my spirit that addresses your spirit; just as if both had passed through the grave, and we stood at God’s feet, equal, –as we are!’ (<https://prismaticjaneeyre.org/plain-and-little/> accessed on 12.06.2023 at 14:46).

After Mr. Rochester announces Jane that he will marry Blanche Ingram and that she will have to leave Thornfield and move somewhere else, she expresses her love for that place and for what she has to leave behind. In response, after listening to her, he changes his mind and says that Jane will not have to leave after all. The passage quoted above is Jane’s answer to his reaction.

One particular thing about this last example is that here, the differences between the source text and the target language and the fact that term is not taken by itself, but as part of a phrase or sentence, are not the only challenges the translators face. The additional difficulty is the 'marked, emotive rhythm of the sequence: 'tum, ti tum, tum, ti tum ti'' (<https://prismaticjaneeyre.org/plain-and-little/> accessed on 13.06.2023 at 13:37).

For example, in his translation from 1943, Juan G. de Luaces leaves out 'plain and little'. Hence, the sentence 'Do you think, because I am poor, obscure, plain, and little, I am soulless and heartless?' becomes '¿Piensa que porque soy pobre y oscura carezco de alma y de corazón?' ('Do you think that because I am poor and obscure I am lacking in soul and heart'),' because he wants to keep a strong rhythm pulsing through the sentence that he writes, helped by a pattern of an alliteration ('P - p - p - sc - c - c')' (<https://prismaticjaneeyre.org/plain-and-little/> accessed on 13.06.2023 at 13:48). In this case, in addition to alliteration, he also used omission in order to keep this rhythm.

The other translators either did not keep this rhythm in their variants or they tried to preserve it by using other means. Thus, María Fernanda Perera omitted it completely, translating the phrase with 'soy pobre, insignificante y vulgar', which means, 'I am poor, insignificant and vulgar'. Here, she also used dynamic equivalence, replacing 'plain' with 'insignificant' in order to render the meaning of this context in the best way possible. However, I do not think that replacing 'little' with 'vulgar' is the best choice. In my opinion. 'vulgar' here is too strong and too derogatory for the context. Perhaps 'ordinary' would have been a more suitable choice.

Toni Hill, on the other hand, managed to keep the rhythm and translate all of the words in an appropriate way. Thus, the phrase 'I am poor, obscure, plain and little' became 'soy pobre, silenciosa, discreta y menuda', using dynamic equivalence in translating the words 'obscure' and 'plain' with 'silenciosa' and 'discreta', respectively, and formal equivalence for the words 'pobre' and 'menuda'.

Another language that best illustrates the cultural differences and the various nuances of the word 'plain' is Italian. Just like in French, in Italian were



used equivalence and explicitation as well. For example, when translating 'I am poor, obscure, plain and little' into 'sono povera, oscura, brutta, piccina', meaning 'I am poor, obscure, ugly, little', the anonymous translator from 1904 omitted to translate the word 'and', probably in order to maintain the rhythm of the sentence, and used formal equivalence for the words 'povera', 'oscura' and 'piccina', and dynamic equivalence for the word 'brutta'.

In Elvira Rosa's translation, the sentence was translated with 'sono povera, umile, piccola e senza bellezza', which means 'I am poor, humble, small and without beauty'. She used formal equivalence for the word 'povera', dynamic equivalence for the words 'umile' and 'piccola', and explicitation for 'senza bellezza'.

The translation from 1951 is almost the same as the one from 1904, except that here, Pozzo Galeazzi included the word 'and', instead of omitting it, and used 'piccola' for 'little', and 'oscura' for 'obscure'. The translation from 1974 does not differ much from the previous one. The only difference is that formal equivalence was used for translating the word 'plain' this time, since it was translated with 'semplice'.

While Monica Pareschi translated the sentence with 'sono povera, oscura, brutta e piccola' (2014), just like Poyyo Galeayi in 1951. Stella Sacchini chose a slightly different approach. Thus, she translated the sentence with 'sono povera, sconosciuta, insignificante, e piccola', that means 'I am poor, unknown, insignificant and small'. Hence, the technique used was equivalence, formal for 'povera' and 'piccola', and dynamic for 'sconosciuta' and 'insignificante'.

In Romanian, the sentence 'I am poor, obscure, plain and little' became 'sunt săracă, neînsemnată, urâtă și mărunță', meaning 'I am poor, insignificant, ugly and small'. Thus, the translator used, just like the others, the technique of equivalence. Formal equivalence was used for 'săracă' and for 'mărunță', and dynamic equivalence was used for 'neînsemnată' and 'urâtă'. Personally, I would have chosen 'ștearsă' instead of 'urâtă'.

In conclusion, *Jane Eyre* is a complex novel with multiple messages and nuances that must be conveyed carefully, no matter in which language. Every use of the key words in the novel has a different meaning that cannot be rendered in the target language by the same word. Thus, they must be adapted according to culture, language and context.

Furthermore, the target language and culture are not the only things that must be taken into account when translating this novel. One of the most important factors is represented by the translators themselves and how they interpret every part of the novel. As a result, there can be multiple different translations in the same language, depending on the translator, so it can be said that the translator has a major influence in conveying the original message.

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# CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR AND BLENDING AT WORK IN THE FINANCIAL-BANKING LANGUAGE

Cosmin BĂDULEȚEANU\*

**Abstract:** *This paper aims to explicate the contribution of metaphor (and metonymy) to the meaning of some financial-banking terms. The study is underpinned by two most reliable and complementary theoretical instruments: the Conceptual Metaphor theory (Lakoff 1987, Lakoff and Johnson 2003, Kövecses 2010, etc.), and the Conceptual Blending theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, Coulson 2001, Oakley and Coulson 1999, etc.). We will apply these theories along with the theoretical constructs that accompany them (mental spaces, idealized cognitive models, domains, etc.) so as to explain the metaphor- and metonymy-laden terms account balance, bridge loan, debt ceiling, and tight money. Cognitively, they are complex abstract concepts resulted from the combination of simpler concepts, on their turn resulted from the partial projection of cognitive models characterizing more concrete source domains onto target domains and/or from mappings within a single conceptual domain.*

**Keywords:** conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, blending, financial-banking language.

## Theoretical prerequisites

Language is one of the ways of constructing and transferring meaning, some of which stems from the workings of a dynamic “imaginative mind”. The topic of meaning creation or construction has been accounted for from various angles in linguistic research. In this paper we will be employing the cognitive linguistics theoretical tool called conceptual integration, or conceptual blending, or blending theory (BT), by exemplifying its use through the analysis of five terms pertaining to the financial-banking language. The theoretical backdrop of our analysis is found in the seminal work entitled “Conceptual Blending and the Mind’s Hidden Complexities” (2002) by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, whose principal working premise is that modern human imagination endowed people with “the ability to invent new concepts and to assemble new and dynamic patterns” (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002: v). They claim that “even very simple constructions in language depend upon complex blending” (ibid.: 25). Conceptual Blending gives the best results if used in tandem with the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) that it supplements, as Grady, Oakley, and Coulson (1999: 110) observe: “If conceptual metaphor theory is primarily concerned with well-established metaphoric associations between concepts, and blending theory focuses on the ability to combine

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elements from familiar conceptualizations into new and meaningful ones, then conceptual metaphors are among the stable structures available for exploitation by the blending process."

Benczes (2006: 53) explains that the blending theory is a development of Fauconnier's (1994) mental space theory, "to account for cases where two or more spaces yielded a so-called blended space." 'Mental space', as the basic unit of cognitive organization in the blending theory has received several congruent definitions that we think are worth being retrieved here, the more so as, for the purposes of this study, we intend to present in parallel the notion of 'mental space' and that of 'conceptual domain', the latter being a CMT tool.

According to Fauconnier (1994: 16), mental spaces are "constructs distinct from linguistics structures but built up in any discourse according to guidelines provided by the linguistic expressions." Kövecses (2010: 327) describes the mental space as a "a conceptual 'packet' that gets built up 'online' in the process of understanding sentences (or other non-linguistic messages). Mental spaces are not the same as conceptual domains, although they make use of them in the process of understanding. Mental spaces are created in particular situations for the purpose of understanding and thus are smaller and more specific than conceptual domains." Whereas for Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 261), mental spaces are "relatively small mental models of particular situations that have been structured by the concepts in our conceptual system." Among the mental space examples given in the literature, we mention a speaker's reality, a movie's reality, or a person's hopes. As for the mental spaces corresponding to the financial-banking sector, we could exemplify with the one for contracting a loan, that includes the required professional, social and linguistic interaction between the applicant and the bank.

As for the notion 'conceptual domain', Kövecses (2010: 324) defines it as "our conceptual representation, or knowledge, of any coherent segment of experience. [...] This knowledge involves both the knowledge of basic elements that constitute a domain and knowledge that is rich in detail. This detail rich knowledge about a domain is often made use of in metaphorical entailments." Conceptual metaphor presupposes source domains (e.g., the human body, health and illness, buildings, etc.) and target domains (e.g., emotion, human relationships, economy, etc.).

The two cognitive linguistic theories presented very briefly in the above passages have certain common characteristics, but also differences. In point of commonalities, we could specify their conceptual, rather than purely linguistic, nature; they presuppose systematic projections of language, imagery and inferential structure between conceptual domains; and they propose constraints on those projections. In terms of differences, we would like to point out three. First, if CMT postulates relationships (under the form of projections or mappings) between source and target domains (i.e., more generally, pairs of mental representations), BT allows for more than two mental representations

(mental spaces). Second, if for CMT metaphor is a strictly directional phenomenon, BT integrates all the structure constituted of metaphorical and metonymic mappings, image- and force-dynamic schemas, frames, prototypes, etc. Third, whereas CMT analyses work with entrenched conceptual relationships, BT research often reveals novel conceptualizations.

The blend is the result of the human mind's routine working with mental spaces that all humans possess, even if, most likely, with different configurations. A blend will include 3 or 4 mental spaces. There is an optional generic space that contains structures shared by all spaces in the blending network. There are 2 input spaces with information from discrete cognitive domains. Finally, there is a blended space or simply, the blend, i.e., the result of the functioning of the blending network. The blend can include an emergent structure, with new elements, not derived from the input spaces.

The literature describes five types of blending networks (i.e., simplex, mirror, single-scope, double scope, and multi-scope), of which in this paper only single-scope (one-sided) and double-scope (double-sided) are of interest, because they correspond to the financial-banking terms under analysis. In the case of the single-scope blending network ("the prototype of highly conventional source-target metaphors", according to Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 127), there is one single organizing frame that structures the generic space, the inputs (the framing one and the focus one) and the blend. Moreover, conceptual metaphor has a very important role in this type of blending process, especially because it aligns the relevant topologies of inputs. Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 126-131) provide several single-scope network examples, like the Boxing CEOs (the blend), where the two input spaces are Boxing (containing the organizing frame) and Business, respectively, or the It Is Written/Early Habits Persist network, or the one elicited by the sentence 'He digested the book'. From among the four terms under analysis in this paper, we argue that *bridge loan* is analysable as an instantiation of single-scope blend. So is *tight money*, but we will submit it to another kind of analysis in order to demonstrate its non-compositional character.

The double-scope blending network "has inputs with different (and often clashing) organizing frames as well as an organizing frame for the blend that includes parts of each of those frames and has emergent structure of its own" (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002: 131). The resulting blends are among the most creative, due to the challenges to the imagination imposed by the clashes between the inputs' organizing frames. From among the examples offered by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) for this kind of network, we would like to mention The Computer Desktop, Digging Your Own Grave, Complex Numbers, and Same-Sex Marriage. For instance, in the Computer Desktop blend, the inputs with different organizing frames are 'office work' and 'traditional computer commands', with the frame in the blend mixing elements from the former (e.g., throwing trash away, handling files, etc.) as well as the

latter (e.g., the computer commands ‘find’, ‘replace’, ‘save’, ‘print’, etc.). From among the terms that we will be looking at later, we will show why *account balance* and *debt ceiling* could be seen as instantiations of double-scope blending.

Using the theoretical instruments presented above, in what follows we will try to demonstrate, through three blend analyses and a discussion about non-compositionality, that the selected financial-banking terms can be seen as the result of the uniquely human capacity for advanced conceptual integration as well as prompts for conceptual integration patterns.

## 1. Blend analyses

### 1.1. *Bridge Loan*

According to Downes and Goodman (1995: 62), *bridge loan* is defined as a “short-term loan, also called a *swing loan*, made in anticipation of intermediate-term or long-term financing” (italics in original). This term is an example of single-scope blending network, where the two input spaces have quite different organizing frames (hence a conceptual clash can be noted), of which only one gets projected to organize the blend. Therefore, the organizing frame of the blend becomes an extension of the organizing frame of one of the inputs, but not the other. In the case of the term *bridge loan*, there is a cross-space mapping between the *bridge* input (Input 1) and the *loan* input (Input 2). For example, the provision of passage by a bridge over an otherwise impracticable, usually not very extended, stretch of space, in Input 1, corresponds to the provision of more easily accessible short-term financial help until longer term funding is obtained in Input 2. Or the operational (usage) conditions of a bridge in Input 1 have as counterpart in Input 2 the conditions of a loan (e.g., interest, withdrawing requirements, repayment, etc.).

In spite of the projections commented on previously, we see quite clearly that only Input 2 (*loan*) will be the source input, that is, it is going to supply the organizing frame (including the frame topology) to the blend. Indeed, just like the framing Input 2, the blend (*bridge loan*) contains all the elements pertaining to a loan (lender, borrower, amount granted, currency, interest, term, other conditions, etc.). Furthermore, the modifying constituent *bridge* appears to be motivated by the conceptual metaphor ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS. Figure 1 below provides the blending diagram illustrating the analysis just made.

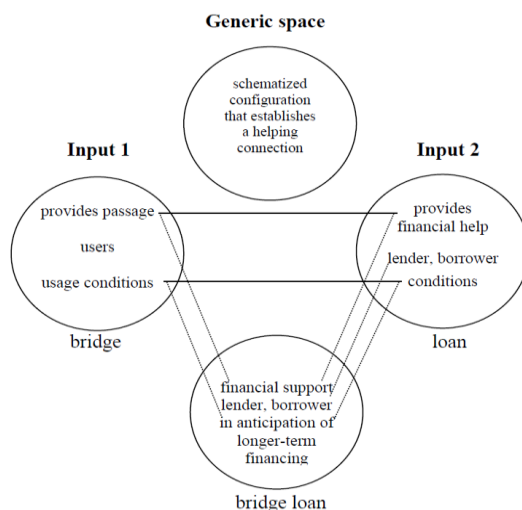


Figure 1. The blend analysis of *bridge loan*

### 1.2. Account balance

This term, the meaning of which is more familiar to the general public than that of the previous one, designates the “net of debits and credits at the end of a reporting period” (Downes and Goodman, 1995: 4). We claim that *account balance* is an example of double-scope network, where both input spaces contribute with their different frames to the blend space. In other words, the frame in the blend draws or projects selectively from the frame of *account* as well as from the frame of the weighing instruments called *balances*.

In order to understand the meaning construction of this term, let us postulate the existence of a schematic generic space referring to any balanced configuration, corresponding to a balance image schema, which is a fundamental force-dynamic schema. Generally speaking, image schemas are a type of gestalt structure, that is, an element of the “cognitive unconscious” (see Lakoff and Johnson, 1999: 9-15) linking perception and reason.

We are also claiming the existence of two input spaces, one for *account*, the other for *balance*, the latter being the metaphor-laden element of this noun-noun compound. Why metaphor-laden? Because the word *balance* is underpinned by the conceptual metaphor ABSTRACT BALANCE IS PHYSICAL EQUILIBRIUM. The input space corresponding to *balance* contains just a tiny portion of the elements and relations characterizing the lab implement used to measure weight. For the purposes of this analysis, we retain only that it is used for weighing and has two pans. Although a lab balance is a very different kind of thing from an account balance, the two domains share structure and vocabulary. Similarly, Input 1, corresponding to *account*, highlights just that an account is a measure of the amount of money belonging to or owned by its holder and that it has two sides, called credit (the left-hand one) and debit (the right-hand one).

Figure 2 shows the blend network or analysis of the term *account balance*.

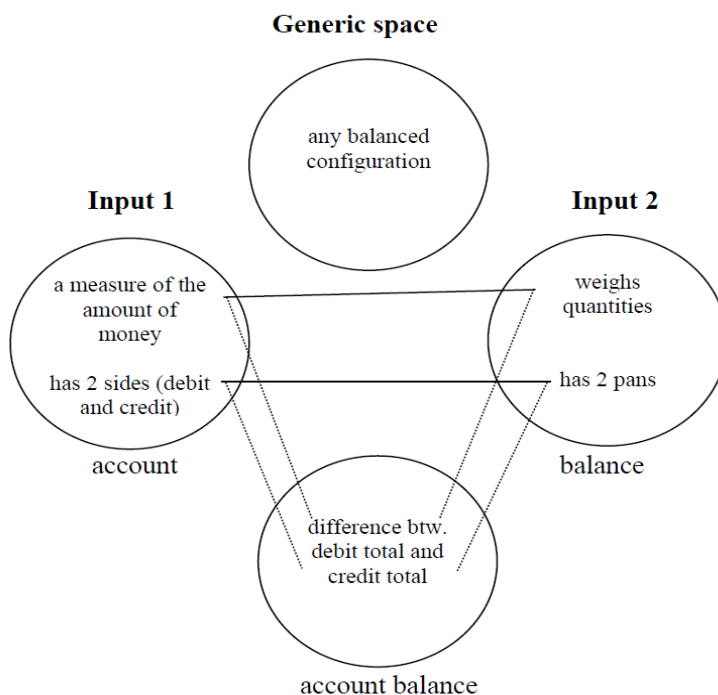


Figure 2. The blend analysis of *account balance*

### 1.3. *Debt ceiling*

According to Downes and Goodman (1995: 127), *debt ceiling*, which has as synonym *debt limit*, is defined as "maximum amount of debt that a municipality can incur." This term is, we think, another example of double-scope network, where the two input spaces have very different organizing frames, both contributing to the organization of the blend. Furthermore, we consider that the modifying constituent (ceiling) is motivated by the conceptual metaphor PARTS OF ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PARTS OF BUILDINGS (an adaptation of ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS, cited in the literature). At the same time, the linguistic expression for the upper limit that a government can borrow, i.e., *ceiling*, can also be seen as an instantiation of the orientational primary metaphor MORE IS UP.

We mentioned in the theoretical section that the blend can include an emergent structure, having new elements, not derived from the input spaces. As we see in Figure 3, illustrating the blend analysis of *debt ceiling*, such a limit can be changed only if special requirements are met: "If a municipality wants to issue bonds for an amount greater than its debt limit, it usually requires approval from the voters" (Downes and Goodman, 1995: 127).



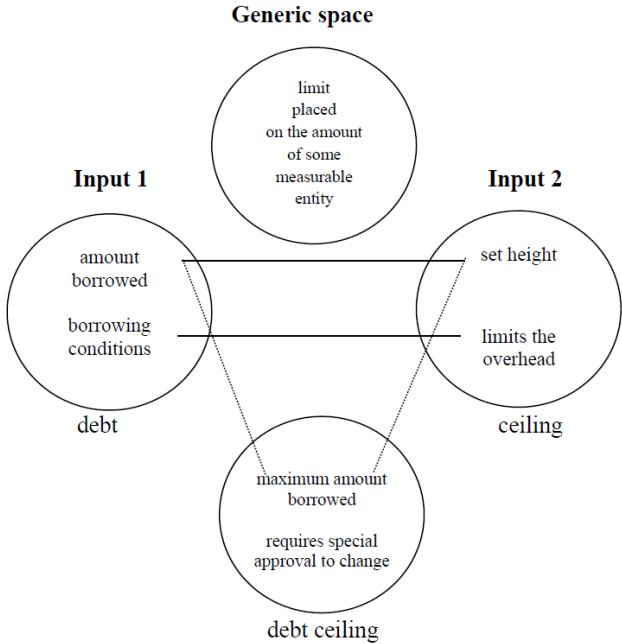


Figure 3. The blend analysis of *debt ceiling*

**2. Non-compositionality of blends. The *tight money* example**

With this noun phrase (as well as with the ones for which we provided blend analyses) we are in the presence of an instance of non-compositionality. We are used to thinking that adjectives assign fixed properties to nouns. For instance, in *brown cow* the adjective predicates a certain property of the animal. However, in the case of the term under analysis, there is no fixed, well-delimited property that *tight* assigns to *money*. Therefore, we claim the meaning is constructed non-compositionally. The term’s meaning is “economic conditions in which credit is difficult to secure” (Downes and Goodman, 1995: 606), usually as a result of steps taken by a central bank to restrict the money supply in the economy. We understand from the definition that the adjective *tight* does not assign a property, but, rather, prompts us to evoke scenarios of difficult economic circumstances appropriate for the noun *money* and the context.

If we were to look up the word *tight* in a general language dictionary, we would find definitions evoking the force-dynamic image-schema of firm grip or the frame of entities closely grouped or packed together. Therefore, in the presence of this construction, the adjective prompts us to blend the abovementioned frame or image-schema with a specific money- or loan-related situation. The counterfactual (opposite) blend would correspond to the term *easy money*.

We are in the presence of a noun from one conceptual space and a modifier from a different conceptual space, a pattern which, according to G. Fauconnier and M. Turner (2002: 269) triggers blends. Indeed, according to the same authors (ibid.: 276), "Blending routinely and inevitably extends the uses of words." The same discussion we have made about the non-compositional nature of *tight money* is also valid for the three terms for which we have provided blend analyses.

Furthermore, we find at work in this phrase the conceptual metonymy PART FOR WHOLE, a cognitive operation that motivates the use of the noun *money*, as it stands for everything a credit or loan entails (lender, borrower, a loan agreement, its clauses, the amount, etc.).

## Conclusions

This paper is a small terminology study in that it deals with only four financial-banking terms (i.e., *account balance*, *bridge loan*, *debt ceiling*, and *tight money*) analysed through the lens of two cognitive linguistic theories, that is, Conceptual Metaphor and Conceptual Blending. We have first presented the theoretical justification for conceptual integration (blending), as well as literature arguments (Grady, Oakley, and Coulson, 1999) in favour of the complementarity of the two aforementioned theories. Then we have listed the commonalities and differences between the notions of 'mental space' and 'conceptual domain', as well as two (out of six) types of blending network described in the literature, namely, single-scope (one-sided) and double-scope (two-sided) networks.

We have provided blend analyses for three of the said terms, and explained why we consider that *bridge loan* is an instantiation of single-scope blending and *account balance* and *debt ceiling* are realizations of double-scope blending. Within the analyses we have mentioned the metaphors and metonymies that accompany and complement the blending process. Finally, we have put forth arguments demonstrating the non-compositionality of the fourth blend, *tight money*.

We think that this type of integrated analysis offers a reliable and elegant way of unearthing the conceptual core of complex financial-banking terms, and that it can be replicated for many items of the very rich terminology of the domain in question.

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# VISUAL METAPHORS IN COVID-19 RELATED INTERNET MEMES

Anca Irina CIGHIR\*

**Abstract:** *The COVID-19 pandemic completely changed our lives and for a long time it changed the way people interacted. Socialising in real life became difficult, even impossible from time to time (during the lockdowns). People turned their focus on their machines (phones, tablets, computers, etc.). The only form of socialising available was the online one, and Internet memes flooded the social networks. Our study looks at internet memes as they were both a form of stress release and communication. The Internet memes selected for our study were created with the aid of cinematography and a great number of them have captions written in English. They were carefully selected in order to belong to the first period of the pandemic (March 2020 – August 2020). We consider this period of time to be the crisis period as no treatment or cure was available besides masks and lockdowns. The research questions addressed are the following: (1) What does meme interpretation depend on? (2) How was COVID-19 Pandemic/the virus framed through Internet memes? In the current study we use both qualitative and quantitative methods in order to answer our research questions.*

**Keywords:** Internet meme, COVID-19, metaphor, multimodality

## Introduction

2020 was the year when everything changed. The Covid-19 pandemic forced every country in the world to introduce lockdowns, to ask people to stay inside their own homes as much as possible, to go outside only when it was necessary and to avoid large gatherings. There were a lot of measures imposed to us all in order to avoid getting in contact with other people. These severe measures were supposed to protect people's lives. This pandemic isolated people, forced them to shelter and lose daily physical connection with other people. The only way for them to stay in contact was the phone and the internet. The pandemic forced us into using technology daily. Even people who were not used to using social networking websites such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, etc., telecommunication applications such as Skype, or video conferencing services such as Zoom, Google meet and Microsoft Teams, started learning how to use them in order to see and hear their relatives and friends. People from all over the world socialised online having three things in common: a pandemic, the internet and English.

The plethora of internet memes that flooded the social network during those difficult times made us choose to analyse this type of discourse. The internet memes created and used during the Covid-19 pandemic are useful for

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understanding the cultural trends during that period of time. As stated before, restricted physical contact led to an increase in digital communication. If in real life there are boundaries and borders that separate people, the internet is the only place where the only boundary is language, and even this boundary is thinning due to the fact that English is spoken and understood by so many people.

Our choice to analyse internet memes created and shared during the first months of the pandemic had at its core the belief that that period of time was the summit of the merging between the real world and the digital one. Being confined at home people had to adjust their habits. Everything was done online: shopping, work, meeting friends and family, schooling, etc. "Cultures are lived"<sup>1</sup> and our belief is that the digital culture lived its life to the fullest during the Covid-19 pandemic, especially through internet memes which are creative people's reaction to what happens around them. They are a means of communicating satisfaction or dissatisfaction with certain events that impact one's life.

We consider that the importance of our study relies on the fact that the new generations (Gen Alpha and Generation Z) are more focused on the visual mode than the previous generations, and therefore the new tendency of communication leans toward the visual, Internet Memes being considered the new genre of communication.

This new genre of communication emerged as a result of the interrelation of several characteristics of communication: fast, easily understood by large communities, spreadable, and last but not least, humorous (the entertaining component), that were needed with the emergence of the internet and the technology that came into our lives as a result (computers, laptops, smart phones). The connection between generations and the need for a different type of communication can be explained by the table below:

Generations	Technological developments
Generation X (born between 1965-1980)	1977 – the personal computer industry begins <sup>2</sup> 1980 – the first generation of analogue cellular system comes out <sup>3</sup>
Millennials (born between 1981-1996)	1982 – emoticons were created
Generation Z (born between 1996-2012)	1997 – "Bert is Evil" Internet Meme 2007 – the first computer-based phone ( iPhone) comes out (the innovative touchscreen-centric design) <sup>4</sup>
Generation Alpha (born between 2013-2025)	

Table 1. Generations and technological developments

<sup>1</sup> B. E. Wiggins, *The Discursive Power of Memes in Digital Culture. Ideology, Semiotics, and Intertextuality*, New York and London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019, p.22.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/technology/personal-computer>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/technology/mobile-telephone>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.thoughtco.com/history-of-smartphones-4096585>

The last two generations (Z and Alpha) were born with this technology, it is a part of them and they use it more frequently than any other generations before them and it is of no surprise.

In 2013 Mariana Neagu published an article in which she studies five prototypical perception verbs (*see, hear/listen, touch, smell/sniff and taste*) in three languages: English, French and Romanian. Out of these five verbs, the verb *see* is the most prominent due to the fact that it is the most polysemous of all four major groups of semantic extensions relating to vision being identified). Another reason for it being the most prominent is the fact that vision has also been the most studied sense:

the parallel between vision and intellection has been made on the basis of these arguments:

- (a) the ability to pick out one stimulus at will from many is a salient characteristic of both vision and of thought;
- (b) vision gives us data from a distance and the intellectual domain is understood as being an area of personal distance, in contrast to taste or touch that require actual physical contact with the thing sensed, that is closeness or intimacy.<sup>5</sup>

The current trend of communication tends to rely on a rather minimalistic usage of words (text) and visual representations (from simple emojis to complex Internet Memes), offering communication an international potential never known before.

Our study is trying to determine what are the specific modes involved in this new genre of communication, and if one mode is preferred over another in order to render the conceptual or target domain. The study has a twofold objective:

- (1) the exploration of metaphor in Internet Memes;
- (2) the exploration of the modes involved in creating an Internet Meme and their relationship which leads to the production of a more or less complex message.

In order to carry out our study, the following research questions have been formulated:

RQ1: What does meme interpretation depend on?

RQ2: How was COVID-19 Pandemic / the virus framed through Internet Memes?

### **Data collection**

Our data comes from various sources and was collected in order to correspond with the period of time that we refer to as the crises response phase (March 2020 – September 2020).

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<sup>5</sup> M. Neagu, *What is Universal and what is Language-specific in the Polysemy of Perception Verbs?*, RRL, LVIII, 3, p. 329-343, București, 2013, p. 334.

The first 124 COVID-19 memes that inspired the research for this study come from a personal page on Facebook. Friends from all over the world posted, shared and liked memes related to the pandemic.

"Honeycombers", a guide to Singapore, Bali and Hong Kong has an article entitled "Coronavirus news dragging you down? Here are some hilarious memes & tweets to help lighten the mood"<sup>6</sup>. They offer their readers some quarantine entertainment by presenting thirty-five funny memes.

"ELLE" magazine has 260 coronavirus memes "to get you through self-isolation and social distancing"<sup>7</sup>. We collected 100 tokens.

Another source for gathering material was a public group on Facebook named "Coronavirus Memes". We have 100 memes gathered from here.

The fifth source for our meme data was 9GAG, a Hong Kong-based online platform and social media website. We have gathered 150 memes from here.

Another 60 tokens were found on an online platform, in the form of an article entitled: "The coronavirus memes, in your moment of levity, spreading faster than COVID-19"<sup>8</sup>.

The last and most important source for our data comes from the non-academic website for memes, KnowYourMeme. This particular site has the most complete database. Their research is very rigorous and the site is user friendly, everything being labelled and explained.

All in all, our data for this study consists of 589 Coronavirus related memes from contributors all over the world. One drawback is the fact that we do not know their creators and it is very difficult to find the original meme, but as it will be discussed later on, the creator is not important. The meme is the object of our research.

### **Defining Memes and Internet Memes**

Memes have been looked at, shared, liked and enjoyed by a great number of people during the COVID-19 pandemic. COVID-19 memes have been thriving during the pandemic. They have brought a ray of sun into our lives and as a result, they have been discussed more and more on social media. But what are memes?

The word 'meme' has its roots in the sphere of academia. Richard Dawkins coined the word in 1976 in his book "The Selfish Gene". He coined the word 'meme' which was used in order to describe how cultures replicate themselves over and over, as genes do. For him, memes were "tunes, ideas,

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<sup>6</sup><https://thehoneycombers.com/bali/funny-coronavirus-memes/>

<sup>7</sup><https://www.elle.com/uk/life-and-culture/g31803505/coronavirus-social-distancing-memes/>

<sup>8</sup><https://www.al.com/news/j66j-2020/03/299b6975e03642/these-coronavirus-memes-in-your-moment-of-levity-spreading-faster-than-covid19.html>

catch-phrases, clothes, fashions, ways of making pots or of building arches.”<sup>9</sup> He explains that “just as genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body via sperm or eggs, so memes propagate themselves in the meme pool by leaping from brain to brain via a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation.”<sup>10</sup>

Dawkins needed a new word to describe the idea of “cultural transmission, or a unit of imitation” (p.1). The biologist borrows a word from Greek, *mimeme* which best translates as “imitated thing” (p1), but it shortens it to “better capture the linkage between culture and memory” (p1). “Dawkins saw the meme as a metaphor for gene” (p.2).

In 2013 Dawkins himself acknowledges the fact that the Internet meme is a “hijacking of the original term”<sup>11</sup>:

The very idea of the meme, has itself mutated and evolved in a new direction. An internet meme is a hijacking of the original idea. Instead of mutating by random chance, before spreading by a form of Darwinian selection, internet memes are altered deliberately by human creativity. In the hijacked version, mutations are designed – not random – with the full knowledge of the person doing the mutating.<sup>12</sup>

A definition for Internet memes comes from Shifman. He suggests we should define them as:

(a) A group of digital items sharing common characteristics of content, for, and/or stance; (b) that were created with awareness of each other; and (c) were circulated, imitated, and/or transformed via the Internet by many users.<sup>13</sup>

Later on, Douglas Hofstadter talked about the world ‘meme’ in a less metaphorical sense but in a more literal one. “Memes, like genes, are susceptible to variation or distortion – the analogue of mutation. Various mutations of a meme will have to compete with one another, as well as with other memes, for attention, that is, for brain resources in terms of both space and time devoted to that meme”<sup>14</sup>.

Bradley argues that the understanding of the word ‘meme’ is “haphazard at best”<sup>15</sup> “in academic as well as general discussions and writings,

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<sup>9</sup> Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1990, p.192.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> R. Dawkins, Just for hits. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GFn-ixX9edg>

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> L. Shifman, *Memes in Digital Culture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press, 2014, p.7-8.

<sup>14</sup> B. E. Wiggins, *The Discursive Power of Memes in Digital Culture. Ideology, Semiotics, and Intertextuality*, New York and London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019, p.3.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p.8.



from mainstream news media to high-ranked peer-reviewed journals”<sup>16</sup>. Making a distinction between ‘memes’ and ‘internet memes’, he offers the following definition for internet meme: it “is hereby defined as a remixed, iterated message that can be rapidly diffused by members of participatory digital culture for the purpose of satire, parody, critique, or other discursive activity...Its function is to posit an argument, visually, in order to commence, extend, counter, or influence a discourse”<sup>17</sup>.

Bradley sees memes as artefacts. As such, they exist both in people’s minds and in the digital domain. Furthermore, they “possess both cultural and social attributes as they are produced, reproduced, and transformed to reconstitute the social system”<sup>18</sup>. As artifacts, they highlight the conscious “production and consumption among members of participatory digital culture”<sup>19</sup>. They have a dual structure “which implies an interaction between agent and social system”<sup>20</sup>.

Not taking into consideration the traditional notion of genre, Bradley talks about the meme as a genre. He considers genres as being “activities that guide and alter the dynamics of human culture”<sup>21</sup> and as such, a meme is “not simply a formula followed by people to communicate, but represents a complex system of social motivations and cultural activity that is both a result of communication and impetus for that communication”<sup>22</sup>.

Anastasia Denisova argues that memes “are at the same time the form and the practice of storytelling and derive from the centuries-long practice of altering and merging ideas and stories”<sup>23</sup>. She goes on stating that memes are not “comprehensive stories”<sup>24</sup>, but “elements of storytelling”<sup>25</sup>. As stated previously, a meme is first a spreadable media which is adorned with new components (text or images) and sent into the virtual world where, if appreciated by other internet users, it is further adorned, liked and shared, becoming an internet meme. It is the same path that a story follows: “a story changes every time with its retelling, becoming either decorated with new details or losing components”<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p.11.

<sup>18</sup> B. E. Wiggins, *The Discursive Power of Memes in Digital Culture. Ideology, Semiotics, and Intertextuality*, New York and London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019, p.40.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> A. Denisova, *Internet Memes and Society. Social, Cultural and Political Context*, New York and London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019, p.9.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p.9.

Memes rely on visual images. They can be a simple image, an image with a phrase written on it, a GIF (Graphic Interchange Format) which is an animated image or even a short video. They may “contain a punchline (aphorism quotes, movie catchphrases or any witty slogans) or make a statement without added text”<sup>27</sup>.

Memes are “remarkably versatile for meaning-making, emotion-sharing and attention-grabbing” (p.10). Nowadays memes are made use of to talk about any topic. They are remarkable for their capacity to bring people together, to spread fast and to be an easy tool for sharing ideas, thoughts and concerns. They rely on collective creativity. Denisova calls them “the common Internet vocabulary”<sup>28</sup>. Once a meme, it does not belong to anyone in particular, the creator is not important anymore.

The meaning of a meme comes from the way it is exploited in context. A meme does not express a point of view. “It is the users who fill them with sense...each person decides whether to ratify or oppose a specific way of interpreting the situation – and he or she adjusts a meme accordingly. By doing this, a user agrees with or redefines the social norms that a meme propagates”<sup>29</sup>.

When talking about Internet memes we have to take into consideration not just the human interaction (people socialising, sharing ideas and thoughts), but also the machine that makes it all possible, the computer, thus a new type of connection between the people and the machine: the human-machine interaction. The machine, the software in particular, is not just a vehicle for ideas to travel through space and time, but also a tool for creation.

People make use of Internet memes in order to feel that they belong to a group. In the real world it is difficult to find and bond with people who think like you and with whom you share the same interests. Besides connectivity, people also need to feel unique. The Internet offers everyone a community where they can feel accepted and appreciated. Anyone can find a group of like-minded people in the virtual world made possible and accessible by the Internet. If in the real world there are borders to keep people apart and there are long distances to be walked in order to meet others like us, the Internet offers fast connexions.

In the realm of the Internet, a new type of discourse emerged: the participatory discourse. The Dowkinsian meme is the knowledge of how to do something, the shared information that enables people to create, not the actual creation, whereas the Internet meme is a genre of communication which also functions as an artefact “of the system that created it, namely participatory

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p.29.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

digital culture.”<sup>30</sup>This new type of discourse expresses both uniqueness and connectivity, thus satisfying the individual’s needs of individualism and communality at the same time.

Internet memes are the most fashionable genre of communication on the Internet as “images also transcend cultures more easily than language, and even if there is text in the image, it is most likely to be in English”<sup>31</sup>as it is the lingua franca of the Internet.

### **Covid-19 Related Internet Memes**

On the website previously mentioned (KnowYourMeme.com.) people collect, archive and classify the memes of the Internet sphere. They group the Internet Memes based on specific topics and each topic has a name and its own page. The page consists of an overview of the topic, its background, the online presence on different social media (Reddit, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube) and related memes. Searching for data in connection with the time period our research focuses on, we have found nine types of COVID-19 related memes. Each type has a name related to a situation that people faced during the Covid-19 pandemic, the Crisis Response Phase:

#### **1. Schools During the**

#### **Coronavirus Lockdown/Quarantine**

#### **5.Stay Alert**

#### **2. My Plans/2020**

#### **6. Don’t Touch Your Face**

#### **3. Can’t Get any Worse**

#### **7. Coronavirus Vacation**

#### **4. Quarantined Memes**

#### **8. Hazmat Suit Edits**

The people working for this website have documented well all the data gathered. They tell their readers about the first meme that appeared for each type and they also speak about its spread.

Not all the types listed above are of interest for our research as we are analysing the memes that were shared and understood all over the world, not just in specific countries.

We have chosen specific types of memes: memes that have both the visual and the verbal modes. Another criterion for choosing the IMs that we are going to analyse further on in our paper was the cinematographic aspect, as it offered us a common background with their creator(s).

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<sup>30</sup> B. E. Wiggins, *The Discursive Power of Memes in Digital Culture. Ideology, Semiotics, and Intertextuality*, New York and London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group,2019, p.13

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

Taking into consideration the attributes of the IMs that we are going to explain below and Maslow's hierarchy of needs, we managed to categorize the IMs under the following label: The Bare Necessities IMs.

### **The Bare Necessities Internet Memes**

The Covid-19 pandemic had affected us all, depriving us of our freedom. The pandemic had forced the authorities to cancel all sports, to ask people not to meet friends and family, and to ask us to stay in our homes for as long as possible. These are only a few examples of things and freedoms we had to give up during those nightmarish times. Our lives seemed to be put on halt. One of the things that was spreading faster than the virus was the new genre of communication: Internet Memes.

We have tried to identify the needs that had been made fun of through IMs (here we have to mention the fact that all the Coronavirus related memes form our data collection reflect at least one need) and we were aided in our research by Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Abraham Harold Maslow was an American psychologist who created the tool we used in order to better choose and classify the IM we called The Bare Necessities. Maslow's research led him to create the hierarchy of needs that is still used today. He structured people's needs into three types: basic, psychological and self-fulfilling. The first two types were further classified into two more types. Basic needs refer to physiological needs (food, water, warmth and rest), and safety needs (security, safety). The psychological ones refer to belongingness and love needs (intimate relationship, friends), and esteem needs (prestige and feelings of accomplishment). The last type refers to self-actualization (achieving one's full potential, including creative activities).



Fig.1 Maslow's hierarchy of needs

Maslow also demonstrated in his articles that this hierarchy does not necessarily mean that people start with the basic needs and only after fulfilling them they move on to the next level of the hierarchy. He described our needs

as being relatively fluid: a great number of these needs may be present in a human being at the same time.

We managed to identify all five types of needs described by Maslow and we are going to analyse them drawing on Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) work and Kövecses' (1990, 2008, 2020) work: the seven IMs chosen for this study are going to help us explore specific emotion concepts triggered by the Covid-19 pandemic.

The concept of humour is also going to be used as the study draws attention to one way of dealing with problems that were out of our control, and laws that were forced on us due to specific circumstances.

There is a Romanian saying "a face haz de necaz" which could be translate in English "to laugh it off" or "to make a joke of it". We, the Romanians, live by the above maxim and some of the IMs live by it, too. By ridiculing or satirizing a difficult situation we feel more positive about it, not letting it affect us too much. The perfect English proverbial phrase to describe IMs is "When life gives you lemons, make lemonade". Covid-19 IMs that we are going to explore in our study were created to encourage optimism when confronted with adversity. The noun "lemons" in the proverb stand for a difficulty in life ( the COVID-19 pandemic), whereas the process of making lemonade represents transformig something bad into something good (IMs that helped people look at the COVID-19 pandemic through a humorous lens).

### 1. **Physiological needs** (classified as: Food Shortage Internet Memes on KnowYourMeme.com)



Fig. 2 *The Silence of the Lambs* IM

The IM above is an Image Macro type of meme chosen from the film *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991). It is a classical film in which Dr. Hannibal Lecter, a psychiatrist, is incarcerated as he is a serial killer who also eats his victims. The image shows him in his cell in Baltimore State Hospital for the Criminally Insane. His is the last cell on the left, which is placed in a dark basement behind numerous gates and bars.

The text alone cannot be considered a text anchor. It has to be intertwined with the specific social context of the COVID-19 pandemic (people were afraid that there will not be enough resources for them to survive isolated from the rest of the world) in order to mark the target domain.

SOURCE DOMAIN	TARGET DOMAIN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Dr. Hannibal Lecter is incarcerated in Baltimore State Hospital for the Criminally insane;</li><li>• Society was protected from Hannibal Lecter who was a criminal;</li><li>• The only contact he has with others is through a glass wall;</li><li>• Desperate to free himself, the cannibalistic genius agrees to help an FBI agent, Clarice Starling, to catch another serial killer nicknamed “Buffalo Bill”</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• People were made to stay at home and isolate during the lockdown ;</li><li>• Society was protected by being isolated (people could no longer transmit or catch the virus);</li><li>• The only contact people had with relatives and friends was through a glass screen (cell phones, computers, tablets);</li><li>• Desperate to be out in the world again, people found different excuses to justify each time they broke the lockdown;</li></ul>

Table 1. Source domain vs target domain in *The Silence of the Lambs* IM

Analysing the IM above, we have managed to identify the following metaphors:

- CONTAINER metaphor: Lecter is kept prisoner in the last cell on the left in baltimore state hospital for the criminally insane. It is in a deep dark basement behind numerous gates and bars. The IM presents the receiver a blurred brick wall in the background, suggestive of a dark underground cell.
- THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR EMOTIONS
- BEING SUBJECTED TO CONTROLL OR FORCE IS DOWN: Lecter is controlled by his mental illness
- RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN
- SICKNESS IS DOWN

It is important for the understanding of the IM to mention the incongruity between the text and the image.

## 2. **Safety needs** (classified as: Schools During the Coronavirus Lockdown/Quarantine Internet Memes on KnowYourMeme.com)

Teacher: Why are you late?

Me: Traffic

Teacher: But it's an online class



Fig.3 *The Witcher* IM

Fig.4 Geralt using foul language

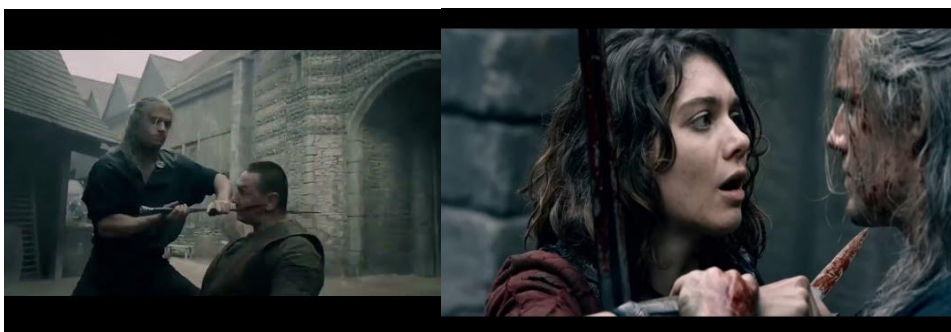


Fig.5 Geralt killing townie

Fig. 6 Geralt killing Renfri

Figure 1 is a combination between a Photoshopped Image and an Image Macro. Figure 2 is the image as it is presented in the TV Show *The Witcher* (season 1, episode 1, *The End's Beginning*, aired 20<sup>th</sup> of December, 2019). The creator of the IM tempered with the image, placing a white mask on Geralt's face and also adding the caption above the image.

The added text can be considered a text anchor as it places the IM during the Covid-19 pandemic when children were doing online classes. We postulate here that the added mask can also be interpreted as an anchor, as it also places the IM during the same period of time mentioned above. Therefore we conclude that anchoring can be realised in various ways in images, not only via text.

The foul language employed by Gerald (present in the bottom text) “Fuck”<sup>32</sup> is “a rude word used when expressing extreme anger, or to add force to what is being said”<sup>33</sup>. The profanity works in all three situations: in the film is used by the character to express his annoyance with the outcome he has already predicted (the source domain), in real life when essential workers brought the virus home with them (the target domain), and as a pun at the end of the conversation between the teacher and the student (the student realises that he has been caught in a lie by the teacher and there is nothing that he can do to take it back).

SOURCE DOMAIN	TARGET DOMAIN
Gerald is a witcher. He is a mutant, not a monster, created in order to fight real monsters;	The lockdown was not for everyone. It excluded the essential workers;
Gerald is unwelcomed in the town called Blaviken and the townsfolk do not want to talk to him as they consider him a monster;	People were afraid of the essential workers, thinking that they could spread the COVID-19 virus, thus avoiding them as much as possible ;
Gerald is from Rivia and comes to Balaviken to kill a monster, but finds himself in a very difficult situation: he is asked to choose the lesser evil by two different characters (the wizard Stregobor who had lured him to this town in order to hire him to kill Renfri, a cursed princess turned bandit, and Renfri herself) – a moral dilemma;	Essential workers found themselves in a very difficult situation: they had to go to work (where they could catch the virus) and they also had to come home to their loved ones (which they might have infected) – a moral dilemma;
Figure 2 shows Gerald in the market when he realises that he has to fight against his will;	Essential workers realized they had to face the dangerous COVID-19 by going to work daily;
Figures 3 and 4 show the result of Renfri’s decision to force Gerald to side with her or with Blaviken: Gerald kills the town’s people that choose to stand by Renfri’s side and he also kills Renfri.	The decision of them working was not taken by the essential workers themselves; there were cases of essential workers becoming ill and bringing the virus home with them, infecting their loved ones.

Table 2. Source domain vs target domain in *The Witcher* IM

<sup>32</sup><https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/fuck>

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.



- CONTAINER metaphor: the mask keeping the virus under control, not letting it spread.
- THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS: Gerald is looking downward, suggestive of embarrassment.
- BEING SUBJECTED TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN: Gerald is trying his best not to be controlled by others
- RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN: Gerald chooses to do the right thing, the rational one, avoiding being emotional (he kills Renfri, a woman he had been involved with). Love does not conquer all in his case, his rational mind prevailing.

### 3. Belongingness and love needs (friendship)

“How is lockdown going for you?”



Fig. 7 *Friends* IM

The IM shown above (Fig.7) is a mixture between Comics (as it shows a sequence of events, but, unlike comics which are drawings, it does not show the outcome) and Image macro. The images were taken from a very popular TV show which came out in 1994 and was produced for 10 years (1994 – 2004). The images are from season 7, episode 24 (released on 17<sup>th</sup> of May, 2001), entitled “The One with Monica and Chandler’s Wedding: Part 2”. In the photos we only see 1 out of the 6 friends: Rachel Green.

The text above the pictures is the creator’s addition, the rest of the text (the captions under each of the four pictures) being the character’s lines in the TV show.

SOURCE DOMAIN	TARGET DOMAIN
Rachel Green complaining about being all alone;	People during the lockdown complaining about being all alone;
Rachel is in her friend's kitchen (a safe space to share feelings);	People were at home, a safe space where nothing bad could happen to them;
Faced with the immediate wedding, Chandler (the groom) panics;	Faced with the possibility of catching COVID-19, people panicked;
Chandler runs away and hides in his office where he thinks nobody will look for him;	People hid in their homes, hoping not to catch the dangerous virus;
After being found, he is reassured by his friends;	People who caught COVID-19 were reassured by doctors and nurses;

Table 3. Source domain vs target domain in *Fiends* IM

Rachel complaining about being alone to her friend Monica is just a lure. It is Monica's wedding day and the groom (Chandler) cannot be found. Rachel is just trying to distract Monica:

Rachel: The nights are the hardest, but then the day comes. And that's every bit as hard as the night. And then the night comes again.

Monica: Days and nights are hard. I get it, OK? Listen Rachel, I'm sorry. I have to start getting ready. I'm getting married today.

Rachel: I know: at dusk. It's such a hard time for me.

(min: 05:43-05:57)

She does not manage to distract Monica, so she pretends to fall and hurt herself, but still it does not work. Monica is too focused on her big day to waste time on her friend's problems which do not seem serious enough to her.

- CONTAINER metaphor: Rachel is inside her friend's apartment; she is trying not to show her real feelings (contained inside her)
- THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS: Rachel is lying to her friend and her eyes show this betrayal: she is not looking her friend in the eye, and she is constantly moving her eyes from one side to the other while looking downward.
- RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN: Rachel is trying to be rational while being very emotional, deciding that a white lie is better than the truth.

#### 4. Esteem needs (classified as: My Plans Internet Memes on KnowYourMeme.com)



Fig.8 Rick and Morty IM



Fig.9 Diseased people



Fig.10 Apocalyptic ending



Fig.11 The burying scene

In Figure 5 an Image Macro was created by adding two texts “Me” and “my plans for 2020” on the two characters (the same character, Morty, but from two different realities). The image was doctored with (Figure 8 shows the image that can be seen in the animated sitcom “Rick and Morty”, season 1, episode 6, entitled Rick potion #9, aired 27<sup>th</sup> of January, 2014), the third character being cut out of the picture.

Morty, the child in the yellow T-shirt is Rick’s grandson. Rick is an alcoholic sociopath and a scientist at the same time. He builds gadgets and potions in his daughter’s garage (his laboratory) and takes his not so bright grandson on absurd intergalactic adventures.

In the episode from which the scene was taken, Morty comes to his grandfather for help as he is in love with his beautiful colleague, Jessica. Rick decides to help him by creating a potion (from Morty’s DNA and Oxytocin, a substance extracted from a vole – a rodent that mates for life) that unfortunately is not foolproof and ends up making everyone on the planet fall in love with Morty (as explained in the TV Show, it was the flu season is transmitted to all the people, except for his family).

Figure 6 shows the moment in the show when his grandfather comes to his rescue and explains what has happened: “The serum is piggybacking on the virus. It’s airborne”. He also tries to calm him down by adding that “Sometimes science is more art than science. A lot of people don’t get that!”

As “the whole world is infected”, they sit on the roof of a building looking at the disaster that they had provoked. In the last minutes of the episode, they end up killed by Rick and they come from a different reality in the garage where they find their bodies. The episode finishes with them burying themselves in the back garden.

SOURCE DOMAIN	TARGET DOMAIN
Before the creation of the potion, Morty had made plans of how to conquer Jessica’s heart;	Before the COVID-19 pandemic, most people had already booked holidays and made plans with their friends and families;
The potion is released into the world, one person infecting everyone on the planet ;	COVID-19 spreads from one continent to another, infecting almost everyone;
“Sometimes science is more art than science. A lot of people don’t get that!” is the answer Morty gets from Rick, the scientist;	“Wear a face mask and sanitize your hands” were the instructions given to people in order to prevent COVID-19 spread;
In the last minutes of the episode, they end up killed by Rick and they come from a different reality in the garage where they find their bodies. The episode finishes with them burying themselves in the back garden.	Many people were infected with the virus and were unable to travel to their holiday destination, meet their friends, or celebrate special events. Their plans were figuratively buried as people were prevented from realizing them.

Table 4. Source domain vs target domain in *Rick and Morty* IM

- CONTAINER metaphor: the body being dragged into the grave
- THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR EMOTIONS: Morty is looking downward at his body
- BEING SUBJECTED TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN: Morty is controlled both by his feelings for a girl, but also by his grandfather
- RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN: in Morty’s case his emotions win every time, not being able to control them
- SICKNESS IS DOWN: every single person in the world was diseased

**5. Self-actualization (it refers to people's desire to become the best version of themselves)**



Fig.12 Chuck Norris IM

The IM presented in figure 12 above is an Image Macro with captions added by the creator of the IM. The actor Carlos Ray “Chuck” Norris is well known for his role in *Walker, Texas Ranger*, an action crime television series which has 9 seasons (203 episodes all in all). Chuck Norris is seen as a real-life superhero (the strongest, most powerful and enduring person on Earth) possessing high moral qualities. The actor himself is a black belt in Tang Soo Do, Brazilian jiu jitsu and judo. He founded his own discipline, Chun Kuk Do. He also served in the United States Air Force. The main character in the television series has many things in common with the actor himself. In the show, Sergeant Cordell Walker, a Dallas-Fort Worth-based member of the Texas Rangers, served in the Marines’ elite Recon unit during the Vietnam War.

The creator of the IM humorously suggests that Chuck Norris is the only human that could defeat COVID-19: human versus virus, human winning.

The decorated Vietnam veteran, a martial arts expert, enforces the laws upon the outlaws (COVID-19), imprisoning the virus for two weeks.

THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR EMOTIONS: Chuck Norris’s eyes are looking the audience in the eye, showing confidence

BEING SUBJECTED TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN: Chuck Norris is a veteran, he fought the enemy in order for his country not to be under anyone’s control. Being a master of the martial arts, he controls not only others, but also himself.

RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN: as a Texan Ranger, Walker is led only by his rational side.

SICKNESS IS DOWN: Chuck Norris beats the virus, making it sick.

## Conclusions

As previously stated, the five IMs analysed in our study have been carefully chosen. We wanted to prove that the new genre of communication can be complex and trigger multiple conceptual operations, thus IMs that were created with the help of two modes (verbal and visual) were selected from our multimodal corpus of 589 Coronavirus related IMs.

After analysing the IMs, we have drawn the conclusion that the visual and verbal modes work together to provide the receiver with several conceptual routes to identify the target domain (RQ1). The source domain (the film) can only be identified by receivers that share the same background knowledge with the creator of the IM or by those receivers interested enough in this new genre of communication in order to make the effort of identifying the source domain<sup>34</sup>.

The background knowledge leads to a better identification of the elements from the source domain which are to be mapped on the target domain. The verbal mode, besides cueing the target domain, helps steering the receivers in the interpretation of the IM.

In order for IMs to play the role of a new genre of communication, they need to be understood by as many people as possible. For this situation to happen, both visual and verbal modes need to intertwine and to work hand in hand (the new mode created being called a **hybrid verbopictorial** mode<sup>35</sup>) for the receiver to understand what elements of the source domain need to be mapped on the target domain. As stated previously, the verbal mode works as an anchor, cueing the target domain.

After analysing all the five IMs, we are now able to answer RQ2: How was COVID-19/the virus framed through IMs? In Fig. 2 *The Silence of the Lambs* IM, the virus is framed as **a captor**: the character is held in a cell against his will. In Fig. 3 *The Witcher* IM the virus is framed as **an oppressor** (Gerald is forced to fight and kill). In Fig. 7 *Friends* IM, the virus is again framed as **an oppressor** (causing depression and anxiety). In Fig. 8 *Rick and Morty* IM the virus is framed as **a killer** (the body being buried in the backyard). In Fig.12 Chuck Norris IM the virus appears to be framed as **an outlaw** (Walker's job was to catch outlaws and imprison them).

In all the IMs analysed in our study humour arises from the combination of the visual modality with the verbal modality. This new genre of communication gets the message across through humour and is able to relieve people off negative emotions. In the COVID-19 context the IMs created psychological distance from the challenges of the pandemic and developed a sense of belonging to a community.

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<sup>34</sup> The identification of the source domain can be made with the help of a new application available on any laptop, tablet, or smartphone: Google Image Search.

<sup>35</sup> P. Perez-Sobrino, Multimodal Metaphor and Metonymy in Advertising: A Corpus-Based Account, in *Metaphor and Symbol*, 31(2):1-18, 2016.

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# DIFFICULTIES IN TRANSLATING CONTRACTUAL ENGLISH

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**Abstract:** *Legal English poses multiple problems in point of translation, especially when dealing with the standardized languages of contracts. The present article focuses on the Sale and Purchase Contract as the most widely used binding document in legal practice, and the various challenges that may occur at different levels, such as the equivalence of specialized terms and collocations, the proper interpretation of archaic elements and difficult over-compound adverbs, as well as the adequate decoding of syntax and the observance of stylistic and pragmatic constraints. The paper also explores the manner in which such difficulties can often lead to translation errors, providing possible solutions to punctual issues that may hinder communication.*

**Keywords:** specialized terminology, semantic content, adaptation, specific syntax, legalese

## Preliminary remarks

Legal English is one of the most difficult specialized languages to master, due to its numerous intricacies and specific elements that are often quite opaque to the layman.

Those who are not well versed in legal terminology and conventions often get lost in the tangled web of legalese and are in constant need of explicitation and clarification in order to adequately grasp the message conveyed and make sure there is no erroneous interpretation. The language of contracts as a subtype of legal English poses even more comprehension problems, as it stresses the need for accuracy and liability avoidance even more than the other subtypes.

## 1. Characteristics of Legal English

Technically speaking, all current definitions of legal English emphasize its difficulty and opacity to layman comprehension, as the main dictionaries refer to it as “the sort of language used in legal documents that is difficult to understand” (OED) or “formal language used by lawyers and in legal documents that ordinary people find difficult to understand” (Macmillan Dictionary). Among specialized languages, legal English has rightly earned the title of most challenging, due to its typical characteristics like complex, sinuous

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and lengthy syntax, wordiness and redundancy sometimes verging on pleonasm, excessive and rather confusing use of negation, a plethora of impersonal pronominal and passive structures, deliberate imprecision and vagueness sometimes at odds with the need for increased clarity, constant vacillation between conservatism and innovation in point of terminology and expression, and last but not least, a great many technical terms, legal archaisms, coinages, formal and ritualistic terminology (Tiersma, 1999: passim). In the more suggestive form proposed by Professor Richard Wydick, the author of a popular book on legal writing, legalese is given the following definition: "We, lawyers, do not use plain English, we use eight words instead of two, we use secret phrases for expressing common ideas. In order to become accurate, we became excessive, to become cautious, we became too verbose" (Baker, 1992).

Translation-wise, these elements should be treated with the utmost attention so as to preserve both the content and the form of the source text.

## **2. Definition of contractual English**

"Contractual English" typically refers to the specialized language and terminology used in contracts and legal agreements. It is a subset of legal English, which is a field of language and communication that focuses on the specific language and terminology used in legal documents, including contracts, statutes, regulations, and legal correspondence.

Generally speaking, it is characterized by precision and attention to detail, as small differences in wording can have significant legal implications. Just like Legalese in general, it often includes archaic or formal language, standardized clauses, and specific legal terminology, which are mostly designed to create legally binding obligations and clearly define the rights and responsibilities of the parties involved in the contract.

In many cases, contracts and legal agreements are drafted by lawyers or legal professionals who are trained to use precise and unambiguous language to reduce the likelihood of disputes or misunderstandings, so the main aim is to make the terms and conditions of an agreement as clear and enforceable as possible. Moreover, understanding contractual English is important for anyone entering into a contract or legal agreement, as it ensures that all parties involved have a clear understanding of their obligations and rights under the contract. When dealing with a contract, it is often advisable to seek legal advice or have a lawyer review the document to ensure that it is properly drafted and that its terms are fully understandable to all the parties involved.

### **3. Contracts as legal documents**

A contract is defined as a document that establishes and governs a relationship between two or more parties which includes legal obligations to perform certain acts. Contracts can be put in place between two individuals, an individual and a business, two businesses, etc. Typically, the elements that establish a legally binding contract are an offer, acceptance, considerations, mutuality of obligations, competency and capacity, and in some instances a written instrument.

The most common example of such a document is a Sale-Purchase contract, which is a legally binding agreement between a buyer and a seller that outlines the terms and conditions governing the sale of goods or services. It specifies the rights and obligations of both parties, including the price, delivery terms, payment conditions, warranties, and other relevant details. It mainly consists of provisions common to all contracts, but there are also specific ones. It is basically “the law between the parties” and it should always be drafted and thoroughly checked by a legal specialist.

### **4. Types of linguistic difficulties in the Sale-Purchase Contract**

In addition to the specific elements of the technical jargon of legalese, a thorough examination of the standardized form of a Sale-Purchase agreement evinces the existence of a vast array of difficulties that would create real challenges for the translator. Among these, the following seem to be the most salient:

- a) lexical difficulties – the insertion of opaque Latin elements, specific collocations, specific uses of modals, the frequent occurrence of archaic elements, the narrowing of meaning of common terms in general language;
- b) syntactic difficulties – long and intricate sentences, specific connectors, repetitive structures;
- c) pragma-semantic difficulties – the specific context of usage, the peculiarity of the communication situation and the use of stereotyped, ritualized discourse.

As stated above, the translator should be versed in legal language and have a good command of contractual English in order not to be trapped by these manifold difficulties.

### **5. Lexical difficulties**

Most difficulties in contractual English undoubtedly occur at the lexical level, and the ones that feature prominently on this list are the following: Latin and French elements, archaisms, compound adverbs and connecting elements, specific opaque collocations, and last but not least, meaning changes of general terms.

a) Latin elements: *de facto*, *bona fide*, *actus reus*, *prima facie*, *sine qua non*, etc.

The significant number of Latinisms found in Legal English in general and consequently in Sale-Purchase contracts owe their occurrence to several historical and practical reasons, among which the strong historical influence of Latin as a language of culture, knowledge and academic communication among scholars, theologians, and legal professionals during the mediaeval period and well into the Renaissance (it is beyond doubt that many legal concepts and terms were initially formulated in Latin), the Roman Law legacy which was widespread in most Western countries, preserving legal tradition, formality and clarity, and ensuring international uniformity. It has to be noted, however, that while Latinisms are still prevalent in legal English, there is also a trend towards using plain language in legal writing to improve accessibility and clarity. Efforts are made to minimize the use of Latin terms when simpler, more accessible language can convey legal concepts effectively. Nonetheless, Latin continues to be an integral part of legal vocabulary and serves a role in maintaining the historical and international connections within the legal profession. Note should be taken that since Romanian is very closely connected to Latin, these terms pose little to no difficulty to the Romanian translator, even if some of them are not used in legal discourse.

b) French elements: *duress* (constrângere, detențiune, violență, privare de libertate), *force majeure* (forță majoră), *cestui que trust* (beneficiar al unui fond fiduciar/ al unei tutele), etc;

Due to the longstanding geopolitical relations between France and England, the presence of French terms in legal English can be attributed to historical, cultural, and legal influences. The main factor which may be said to have contributed to the incorporation of French terminology into the English legal system is the impact of the Norman Conquest (1066), the event that made French become the language of the English aristocracy and legal system and caused French and "Frenchified" terms to become ingrained in English legal discourse. Similarly, the Anglo-Norman Law is of equal importance, as during the mediaeval period the legal professionals in England were heavily influenced by the legal system developed in Normandy, and consequently many legal terms and procedures were borrowed it is common knowledge that the renowned Chancery, a court of equity, used French terms extensively, so that even today equity, initially developed as a supplement to the common law and administered by the Lord Chancellor often uses terminology of French origins. Despite the historical origins of French terms in English law, modern legal writing often strives for clarity and accessibility. Still, many French terms have become integral to legal vocabulary and continue to be used in various legal contexts, adding a layer of historical and international influence to the language of the law. In addition, French has always been historically deemed

as a language of diplomacy and international relations, so it is no surprise that legal agreements and treaties were often drafted in French, contributing to the use of French terms in legal contexts. It is interesting to note the overwhelming power of tradition as illustrated in the resilience of many legal terms of French origin that became deeply embedded in English legal tradition. Even as the legal system evolved and English became the dominant language, the use of certain French terms persisted.

c) archaisms: *forthwith* (*right away*), *to inquire* (*to ask*), *witnesseth* (*witnesses*), etc.; Archaisms, or the use of old-fashioned or outdated language, can be present in contractual English for several reasons, among which we may cite: the high value placed on preserving legal tradition, especially in a system based on jurisprudence and precedent, the need for stability and consistency in the interpretation of contracts, where ambiguity and vagueness should be reduced to a minimum so that to ensure the proper understanding of contractual terms over time, the flavour of formality, authority and seriousness, a mark of safety, reliability and convenience most often deemed appropriate for conveying the significance and legal weight of the contractual terms. Besides, one cannot ignore the declared purpose of avoiding unintended legal changes, as over time, the meanings of words can evolve, and using archaisms may be a way of avoiding unintended legal changes that could arise if more modern language were used, thus firmly anchoring the contract in a stable linguistic foundation. Besides, just like in the previous cases, some archaic legal terms have Latin or French origins, and their use may contribute to international recognition and understanding. In an increasingly globalized legal environment, using terms with a long history of international use can aid in cross-border legal transactions. As expected, some legal professionals and jurisdictions actively seek to minimize the use of archaisms in contracts to enhance readability and accessibility, as striking a balance between tradition and modern clarity is an ongoing consideration in the evolution of legal language and drafting practices of Sale-Purchase contracts nowadays.

d) compound adverbs: *herein/therein* (in this document/clause), *hereunder, hereafter, hereinafter* (in subsequent parts of the document), *heretofore* (before now, previously), *whereby* (by means of which), *insofar* (to the extent that), *notwithstanding* (in spite of), *hereof/thereof* (pertaining to this document/ in another part of this document), *whereinsoever* (in whatever manner or to whatever extent), etc.

These archaic compound adverbs may be used in legal documents to maintain a formal or traditional tone, or they may be retained for historical reasons. More often than not, legal drafting is often considered a form of legal artistry. Skilled legal drafters use language strategically to achieve their goals, and the use of compound adverbs can be part of this artistry, as it allows legal

professionals to craft documents that are precise, formal, and aligned with legal traditions.

e) specific collocations, as apparent in the following table:

English	Romanian
the parties to the contract	părțile contractante
to be in effect	a intra în vigoare
hereinafter referred to as Seller	numit în continuare vânzător
to enter into a contract	a semna/ a încheia un contract
to be in the business of	a avea drept principal obiect de activitate
price, terms and conditions hereinafter set forth	prețul, condițiile și termenele stabilite în prezentul contract
the Seller binds to sell	vânzătorul se obligă să vândă
under duress	sub constrângere
to fall into arrears with payment	a întârzia la plată

In these situations, the translator has to strive for dynamic equivalence and use the collocations which are already "established" in Romanian as fulfilling a similar function in the contract. He/she should have experience in the legal field, and be familiar with the standard form of Romanian contracts, being thus able to adequately render the typified structures with a marked phatic function in the target language.

f) meaning changes of common words opaque to the general public, some of which may be seen in the table below:

English	Romanian
construction of a contract	interpretarea unui contract
consideration	preț plătit
covenants	prevederi contractuale
recitals	text introductiv
force	vigoare
effective	operativ

It is easy to see that these cases are by far the most difficult on the list, as the meaning escapes any immediate or formal "logic" from the point of view of literal interpretation, and they can cause confusion and misinterpretations, often menacing the contract validity if mistranslated. It is already common knowledge that literal translation is seldom valid in specialized discourse, all the more in contractual English, where the translator needs to be conversant with the specifics of the legal field, in the source language, as well as in the target language.

## 6. Syntactic difficulties

From the point of view of syntax, contractual English is ordinarily characterized by long, intricate sentences that are difficult to follow; when compared to their Romanian counterparts, it may seem surprising that such winding sentences are often compressed into Romanian, despite the fact that the latter is an analytical language which is more likely to become verbose in specialized discourse.

Syntactically speaking, the standardized introductory paragraphs of a contract is a case in point for the incongruity between English and Romanian, which have completely different manners of phrasing these preliminary pieces of information, as is apparent in the following table:

English	Romanian
This agreement of Purchase and Sale is made as of this day of ..., by and between the Seller and the Buyer.	Prezentul contract de vânzare-cumpărare este încheiat astăzi, ..., de și între Vânzător și Cumpărător.
Whereas/Witnesseth:	Unde:
In consideration of and in reliance upon the covenants herein contained, and for other good and valuable consideration, the receipt and sufficiency of which are hereby acknowledged, the parties agree as follows: ...	În baza prevederilor prezentului contract , părțile sunt de acord ca: ...

It is quite interesting to notice that against all expectations, the Romanian version is considerably shorter than the English one. The preamble of the contract in English is particularly verbose and suffused with pleonastic structures, archaic turns of phrase, compound adverbs and repetitive constructions, which are almost completely omitted in Romanian. Again, the explanation might be found in the different legal systems in the two cultures in question, since Romanian is not a common-law jurisdiction, and "traditional" expressions do not hold such great importance as in English.

## 7. Pragma-semantic difficulties

Pragmatic difficulties in contractual English most certainly arise from the complex and formal nature of legal communication. One can most definitely state that the distribution of words in contractual English is subject to the situation of communication which more often than not contains pragma-semantic constraints operating upon the mere selection of terms. Here is just a case in point: the accurate equivalent of the key term in a Sale-Purchase contract in Romanian *avans/plată în avans* is subject to contextual information

conditioning the English equivalent, which may be either *down payment*, if there are no warranties for the buyer or the borrower, or the more literal *advance payment*, a case that highlights the fact that a series of liabilities are imposed.

Moreover, legal English can vary across jurisdictions and legal systems. Understanding the cultural and jurisdictional context is essential for accurate interpretation, and numerous pragmatic challenges may arise when individuals are unfamiliar with the legal conventions of a specific region or legal system. Thus, one should not overlook the different formulation of clauses, the variation in financial rules and regulations, and the potential incongruity in liability distribution, which are obviously reflected in the surface structure.

An issue that should be taken into account when dealing with the pragmatic dimension of contracts is the ritualization of discourse, achieved by using certain formal conventions, impersonal style aiming at depersonalizing legal documents (for instance by using third-person references and avoiding personal pronouns altogether), neutrality, as well as the constant hinting at ceremonial significance and symbolic complexity.

## Conclusions

The present research is by no means exhaustive, and the corpus is limited to the specific common loci to be encountered in the standardized form of the Sale-Purchase Contract, out of which only the most salient were used for exemplification purposes. It is obvious that when drafting contracts both English and Romanian observe typical norms and formal constraints that can prove really challenging to the uninitiated. The fact that these do not overlap is another trap that translators have to avoid, so it is rather safe to conclude that they should possess thorough knowledge of both legal systems and their specificity, as well as cultural awareness, in order to perform a suitable translation. When tackling the various types of difficulties that may hinder the success of such an endeavour, at a lexical, syntactic, and pragma-semantic level, the main focus lies on the need for preserving similarity of effect and function, since contracts exhibit a highly formalized and ritualized type of discourse in any given language. In addition, emphasis should be laid on the need for thorough proofreading, and for close contact between the legal specialist and the translator to avoid errors of any kind.

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# ANIMALS WITHOUT BORDERS: IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS WHICH (DO NOT) TRAVEL

Carla Alexia DODI\*

**Abstract:** *This paper investigates some idiomatic expressions related to the animal world, discussing their possible correspondences in three languages: English, Italian and Romanian. Similarities can be based on common biblical, literary and/or mythological origins, as well as on similar forms of life (e.g. peasant life). There may be variations on the topic, or expressions which are very distant from each other, in such a way that a translator is required to make a considerable effort of creativity to restore the original image. Starting from a series of animal idioms in the three languages mentioned above, we try to detect in which cases idioms have maintained equivalent zoomorphic images (the same animal or a similar one in terms of taxonomy or behaviour) or have used other images related to the natural world, or even in which cases idioms have moved away from this world, thus showing a possible detachment from the peasant culture which generated some of these expressions. The paper ends with a brief exploration of the phraseological bestiary in some non-Indo-European languages. This is to verify whether the Indo-European languages under discussion and in particular two neo-Latin languages, namely Italian and Romanian, show greater affinities in animal idioms than those possible with other linguistic families.*

**Keywords:** animal idioms, English, Italian, Romanian, Chinese and Turkish languages

Animal idioms are widely used in many languages to describe a range of feelings, human characteristics, or behaviours: domestic animals which humans have used for protection, companionship or food, or wild animals which people have tried, for centuries, to domesticate. In Italian, we can say that a person is a dog, a goose, a lion, a cow, and all speakers of that language will understand which feature we want to underline.

The purpose of this paper is to make a contrastive analysis of a series of idiomatic expressions related to the animal world, discussing their possible correspondences in three languages: English, Italian and Romanian. The basic assumption is that the two Romance languages – Italian and Romanian – have greater points of contact for idioms than a Germanic language such as English. On this basis, it could be argued that the most distant linguistic families – historically and geographically – have a repertoire of idioms which is far from that of the three languages we are dealing with here. In this respect, we examine examples from Turkish (Altaic language family) and Chinese (Chengdu dialect, Sino-Tibetan language family).

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All idioms related to animals are, in one way or another, metaphorical locutions: but the metaphors we use daily have become natural and spontaneous, to the point that we often no longer perceive them as a linguistic-social phenomenon. From the linguistic and literary points of view, the metaphor is defined as “a rhetorical figure which consists in substituting one word or expression for another, on the basis of a relationship of clear or intuitive analogy between the respective literal meanings” (Zingarelli, 2010). A large part of our social reality is perceived in metaphorical terms and our perception of the real world is also partly metaphorical. So, the metaphor has a relevant role in determining what is real for us.

Already in ancient Greece, through Aesop's fables<sup>1</sup>, animal peculiarities were compared to the characteristics of mankind. In the language and literature of many European countries, there is a huge series of examples, proverbs and idioms which connect animals and humans. Domestic animals such as the dog, the horse, and the pig, and also wild animals, such as the lion and the wolf, have become the main bearers of metaphorical meaning for certain human behaviours.

Many examples can be analyzed, but in this article we focus on three animals closest to human beings: the dog, the pig and the donkey.

It may come as a surprise that Italian proverbs and idioms including the noun *dog* are mainly associated with negative aspects and features of people. *Trattare qualcuno come un cane* (to treat someone like a dog), *lavorare come un cane* (to work like a dog), *stare come il cane alla catena* (to stay like a dog in chains), *morire solo come un cane* (to die alone like a dog), *un tempo da cani* (a dog's weather), *una vita da cani* (a dog's life): all these expressions generally denote painful or very hard situations, sad conditions or limited freedom. Even the feminine noun “cagna” (female dog) is associated with negative metaphorical images: the word can be used as an invective to address a wicked, furious, immodest woman who follows bestial instincts or even a prostitute. In this sense, the English word *bitch* and the Romanian *cățea* appear to have the same negative connotations.

The human perception of dogs, in Italian, seems to have a double meaning, which is a contradictory one: the loyalty of the dog is, at the same time, a positive feature, and an attitude which deserves contempt as a trait of a servile, fearful, and miserable character. The expression *figlio di un cane* (son of a dog) denotes someone who is greedy, ruthless, despicable, or otherwise detested<sup>2</sup>. In present day Italy, however, this insult sounds obsolete, at least in an urban context and in standard language. It is possible that this expression is still alive (and offensive) in popular dialectal contexts, for example in the

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<sup>1</sup> Aesop is almost certainly a legendary figure. Various attempts were made in ancient times to establish him as an actual personage. Herodotus in the 5th century BCE said that he lived in the 6th century BCE and he was a slave. See: [www.britannica.com/biography/Aesop](http://www.britannica.com/biography/Aesop)

<sup>2</sup> <https://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario-modi-di-dire/C/cane.shtml#10>

Veneto countryside (*fiol d'un can*)<sup>3</sup>. The feminine *figlio di cagna* (in English *son of a bitch*, in Romanian *fiu de cățea*) is not used at all as an insult in standard Italian, contrary to what happens in the other two languages considered here<sup>4</sup>.

According to Iulian Mardar (2022, pp.103-108), dog-related idioms are much more numerous in English than in Romanian (between *dog* and *câine*: 17 more English idioms). He underlined that both English and Romanian have produced more negative idioms than positive ones; concerning dogs, there are no neutral idioms in Romanian. Even without an in-depth study on the subject, it is possible to add that, in the Italian language, dog-negative idioms prevail, as well, just as they do in certain languages, such as Turkish and Chinese which belong to other linguistic families.

The pig has been a symbol of dirt for centuries in Europe and the Mediterranean region; in reference to the (specifically male) human being, it symbolizes a lascivious, libidinous person of dubious honesty and poor moral and material cleanliness. In Italian, the invective *è un porco/è un maiale!* (he is a pig!) refers to a gluttonous or excessively fat person, even slow in movements and thinking; and then, a rough, dirty, vulgar, rude, obtuse, ignorant, even disloyal or dishonest person. *Fare il maiale* (to be a pig) means to behave indecently, to perform obscene acts. The feminine *maiala* or *porca* (sow) is often synonymous with a dissolute, lustful, sexually unbridled woman, or even a prostitute. In a still macho vision, a *porca* woman is appreciable because she is skilled in the *ars amandi*, or good in bed, only to be publicly despised for her behaviour in a traditional social context. Modern web culture is not much help, as when trying to put the two words (*donna/woman* and *porca*) in Google Search, the result will be almost exclusively linked to porn websites.

This pig flaw, and the connection to the sexual sphere, also concerns the English language in which the slang expression *to pork someone* means “to engage in sexual intercourse with (another). Used especially of a man”<sup>5</sup>. However, there is a difference between the words *pig* (coming from Anglo-Saxon) and *pork* (coming from French and Latin): the pig is the animal, pork is the meat. In Italian, the distinction between *maiale* and *porco* is not so relevant, as both can be used as an insult (also with sexual meaning), as well as the feminine *maiala*, *porca*, and the more vulgar *troia*, while the word *scrofa* is more neutral (the female of the pig)<sup>6</sup>. In Romanian, the words *porc/poarcă* and *scroafă* can equally be used as (sexual) slurs. Anyway, the Italian language seems to be the richest in insults related to the pig/pork, especially in feminine nouns.

<sup>3</sup> [www.torquemada.eu/2015/05/16/detti-specisti-fiol-dun-can](http://www.torquemada.eu/2015/05/16/detti-specisti-fiol-dun-can)

The expression corresponds to the Arabic *ibn al kalb* which sounds offensive even to this day, although it obviously depends on the pragmatic context.

<sup>4</sup> The corresponding invective, in Italian, would be *figlio di troia*, literally “son of a sow”, but *troia* is an epithet which is perceived as exclusively vulgar.

<sup>5</sup> <https://ahdictionary.com/word/search.html?q=porking>

<sup>6</sup> <https://unaparolaalgiorno.it/significato/maiale>

The expression *porc de câine* in Romanian is still used as an insult, this idiom being more offensive than the English equivalent *scoundrel*. The Italian *porco cane* is instead an exclamation of disappointment, not addressed to a particular person; according to Eugen Coșeriu, this is a euphemism of ancient Greek origin used to avoid uttering a blasphemy against God<sup>7</sup>. In today's standard Italian, it has no offensive meaning.

### **Dogs and pigs**

Dogs and pigs are mentioned in religious texts, thus the expression: *to cast pearls before swine* which is traceable in the Gospel of Matthew (7:6) when Jesus says to his disciples:

*Do not give what is holy to dogs, and do not throw your pearls before pigs, or they will trample them under their feet, and turn and tear you to pieces*<sup>8</sup>.

The holy things and the pearls represent the things of God, perhaps the gospel itself. The dogs and pigs represent hostile, unworthy people. And so, the statement possibly translates into: do not preach the things of God to hostile, unworthy people. More widely, it means that offering something helpful or valuable to someone who does not appreciate or understand it, is useless.

*Canì e porci* (dogs and pigs), as an idiom in Italian, means the most disparate people, especially the most despicable ones<sup>9</sup>. Therefore, dogs and pigs represent the lowest rank from a social point of view. This negative metaphorical use also seems to be shared by the other two languages; but only a deeper investigation will allow us to establish whether English and Romanian are more benevolent towards these animals.

### **Flying pigs and donkeys**

English and Romanian share the same expression which describes impossibility: *when pigs fly* (or *pigs might fly*) and *când o zbura porcul*. The implication of such a phrase is that the circumstances in question will never occur. The English idiom seems to have been used in various forms since 1616 as a sarcastic remark. According to *America's Popular Proverbs and Sayings* by Gregory Titelman, the expression "if a pig had wings, it could fly" traces back to *Proverbs of Scotland* (1862). But other sources<sup>10</sup> find much earlier references,

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<sup>7</sup> [www.parolacce.org/2015/04/03/origine-espressione-porco-cane](http://www.parolacce.org/2015/04/03/origine-espressione-porco-cane)

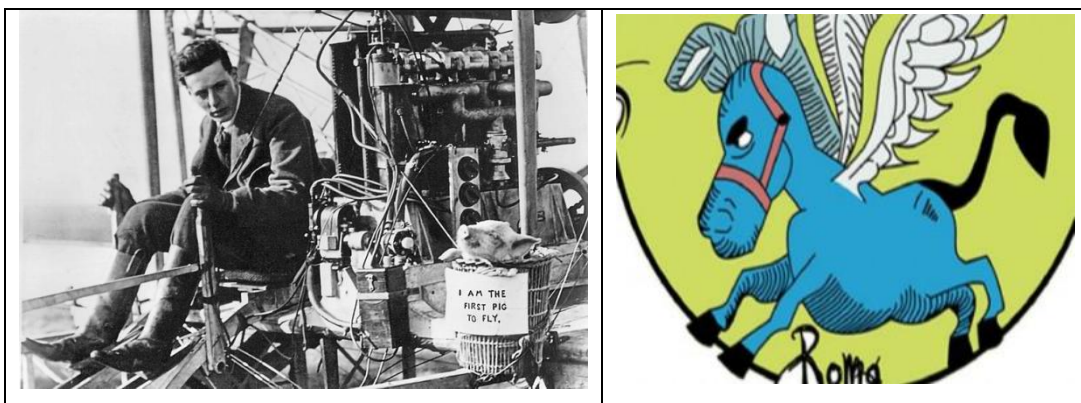
<sup>8</sup> [www.bibleref.com/Matthew/7/Matthew-7-6.html](http://www.bibleref.com/Matthew/7/Matthew-7-6.html)

<sup>9</sup> In English, a similar idiom is referred directly to human beings: *any Tom, Dick and Harry* ([www.wordreference.com/iten/cani%20e%20porci](http://www.wordreference.com/iten/cani%20e%20porci)). There is also a couple of hagionyms related to pig idioms with a clearly negative meaning. *St Anthony's pig* is the type of person who follows unthinkingly, a sponger. *Bartholomew pig* is a very fat person (obsolete): <https://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/Bartholomew+pig>. See also: Morărașu and Popescu, to be published.

<sup>10</sup> <https://phrases.org.uk/meanings/pigs-might-fly.html>

the earliest being John Withals' English-Latin dictionary, *A Shorte Dictionarie for Yonge Begynners* (1616): "Pigs fly in the ayre with their tayles forward", implying the impossibility not only of the flight of pigs, but also of backward flight. The expression later appears in English literature, notably in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865): Lewis Carroll's references to flying pigs imply that the expression was in popular use at the time<sup>11</sup>.

The Romanian phrase *când o zbura porcul*<sup>12</sup>, literally means "when the pig shall fly". Over time, the expression acquired other meanings, some of them even offensive to the person to whom it is addressed. According to professor Mioara Șupeală<sup>13</sup>, it is used more often in the south of Romania. Especially in the countryside, it was used to denote lazy people who did absolutely nothing. They were told: "You are going to do X or Y when the pig flies" (o să faci X sau Y atunci când o zbura porcul), meaning "I know you are lazy and you are not good at anything". Also in the countryside, children who did not really have the will to study books were told that "You are going to focus on school when the pig flies" (o să-ți stea capul la școală când o zbura porcul).



**Fig.1 – John Moore-Brabazon (English aviation pioneer and Conservative politician) took a small pig with him on board an aeroplane in 1909. Source:**

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:First\\_pig\\_to\\_fly,\\_1909.\\_01.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:First_pig_to_fly,_1909._01.jpg)

**Fig.2 – Logo of a live-club in Rome with traditional Calabrian cuisine.**

**Source:** <https://lasinochevolaroma.com>

The Italian language, on the other hand, makes donkeys fly and not pigs (*credere che un asino voli* = to believe in donkey's flight), thus meaning a form of

<sup>11</sup> [www.bookbrowse.com/expressions/detail/index.cfm/expression\\_number/511/pigs-might-fly](http://www.bookbrowse.com/expressions/detail/index.cfm/expression_number/511/pigs-might-fly)

<sup>12</sup> <https://dexonline.ro/definitie/c%C3%A2nd%20o%20zbura%20porcul/515741>

<sup>13</sup> <https://adevarul.ro/stiri-locale/brasov/cum-au-ajuns-doua-expresii-clasice-sa-fie-folosite-1613050.html>

extreme naivety<sup>14</sup>. It seems that the expression originated in a public show held in Empoli, Tuscany, for the Feast of Corpus Christi, starting from the fourteenth century: a donkey equipped with false wings was slid along a rope hanging from the bell tower, creating the illusion of flight, until crashing on the columns of the Ghibellino Building. From how the donkey “flew”, in that peasant society, predictions were made on the progress of the harvest in the fields<sup>15</sup>.

In any case, the flying pig and the flying donkey do not seem to elevate their status with wings (of fools’ fantasy). On the contrary, they were probably chosen in popular idioms because, more than all other animals, they are the ones which are most unlikely to fly.

It can also be assumed that the Italian flying donkey was born in opposition/relationship with a mythological creature, strongly present in different cultures: the winged steed. The genius and elegance of the winged steed can have different origins and attributes: the Greek Pegasus, born from the blood of the gorgon Medusa<sup>16</sup>; Buraq, the heavenly equine of the Islamic tradition, who carries Muhammad in his nocturnal ascent from Jerusalem to heaven (Qur’an, Surahs XVII:1, LIII:1-12 and LXXXI:19-25)<sup>17</sup>; the hippogriff, a winged horse with the head of a bird, a creature imagined by Ludovico Ariosto in the poem *Orlando furioso* (1516-1532)<sup>18</sup>. But the flying donkey of the Italian idiom (to believe in the donkey’s flight) is a modest creature: it claims to rise to the skies, like its more illustrious relatives and predecessors, but in fact only foolish people can believe these feats. The idiom origin, from a medieval peasant festival, has consecrated the Italian donkey to the collective memory as the protagonist of the impossible flights of imagination, replacing the other metaphor of the pig which has survived in English and Romanian (similar expressions also exist in German and Spanish)<sup>19</sup>.

It would be interesting to learn more about the extraordinary flights of these two animals across the borders of different countries.

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<sup>14</sup> In Romanian, there is the idiom [*a visa*] *cai verzi pe pereți* (to dream of green horses on the walls = to dream or to hope for impossible/unbelievable things). See: <https://dexonline.ro/definitie/cai%20verzi%20pe%20pereti>. However, it concerns horses and not donkeys: see further.

<sup>15</sup> [https://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario-modi-di-dire/C/credere.shtml?refresh\\_ce;www.volodelciuco.it/blog/storia-del-volo](https://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario-modi-di-dire/C/credere.shtml?refresh_ce;www.volodelciuco.it/blog/storia-del-volo). In 1861 the flight of a real donkey was prohibited by law due to its extreme cruelty. Only in 1981 were the festivities restored, replacing the animal with a puppet.

<sup>16</sup> Pegasus appeared on Greek pottery, the earliest being Corinthian wares from the 7th century BCE. [www.worldhistory.org/Pegasus](http://www.worldhistory.org/Pegasus); [www.britannica.com/topic/Pegasus-Greek-mythology](http://www.britannica.com/topic/Pegasus-Greek-mythology)

<sup>17</sup> Described by Ibn Ishaq (8th century CE) as “a white animal, half-mule, half-donkey, with wings on its sides”, Buraq is represented by some traditions with the head of woman and the peacock’s tail. [www.britannica.com/topic/Buraq](http://www.britannica.com/topic/Buraq); [www.epoch-magazine.com/ignatovaflashoflightning](http://www.epoch-magazine.com/ignatovaflashoflightning)

<sup>18</sup> [www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua\\_italiana/domande\\_e\\_risposte/lessico/lessico\\_611.html](http://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/domande_e_risposte/lessico/lessico_611.html)

<sup>19</sup> <https://historia.ro/sectiune/general/cand-a-zburat-porcule-2261412.html>





**Fig.3 – Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *Roger délivrant Angélique*, 1841** (Ruggiero rescuing Angelica, riding the hippogriff, from *Orlando furioso* by Ludovico Ariosto). Musée Ingres-Bourdelle, Montauban, France.

**Source:** <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki>

**Fig.4 – The flight of the donkey in Empoli (historical postcard).**

**Source:** [www.volodelciuco.it/blog/storia-del-volo](http://www.volodelciuco.it/blog/storia-del-volo)

### Animal weather

The English famous idiom, *to rain cats and dogs*, has an unknown origin: the phrase might have its roots in Norse<sup>20</sup> mythology, medieval superstitions, a misinterpretation of the obsolete word *catadupe* (waterfall), or dead animals in the streets of Britain being picked up by storm waters. “Cats and dogs” may come from the Greek expression *kata doksa*, which means “contrary to experience or belief”; if it is raining cats and dogs, it is raining unusually heavily. But there is no evidence to support the theory that the Greek expression was borrowed by English speakers (Liberman, 2007). Anyway, the first recorded use of a phrase similar to *raining cats and dogs* was in the 1651

<sup>20</sup> Norse is the Norwegian language and literature, especially in an ancient or medieval form, or the Scandinavian language group.

[www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/norse](http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/norse)



collection of poems *Olor Iscanus*. The British poet Henry Vaughan referred to a roof which was secure against “dogs and cats rained in shower”<sup>21</sup>.

We do not find equivalents in Italian. *Piovere a catinelle* means to rain as if someone threw water with a container (*catinella* is a “smaller and shallower container than a basin, made of terracotta, porcelain, or enamelled metal, aluminium, plastic materials, used for washing the hands and face or washing small clothes”)<sup>22</sup>. It is also said *piovere a dirotto*, that is a violent rain like a river which breaks through its banks. However, the Italian proverb *cielo a pecorelle*, *pioggia a catinelle* (literally: sky with sheep, rain in buckets) associates the appearance of the sky (an expanse of small clouds or cirrocumulus clouds between 6000 and 7000 ASL, fig.5) with small sheep grazing in the air. Clouds are indicators of the presence of cold and unstable air which heralds the arrival of a bad weather front<sup>23</sup>.



So, it does not rain dogs or cats from the Italian sky, or even the proverbial sheep, but only water.

The most common Romanian expression – *plouă cu găleată* – is very close to the Italian one, except for the nature of the container, *găleată*, ‘bucket’, which is used rather for the transport of liquids, or materials in grains or powders<sup>24</sup>. An overview of idioms concerning heavy rain in

various languages, involves various animals. There is a page at <https://en.wikipedia.org> (*Raining cats and dogs*) which offers a table with the equivalent expressions for heavy rain in other languages. The two sources<sup>25</sup> on which this table is based were consulted in 2009: it is possible that some expressions have fallen out of use today. Furthermore, these are not “scientific” studies but amateur linguists’ observations; each idiom should be tested on the ground on a case-by-case basis. For example, the Romanian expression *plouă cu broaște* appears in the table (equivalent to the Polish *rzuca żabami* = [the rain/it] is throwing frogs). From my investigations, this expression does not seem to be widely used or idiomatic in Romanian, but it comes from a possible meteorological phenomenon: flightless animals as fish, frogs and toads falling

<sup>21</sup> [www.loc.gov/everyday-mysteries/meteorology-climatology/item/what-is-the-origin-of-the-phrase-its-raining-cats-and-dogs](http://www.loc.gov/everyday-mysteries/meteorology-climatology/item/what-is-the-origin-of-the-phrase-its-raining-cats-and-dogs)

<sup>22</sup> [www.treccani.it/vocabolario/ricerca/catinelle](http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/ricerca/catinelle)

<sup>23</sup> [www.centrometeoitaliano.it/notizie-meteo/cielo-a-pecorelle-pioggia-a-catinelle](http://www.centrometeoitaliano.it/notizie-meteo/cielo-a-pecorelle-pioggia-a-catinelle)

<sup>24</sup> <https://dexonline.ro/definitie/g%C4%83leat%C4%83/definitii>

<sup>25</sup> [www.omniglot.com/language/idioms/rain.php](http://www.omniglot.com/language/idioms/rain.php);

<https://forum.wordreference.com/threads/its-raining-cats-and-dogs.283242>

from the sky have been reported in many countries throughout history, due to a waterspout's swirling updrafts. When the waterspout hits land and loses its energy, they are thrown back down<sup>26</sup>. According to the same sources, the expression also exists in Spanish: *llueven sapos y culebras* (raining toads and snakes). In other languages it rains "snakes and lizards" (*chovem cobras e lagartos*, Brazilian Portuguese), "jackals" (شغال باران *shoqal baran*, Persian) or animal excrement: "peeing cow" (*il pleut comme vache qui pisse*, French) and "dog's poo" (落狗屎 Cantonese); in Serbian "the rain falls and kills the mice" (Пада киша уби миша, *pada kiša, ubi miša*). In Haitian Creole, "dogs are drinking in their noses" (Chyen ap bwe nan nen).

The idioms closest to the English one, probably not by chance, belong to Flemish (*het regent kattenjongen* = it rains kittens) and German (*es regnet junge Hunde* = it rains young dogs), which share the same language family with English.



**Fig.6 – George Cruikshank, *Very unpleasant weather*, 1820.**

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

**Source:** [www.loc.gov/everyday-mysteries/meteorology-climatology/item/what-is-the-origin-of-the-phrase-its-raining-cats-and-dogs](http://www.loc.gov/everyday-mysteries/meteorology-climatology/item/what-is-the-origin-of-the-phrase-its-raining-cats-and-dogs)

### Hot pig, dog cold

When it is hot, most mammals lose excess body heat by sweating or panting. Dogs, for example, pant: they create vapour along the respiratory tract and

<sup>26</sup> [www.loc.gov/everyday-mysteries/meteorology-climatology/item/can-it-rain-frogs-fish-and-other-objects](http://www.loc.gov/everyday-mysteries/meteorology-climatology/item/can-it-rain-frogs-fish-and-other-objects)

thus cool the whole body<sup>27</sup>. Pigs have a limited number of functional sweat glands, so they sweat little or not at all. In hot periods they cool off in humid environments and, if they do not find anything better, even in the mud<sup>28</sup>. However, the English expression *to sweat like a pig* or sweat copiously, is shared by other languages, including Italian (*sudare come un porco*) and Romanian (*a transpira ca un porc*). The similitude is therefore improper, but so powerful that it is common to various languages.

This idiom seems to come from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, in English-speaking countries, with reference to the iron-smelting process:

Hot iron, poured on sand, cools and solidifies. The resulting pieces are said to resemble a sow and piglets. Hence, "pig iron". As the pigs cool, the surrounding air reaches its dew point, and beads of moisture form on the surface of the pigs. *Sweating like a pig* indicates that the pig [iron] has cooled enough to be safely handled (Schwarcz, 2014).

However, this origin is questioned because it is a technical expression used in limited circles which would hardly have given rise to a popular phrase, appeared only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In a letter from Naples, dated 15<sup>th</sup> April 1826, the English painter Thomas Uwins (1782-1857), describing an Italian monk, wrote that he was fat and laden with robes which made him "*sudare com'un porco*, that is *sweat like a pig*". The letter also recorded that it was "an expression very common in an Italian's mouth, even with ladies, but it does not sound very well in English"<sup>29</sup>. Apart from this instance, the early attestations of the English phrase have no relation with Italian or Italy; so, no evidence supports a real connexion or transfer of the expression from Italy to England or elsewhere. Probably, in different linguistic and cultural contexts, the pig simply coming to symbolise the unpleasant fact of sweating profusely in the same way as it often represents greed, dirt, or impurity.

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<sup>27</sup> [www.focusjunior.it/animali/anche-gli-animale-sudano](http://www.focusjunior.it/animali/anche-gli-animale-sudano)

<sup>28</sup> [www.georgofili.info/contenuti/maiale-porco-ma-non-sporco/15622](http://www.georgofili.info/contenuti/maiale-porco-ma-non-sporco/15622);  
[www.maberth.it/2022/06/14/stress-termico-nel-suino-ecco-le-principali-cause](http://www.maberth.it/2022/06/14/stress-termico-nel-suino-ecco-le-principali-cause)

<sup>29</sup> As quoted in: <https://wordhistories.net/2017/07/04/sweat-like-a-pig-origin>



**Fig.7 – It's a dog cold! I knew they blamed me!**

**Source:** <https://besti.it/6875/Fa-un-freddo-cane>

It is also difficult to trace the origin of the Italian expression *fa un freddo cane!* (it is freezing cold!; literally “it makes a cold dog”, which does not seem to make a lot of sense. It really means something more like “it’s a dog cold!”). The expression does not seem to have an animal equivalent in Romanian: *e frig ca naiba* meaning literally “it is cold as hell”; other expressions (e.g. *este frig de ingheață pietrele* = it is so cold that the stones can freeze) do not concern the animal world<sup>30</sup>.

The sources about the origin of the Italian expression provide little demonstrable hypotheses: the guard dog, in the rural contexts of past centuries, was left out in the cold and bad weather, and often deprived of food to increase its ferocity. So, bitter cold was a typical attribute of canine life. Some sources also cite the Arctic populations (without specifying which languages precisely are involved), for which a “dog cold” or “cold for two dogs” indicated the fact that the temperatures were so low as to make it necessary for dogs to enter the house, in order to warm up better, and perhaps to keep dogs from dying<sup>31</sup>. However, the journey that the expression would have made from the Arctic regions to Italy has yet to be accounted for. Here too, it is likely that the word “dog”, as elsewhere “pig”, is used simply as an intensifier for the “cold” noun, associating the dog with a generic condition of discomfort which this animal often experiences in its life.

In English, the terrible cold concerns monkeys, but not animals: “it is cold enough to freeze the balls off (or on) a brass monkey” is a colloquial expression used by some English speakers to describe extremely cold weather. Even the origin of this strange expression has not been established: it was

<sup>30</sup> Among the animal idioms, it is worth mentioning the French *il fait un froid de canard!* (it’s a duck cold!). The expression probably comes from duck hunting in winter, as people stayed on freezing waters for extended periods of time, waiting for ducks to get close enough to be shot. That bitter cold is known as *un froid de canard*. For further details: [www.lalanguefrancaise.com/expressions/froid-de-canard](http://www.lalanguefrancaise.com/expressions/froid-de-canard)

<sup>31</sup> [www.3bmeteo.com/giornale-meteo/curiosit---perch--si-dice--fa-un-freddo-cane---85406](http://www.3bmeteo.com/giornale-meteo/curiosit---perch--si-dice--fa-un-freddo-cane---85406)



stated<sup>32</sup> that the phrase originated from the use of a brass frame, called a “monkey”, in the 17th and 18th centuries, to hold cannonballs in a pyramid shape pile on warships. Supposedly, in very cold temperatures, the brass “monkey” would contract, causing the balls to roll out of the frames. However, nearly all historians and etymologists consider this story to be a myth<sup>33</sup>.

### **Preliminary conclusions**

Compared to the research hypothesis outlined at the beginning, the field of investigation has widened so much. The biblical, literary, or mythological origins of idioms should be carefully studied to provide a reliable picture of the relationships and idiomatic transfer between languages and cultures. The scope of this subject is therefore very broad, and it could more aptly be addressed in a book. Do Italian and Romanian have greater points of contact for (animal) idioms, as they share the same language family? In the current state of our research, it is not possible to answer yes with certainty.

Regarding the dog, Italian and Romanian seem to share a greater number of negative idioms than English, which also shows a notable number of “neutral” idioms. However, in the field of rants, we did not notice a marked similarity between Romanian and Italian to the detriment of English. Even in very similar invective-idioms used in Romanian and Italian (e.g. *porc de câine / porco cane!*), their use in linguistic pragmatics may be quite distant.

As far as the pig is concerned, there are (almost) exclusively negative idioms in Italian, and mostly related to the sexual sphere. Among the three languages, Italian seems to be the richest in insults using pig/sow as a negative metaphor, especially in feminine nouns. So, dogs and pigs represent, in Italian idioms, the lowest level of the social ladder. This negative metaphorical use also seems to be shared by the other two languages; a more thorough investigation would be necessary to establish an appropriate comparison.

Romanian and English, however, share an expression which makes the pigs fly as an example of an impossible event; Italian, instead, promotes the flight of donkeys, detaching itself from the other two languages.

The three languages seem to share the fact that one can sweat like a pig, although the expression has no real counterpart in the physiology of the animal involved. Instead, the dog as a symbol of a terrible cold appears to be a unique peculiarity of the Italian language, where the other two languages, do not have metaphors related to the animal world to describe this phenomenon.

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<sup>32</sup> <https://web.archive.org/web/20080617182535/http://www.royal-navy.mod.uk/server/show/nav.3806>

<sup>33</sup> <https://web.archive.org/web/20120108082216/http://oxforddictionaries.com/words/what-is-the-origin-of-the-term-brass-monkey>

As regards the idioms related to heavy rain, Italian and Romanian are more similar because they do not make animals rain from the sky, but only large quantities of water measured with large containers.

Some final notes concern the phraseological bestiary in two non-Indo-European languages, namely Turkish and Chinese. Do dogs and pigs, in these two languages, have a different metaphorical impact, due to their peculiar cultural features? We can tentatively answer this question through some examples.

In Chinese (Chengdu dialect, a branch of Southwestern Mandarin), the dog is a metaphor for people who take care of business which does not belong to them (*the dogs catch the rats*) or for someone who does not know good manners (e.g. *he saved the dog but the dog beat him up*); *we are like dogs* means having excessive and tiring work to do. *To be as a dog in the water* means to be in a very embarrassing situation, because a dog apparently cannot swim well. An ignoble life is *like a (rotten) dog's shit* (vulgar). In juvenile jargon, *to feel so hot as a dog!* indicates excessive heat. If someone is talking nonsense, it can be said that *it is a dog's barking* (or *a dog is farting*). Finally, it is normal to say *to be less than a dog, or a pig*, or less than both, when cursing someone. There is also an insult (*dog whelp*) which does not specify the male or female gender of the parental animal.

In the feminine, equivalents of sow or bitch can be used for cursing in a marital relationship; instead, in reference to prostitution, other animals are used in Chinese slang (chicken or thin horse for women, duck for men).

Concerning the pig, in addition to its negative association with the dog, *someone like a pig* is not too smart or a very lazy person; there is also the idiom which is equivalent to the English *when the sow will climb up a tree*, to express something impossible.

As can be seen, the metaphorical references to the two animals, in the (Chengdu) Chinese, generally appear negative; dog and pig can be used as insults to deny dignity to a human being<sup>34</sup>. Thus, the hypothesis of a cultural distance between Europe and China which reverberates in idiomatic expressions does not seem defensible, at least, as far as our two animals are concerned.

In Turkish, many negative idioms concern the dog, whereas this language does not (ever) specify the feminine or masculine gender. *You are a dog!* is used to insult someone, man or woman. It is also said *you smell like a dog*. There is a proverb which enlightens the negative perception reserved to dogs: *when the prayers of dogs will be accepted by God, bones will rain from the sky*.

Unbridled sexual activity is associated not with the pig but with the rabbit. The pig seems to be less present in idioms, in general, but its presence is

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<sup>34</sup> Our source (2023) is a young scholar of Chinese linguistics who had never left China (Chengdu) before 2022.

not usually positive. *To eat like a pig* also exists in Turkish. *Strong and healthy like a pig* has a connotation which reveals negative criticism. There are no idioms with the pig or the donkey showing something impossible: the expression *to catch a bird with his/her mouth* can be used in this case<sup>35</sup>.

These few notes should be developed further in a specific study. Surprisingly, regarding our animal idioms, it seems that there are more points of contact between the languages considered in this paper and Chinese, than the Turkish language. However, the available elements, up to now, do not allow us to draw definitive conclusions which should be arrived at through a comparative analysis of a larger number of examples.

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<a href="https://ahdictionary.com">https://ahdictionary.com</a>	<a href="http://www.epoch-magazine.com">www.epoch-magazine.com</a>
<a href="https://dexonline.ro">https://dexonline.ro</a>	<a href="http://www.lalanguefrancaise.com">www.lalanguefrancaise.com</a>
<a href="https://dizionari.corriere.it">https://dizionari.corriere.it</a>	<a href="http://www.omniglot.com/language/idioms">www.omniglot.com/language/idioms</a>
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<a href="https://phrases.org.uk">https://phrases.org.uk</a>	<a href="http://www.torquemada.eu/2015/05/16/detti-specisti">www.torquemada.eu/2015/05/16/detti-specisti</a>
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<a href="https://wordhistories.net">https://wordhistories.net</a>	<a href="http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/">www.treccani.it/vocabolario/</a>
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# TRANSLATION AND TRADITION

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**Abstract:** *Folk traditions have a great relevance for the understanding of culture. This is the reason why historical linguists of the XIX and XX century have collected any sort of popular tradition, such as tales (Brothers Grimm) or folk songs (Nigra, Nerucci, Puymaigre, Nerval, etc.). Some of these songs are spread over large areas and are adapted to the different audiences they are addressed to. Analysing and comparing a high number of version of a folk (children) song, "The three drummers", this article proposes a historical interpretation of the content, and, in addition, proposes the hypothesis that the features of mythopoeia hold also for folk traditions, even children songs. It will be shown that the building of the different versions of such a song meets all the requirements of the re-assembling of a myth.*

**Keywords:** popular traditions, folk songs, children songs, mythopoeia, narrative assembling.

## Introduction

Folk traditions have a great relevance for the understanding of culture. Traditional narratives or poetry can teach us much about the values of a specific society, and folk songs for adults or children can offer an explanation of the current features of a culture. Romanticism assigned a great importance to the collection of folk tales, legends and songs, because they build the basis of cultural identity of a nation.

Even more significant is the case of those traditions, which extend over more than one linguistic area. In fact, some folk traditions spread through different cultural areas and may take different, although very similar, aspects in the different linguistic areas where they are received. This has been the main motivation for the studies of Indo-European myths from ancient Greece or Rome to India, searching for the evidence of a common cultural (Indo-Mediterranean) substratum.

In this article, the analysis of the diffusion of a folk song, probably a children song, about three drummers, and the comparison between the different versions will offer the opportunity to discuss the different narrative and linguistic rendering of the story, to try to understand the adaptations of a single "myth" to different cultures, as well as to make hypotheses about the mechanisms of construction of the story itself, and of the development of popular traditions and poetry.

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### **1. Culture, traditions, and language**

Linguistics, especially historical linguistics, is characterised, besides the plain etymological research, by the interest into the culture, which expresses a language, and into the influence of such cultural features onto the structure of the language itself. The tracing of some traditions may help reconstructing cultural relationships, which complete the etymological links identified by applying simple phonetic rules. In Indo-European studies there are some seminal researches, which try to link pure linguistic (etymological) facts to broader cultural phenomena. To make just two examples, Émile Benveniste (1966) studied the Indo-European institutions and the related vocabulary, thus offering a systematic view on the common lexicon of economy, family, society, and institutions. Georges Dumézil has discussed, in an impressive number of works, the relation between language and religion and mythology. Finally, many studies about the Indo-Mediterranean linguistic substratum rely on the comparison of myths (Fanciullo 2007: 190 ff.)

### **2. Collections of folk songs**

Following this trend, many linguists, especially between the XIX and the XX century decided to focus on folk traditions, by collecting tales or music and songs. Also the Romantic assumption that the folk culture is the only identity of a people played a role in this endeavour. Important collections have been carried by Grimm brothers, who published *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812-1822), and *Deutsche Sagen* (1816-1818). For what concerns Italian, Costantino Nigra, an Italian diplomatic and anthropologist, collected a number of Piedmontese folk songs published in 1888. The collection of such kind of material has become a regular practice in many countries, and lists of collections of tales are available online (e.g. <https://www.worldoftales.com/#gsc.tab=0>), while the lists of folk songs are countless.

### **3. Migration of songs: a case study**

Costantino Nigra has expressed the hypothesis that Italian folk songs have a different structure, according to the geographical area where they belong to. According to his theory, drawing a line from La Spezia to Rimini it is possible to divide Italy into two areas, a Celtic one, north of the line, and an Italic one, south of the line. In the Celtic area the songs have a lyric and epic shape, while in the Italic area they have the shape of the “stornello”, a sort of poetic contest, “rispetto”, a love song, or the “Sicilian canzuni”, a form of lyrical dialogue.

Nigra's theory proved almost immediately false in different ways, especially because of some folk songs, which migrated from one country to the other, often affected by changes in order to adapt the content to the receiving cultural community. One example for all is the epic song *Donna Lombarda*, telling the story of a conspiracy of a lady (donna Lombarda) and her lover to kill her husband. It is known in large areas of northern Italy, but there exist

also some versions in central Italy, till Rome, thus proving that epic and lyric poetry was allowed also south of the La Spezia-Rimini borderline.

In this article, another song will be taken into account, whose distribution is much larger than the above quoted *Donna Lombarda*, the irreverent story of a drummer, who, after having got the permission from the king to marry the princess, refuses the wedding with impolite words. This song is present in different collections and has different versions, Catalan, French, and different Italian dialects. There is also an English version, which seems to be more recent, and heavily adapted to a modern (protestant?) moral (it ends with the marriage).

The nature of the sources is problematic. In fact, the knowledge of this song relies on three types of sources, the ancient collections, personal memories, and availability on the Internet.

The ancient collections are the following:

- French and Catalan version are reported by the Comte de Puymaigre (1881, 218 ff.)
- Other French versions are reported by Gérard de Nerval in 1855 (p. 75), and other authors
- Irène Thérèse Whitfield published in 1939 a French Louisiana version
- Another Catalan Version is published by Milà y Fontanals in 1882 (p. 175, n. 214)
- Piedmontese and Ligurian versions have been collected by Costantino Nigra (1888, p. 382 ff.)
- Venetian versions have been published by Giuseppe Bernoni in 1872 (p. 172) and Widter & Wolf in 1861 (quoted by Nigra)
- A Romantsch version is mentioned by Caspar Descurtins in 1908.
- A Tuscan version appears in Nerucci (1865, p. 267-269) under the title "March of the Tuscan soldiers")

A Tuscan version belongs to my personal memories and is present on the internet in different versions, some of which apparently are modern manipulations of the original text. Also, some Piedmontese versions have been collected by the author of this article directly from some informant from the alpine area.

Finally, an English version is present only on the Internet, and is evidence of the great popularity of the song, but is also a modern manipulation.

The introductions of many of the quoted collections mention more versions of which the authors have heard, but which they did not collect.

Although a complete study of this subject should take advantage also of the musical structure of the song, this aspect cannot be treated in this article. However, the musical score of some of them can be found in the Internet site <http://labachecadellepartiture.blogspot.com/2007/04/il-tamburino.html>.

Costantino Nigra, as well as the majority of the collectors, suggests that the original version is a French one, given the number of French versions available (all mentioned by Nigra 1888, p. 385). In addition, the fact that in 1939 a Louisiana French version has been collected suggests that this song has been introduced in America by the French settlers in that area. The first settler, René Robert Cavelier de la Salle, installed the French sovereignty in 1682. The French domain ended in 1763; in that date, the French territories were taken by the Englishmen, except Louisiana, which fell under Spanish domain. It is to be expected that the French domain being expired, the (cultural) exchange with the fatherland finished or became weaker. If the data collected by Whitfield is reliable, the history of the area suggests a period (1714, foundation of Natchitoches – 1763) in which the song migrated to America. This hypothesis could be confirmed by the history of the other French song “Plaisir d’amour”, which was exported to America in the same period. At the end of the song (see below) the drummer claims to be the son of the king of England, and this is sufficient to convince the king to allow him to marry his daughter. In addition, in one of the Italian versions, the drummers come from Holland. These two elements suggest to date the origin of this folk song around the Franco-Dutch war, in which England was often allied or supporter of France. The war ended with the peace of Nijmegen in 1678.

Thus it is possible to date the first versions between the end of the XVII and the beginning of the XVIII century. The diffusion of the song over a large area is evidence of it being accepted as a piece of popular poetry. A short comparison between the different versions will show that it has not simply migrated and has not been translated, but it is a sort of myth, which is built in every cultural environment using the narrative components of the original as well as some linguistic material.

#### 4. Comparison

As mentioned above, the folk song taken into account is spread on a large area and is sung in different languages and dialects. Tracing its travel would require a complex philological work, similar to the study for the quest of the archetype of a manuscript, and is a task lying outside of the reach of this article. However, it is possible to track the different ways of adaptation of the narrative flow, and, where possible, to mark the linguistic variations.

One of the French versions collected by Puymaigre can give an idea of the event told by the song.

	French version	English translation
1	Joli tambour revenant de la guerre,	(the) nice drummer coming back from war
2	Dedans sa main tient z'une belle rose.	in his hand he holds a nice rose

3	La fille du roi assise à sa fenêtre	the daughter of the king sitting at her window
4	tambour, donnez-moi votre rose?	Nice drummer, give me your rose
5	Oui, vous l'aurez en signe de mariage.	yes, you will have it as a sign of wedding
6	Joli tambour, demandez à mon père.	nice drummer, ask my father
7	Sire le roi, donnez-moi votre fille.	Sir king, give me your daughter
8	Joli tambour, tu n'es pas assez riche.	nice drummer, you are not rich enough
9	Retire-toi ou je te ferai pendre.	go away or I will have you hung
10	J'ai trois vaisseaux sur la mer coulante.	I have three ships on the liquid sea
11	L'un chargé d'or, l'autre d'argenterie,	One loaded with gold, the other with silver
12	L'autre portera les amours de ma mie.	the other will bring the loves of my beloved
13	Joli tambour, dis-moi qui est ton père?	Nice drummer, tell me who is your father
14	Sire le roi, c'est le roi d'Angleterre.	Sir the king, he is the king of England
15	Joli tambour, tu auras donc ma Elle.	Nice drummer, then you will have my daughter
16	Sire le roi, je vous en remercie,	Sir the king, I thank you for that
17	Dans mon pays l'y en a de plus jolies.	In my country there are many nicer (girls)

In general, each verse is sung in two parts (*Joli tambour / revenant de la guerre*) repeated twice, followed by a refrain imitating the drum roll (*ran ran ran pataplan*) and closing with a repletion of the last half (*revenant de la guerre*).

This version contains almost all the narrative units, which form the story, though differently ordered in the different versions.

These are as follows:

1. A drummer returns from war (in some variants they are three, or are dragons, or soldiers – see below)
2. One of them has a rose (or a bunch of roses)
3. The daughter of the king is at her window
4. She sees the rose and asks for it
5. The drummer agrees provided that the girl marries him
6. The girl also agrees provided that the drummer asks for her from the father (and mother in the Catalan version)

- 7-15. A negotiation takes place, which ends up with the permission by the king. In this unit there is the maximum concentration of variation.
- 16-17. The drummer refuses the marriage rather rudely; only in the English version the drummer marries the girl.

A precise comparison unit by unit would require an entire volume, given the quantity of versions available, so it is preferable to carry a comparison about three points, the beginning, the request of the drummer, and the negotiation, which in fact offers the highest number of variants.

#### 4.1. *The beginning*

The majority of the versions agree in referring to three (young) drummers who were returning from the war. *Trois jeunes tambours revenaient de la guerre* (three young drummers came back from war), is one version collected by Puymaigre, corresponding to Catalan *S'en eren tres tamdors, venien de la guerra*, and the Piedmontese *Son tre tambur ch'a venho da la guera*. Other versions mention only one drummer: *joli tambour revenant de la guerre* (French, Puymaigre mentioning the informant Auricoste de Lazarque), *gentil tambur l'avia 'n buchet di roze* (Ligurian version collected by Nigra).

Also, a version from Champagne sounds *trois petits dragons revenant de la guerre*, mentioning still another military corps. Puymaigre, mentioning his informant Auricoste, considers that "quelque cavalier jaloux aura voulu faire pièce à l'infanterie en se substituant au joli tambour" (some jealous knight may have wished to make fun of the infantry, by substituting himself to the nice drummer). According to Puymaigre there is also a version, which says *trois cents soldat revenaient de la guerre* (three hundred soldiers...). Also the Tuscan versions offer the same difference between three or one drummer. Finally, a recent version of northern Italy changes the drummers in *alpini* (mountaineers corps). The explanation given by Puymaigre, who considers the modification of the character a way of giving dignity to a military corps, may be wrong; it is, instead, possible that the singers have adapted the text to the more prototypical military in their mind, drummers, dragoons, or soldiers. It is obvious that the variant "three hundred soldiers" has been created for pure metric reasons. Also the other adjective qualifying the drummer(s)/soldiers (*joli, jeunes, cents*) have been added to regularize the number of syllables.

#### 4.2. *The request of the princes and the condition of the drummer*

One of the drummers has a rose or a bundle of roses. In a Tuscan version, a more complex articulation is proposed, in which the first drummer plays the drum, the second reads the message, and the youngest has the rose. This is probably a sort of rationalization of the narrative, which assigns a role to each of the three

drummers. The other variants (the youngest, the nicest; a bunch of roses, a rose in his mouth etc.) are probably due to the need to regularize the metre.

All the versions agree that the princess gets out of her window and asks for the rose.

The drummer is willing to fulfil the desire of the princess, but under the condition that he can have her love. The request is formulated in many different ways. According to the Catalan version, she has to become the wife of the drummer (*sera l'esposa meua* "will be my wife"); the Tuscan versions agree with the Catalan one. In the French versions the drummer asks for the heart of the princess (*donnez-moi votre Coeur* "give me your heart") or requires that she becomes his lover (*Fille du roi, veux-tu z'être ma maîtresse ?* "daughter of the king, will you be my lover?"). In the Piedmontese version the drummer also requires that the princess marry him, with a specific dialectal form (*se m' dèi vostra persona* "if you give me your person" – this interpretation has been provided by an informant with high competence of Piedmontese language).

They all are probably equivalent, because the answer of the princess is the same everywhere. In fact, in almost all the versions the princess consents, provided that the drummer asks her father. Only in the Catalan version the drummer is requested to ask both the father and the mother (*M'haureu de demanar al pare i a la mare* ("you have to ask my father and my mother").

#### 4.3. The negotiation

The most complex narrative unit is the negotiation between the drummer and the king. Also in the Catalan version, in which the drummer asks the king and the queen, the negotiation continues with the king only. The main concern is the adequacy of the financial resources of the drummer to the subsistence of the princess. This is expressed in at least five different ways, which are combined in different ways according to the version taken into account. The arguments can be split into different units:

- A- The king assumes that the drummer is poor and threatens to hang him.
- B- The king explicitly says to the drummer that he is poor
- C- The king asks the drummer what is his wealth; the drummer answers that he owns the drum and the sticks
- D- The king asks what will his daughter eat and drink, and the drummer answers she will eat bread of fine flour and wine Malvasia
- E- The king asks who is the father of the drummer, and he answers his father is the king of England
- F- The king asks which is the nationality and the flag of the drummer and he answers that his nations are France and England and his flag is three coloured
- G- The drummer says he owns three vessels, one loaded with gold, the other with silver and the third has different loads according to the version

- H- The king's threat is to hang, arrest, shoot of beat the drummer
- I- The drummer says he has men and arms coming to defend him
- J- Finally the king acquiesces

All these units are combined in different orders according to the version.

Almost all the versions converge in a final question by the king, who asks the drummer "who is your father". The drummer answers that his father is the king of England. In a French version the drummer adds that his mother is the queen of Hungary, while in a Venetian version she is queen of Spain.

Unit F appears also in a Piedmontese version (Dronero, at the border with the Occitan area) in the form *dimmi o tamburin quali son le tue potenze / le mie potenze son la Francia e l'Inghilterra* (tell me drummer which are your powers / my powers are France and England).

The narrative units have been marked by a letter in order to highlight the sequence in the different versions. They are ordered as follows:

Place	narrative schema	text	Source
France	B - G	B - <i>joli tambour tu n'es pas assez riche</i> G - <i>Je suis plus riche que vous./ J'ai trois vaisseaux sur la mer jolie / Un charge d'or, et l'autre d'argent fine, / Et un de diamants pour ma maîtresse</i>	Puymaigre
Catalan	A - H - I	A - <i>Ix-me d'aquí, tambó /</i> H - <i>Avans no 't fasi perdre" /</i> I - <i>"No 'm fareu perdre [pendre] vós, /[Ni cap d'aquesta terra] ni vos 'm fareu pendre / [Car'llà dins mon] Allí n-el meu país / Hi tinc gent que em defensa</i>	Milà i Fontanals
Piedmont	C - H - I -	C - <i>di-me tambur quai sun le tue richësse / cust tambur e custe due bachete /</i> H - <i>Va-t-ne tambur, se no t' faruma pende//</i> I - <i>A j'è d'soldà ch'a m' savran bin difende</i>	Nigra
Tuscan	A - H - I - C - F	A - <i>Vanne, diss'egli, o tamburo, /</i> H - <i>o ti faccio fucila' /</i> I - <i>I' lo tiengo un bon cannone, / servirà per mi' difesa //</i> C - <i>Dimmi, dissegli, o tamburo, / Quali son le tue ricchezze? / E le mie ricchezze sono / Son la cassa e le bacchette //</i> F - <i>Dimmi, diss'egli, o tamburo, / Quali son le tu' nazioni ? / E le mie nazioni sono / Son la Francia e l'Inghilterra / Dimmi, dissegli, o tamburo, / Quali son le tu' bandiere? / E le mie bandiere sono / E vessilli tricolor</i>	Nerucci



Ligurian	D - C - H - I	D - <i>Di-me, tambur, coza mangrà mia fia?</i> - <i>Mangrà dël pan, dël pan di fiur d'farima</i> - <i>Di-me tambur, coza bevrà mia fia?</i> - <i>Bevrà dël vin, dël vin di malvazia</i> C - <i>Di-me tambur, duv'sun le tue richesse?</i> - <i>Sun cust tambur e custe due bachëtte</i> H - <i>Ti dio, tambur, ti voglio fa-te pende</i> I - <i>Cun sent canun farù le mie difeze</i>	Nigra
Venice	C	[ <i>Ma dime o buon tambur / dime chi xè tuo padre? / Ma lo mio padre 'l xè / 'L xè 'l Re de l'Inghilterra // Ma dime o buon tambur / Dime chi xè tua madre? / Ma la mia madre xé / Regina xé de Spagna</i> ] <i>Ma dime o buon tambur / Dime: le tue ricchezze ? / Le mie ricchezze xé / la cassa e le bachete</i>	Bernoni

Even if a translation is not given for all the versions in this comparison, it is evident that the different narrative segments occur in different orders according to the area the songs have been collected, but also in the same area.

This is evidence in favour of a popular construction of the narrative. Probably all the ways of negotiation belong to tradition, but all the areas, and probably all the singers decided for an idiosyncratic order; some sequences are even not logical, like the one from Louisiana or from Venice. In the former, the drummer boasts to have three vessels after having had already the authorization to marry the princess. Also in the Venetian version, it is useless to ask which is the wealth of the drummer, once he has already declared who are his parents.

There are also some other points of interest. In those versions where the drummer is asked about his father, the answer is always “the king of England”. It is unclear whether this is a vague memory of some historic fact or it is simply a way of mentioning an important ancestry, and *Inghilterra*, or *Angleterre* or *Inglaterra* satisfy the metric requirements. Some hints could play in favour of the former interpretation, as the Tuscan version by Nerucci mentions as powers, France and England, which were allied during the Franco-Dutch war; in the French version, mentioning England is equivalent to mention an ally or at least a non-enemy nation.

Another interesting point is the punishment, by which the king threatens the drummer, hanging, shooting, arresting or beating with canes. Hanging and arresting are phonetically close, as the majority of texts mix Fr. *pendre*, Cat. *pendre*, Pied./Lig. *pende* (“hang”) with the similar *prendre* (“arrest”); in some cases the word is *perdre* (“drive away”?). Tuscan versions proposes *fucila* (“shoot”; Neretti) or *bastonare* (“beat with a cane”, personal memory).

#### 4.4. *The end*

The king, moved by the power of the drummer's father consents immediately to give his daughter to the drummer, but surprisingly the drummer refuses, adding that in his country (in some variants "in other countries") he can find nicer girls. This answer is certainly disrespectful to the king, and it is unclear which message it conveys, whether it highlights the arrogance of somebody who turns out to be more powerful than the father of the princess, or portrays the sarcastic revenge of a poor boy facing the arrogance of the king. The objective of the singers might have been either to provoke laughter in the audience or to teach that to trust on appearance is not proper, considering, in any case, that the audience is probably formed by ordinary or poor people.

### Conclusions

The comparison between these many versions highlights different aspects of this phenomenon of diffusion of a tradition, from the plain linguistic as well as from the narrative point of view.

The verses are more of a re-elaboration of a narrative than a translation of an original text. It appears that there must be a sort of skeletal linguistic construction, which is adapted to different cultural and literary background. The beginning of the song mentions one or three drummers; this last schema occurs in many different folk songs, which start mentioning three, in Catalan (*tres hijas tenia el rey* (Milà y Fontanals p. 39); *si n'eren tres matelots* (Milà y Fontanals p. 41), *si n'hi ha tres donzelletas* (Milà y Fontanals, p. 198) etc.), in Venetian (*a sant'Alvise gh'è tre bele pute* (Bernoni, p.155), in Tuscan (*a la mia finestrin' ce l'ho tre vasi*, Nerucci p. 171). There is no sufficient evidence to state that the original version was about one drummer but they became three under the pressure of folk poetry conventions. In fact the French version mentioned by Nerval mentions *un joli tambour*, while the version collected by Puymaigre mentions already three. However the pressure of the "magic" number three has certainly affected the structure of the beginning.

The variation of the threat by the king has already been discussed (above § 4.3).

But the most interesting aspect is the construction of the negotiation between the drummer and the king. In all the versions, the king does not trust upon the capability of the drummer to guarantee a sufficiently wealthy future to his daughter. The arguments of the drummer rest on three points, the drummer has three vessels loaded with rich merchandise, his wealth consists just in his drum and the sticks, there are people (soldiers) who will defend him from the threats of the king. At the end it appears that he has a powerful father, the king of England. The three points do not appear in a consistent order in all the versions, but are combined in different orders, even an illogical one as in the Louisiana and Venice version. In addition there are some minor variants, like the Ligurian one, where the question is about what will the

princess eat and drink. The most convenient explanation is that also in this case the general idea is that the drummer is able to give pointed answers to the king, because he is the offspring of a powerful family, but the details are left to the popular invention. This has crystallized around three main points, which are ranged in different ways according to local cultural tastes.

The conclusion we can draw is that when a folk tale or a folk song migrates through different countries, even of the same language, is not simply adapted or translated, but it is “reassembled” putting together some basic ingredients in such a way as to meet the narrative habits or tastes of the local communities. Identifying the various features, which are to be taken into account in the analysis of such a reconstruction, is a complex task the lies beyond the objectives of this article, but at least two elements appear clearly, metrics and rationalization. Metrics is responsible of the use of words filling gaps in the verse, such as the adjectives *joli*, used as epithet of the word *tambour*; such filling is not necessary in the version with three drummers, as French *trois jeunes tambours* is 4 syllables as the Italian *tre tamburin*.

Rationalisation is responsible of some re-orderings or even some modifications. In particular, the Ligurian version, in which the king asks the drummer what will his daughter eat and drink, as well as the Tuscan version, in which the drummers have different roles, beat the drum, read the message, an bring a rose, have been probably integrated in order to give a sort of rationality to the order of the events.

An interesting precedent of such reassembling and reconstructing is the building of the classical myths. Scholars who study ancient Greek mythology know that the most important of them have many variants; suffice to think of the myth of the Argonauts (OCD 1963 s.v.). In this case the linguistic area remains the same, but the myth migrates from east to west and meets different Greek communities, and it has probably been adapted at any step of the migration. The process of building of a myth with its variants is described in the enjoyable pages by Rose (1935), where the interplay between the original story and the modifications required by the attitudes of the audience is illustrated.

Obviously, it is not proper to compare a folk song, and probably a children song, with a classical myth, but it seems that almost all the folk creations (myths, saga, folk tales, *märchen* etc. Rose 1935) undergo the same process. However, to apply the methods of research in mythology to folk songs seems a promising domain.

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# BODILY-GROUNDED KNOWLEDGE AND CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE IN CONTRASTIVE IDIOM ANALYSIS. A CASE STUDY.

Mariana NEAGU\*

**Abstract:** *Starting from the general idea that understanding metaphors and idioms can provide insights into cultures and contribute to improved cross-cultural communication, the present paper investigates SWEET idioms in English and Romanian. It identifies which of the possible combinations of metaphorical concepts and metaphorical expressions can be found in the two languages. The patterns that are usually discussed in the literature on metaphor translation from the perspective of cognitive linguistics (Kövecses, 2005; Al-Hasnawi, 2007) are the following: (1) metaphors with similar mapping conditions and similar lexicalization: e.g. R. a fi numai zahăr și miere (lit. be all sugar and honey), E. be all sweetness. (2) metaphors with similar mapping conditions but different lexicalization: R. a face ochi dulci cuiva (lit. make sweet eyes to someone), E. make sheep eyes to someone. (3) metaphors with different mapping conditions and different lexicalization: R. a fi un om de zahăr (lit. be a sugar man) E. be very kind. Taking a bottom-up approach we have looked at 40 SWEET idioms in English and Romanian and observed that, in both languages, instantiations of the basic metaphorical concept SWEETNESS IS GOOD are higher in number than SWEETNESS IS BAD. The analysis will bring evidence for the idea that two languages can have the same metaphor but select different source domain/frame elements to express different aspects of the target domain pattern.*

**Keywords:** bodily-grounded knowledge, cultural knowledge, idiom, source domain, target domain, lexical implementation.

## Introduction

As understanding translation problems regarding idiomaticity is the underlying motivation of this research, differences rather than similarities between SWEET idioms in English and Romanian will be discussed and also the origin of some lexical implementations and the presence and/or absence of emotive, attitudinal meaning.

This study aims to identify which of the possible combinations of metaphorical concepts and metaphorical expressions can be found in English and Romanian. The research questions addressed in this study are the following:

1. Do the two languages have the same metaphor and the same source domain elements to express aspects of the target domain?
2. What are the possible explanations for the variation at the level of linguistic expression?

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The data used consists of 40 SWEET idioms in English and Romanian taken from prestigious dictionaries: The Oxford English Dictionary, The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary and Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. For the Romanian language, we used Dicționarul limbii române (Romanian Language Dictionary), Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române (Explanatory Dictionary of Romanian Language) and Dicționarul religios (Dictionary of Religion).

### **1. Previous work on idioms, PERCEPTION metaphors and TASTE metaphors Definition, characteristics and forms of idioms**

The significant distinction between the traditional view of idioms and the cognitive linguistic perspective is that the latter considers them products of our conceptual system, and not simply a matter of language (a matter of the lexicon). Kovecses (1996: 330) explains that

“an idiom is not just an expression that has meaning that is somehow special in relation to the meanings of its constituent parts, but it arises from our more general knowledge of the world (embodied in our conceptual system). In other words, idioms (or, at least, the majority of them) are conceptual, and not linguistic, in nature.”

Idioms are considered conventional figurative units (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2005), pieces of fossilized language (dead metaphors and speech gambits) that ease social interaction and reflect fundamental patterns of human thought. They are linked to enduring metaphorical and metonymic conceptual structures (Gibbs, 2007) and their idiosyncrasy requires inclusion of information from multiple components. The forms idioms take may vary from sayings, proverbs, phrasal verbs, binominals, frozen similes, phrasal compounds to formulaic expressions. (Gibbs 1994).

### **Bodily-grounded knowledge and cultural knowledge**

The cognitive linguistic literature devoted to idioms shows that they convey different kinds of knowledge that they have accumulated in the course of their functioning in the language. These types of knowledge are related to the biological sameness of all people and their basic needs (*bodily-grounded knowledge*) and to some aspects of culture that left traces in them (*cultural knowledge*).

The first type of knowledge is related to sensory motor experience and lies at the basis of universal conceptual metaphors. However, this universality should not be expected to show up in all languages, as observed in the literature (Kovecses 2005). The reason for this is *culture*, which can be viewed as a sieve because it models and validates the sensorimotor experience giving rise to conceptual metaphors (Caballero and Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2009). The

same line of thought can be found in Ning Yu (2008) who shows that “embodied experience no matter how universal it is, has to pass through the filter of culture before it can be mapped metaphorically onto abstract concepts.” The understanding of culture as a filter for emerging metaphor originates in the specific perspectives from which aspects of embodied experience are viewed as particularly salient and meaningful in people’s lives.

Besides discussing shared metaphors with similar linguistic realizations, our analysis in section 3 will approach metaphors with different lexicalizations, thus bringing further evidence for the idea that language is the product of collective thought based on experiential events embedded in different peoples’ history and civilization.

In order to deal with aspects of conceptual metaphors grounded on universal bodily experiences we first need to give a brief outline of the literature on sensory motor experience and conceptual metaphors.

### **Perception metaphors**

Previous cross-linguistic studies on conceptual metaphors with perception-related terms have approached colours (Soto Nieto 2011), temperature terms (Valiulienė 2015) and perception verbs (Sweetser 1990, Ibarretxe-Atuñano, 1999, Neagu 2013).

The metaphorical connections between the source domain of physical perception and the target domain of external self and sensations have been found to be the following:

VISION -> KNOWLEDGE (e.g. I can *see* what will happen if you don’t do that.)

HEARING -> HEED, OBEY (e.g. I told you to *listen* to your mother.)

TASTE -> LIKES, DISLIKES (TASTE IS LIKING/NOT LIKING (e.g. He has *tasted* the frustration of defeat.)

TOUCH -> FEELINGS (e.g. His appeal *touches* us deeply)

SMELL -> Dislikeable FEELINGS (e.g. I *smell* something fishy about his deal)

Thus, perception verbs have been shown to be used to describe physical perception (see an object, hear a sound, touch an object, taste an object) but also to convey other meanings from different domains of experience, such as ‘to understand’ (I see what you mean), ‘to obey’ (Listen to your mother), ‘to affect emotionally’ (John touched me very deeply), ‘to guess’ (Mary can smell trouble a mile off), ‘to experience’ (He has tasted the frustration of defeat), etc.

The cross-linguistic variation of metaphors with taste terms as a source domain has not been fully explored. It could be explained by the fact that taste, as well as smell and touch, has been traditionally considered a “lower” sense. However, more recently, the interest on taste metaphors can be proved by Marco Bagli’s study “Tastes We Live By. The Linguistic Conceptualisation of

Taste in English” that approaches the intricate polysemy of taste descriptors and the difficulties to explain it systematically. Another significant study on TASTE is Torres Soler’s “Variation in Embodied Metaphors: A Contrastive Analysis of Taste Metaphors in Spanish and English”, which examines conceptual metaphors with basic tastes (sweet, salty, bitter sour) as a source domain in English and Spanish.

Cross-linguistically, taste has been shown to be associated with the description of emotional states. Approaching synesthesia in language, Dancygier and Sweetser (2014: 61) explain that it is quite common that vocabulary from one perceptual domain to be used to describe phenomena in another perceptual domain. For example, when talking about emotions, people can use synesthetic metaphors such as *bitter sorrow*, *sweet indifference*, *sweet love*. Further, the two linguists emphasize that “Humans are wired to find sweet tastes pleasurable and bitter tastes unpleasant”. Nevertheless, taste is proverbially variable as a sense (one cannot experience somebody else’s taste experience of a food or somebody else’s experience of sorrow).

### **Mouth, tongue and teeth as source domain elements for TASTE**

Salient parts associated with taste such as mouth, tongue and teeth bring into discussion the idea of **frame metonymy**, that is, “using a label for one entity to refer to another entity which is linked to it in a situation.” Dancygier and Sweetser (2014: 5). Generally, in the case of idioms relating to body parts, the relationship between metonymic tenor (target) and vehicle (source) is governed by physiology and the real world (Gibbs 2007).

The sense of TASTE organs denote their respective sense and their use in formulaic language (idioms) point to habits and behavior: *have a sweet tooth*, *be honey-mouthed*.

## **2. Analysis and findings of SWEET and DULCE Idioms**

As our idiom analysis is focused on similarities and differences between SWEET and DULCE idioms, the perspective adopted here is the frame approach. A frame refers to ways of thinking about an issue which are reflected in the use of figurative language. Metaphor and metonymy are cognitive processes in which one conceptual entity, the source, evokes immediate mental access to another conceptual entity, the target. In metonymy, both source and target belong to the same frame (or domain) on the basis of natural correlations. In metaphor, at least two frames are involved. Linguistic constructions (from single words to proverbs) describe different portions from a frame while always evoking the whole for the sake of comprehension: “nobody can really understand the meanings of words in a domain unless he understands the social institutions or the structures of experience which they presuppose.” (Fillmore 1987: 31).



Frames comprise entities and relations that are organized into a structured whole. The conceptual entities and relations are linguistically revealed (and coded) by means of lexical items and their grammatical relations.

When we looked into SWEET taste as a source frame (domain), semantic frames relating to food, people, communication, timespan, mental activities and events/states have been identified:

In the FOOD frame the two languages disclose similarities only at the level of collocations where *sweet* refers to “fresh, not rotten, not acidic through fermentation”:

English: *sweet butter, sweet milk*

Romanian: *lapte dulce* (fresh milk)

The only idiom found in this frame is the Romanian *de dulce*, referring to meat and dairy products and coming from the expression *a mânca de dulce* “break one’s fast”. Details on the culture specific situation/context of this idiom and the absence of the English equivalence will be discussed later.

The PEOPLE frame discloses idioms that describe persons who are kind and pleasant, nice or friendly:

English: *sweetheart, a sweet little baby girl, sweet kid* (sl), *sugar man*,

Romanian: *o dulceață de fată* (a honey of a girl), *băiat de zahăr, bomboană de băiat* (honey boy)

Occurrences of SWEET and DULCE idioms in the COMMUNICATION frame can be linked to verbal and non-verbal communication:

a) verbal communication

English: *sweet words, honey-mouthed, sweet lies, sweet talk brings a lot, sweet-talk someone into doing sth, sweet nothings* “sentimental endearments”, *be short and sweet* “be brief and pleasant”

Romanian: *vorba dulce mult aduce* “good words cost nothing and are worth much”, *a fi dulce la vorbă* ‘have a soft tongue’, *vorbe dulci* ‘sweet nothings’, *a duce cu zahărelul* “sweet-talk someone into doing sth, *a spune cuiva ceva de dulce* “give someone a piece of one’s mind”.

b) non-verbal communication

English: *keep sb. sweet, be sweet on, in one’s own sweet way, be sweetness and light*

Romanian: *a face ochi dulci* ‘make sheep eyes to sb’

As can be noticed, the two groups contain both metaphors with similar mapping conditions and similar lexicalizations in English and Romanian (e.g. *sweet words, vorbe dulci*) and metaphors with similar mapping conditions and

different linguistic realizations in the two languages (e.g. *a spune cuiva ceva de dulce* “give someone a piece of one’s mind”, *a face ochi dulci* ‘make sheep eyes to sb’)

The Romanian idiom *a spune cuiva ceva de dulce* “give someone a piece of one’s mind” will be analysed in more depth in the section dealing with culture-specific uses.

The TIMESPAN frame associates the sweet taste with timespans, especially in English:

English: *sweet time, sweet life, sweet sixteen/seventeen, in one’s own sweet way/ time* (how and when one wants to, even if this might annoy other people)

Romanian: -

Similarly, more occurrences of SWEET idioms can be observed in the next frame, that of MENTAL ACTIVITIES:

English: *sweet memories, sweet dreams*

Romanian: -

The STATE frame

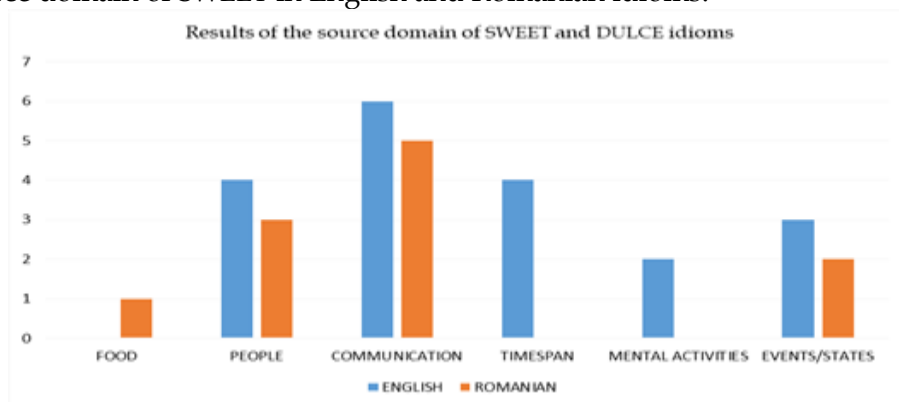
English: *sweet victory, the sweets of success, sweet deal, all sugar and honey*

Romanian: *gustul dulce al succesului, dulce răzbunare*

The expression *all sugar and honey* is used to describe a situation where everything is going well and implies that someone is enjoying a comfortable and enjoyable life:

e.g She just got a promotion and a raise. *All sugar and honey*. She's living the good life now.

The diagram below summarizes the findings regarding the frames for the source domain of SWEET in English and Romanian idioms:



### **Culture-specific uses**

Idioms that passed through the cultural filter incorporate fossilized, stereotyped beliefs. A case in point is the Romanian idiom *de dulce* (lit. of sweet), said about food that is not permitted by the Church during fasting. Such food includes meat, dairies and eggs.

The idea of taboo, of forbiddingness, seems to have migrated from the frame of FOOD to that of COMMUNICATION. The Romanian idiom 'a spune cuiva ceva *de dulce* (lit. say sth. sweet to someone), i.e. "give a piece of one's mind to someone" is an euphemistic expression used in colloquial language to warn about being about to utter something taboo, in a straightforward, obscene way.

In English, the idiom *sweet Fanny Adams* "nothing" used in British slang, is also euphemistic:

e.g. Have you done a lot of work today?

No, I've done *sweet Fanny Adams* all day. (Longman Dictionary of English Idioms)

The idiom was coined in 1869 by sailors in the Royal Navy, whose macabre humour associated the contents of their tinned meat to Fanny's scattered remains. "Fanny Adams" became slang for mediocre mutton, stew, scarce leftovers and then anything worthless. From this, it gradually became a euphemism for the expletive *sweet F.A.* 'sweet nothing',

Another English idiom, *soft fire makes sweet malt* (when malt is prepared, if it is burnt too much, it will not have its desired sweetness) metaphorically refers to "one's impatience that can ultimately ruin a project":

e. g. You keep messing up because you are rushing - *soft fire makes sweet malt*, after all.

This idiom that is based on metaphors with different mapping conditions and different lexicalizations as can be proved by its Romanian equivalent *cu răbdarea terci marea*.

The phrase *sweet tooth* "a taste or liking for sweet-tasting things is believed to have originated in Middle English. In Old English "tooth" denoted an appetite, especially an appetite or craving for something. Over time, "sweet tooth" became a way to describe a particular craving for sweet foods. Like the other idioms discussed in this section, the meaning and use of *sweet tooth* have evolved over time through common usage and cultural context.

A closer look at this idiom in terms of mapping conditions and lexicalization reveals that they are different in English and Romanian, the latter usually providing a paraphrase instead of an idiom.

## Conclusions

The multiple meanings of *sweet* are reflected in the wide range of SWEET idioms. Formulaic phrases mentioning the mouth, the tongue and the teeth have a metonymic basis and generally have meanings related to habits (*honey-mouthed, sweet tooth*). The Romanian idiom *a face ochi dulci* “make sheep eyes” evinces that body part names can be metonymically associated with the source domain of TASTE or synesthetically related to that of VISION.

The most common frames identified and very often shared by English and Romanian include FOOD, PEOPLE, COMMUNICATION, TIMESPAN and EVENTS/STATES.

SWEET idioms with positive meaning outnumber SWEET idioms with a slight negative semantic shade. The latter category pertains to the COMMUNICATION frame:

E: *honey-mouthed, sweet lies, sweet-talk someone into doing sth*

R: *vorbe dulci, a duce cu zahărelul* “sweet-talk someone into doing sth, a spune cuiva ceva de dulce” “give someone a piece of one’s mind”.

As expected, most of the idioms discussed belong to colloquial language, sometimes even slang, where they take the form of euphemistic expressions that incorporate various types of extralinguistic knowledge, among them culture-based knowledge.

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# PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND COGNITION DEVELOPMENT THROUGH TRANSLATION FOR THE SECONDARY TECHNOLOGICAL SCHOOLS GRADUATES

Violeta NEGREA\* & Corina MOISE POENARU\*\*

## Motto:

*„The one who understands ... becomes himself a participant in the dialogue.”*

Michail Bachtin<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** *The article brings forward theoretical and practical arguments on technical translation efficiency as an updated instrument for the development of the professional knowledge and cognition capacity of the secondary technological schools graduates. The development of translation practice is seen as a tangible outcome of the theoretical framework on cognition improvement and up growing, so a brief theoretical overview on cognition development makes the basic arguments for translation practice. Results from a questionnaire study among students of technological schools and their potential employers suggest the pragmatic relationship between the outcome of the expected educational process and the individual professional performance in terms of specific knowledge and practical skills derived from translation activity. The function of translation is extended to the after graduation knowledge acquisition and adulthood cognition skills improvement. Our research has been carried out specifically to underline the contribution of translation, as a part to the applied language education, to the effectiveness and continuity of the professional development process from the early stages.*

**Keywords:** translation instrument, applied language skill, communication, knowledge transfer, cognition development

## Translation potentiality for professional knowledge transfer and cognition development

Our research is concerned with widening verbal/linguistic cognition through professional/technical translation as a complimentary educational instrument aiming at individual and societal benefit. The article has been ventured mainly

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<sup>1</sup> The authors of the article chose to select Bachtin's utterances as acts of scholarly erudition, not as results of their political message

on the contribution of the secondary technological or vocational education dedicated to the individual, and social and economic development.

The extensive research priority to the academic professional language usefulness has minimized the concern for vocational competence development deriving from language skills relevance at Secondary Technological Schools' level which gives rise to a training inconsistency of their graduates.

The factual decoding of translation impact in language is considered in terms of social, cultural and professional views, aiming at specific knowledge and cognition development and plasticity of the secondary technological schools' students.

The theoretical background of the subject is derived from references to Vytkosky, Michail Bakhtin and Howard Gardner's views on knowledge and cognition development which are interpreted from translation instrument perspective.

It legitimately claims the impact of the language training potential based on the operational translation and the adult cognition and metacognition process development that makes its influence on professional skills productivity and effectiveness. The contextualized theoretical and paradigmatic setting of our research is approached historically aiming at the development of a specific reference background of the experiments, questionnaire analysis and debate on translation efficiency and practicality, followed by conclusions and recommendations.

### **Knowledge and Cognition development: a theoretical and conceptual background**

Since Descartes made human cognition a point of departure for its transfer of the system-minded wonder to the doubt knowledge, acquisition and cognition process have become critical and epistemological disciplines; a complex conceptual framework has been developed which made cognitive science have a relatively short history, but a long past. (Meyering, 1989)

Language philosophy outstrips cross-disciplinarity and participates to the revelation and reinforcement of the educational process dedicated to the refinement and improvement of reasoning capacities and knowledge development to meet the society educational effort. (Lantolf, 2013) The Douglas Brown's holistic approach to this pedagogical target provides the basis for a complex theoretical background network to the social, cultural, professional and individual settings which include the improvement of institutional language education policies.

The complexity of the subject drives us go for translation as an instrument to contribute to the process of professional knowledge and cognition development which provides appropriate application settings to the considered theoretical view.

Vygotsky's social references on speaking-thinking relationship in his conferences at Leningrad University in 1932 make a consistent conceptual theory in his later book *Thought and Word* which was first published in 1934. (Steiner, 2007:136-152) His opinion on speaking and writing skills is added to a

comprehensive view point on education which influenced largely language individual and social perception with a strong influence on language development strategies. He emphasizes the role that language has on cognition which resonates with Piaget's view and both underscore learning undertaking, but, if Piaget considers that cognition development is fed from within, Vygotsky favored external factors and people for their significant role to cognition development. He develops an exhaustive correlation between socio-cultural environment, individual thinking, understanding, and language, as a factual and operational mutual exchange. Their relationship overlaps areas and contributes to the strengthening and improvement of language which makes learning more effective for individual and societal development.

The philosopher and philologist Lev Vygotsky<sup>2</sup> proposes the *word*<sup>3</sup> as a dialectical unit to evaluate the thinking and speaking in terms of cultural circumstances and linguistic instrumentality which makes language the most important symbolic device dedicated to the professional environment, as an area of personal and social development and achievement.

The central principle of his theory is based on the very instrumental part of the *word* that develops the relationship between language, thinking and the corresponding social and material environment in which humans carry out their life activities. He considers *word* as the only mediating instrument dedicated to reasoning functionality which is appreciated in terms of the specific symbolic artifacts created by the native culture: the trans-generational cultural edifice is built by words to meet knowledge and communication needs through its permanent modeling and re-modeling.

The perpetual development and removal process of vocabulary items, complex words, phonological and phonetic adaptations, new graphical options, etc., go after the renewed or improved knowledge and real life awareness which confirms the instrumental part that *word* plays to thinking, understanding and linguistic behavior (Lantolf, 2013).

The theoretical view that Vygotsky supports makes a clear distinction between reasoning and *word* which he considers dialectical, as they are not separate, but closely related: reasoning cannot be developed without *word* and *word* has no meaning without reasoning (Bukhurst, 1991).

As a result, Vygotsky favors *word* as the unique source of development for the human being due to its potentiality to guide his behavior and willingness which doesn't match the static learning principles developed by Pavlov (Minick: 2012).

Vygotsky is concerned with the *word* function as a result of reasoning which is explained genetically, historically and ontologically. His concern on

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<sup>2</sup> Lev Semionovici Vygotsky (1896-1934) Russian scientist, the founder of the biological, social and cultural human development theory. He recommends the conceptual and operational cognitive functions in terms of cultural context and practical activities.

<sup>3</sup> It also defines *speaking*

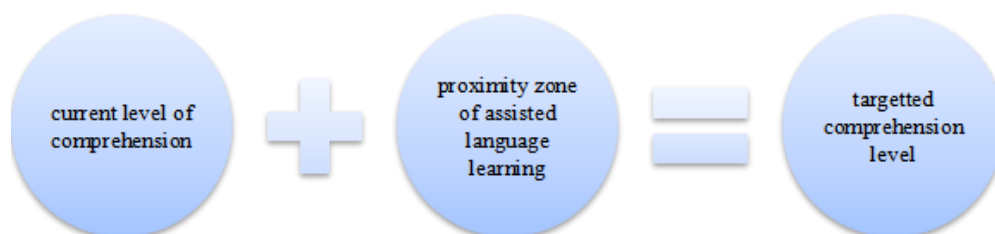


the psychology of the linguistic development is also related to the role that *word* plays to human intelligence which results into the development of verbal expression, i.e. the language, which acts as a contributor to memory and psychological structures development. The outcome of these statements is knowledgeably associated to the specific culture and social environment which are handed over to the individuals belonging to it, making the generational shift. Internalized concepts, notions, working principles acknowledged through reasoning and social interaction provide a certain specific framework for the individual apprehension and interpretation.

As a result, the vehicle generating the inherent culture framework is the *word* which equips and draws up human brain for knowledge acquisition. This is to become the codifying instrument of internalized culture that we belong to as a symbolic system which make knowledge and understanding dependent to the world we live in. Vygotsky's theories of semiotic mediation and socio-constructivism ensure reasoning capacity and social group interaction through language performance. The language brings about the social and cultural construction (*outer word*) and reasoning through *inner speech*.

Language internalization process facilitated by the *outer word* instrument is getting mature and reaches higher comprehension levels through the interaction with material and social reality (Lopez; Bartlett 2014: 344-359). It also transmits knowledge through factual and abstract experiences through the mechanisms of education and schooling process (Minick, 2012:38).

Vytkosky's arguments emphasize the social character of *cognition* by creating the concept of *proximity zone* which gives birth to specific key-factors to point out the instruction process and the assisting teacher/trainer (Oakley, 2004:37-55).



**Figure 1.** Knowledge development based on factual and abstract learning experiences through the mechanisms of basic and higher mental functions able to improve and refine knowledge and comprehension complexity

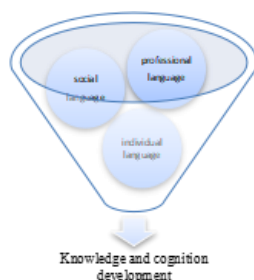
The symbolic and systemic nature of language, its *communication* and *knowledge collecting* capacity to develop time, situational, actional, interpretative capacity of the human being, make it the fundamental instrument of reasoning and knowledge development, as it is further diagrammed:



**Figure 2.** Language, the needed equipment for communication, reasoning and knowledge development

The extension of Vytkosky's theoretical social and cultural approach to translation, i.e. specific knowledge transfer from one language to another, leads to considering its ableness to re-model reasoning and cognition capacity which points out not only to its social nature, but also to the technical specific professional environment.

Our concern also refers to the potential extension of Michail Bakhtin's<sup>4</sup> concept of the social nature of language, to its consistent implications on reasoning and knowledge development. Our debate on the *social nature of language* aims at making room to the role of translation for the process of professional knowledge and cognition development. Our analysis and arguments are limited to the Secondary Technological Schools graduates in terms of their individual and social potential to raise their professional knowledge and cognition responsibility. The following graph illustrates the common ground of the social language and the specific professional language to be developed mutually as an individual instrument for knowledge and cognition improvement.



**Figure 3.** The trained individual language complexity, social language potential and professional language capability to enforce knowledge and cognition responsibility

<sup>4</sup> Russian philosopher, semiotics specialist (1895-1975)

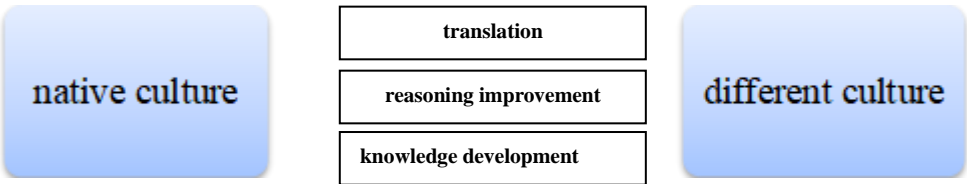
Michail Bachtin provides applied linguistics with the conceptual instruments of the individual and social nature of language from interaction and instruction perspectives which we add the applied professional one.

The social load of the language suggested by Michail Bachtin raises the interest for translation in terms of its social and professional context which brings forward the corresponding linguistic behavior of the individual cultural reality. He provides arguments to the linguistic structures and forms of dependency to the language users' intentionality which ensures its situational and contextual dialogical comprehensiveness.

The sociological approach to language developed by Lev Vygotsky and Michail Bachtin opens an new-brand perception to translation which is derived from the native culture developments giving it certain specificity which facilitates the development of a different type of reasoning and knowledge development.

Therefore, translation belongs to the language instrumentality which reconsiders its potential to knowledge transfer and cognition capacity development. The interest devoted to the act of translation by our project is circumscribed to its mission to facilitate knowledge transfer and reasoning as measures by the secondary technological or vocational high education pointing to its potential to individual and societal enhancement.

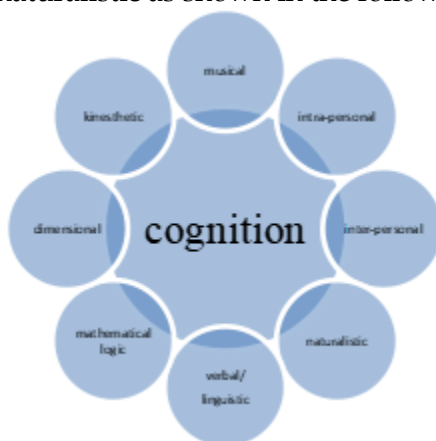
The perception of imported socio-cultural environment of associated to a foreign language makes it an instrument of direct knowledge accessibility and transfer which brings in a distinctive particular technical culture of understanding and reasoning. In other words, the conceptual language items are defined by the individual communicated culture that derive from specific contextualized situations. Translation practice gives rise to the development of a distinctive comprehension approach which is particularly different from the student's native one which makes possible the development of a distinctive reasoning approach.



**Figure 4.** The relationship developed by two different cultures through translation which makes possible the improvement and diversification of knowledge and reasoning capacity

In 1983 Dr. Howard Gardner re-conceptualized cognition by a breaking-through multiple approaches dedicated to advanced education strategies. He suggested eight different kinds of knowledge development to

cover a wide range of fundamental expressions: verbal/linguistic, mathematical logic, dimensional, kinesthetic, musical, intra-personal, interpersonal, and naturalistic as shown in the following diagram.



**Figure 5.** Dr. Howard Gardner re-conceptualized cognition by a breaking-through-multiple approach which is composed of eight different kinds of knowledge

He suggests and explains the limitation of the traditional perception of intelligence based on IQ, or intelligence quotient<sup>5</sup>, so that he develops a personal multilevel intelligence view to cover the complexity of knowledge specifically unique to the human brilliance.

The eight fundamental areas of the multiple-intelligence concept he developed are: *the linguistic, logic and mathematical, juxtaposed, kinesthetic, musical, interpersonal, intrapersonal, and naturalistic*. The deliberate division of knowledge described by his argument outcomes the focus of education mainly on the linguistic and the logical and mathematical ones which ignores and minimizes the other ones. He recommends a balanced approach to the eight knowledge and learning components to cover all the needs of education subjects. The students are supposed to be educated appropriately to enable use and develop their innate gifts, and not demotivated to bring frustration and learning process ineffectiveness. The multiple knowledge and learning balanced approach is focused on exploring any translation methods and instruments to find the best for each particular case.

This theoretical framework represents a complex staging to build our arguments for the part that translation plays for the enlargement of applied knowledge acquisition and cognition potentiality. It extends the knowledge acquisition and cognition development boundaries through translation beyond conventional practices.

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<sup>5</sup> The abbreviation was coined by William Stern in 1912, from the German *Intelligenzquotient* aiming at scoring intelligence based on standardized tests

### **Pro-technical translation, applied knowledge and cognition: a theoretical and practical framework**

Our study is limited to the technical translation process and act as a curricular didactic activity for the secondary Technological Schools learners aiming at their applied knowledge and cognition process development.

The exploration of the definition framework of translation to follow is dedicated to the exploration of various appropriate techniques and practices that make translation an instrument to improve knowledge and cognition process, specifically to the secondary technological schools graduates.

Definitions of translation were originally issued in the 20th century when linguistic studies promoted scientific theoretical analysis and practical techniques for turning a *source text* into an exquisite *target texts*. The term *translation* was originally approached as the conversion of a written text in one language into a corresponding written text in another language which preserves meanings equivalence and corresponding grammatical functions. (Catford 1965: 20) The question of expected equivalence between the two texts meanings and formats was raised by authors like Halliday, McIntosh, and Stevens (1964: 124) in terms of text type, target audience, and purpose of the translation operation. The development of the theoretical approach of the six functions of language, promoted by Roman Jakobson<sup>6</sup> actuated the linguistic research on translation definition (2000 [1959]: 114) making the difference between *intra-lingual* and *inter-lingual* translation based on *paraphrasing*<sup>7</sup>. Our study passes through the analysis of his cardinal functions of verbal communication and it mainly focuses on the referential function, as it represents the language capacity to convey information. We dedicate it to the development of our view on the role that translation plays for the development of the students' professional knowledge and cognition when information transfer makes the difference between cultures and language structures and written or oral text adjustments are expected. It is not only the literal text that is currently subject of ideas that cannot be conveyed in the target language but only through additions and subtractions due to "different conceptual universes" which may be labeled as translatable or non-translatable. (Wierzbicka 1992: 20; Hasegawa 2016:416-440) It is obviously understood that technical or professional texts mirror *different conceptual universes* which makes a *dynamic cultural and linguistic ecology*. (Neubert&Shreve 1992: 169) Therefore, the *target translated text* recreates a different linguistic and technical cultural setting, which may be, sometimes, considered an act of penetration against the original

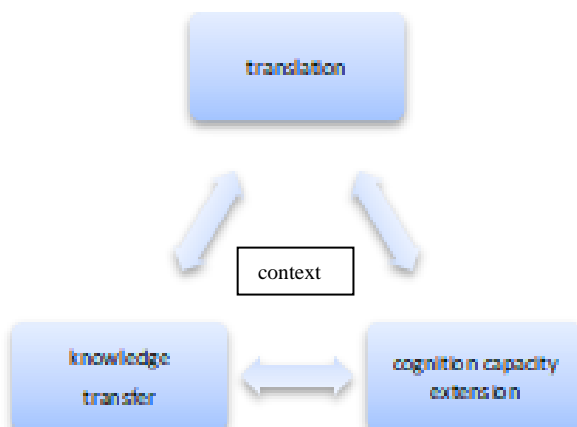
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<sup>6</sup> Roman Osipovich Jakobson (1896-1982) American most celebrated linguist and literary theorist of Russian extraction. A pioneer of structural linguistics

<sup>7</sup> a restatement of the meaning of a text or passage using other words. The term itself is derived via Latin *paraphrasis*, from Ancient Greek παράφρασις 'additional manner of expression'. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paraphrase>

culture as in the Italian proverb, *Traduttore, Traditore!* (Hasegawa 2016:416-440) When the linguistic scarcity or insufficiency of the target language makes the expression of certain meanings difficult, the cognitive function of language comes to be dependent on the text translatability. When the meaning of some form can essentially be conveyed similarly into another language then the cognitive function is fully in place as the act of translation can transfer information and knowledge entirely. When the target language is deficient in terms of forms, its lexicon can be developed through borrowings and new vocabulary coinage. When the source language and the target language are structurally and culturally very different, as in Romanian and English, adjustments are essential in the translation process – from word selection even to reorganization of the text itself. (Hasegawa: 2016:415-16) The historical and technological differences make these translation developments imperatively necessary as the content can never be completely detached from the form, and form is nothing without content (*ibidem*) which makes the text translatability extended which facilitates the transfer of knowledge and extends cognition capacity.

This reality can also be viewed from an anthropological perspective which takes into account the language communication capacity which translates into a coded message of the addresser / encoder which is to be decoded by addressee/decoder working together to the development of a specific professional mutual behavior and technical culture. The text to be translated comes out from a specific contextual environment and the translated one gives birth to a new operational culture background. Noth (1990:185) making the knowledge mutually available and contributing to the cognition capacity extension for both addresser and the addressee.



**Figure 6.** An anthropological approach on translation capacity to develop knowledge transfer and cognition capacity

## Conclusion

The theoretical vision on the word instrumentality matches Jean Piaget's knowledge development theory that human being moves through its evolution age steps of learning which makes him not only a mere passive recipient, but an active one. It is reasonably understood the contribution of language to knowledge and cognition capacity development through schooling which underlines its social nature and articulation with pedagogical concerns. This is to be read from intentionality point of view, as language is the communication instrument which does not operate freely and directly at individual level, as it is charged with the intentions of former users.

The use of Piaget's stages of cognitive development are not to be ignored: the contribution of age formal operational stages, from 12 and up, when the children are interested to add knowledge about the world on their own by experimenting and observing, is the perfect time for making their language their language the instrument for preparing for their prospective professional field. The applied nature of the Secondary Technological Schools' educational content can make language skills consistent and relevant for their graduates for getting a better job in the work force market place. The factual decoding of translation impact is considered a key factor in terms of knowledge and cognition development for these graduates. The professional knowledge transfer through translation can contribute to enhancing their specific understanding and expertise for their early employment option and undertake their job efficiently.

The analysis of theoretical approaches to language development drives us to functional solutions to match the social effort dedicated to institutional education.

The research focus on knowledge and cognition development through translation at academic level, but not at the formerly mentioned one, makes an educational hiatus in the professional training and education which is not beneficial.

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# CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR IN THE FASHION LANGUAGE SYSTEM: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

Adora-Ioana PARASCHIVESCU\*

**Abstract:** *The universality of conceptual metaphors in the fashion language system can serve as a valuable foundation for translation, but it also necessitates careful consideration of cultural and linguistic differences. Translators play a crucial role in ensuring that the essence, style, and message of fashion texts are effectively conveyed in the target language while taking into account the cultural nuances and preferences of the local audience. Conceptual metaphor theory posits that abstract or complex concepts are understood and communicated by mapping them onto more concrete and familiar domains. In the context of fashion, conceptual metaphor plays a pivotal role in shaping our understanding and expression of fashion-related concepts. By drawing on familiar experiences and associations, conceptual metaphors facilitate the communication of complex ideas in a succinct and relatable manner. This paper presents various conceptual metaphors commonly employed in the fashion language domain, along with their implications for how we conceptualize, communicate and translate fashion. The analysis includes references to relevant literature in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter.*

**Keywords:** metaphor, fashion, conceptual mapping, equivalence

## Introduction

Fashion is an integral part of human culture and communication. The language used to discuss fashion is rich in metaphors, which aid in conveying abstract ideas related to style, self-expression, and aesthetics.

This paper tries to superpose the concept of conceptual metaphor, as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), on the fashion language system. By examining various conceptual metaphors commonly used in fashion discourse, this study aims to shed light on how our cognitive and linguistic processes shape our understanding and communication of fashion-related concepts.

The presence of universal conceptual metaphors in fashion language ensures a degree of *consistency in the meaning* and interpretation of fashion-related concepts across different languages. Translators need to *adapt the metaphors* to fit the cultural context of the target audience, ensuring that the translated text resonates with local readers. In some cases, translating fashion metaphors may require *metaphorical shifts* to ensure they make sense and have the intended impact in the target language. This can involve finding *alternative*

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*metaphors* that achieve a similar effect. In the realm of fashion, where creativity and aesthetics are paramount, translators may need to exercise *creative license* to capture the artistic and expressive elements of the text. This may involve *reimagining metaphors* or using creative language to convey the same mood and tone.

### Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Conceptual metaphor theory states that our understanding of abstract or complex concepts is grounded in more concrete domains. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) proposed that we use these conceptual metaphors as cognitive tools to reason about abstract concepts by mapping them onto familiar and embodied experiences. For instance, the metaphor of "fashion as a journey" aligns with the idea that our live and style progress and evolve over time, akin to embarking on a path or voyage.

### Fashion as a Journey

The conceptual metaphor of "fashion as a journey" is prevalent in fashion language. Phrases such as "fashion-forward," "style evolution," and "wardrobe exploration" highlight the dynamic and continuous nature of fashion. This metaphor suggests that fashion is not static but rather a transformative process and individuals navigate through various styles and trends like explorers seeking new experiences.

How very often in pairing clothing items one asks in front of the mirror the following question: *Do they go together?*

In her book *Why Women Wear What They Wear*, Sophie Woodward offers a nuanced understanding of how fashion intertwines with identity, self-expression, and the social context. Woodward's ethnographic approach allows her to capture the lived experiences and perspectives of the women she studies, providing rich and authentic insights into their fashion practices.

We discover that some colours *don't go together* and some garments considered as staples in one's wardrobe are a perfect match for anything:

**'black doesn't go with black. It'd near enough kill me!'** *She also possesses staples in her wardrobe, which are seen to go with anything: denim jacket, smart trousers, jeans, denim skirt, white shirt, white t-shirt, solid-coloured tube tops* (130)

We move, we shift and we evolve in our way of dressing in accordance with our age, our social status, culture, tradition, event or just because we don't want to be outdated:

*The last ten years of her life, as she has moved from a single girl going clubbing to a married home owner, has not seen any dramatic shifts in the clothing she wears, but rather a gradual evolution of styles.* (61)

In *Urban*, an online fashion magazine, I read an article about John Galliano, *cet enfant terrible de la mode*, and discovered the same metaphor. While fashion is often seen as a form of personal expression, it is also influenced by shared cultural concepts. The metaphor of fashion as journey can be found in Romanian fashion language, illustrating the universal nature of this concept:

*"Drumul pe care pornise John a fost împotriva tendințelor, tânărul designer era plin de curaj." "...curajul de a construi un nou drum când toată lumea te arată cu degetul. Vă invităm într-o călătorie în lumea modei, a unui geniu contemporan văzută prin 10 momente curajoase."*

<https://www.urban.ro/povestea-lui-john-galliano-prin-10-momente-curajoase-care-au-schimbato-lumea-artistica/>



### Fashion as Armor

The conceptual metaphor of "fashion as armor" suggests that clothing can function as a form of protection or empowerment. Just as armor shields warriors in battle, certain outfits can instill confidence and influence one's self-perception. Terms like "power dressing" and "confidence-boosting outfit" embody the idea that fashion can impact our psychological state and interactions with others. In his *The fundamentals of fashion design*(2012) Sorger Richard states that:

*Wearing Boudicca should become an addiction, as you feel **powerful and safe** in your own **personal armour**, yet romantic and attached to the emotion within the garment itself. Boudicca is anti-mass. (Sorger,2012: 138) and also that 'Clothes are not just a product, they are our **armour**, our silent opinion.'*(140)

Martín Arroyo in 2011 in 1 brief, 50 designers, 50 solutions in fashion design clearly talks about the



value of a well-structured and tailored suit and the symbol of power it embeds: *The classic suit was then brought back with a vengeance in the 1980s as a figure-hugging component of the shoulder thrusting **power** suit, heralding the **rise of women to positions of power** in business* (Arroyo, 2011: 89)

The same metaphor occurs in Romanian, in the title of a man's wear company blog, Marsay: "*Costumul la comandă- **armura** bărbatului cosmopolit*" on <https://marsay.com/blogs/news/costumul-la-comanda-armura-barbatului-cosmopolit> and on an online life-style magazine one can read: "*Și ținutele strălucitoare argintii sau **metalice** sunt la modă, fiind de-a dreptul **imbatabile** atunci când sunt purtate în combinație cu nuanțe gri.*" on <https://www.miele.ro/domestic/tendinte-in-moda-292.htm>

### Fashion as Art

Viewing fashion as an art form highlights the creativity and aesthetics of clothing design. This metaphor draws parallels between fashion and traditional art, positioning garments as expressions of artistic vision. Phrases like "couture masterpiece" and "wearable art" exemplify how fashion designers' creativity can manifest in visually appealing and meaningful clothing.

In the context of Ulrich Lehmann's *Tigersprung: Fashion in Modernity*, right from the title the metaphor *tigersprung* ->*tiger's leap* suggests that fashion, like a tiger's sudden leap, undergoes significant shifts and developments that paralleled the broader changes in modern society.

In his work, Lehmann uses the word *art* 128 times relatively to fashion, dress, clothing and accessories and he writes that:

*[...] an artist decidedly embraces all the manifestations of modern life and reflects them in his or her art, without seeking refuge in the language of the classical. On the contrary, for the artist in modernity, beauty lies expressively in the contemporary and no recourse to the ancient ideal of sublime beauty is permitted. Fashion is the supreme expression of that contemporary spirit. (Lehmann, 2000: 15)*

In chapter 3 of the study, Lehmann brings forth the opinion of Georg Simmel, a well-known German philosopher considered the first profound analyst of fashion:

*The elements of fashion are not denied to anyone absolutely; a change in fortune might favor an individual who had previously envied the fashionable person. Simmel adds that this social behavior, this nuance of envy, arises because an observed object acquires value detached from the reality of who actually possesses it. **An article of clothing** thus becomes comparable to an*



*exhibited work of art: it provides pleasure no matter who owns it (Lehmann, 2000: 181)*

In the online magazine *Urban* in the same article about the fashion designer Galliano the same relation between fashion and art is to be read:

*"Universitatea [Central Saint Martin din Londra, cea mai puternică școală de design vestimentar din Europa] l-a încurajat să experimenteze cât mai multe cu diferitele forme de arte pe care le învăța. În timpul stagiului pe care trebuia să îl urmeze fiecare student, Galliano a ajuns la Teatrul National Britanic unde ajuta actorii să se îmbrace înainte de intrarea în scenă."*

In *Elle* the Romanian online version of the famous French magazine stands written: *"Azzedine Alaia[...] a fost adorat de toate femeile, deoarece a reușit să transforme siluetele feminine în adevărate sculpturi"*.

(<https://www.elle.ro/fashion/azzedine-alaia-si-rochiile-sale-memorabile-572831>)

### Fashion as Trend Waves

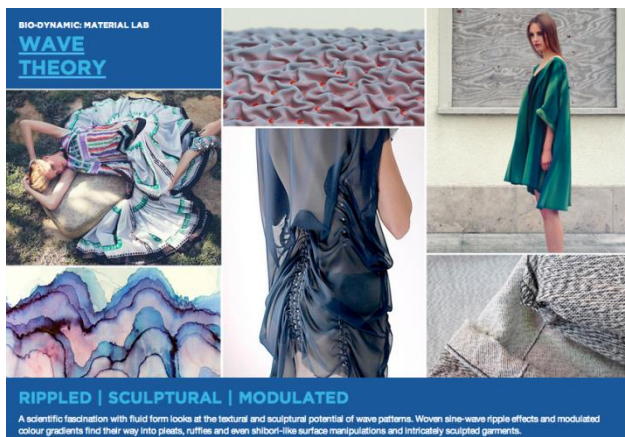
The metaphor of "fashion as trend waves" underscores the cyclical nature of trends in the fashion industry. Similar to waves in the ocean, fashion trends come and go over time. Expressions such as "trends making a comeback" and "riding the wave of fashion" evoke the notion that certain styles resurface and fade in popularity over different periods (Black, 2012). In *Eco-chic : the fashion paradox*, Sandy Black notices that:

*The 'Community' fashion show marking their ten year anniversary was styled by David Holah of Body Map, the seminal design company which created new fashion waves in the 1980s, integrating the music and fashion scenes of the time (Black, 2012: 198)*

The back and forth movement of the waves, the sway, the diffusion of fashionable elements as color into water can convey the idea that fashion trends come and go, they continually move and permeate our conscience leading to our sometimes unconscious choice of a particular trend and rejection of another:

*For consumers, being seen to be 'up to date' and not 'out of fashion' was key. Parisian couturiers held sway as leaders of fashion from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, allowed the diffusion of their fashions[...] (Black, 2012: 8).*

In Romanian this continuous change is envisioned as circular like the movement of a merry-go-round or overwhelming like an avalanche:





“Te pierzi în **avalanșa de tendințe** în continuă schimbare, dar vrei totuși să fii în pas cu moda? »

<https://runway.modivo.ro/ce-se-poarta-in-2023-tendinte/>

« Sunt puține alte domenii în care lucrurile revin la fel de des ca în **caruselul modei**. Ceea ce este considerat de prost-gust astăzi, poate fi fantastic mâine și invers. »

<https://www.miele.ro/domestice/tendinte-in-moda-292.htm>



### Fashion as a Palette

The conceptual metaphor of "fashion as a palette" portrays fashion choices as an artistic process of mixing and matching elements. Just as artists use palettes to create diverse color combinations, individuals curate their style by selecting garments and accessories. Terms like "color palette" and "fashion palette" highlight the importance of color coordination and personalization in fashion. In his book, entitled simply *Fashion*, Breward describes the look of the Queen of France and the color palette of her apparel as a painter's palette in a painting:

*The Queen of France is here dressed in an ensemble characteristic of the work of Rose Bertin. Her velvet robe à l'anglaise is trimmed with sable and point d'Alençon lace, the red, black, and white palette suggesting the traditional royal colours of France.* (Breward, 2003: 26)

In Romanian this association between colors in fashion and a painters palette is present and this is not an unusual situation taking into account the fact that color and fashion are tightly intertwined: “Cod cromatic: tonuri pământești în fiecare nuanță, cu crem, puțin roșu și, desigur, verde” one can read on Miele site. <https://www.miele.ro/domestice/tendinte-in-moda-292.htm>



### Fashion as Self-Expression

This metaphor emphasizes fashion as a means of expressing individuality and emotions. Clothing can function as an extension of one's identity, reflecting personal preferences and beliefs. Expressions like "dressing to express yourself" and "fashion as an extension of identity" underscore how clothing choices can communicate one's values and inner self.

Woodward's *Why Women Wear What They Wear* offers a rich and nuanced exploration of how self-expression and identity are intricately tied to women's fashion choices. Woodward's ethnographic approach and sensitivity to the voices of women provide valuable insights into the complexities of clothing as a medium for constructing and communicating identities:

*This act of getting dressed takes place at least once a day and as such is ubiquitous and experienced by all women irrespective of age, occupation, sexuality, religion, ethnicity or interest in clothing. It is the occasion when women have to negotiate their bodies, respectability, style, status, and their **self-perception** and is therefore a crucial moment in understanding why women choose to wear what they wear (Woodward, 2007: 2)*

The book challenges the notion of fashion as a mere reflection of passive conformity, emphasizing how women actively shape their appearances to communicate who they are or want to be.

Woodward illustrates how clothing can have a transformative effect on women's self-perception and confidence. Certain outfits may act as "identity armor," providing a sense of empowerment and security in specific social contexts:

*The 'individual', innovative or fashionable look is one which women do not want to feel is external, but rather that the **fashion fits a woman's sense of herself** (Woodward, 2007: 123)*

Talking about the right choice of a suit on Marsay's blog one can find the following:

*"Desigur, acest costum este realizat dintr-o stofă premium care nu se şifonează şi care va pune oricând în evidenţă **un bărbat cu personalitate, îndrăzneţ, ce-şi doreşte să iasă din tipare.**"*

This is another example that comes to emphasize the universality of these conceptual metaphors in fashion language, bridging the gap between global fashion discourse and the expressions in Romanian.





## Conclusion

The analysis of conceptual metaphors in the fashion language system reveals the profound impact of cognitive linguistic processes on our understanding and communication of fashion-related concepts. We presented a few of the key metaphors that shape the way we conceptualize and discuss fashion.

Fashion as a Journey highlights the dynamic and evolving nature of fashion, emphasizing how individuals navigate through various styles and trends like explorers seeking new experiences. It underscores the continuous transformation and personal growth that fashion represents.

The metaphor of fashion as armor suggests that clothing can serve as a form of protection and empowerment. It reflects how certain outfits can instill confidence and influence one's self-perception, much like armor shields warriors in battle.

Viewing fashion as an art form emphasizes the creative and aesthetic aspects of clothing design. It draws parallels between fashion and art, positioning garments as expressions of artistic vision and reflecting the contemporary spirit.

Fashion as Trend Waves metaphor is an expression of the cyclical nature of fashion trends, it highlights the ebb and flow of styles, with trends resurfacing and fading over different periods, often influenced by cultural and societal shifts.

Fashion as a Palette portrays fashion choices as an artistic process of mixing and matching elements, particularly focusing on color coordination and personalization.

Fashion as Self-Expression emphasizes the idea that fashion is a way of expressing individuality and emotions, reflecting personal preferences and beliefs.

These metaphors are not only prevalent in English but also find resonance in the Romanian fashion language, highlighting their universal nature and their role in bridging the gap between global and local fashion discourses.

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# BEING IN TRANSLATION: DIASPORA AND TRANSLATING RHIZOMATIC EXPERIENCES

Kavita PATIL\*

**Abstract:** *In the present article I propose a highlight of the often-quoted notions of 'location' and 'dislocation' in translation theory as well as in the narratives of Indian (Here, by 'Indian' I mean whose ancestors belong to India) Diasporic Writers like Anita Desai, Bharati Mukherjee, Amitav Ghosh, Vikram Seth, Sunetra Gupta, Rohinton Mistry, Jhumpa Lahiri, Hari Kunzru and so on. The analogy of translation is more accommodating as it reflects upon the multifaceted situations of relocation, diaspora, and languages that we live in today. Many theorists of the academic discipline 'Translation Studies' as well as of 'Diaspora Studies' have explained notions like 'location or homeland', 'dislocation', 'relocation', 'displacement', and 'a feeling of loss of cultural identity and ethnicity' in their writings, often bereaving the loss of beauty and essence of the source text and culture. Therefore, it would be interesting to see how this analogy works. I also argue that the diasporic writers are the translated human beings who have translated their rhizomatic experiences, elaborating on the transplantation of their lives in the country they are living in through their narratives.*

**Keywords:** translation, diaspora, rhizome, Walter Benjamin, Gilles Deleuze

## Introduction: Diaspora Analogous to Translation

The notion 'diaspora' has its origins in an ancient Greek word meaning 'disperse' or 'to scatter about'. It is a large group of people with a similar heritage who have since moved out to places all over the world. They neither belong to their 'original' homeland entirely nor to the country they have emigrated to. This etymology is analogous to that of 'translation'. Translations too neither belong to their source language culture nor entirely to the target language culture. It becomes the third entity in the process of getting uprooted in a new land.

It seems to me that the existence of diasporic beings is the 'limbo' existence in which they are caught in an aporia of in-betweenness. I am using the theological term 'limbo' metaphorically here. The diasporic community is living in limbo, and they have to be there permanently as their identities have been transformed, carried across, and therefore, translated. They neither

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belong to the source nor to the target culture. According to an article published in *The Encyclopedia of Christian Civilization*, written by Christopher Beiting (2011), in Catholic theology, the term 'limbo' is used by Christian theologians to describe a state or place in the afterlife for souls in special categories that merited neither salvation nor damnation. The word comes from the Latin *limbus* meaning 'border' or 'edge'. The Hindu equivalent of the limbo state is Trishanku's heaven or parallel heaven. The myth goes as follows: Trishanku, a king, who aspired to reach heaven in his mortal stage beseeched powerful sages. One sage refused, others cursed him, and another promised him help. The nether world and God barred him from ascending to heaven. The powerful sage who helped him, then created parallel heaven, Trishanku's heaven. Similarly, translations and the immigrants neither belong to the source nor the target culture. They are situated in an in-between position of limbo in the afterlife of the text and culture. They are bound to be there eternally. The metaphor 'afterlife' suggests not only the decay of the source culture but also its renewal in the process of assimilating the target culture (acculturation). Please note, I am not using the notion of 'afterlife' in the sense Aniket Jaaware (2011) has brought it into play. Here, I use the word 'play' in the Derridean Sense (1970).

Salman Rushdie's (1991) use of the metaphor of translation seems interesting. According to him, since the immigrated beings have been moved across, they have been translated. He states, "The word 'translation' comes, etymologically, from the Latin for 'bearing across'. Having been borne across the world, we are translated men. It is normally supposed that something always gets lost in translation; I cling, obstinately, to the notion that something can also be gained." (17) He also accentuates the need of shifting the focus upon the gain through translation rather than pondering only upon loss. This is where the analogy of translation helps to comprehend the uncertain state of these beings.

Let me elaborate on my point a little further here. Translation has mostly been seen as a literary activity and is considered a substitute for the original. Many discussions around translations are limited to the question of 'what is lost in translation?' rather than 'what is gained through translation?' It is imperative to confer about what the literary works, languages, and societies gained through translation. Human beings are mostly bi-lingual or multi-lingual and every language has borrowed words from other languages. Consequently, it is not imprecise to reason that our lives are translated lives. Only those who are extremely proud of their first language do not accept their lives as translated lives. In the first two decades of the twenty-first century 'translation' has taken a new turn accommodating more disciplines and human states. Stefano Arduini and Siri Nergaard (2011) state, "Translation has become a frequent concept to describe and even explain identity as it surfaces in travelling, migrating, diasporic, and border-crossing individuals and cultures." (8)

### **Diaspora, Dislocation, and Translation**

It can be reasoned that since the root of both the noun 'translation' as well as 'diaspora' refer to 'location', 'movement', 'dislocation', and 'relocation', the metaphor of translation could be considered as analogous to the lives of diasporic beings. The close reading of the narratives reveals that the sense of loss and a feeling of rootlessness has often been lamented in diasporic writing. This position of diasporic writers and the characters in their narratives seem problematic to me. It has been bemoaned several times that the crux of the source text is lost in the translation; likewise, the source culture of the diasporic beings is lost while adapting to the culture of the land they have immigrated to. This is a little tricky because the concepts of 'loss' and 'gain' are based on the false assumptions of authenticity and permanency of the source whether it is a text or a culture.

I assume that the word 'translation' is a metaphor which allows to discuss it on a larger scale especially when it comes to the discussion of other kinds of translations like the translation of ideas, genres and even human lives. Walter Benjamin's (1923/2000) notion of translation as a mode allows us to think about different literary activities as well as cultural formations which are not generally regarded as translations, can also be well-thought-out as translations. Throughout the history of translation, many critics, scholars, and theorists viewed translations in the light of the ideas of 'loss' and 'gain'. However, the possibility of Cultural Translation takes away the discussion of 'loss' and 'gain'. Cultural Translation is more metaphorical than literal. Cultural translation as a process of transcreation of literature makes a text anew; similarly, in the process of 'assimilation', the diasporic community gets translated culturally, and at the same time their source culture grows into a fresh dimension. Therefore, it is twofold. The above discussion enables us to address the question 'What is lost and gained in Translation or Diaspora?' slightly differently.

### **Living in Diaspora, Being in Translation**

The way the language of the source text matures in the process of translation, the source culture too matures in the process of assimilation. By maturity, I mean, renewal. The following elucidation by Benjamin is analogous to that of diaspora. I dare to modify Walter Benjamin's (1923/2000) below-mentioned reasoning on translation in the context of diaspora by replacing certain words as follows:

<p><b>Walter Benjamin argues:</b> “For just as the tenor and the significance of the great <b>works of literature</b> undergo a complete transformation over the centuries, the <b>mother tongue of the translator</b> is transformed as well. While a poet’s words endure in his own language, even the <b>greatest translation</b> is destined to become part of the <b>growth of its own language</b> and eventually to be absorbed by its renewal. <b>Translation</b> is so far removed from being sterile equation of <b>two dead languages</b> that of all literary forms it is the one charged with the special mission of watching over the maturing process of the <b>original language</b> and the birth pangs of its own.” (18)</p>	<p><b>My take on Benjamin’s argument</b> For just as the tenor and the significance of <b>the great cultures</b> undergo a complete transformation over the centuries, <b>the culture of the diasporic being</b> too is transformed as well... even the <b>diaspora</b> is destined to become part of the <b>growth of the culture</b> of the land where they have been transplanted and eventually to be absorbed by its renewal. <b>Diaspora</b> is so far removed from being sterile equation of <b>two dead cultures</b> it is the one charged with the special mission of watching over the maturing process of the <b>source culture</b> and the birth pangs of its own.</p>
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The word culture means ‘to cultivate’, to be in flux. Culture, itself, is not a static entity. In my view, the source culture, through the diasporic community, in the target land, only grows and enriches. It does not get lost as it adapts to the injection of magnitudes.

**source culture + target culture = trans-culture**

In other words, the possibility and production of trans-cultures through diaspora renews the source culture. I suggest that it is inaccurate to limit the meaning of the word diaspora only to transfer from one culture to the other. We need to remember that the diasporic community transplants the source culture into a definitive cultural realm in which the source culture can only cultivate and augment. As translation is one of the possibilities among the multiplicities of the meaning of the source text, diaspora, too, is one of the possibilities of the multiple identities. It could be contended here that living in the diaspora is being in translation.

The diasporic writers, or more precisely the translated human beings, have been translating their experiences through narratives either lamenting or imagining, celebrating their homelands and roots. However, imagining or having one root is debatable since South Asians, or in the context of this article Indian Diaspora Writers, have previously been translated by the presence of the English and Europeans during the colonial period. They have earlier been uprooted and enrooted under colonial rule and after migrating to various

countries, a comparable process of dislocation and relocation happened. The metaphor of translation as ‘transplantation’ is germane here. As maintained by Benjamin (1923/2000), translation transplants the original into a definitive linguistic dominion. Allow me to alter an illumination by Benjamin by replacing certain words which will appropriately elaborate on the state of diaspora writers in the target cultures as follows:

<b>Walter Benjamin illuminates:</b> “For any <b>translation</b> of a work originating in a specific stage of <b>linguistic</b> history represents, in regard to a specific aspect of its content, <b>translation</b> into all other languages. Thus <b>translation</b> , ironically, transplants the original into a more definitive <b>linguistic</b> realm since it can no longer be displaced by a secondary rendering. The original can only be raised there anew and at other points of time.” (p. 19)	<b>My take on Benjamin’s illumination</b> For any <b>immigration</b> of people originating in a specific stage of <b>human</b> history represents, in regard to a specific aspect of its context, <b>diaspora</b> into all other <b>countries</b> . Thus <b>diaspora</b> , ironically, transplants the original into a more definitive <b>human</b> realm since it can no longer be displaced by a secondary rendering. The original can only be raised there anew and at other points of time.
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The immigrants, when dislocated from their source cultures, move to target cultures and relocate themselves in the target cultures, transplant their source cultures where it can only enrich. Therefore, mourning and expressing grief over the loss of source culture seems problematic to me. I propose that diaspora or the transplantation of human beings is something which needs to be celebrated for its further evolution and enhancement. Every culture is a multi-culture. This argument of mine is analogous to my other argument where I reason that the way every language has borrowed words from other languages, every culture has borrowed some or other practices, norms, or customs from other cultures and therefore, it is a multi-culture. This multiplicity and plurality of languages and cultures should be celebrated not bewailed. It can be claimed that our interest in finding the roots of languages and cultures shall take us back in the history of rootlessness, multiplicity, and plurality of languages and cultures.

**Rhizome**

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari’s (1987) theorisation of ‘rhizome’ helps to understand the diasporic situation, which is not reducible to one root but constitutes the ‘in-between’ position of limbo, living in an aporia where the conjunction ‘and’ and the alliance of cultures become significant. ‘Rhizome’, basically, is a botanical concept, defined in Encyclopedia Britannica “Rhizome, also called creeping rootstalk, horizontal underground plant stem capable of

producing the shoot and root systems of a new plant." Ginger and turmeric are some examples of rhizomatic stems in Botany. Deleuze & Guattari (1987) expound:

*A rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, intermezzo. The tree is filiation, but the rhizome is alliance, uniquely alliance. The tree imposes the verb "to be" but the fabric of the rhizome is the conjunction, "and ... and ... and..." This conjunction carries enough force to shake and uproot the verb "to be." Where are you going? Where are you coming from? What are you heading for? These are totally useless questions. Making a clean slate, starting or beginning again from ground zero, seeking a beginning or a foundation-all imply a false conception of voyage and movement (a conception that is methodical, pedagogical, initiatory, symbolic ...)." (25)*

This postulate submits that a rhizomatic state is one that does not begin or end at a particular point. It is situated in the middle and works within the framework of 'and', that is in the in-between position or limbo or Trishanku's heaven; as a result, voyage or movement of roots is a false conception. If we agree with this, then we should also accept that the diasporic condition is that of translation. The diasporic existences are the translated existences leading translated lives. In fact, all of us are translated beings as we are mostly either bilingual or multilingual as our first languages have borrowed words from other languages. As Octavio Paz (1992) explains "No text can be completely original because language itself, in its very essence, is already a translation—first from the nonverbal world, and then, because each sign and each phrase is a translation of another sign, another phrase." (152) If I stretch this elucidation a little, it can be argued that no culture is original because every culture itself is a multi-culture, a translation of other cultures, and then, because each norm and custom is a translation of another norm and another custom. Therefore, the assimilation of diasporic beings as well as of the characters in the Literature of Indian Diaspora in the target culture becomes possible.

### **Characters in Literature of Indian Diaspora**

The Indian diasporic writers have translated their homeland, cultural baggage, Indian mythology, and the sense of relocation through their literary works containing the themes of displacement, nostalgia, dislocation and so forth. These writers have portrayed rhizomatic experiences through their writings. By rhizomatic experiences, I mean the trans-cultural and trans-national experiences which, the same as rhizomes, are rootless. The very national category 'Indian' is challenging to define since to define this category is to limit its scope. As 'Indian Culture' too is not a static and single entity, how can its root be traced? The culture itself is rhizomatic in the Deleuzean sense. Moreover, the characters in the diaspora writings try to replant the offshoots of their homeland culture into the land they have been moved to, and being



nostalgic about the loss of the homeland they imagine their homeland while assimilating the culture of the land they have immigrated to. Their homelands, on the other hand, are under constant change since they left. In addition to this, their culture also got assimilated into the target culture through the transplantation of their own lives.

In some of the narratives, the characters try to keep in touch with their relatives in India and constantly focus on the contrast between the country they immigrated to and India expressing their reminiscence for their homeland which they now imagine through their memories. It is interesting to see how they compare the nature of their homeland with that of the country they have immigrated to.

Let me go back to Salman Rushdie as he warns those who forget the world beyond their own community to which they belong, to which they confined themselves within narrowly defined cultural frontiers. And according to him doing, this is to go voluntarily to the internal exile called homeland. Internal exile is one of the themes of diasporic writings. Forgetting the world beyond one's community is denying the possibility of translation. Please note, translation is impossible, and at the same time a necessary act. Similarly, opting for assimilation is impossible, and at the same time a necessary act as it opens the possibility of producing a new culture, in a way to grow and enrich the source and target cultures. Hence, it is a positive thing.

Many of these texts represent the issues of assimilation faced by first-generation and second-generation immigrants. In the process of assimilation, the characters fear the loss of ethnic identity and feel the trauma of self-transformation. The families undergo a dilemma of dislocation. They lament the loss of home, mesmerize the past and search for a new identity gradually absorbing the organic process of steady growth where they desire spaces for themselves. They see growth as a painful experience for the expatriate and the recognition of doubleness, 'fluid identity' is even more painful. However, it seems to me that ethnic identities are not fixed and permanent entities and having a 'rootless identity' is inevitable. Rushdie (1991) addresses the identity crisis in the Indian Diasporic Community. He states, "Our identity is at once plural and partial. Sometimes we feel that we straddle two cultures; at other times that we fall between two stools". (15)

The identity of the original and of the translation are at once plural and partial. The translated texts too straddle between two cultures and two linguistic lands carrying multiple identities, being in a rootless state. It is interesting to see that the movement of 'deterritorialization', and the process of 'reterritorialization' are significant here. The process of 'deterritorialization' is the process of dislocation, while the process of 'reterritorialization' is the process of assimilation. It takes time but the replanting of offshoots happens, and the source culture finds a new direction in the target culture. Since both cultures are constantly in flux, it is impossible to imagine a root-based identity

of the diasporic community. The identities become rootless; therefore, rhizomatic. The experiences of diaspora too are rhizomatic. In a diasporic situation such experiences may appear anywhere and grow anywhere. This could be called the 'cultural transplantation' of the diasporic community. This cultural transplantation of the diasporic community is a 'translation' of the community. The sense of loss proves unproductive; rather, the sense of gain, the possibilities of plurality and multiplicity should be explored and celebrated.

### **Conclusion: Translation and Diaspora - Productive Human Conditions**

To conclude, it could be said that the condition of diasporic writers and beings is always of being in a middle from which they grow and overflow as they are composed of directions in motions and dimensions, not of units. The duo Deleuze and Guattari (1987) state, "Rhizome ... is composed not of units but of dimensions, or rather directions in motion. It has neither beginning nor end, but always a middle (milieu) from which it grows and which it overflows." (21)

Being in diaspora and living in translation is, in my view, a productive human condition as growth and the overflow from the source culture to the target culture open the multiplicities and allow the 'freeplay' of identities and pluralities, in the Derridean (1970) sense of the word. Ultimately, it allows societies to be all-inclusive. For example, discrimination based on caste in India would undeniably be worse than what a diaspora would offer. Factors of various kinds of categorisation like gender, ethnicity and religion are represented in diasporic literature but I believe that 'caste' is something that is missing. It seems to me that the diaspora would definitely provide a better living condition for someone facing discrimination on the basis of caste in the source culture. Here the rhizomatic understanding of diaspora and caste would be of great help as it is possible to do away with the baggage of caste in the diaspora and start anew. This does not mean there will not be any discrimination. There would be discrimination based on several other factors and there will also be several other ways of dealing with those discriminations.

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# "‘FRRRIZZLED LIKE A FRRRRITTER,’ SAID THE GRAND HIGH WITCH. ‘COOKED LIKE A CARROT.’” - NOTES ON FOREGROUNDED LANGUAGE IN TRANSLATED CHILDREN’S LITERATURE

Nadina VIȘAN\*

**Abstract:** *The present article explores the benefits that a corpus stylistic approach can provide to the study of literary translation. The focus is on identifying specific strategies in translation and in what way they interact with the constraints that characterize the translation of children’s literature. The article tackles phenomena such as foregrounded language, whether it is alliteration, repetition or expressive language created through word-deformation, in a text such as Roald Dahl’s dark fantasy novel **The Witches** and its three corresponding Romanian target texts, seeking to explore effective methods of recapturing the stylistic effect present in the source text. The data show that foregrounded language is translated mainly through equivalence, with the notable exception of alliteration, which is compensated for. Since the source text has been thrice translated into Romanian, the article also checks whether the “unretranslability hypothesis” (Sanz Gallego et al., 2023) applies with respect to foregrounded language in the present corpus. The instances of overlapping linguistic material analysed indicate that there are not enough grounds to support the hypothesis and that a possibly larger corpus and more clearly defined terminology are needed in this respect.*

**Key words:** children’s literature, foregrounding, overlapping, prominence, retranslation

## Introduction

The present paper aims at identifying strategies in the translation of foregrounded language in a sample of text selected from Roald Dahl’s dark fantasy, *The Witches*. By foregrounded language, I understand instances of expressive language, i.e. those snippets of text where the author operates a deviation of sorts, meant to be stylistically relevant. In that, I follow Leech & Short (1981: 37) and their definition of foregrounding as “artistically motivated deviation”, a phenomenon meant to make the linguistic material stand out, be prominent. The first question that imposes itself is, therefore, what kind of strategies should be employed by a literary translator when dealing with foregrounded language. To this end, I will borrow the set of translatorial strategies proposed by Epstein (2012), since these strategies seem to have been fashioned for the very specific purpose of accommodating expressive

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language in children's translated literature. Thus, the translator might resort to direct retention (preserving the exact same stylistic device), to adaptation (adapting the specifics of the stylistic device to the target language), to compensation in place (operating stylistic deviation elsewhere in the text by using a particular stylistic device), or to deletion (omitting the foregrounded material in the target text). Since the type of foregrounded language I am investigating is the result of either qualitative prominence<sup>1</sup> (by violation of linguistic rules) or of quantitative prominence (by disrupting patterns of expected frequency), I expect that the most frequently employed strategy will be that of direct retention, followed close by compensation and adaptation.

The second aim of this paper is to identify patterns of overlapping (Van Poucke 2020) in the retranslation of foregrounded language, so as to check whether the Unretranslatability Hypothesis (henceforth UH) applies to my corpus (Sanz Gallego *et al.* 2023). According to Sanz Gallego *et al.* (2023: 103), if the first translation of a text manages to render foregrounded language from the original by obtaining a similar effect with that in the source text, the options left to future re-translators might be reduced to such an extent that some segments in the source text might become un-retranslatable: in other words, they will coincide in all (or some) of the versions. This seems an appropriate line of inquiry given the fact that the source text under investigation has been translated (TT1), retranslated (RTT) and re-retranslated (RRTT) into Romanian. The existence of three Romanian versions is a good premise for this kind of endeavor, which presupposes identifying those points in the translation of foregrounded material where there is coincidence between all (or some) of the versions in question.

To my mind, my paper's contribution is relevant for the following reasons: on the one hand, this is the first study that checks Romanian retranslations with respect to the UH; on the other hand, in this study the corpus is made up of texts meant for children, while the UH has been so far checked for what Dollerup (2003: 100) calls "privileged" literature (the corpus was made up of fragments from Joyce's *Ulysses* translated into various languages). Since translating children's literature has its own, well-defined challenges (Oittinen 2000, Lathey 2016, van Coillie & McMartin 2020), the advantage of such an inquiry is that it might uncover aspects that further illuminate the process of literary translation.

One of the difficulties that literary translators face when dealing with juvenile literature is that many of these books combine text with image<sup>2</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> See also, as an alternative to prominence, the four types of salience proposed by Schmid 2020: 78-79.

<sup>2</sup> In 1978, Dahl started collaborating with illustrator Quentin Blake. According to Scott (2012: 160), Dahl finally found in Blake a partner that shared his vision about writer and illustrator forming a team so as "to reflect and augment each other's contribution." Blake adapted his graphics to Dahl's unique verbal style and remained the main illustrator of Dahl's subsequent work, including *The Witches*. His illustrations are part and parcel of all the Romanian published versions.

with sound. In other words, the translator needs to fit the words into the illustrations of the book and, more often than not, they need to consider whether the book is not just a read-alone, but also a read-aloud kind of book. This, obviously, complicates matters.

According to Dollerup 2003, translating for reading aloud is very different from translating books meant only for silent reading, as it continues the oral tradition of story-telling. The present article focuses on those instances of foregrounded language that are especially meant to make a difference when the book is read aloud. To this end, I am going to look at passages characterized by alliteration, assonance, word-deformation through distortion of sound, repetition (whether it is lexical or rhythmical). I have decided to look closely at these phenomena because they are indeed stylistic characteristics of Dahl's work (Rudd, 2012) and because, in this particular book, this kind of foregrounded language is, indeed, stylistically motivated. These devices are all employed with the purpose of characterizing one of the protagonists of the story: The Grand High Witch. This character is meant to arouse both disgust and fear in the young reader. However, there is a comical-grotesque dimension in the character that colors the horror she might instill in the reader, so much so that young readers are both spooked and repelled and entertained at the same time. This is achieved through language. Dahl chooses to endow the Grand High Witch with a foreign accent, possibly a German one since the character pronounces 'w' as 'v'. What emerges is a funny, yet horrifying idiolect, where sound distortion plays a major part. More than that, the Grand High Witch delights in uttering alliterative phrases, which she uses with gusto as rhetorical devices while giving pep talks to her witches. As she is strutting on the stage of the Witches' Convention, she is inciting witches to violence against "foul and filthy" children. Her language is highly expressive, it has a rhythm of its own, and it is one of the main reasons why this book has been cherished by many generations of young readers. This is why I have decided to look at sound distortion and alliterative patterns in the translation of Roald Dahl's work, as stylistic devices meant to create both comic and spooky effects in the reader. Translating humor into Romanian has been analysed in the literature (Vişan 2015, Protopopescu 2022), yet translating children's "humor cum horror" into Romanian has never been discussed, to my knowledge. A second reason why this kind of investigation is worth conducting is that, while a lot of attention has been paid to lexical coinages (or "occasionalisms," to use Poix' 2021 terminology) in Dahl's *The BFG* (see, for instance, Epstein 2012 for Danish, Swedish and Norwegian translations, Zograti 2021 for a French version, Ionescu 2022 for a Romanian version), little or no attention has been paid to foregrounded language through sound distortion or through alliteration and/or repetition in Dahl's translated books for children.

### ***The Witches in Translation***

The corpus of the present article is made up of two chapters of the English dark fantasy for children *The Witches*, published in 1983: *Frizzled like a Fritter* and *Formula 86 Delayed Action Mouse-Maker*. These are the chapters that introduce the Grand High Witch, the nemesis of a seven-year old English boy who happens to be the narrator of the story. The source text (ST) is paralleled by its first translation (TT1), made in 1993 by Leontina Rădoi for 'Patricia' Publishing House. The second target text, which counts as a retranslation (RTT), was published in 2003 by 'Rao' Publishing House and signed by Eugenia Popescu. The most recent target text, counting as a re-retranslation (RRTT) is due to Adrian Oțoiu and was published in 2014 by 'Arthur' Publishing House and subsequently re-published twice. The aforementioned published versions are accompanied by my own translation, which will count as a "control" target text (CTT), since I intend to use it as a translation theorist's tool with which to check variation in translational patterns and techniques in the work of the three published translators.

Interestingly enough, the published versions are part of a larger project covering the translation of a bunch of Dahl's famous books, such as *Matilda* and *The BFG*. It is thus fair to say that 'Patricia' Publishing House was the first publisher to commission the translation of Dahl's books in Romania, in the early 90's. 'Rao Publishing House' re-translated them in the early 2000's, while 'Arthur Publishing House' re-retranslated them about fifteen years later. This means that the norms applied in translation should not differ too dramatically, nor should the strategies employed by the three translators radically vary in point of frequency. It would be thus fair to assume that any striking difference in the strategies employed might be attributed to the personal style of the translator in question, rather than to a change in the stylistic norms of a particular period of time.

Let us now consider a few examples of foregrounded language relying on distortion of sound, on repetition, symmetry and rhythm, as well as on alliteration. All the examples presented here are part of the Grand High Witch's speech pattern, described by Dahl as "harsh and guttural": "she seemed to have trouble pronouncing the letter *w*. [...] she did something funny with the letter *r*." (p. 68) Since "*w*" is not a frequent letter in Romanian, the translator will probably replace it with another letter, or letters, thus resorting to a form of adaptation (see the solution in RRTT and in CTT, where the Grand High Witch mistakes voiced for voiceless consonants, which produces comic effects).

**Table 1 Sound distortion, alliteration – Direct Retention, Adaptation, Deletion**

ST	TT1	RTT	RRTT	CTT
" <b>Rrree-moof your vigs</b> (1) and get some fresh air into your <b>spotty scalps!</b> (2)" she shouted. (p. 68)	-Scoateți-vă perrrucile și aerrrisiți-vă scalpurile pătate! – strigă ea. (p. 56)	-Scooateți-vă perrrru-cile și aerrrisiți-vă căpățânile pătate, strigă ea. (p. 101)	-Scoateț' perrrhuciile să vă rrrrhespirrrhe capurhhhile buboase! a strigat apoi. (p. 73)	-Scoaaaa-teți-fă berrruu-cile și aerrrisiți-fă găbățânile pupoase! a răcnit ea.

Contrary to my expectations, the examples in Table 1 prove that all three published versions opt for direct retention with respect to the pronunciation of “r”, but only one of them chooses adaptation for the pronunciation of “w”. TT1 and RTT opt for strategic deletion, and, in doing that, they tone down the quirky patterns of the Grand High Witch’s speech. RRTT, on the other hand, replaces the quirky pronunciation of “w” in the ST with dropping the final vowel in some of the words (e.g. *scoateț* instead of *scoateți*) or with switching between voiced and voiceless consonants in other parts of the text. The second instance of foregrounded language underlined in the source text is the alliterative phrase *spotty scalps*. The alliteration is deleted in all target texts although I would argue that CTT recaptures the sonorous comic effect by compensation (*găbățânile pupoase* is an instance of word deformation for *căpățânile buboase* “scabby pates”). As for overlapping of foregrounded material, it appears that there is some coincidence in all four versions (the verb *a scoate* for *remove* and *perucă* for *wig*). The first two versions seem to favour the same adjective for *spotty*, i.e. *pătate* “stained”, while RRTT and CTT opt for the adjective *buboase* “scabby,” which sounds, arguably, quite funny in this context. The use of the augmentative *căpățână* “big head” is also funny, probably due to the expressive augmentative suffix that Romanian possesses and English doesn’t. Both RTT and CTT make use of this compensatory device, meant to reduce some of the translation loss resulting from the omission of the alliteration.

**Table 2 Sound distortion, alliteration – Deletion, Compensation**

ST	TT1	RTT	RRTT	CTT
" <b>Frrrizzled like a frrritter</b> (1)," said The Grand High Witch. " <b>Cooked like a carrot</b> (2). You <b>vill</b> (3)	-Prrrăjită ca un cartof! – zise Înalta Vrajitoare a Lumii. Fiarrrtă ca un morcov! N-o s-o mai vedeți	-Arsă ca o friptură, spuse Marea Vrajitoare. Fiartă-n clocot ca un morcov. N-o să mai dați	-Bârbălită ca o frrrăbioară, a spus din nou Înălțimea sa Marea Vrajitoare. Ca o frigăruie. Fiarrrrtă ca	-Vrrribtă ca o vrrricanea, a spus Înălțimea Sa Marea Vrajitoare. Viarrrdă ga vasolea! N-o



never see <i>her</i> again. Now <b>vee</b> (4) can get down to business." p. 81	niciodată! Acum să trecem la treabă! p. 62	ochii cu ea niciodată. Ei acum putem să ne vedem de treburile noastre. p. 111	un morcof. N-o s-o mai fedeți niciodată. Și-acum butem să trecem la trreabă. p. 80	s-o mai feteți nicipând! Și-agum, la dreapă!
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The example in Table 2 contains four underlined phrases: (3) and (4) are instances of word deformation through sound distortion, strategically deleted in the first two versions, adapted in the other two versions. (1) and (2) are instances of alliteration, which none of the published versions manages to recapture. This is a famous line in the book, placed dramatically at the end of the chapter: it is what the Grand High Witch says after she executes an insubordinate witch by incineration. It is meant to be quite terrifying, in combination with the mispronunciation of "w" in *will* and *we*. I will argue, again, that RRTT manages to compensate for this loss by the strategy of adaptation used amply in this passage (apart from the mispronunciation of "r", the translator chooses to replace voiced consonants with voiceless ones: *morcof* instead of *morcov*, *fedeți* instead of *vedeți*; all these phonological changes are meant to capture some of the grotesqueness of the situation.) Interestingly enough, RRTT is the only target text that manages direct retention for the very specific, stylistically marked past participle *frizzled*, translated by an expressive past participle, which proves to be an effective choice: *pârpălit* from a *pârpăli*, which is a variant of a (se) *perpeli* "to cook on a spit or roast in the fire", with sound distortion ("b" for "p"). The other versions opt for verbs of cooking that are all part of the Romanian core vocabulary: a *prăji* "to fry", a *arde* "to burn", a *frige* "to roast." Probably as another form of compensation, RRTT also opts for the addition of the elliptical clause *ca o frigăruie* "like barbecue." I have also identified an instance of compensation by addition in RTT: *fiartă-n clocot ca un morcov* "boiled in a simmer like a carrot." It is quite possible that the translator has opted for adding the prepositional phrase *în clocot* "in a simmer" so as to phonologically balance the rendition. Thus, the cadence of the original is preserved, even if there is no alliteration captured in translation. The only version that manages to retain alliteration is CTT: *friptă ca o friganea* "toasted like French toast" *fiartă ca fasolea* "boiled like beans." CTT seems to be the closest to the ST in point of musicality. While preserving the cadence of the original, it combines alliterations with word deformation through sound distortion, thus managing to foreground most of the linguistic material in the fragment. However, this might ultimately count as a form of overcompensation, as the overall effect might be more comic and less spooky than it is in the original.

With respect to overlapping material in the four versions under investigation, it is the phrase *cooked like a carrot* that seems to have been

translated similarly: *fiartă ca un morcov* “boiled like a carrot” in all three published versions, *fiartă ca fasolea* “boiled like beans” in the fourth unpublished version, which retains the verb *a fierbe* “to boil,” but replaces the noun *carrot* with *fasole* “beans”, for the sake of recapturing the alliteration present in the original.

**Table 3 Polypoton, Homoioteleuton, Alliteration – Direct Rendition, Deletion**

ST	TT1	RTT	RRTT	CTT
That face of hers was the most <b>frightful and frightening</b> (1) thing I have ever seen. Just looking at it gave me the shakes all over. It was so <b>crumpled and wizened</b> (2), so <b>shrunk and shriveled</b> (3), it looked as though it had been pickled in vinegar. p. 63	Fața ei adevărată era cel mai oribil și mai înfricoșător lucru pe care-l văzusem vreodată. Uitându-mă la ea am început să tremur. Era așa de suptă și de mototolită, așa de ridată și de scofălcită, de parcă ar fi fost murată în oțet! p. 54	Fața aceea a ei era tot ce văzusem eu mai urât, mai înfricoșător. Doar uitându-mă la ea, începusem să tremur din tot corpul. Era atât de bojită și de sfrijită, atât de strâmbă și de zbârcită, încât arăta de parcă ar fi fost murată în oțet. p. 97	Fața aia a ei era cel mai groaznic și mai îngrozitor lucru pe care l-am văzut. Nu trebuia decât să-i arunc o singură privire și începeam să bâțai. Era atât de bojită și de stafidită, atât de ofilită și de încrețită, că părea să fi fost marinată în oțet. p. 70	Fața ei era cel mai îngrozitor, cel mai grozav lucru pe care îl văzusem vreodată. Doar uitându-te la ea și te lua cu tremurici. Era așa de ridată și de uscată, de stafidită și de scofălcită, încât părea murată în oțet.

Consummate word-smith that he is, Dahl combines various figures of sound and of repetition to arouse fear and wonder in his young readership. The first underlined phrase in Table 3 is an instance of polypoton, a figure of speech based on the repetition of words derived from the same root. While both RRTT and CTT manage to build similar structures in Romanian (RRTT: *cel mai groaznic și mai îngrozitor lucru* “the most horrible and horrifying thing”, CTT: *cel mai îngrozitor, cel mai grozav lucru* “the most terrible, the most terrifying thing”), neither TT1, nor RTT seem to retain this stylistic device, opting for strategic deletion. Interestingly enough, both TT1 and RTT select the same adjective, *înfricoșător* “frightening”, which means that there is some overlapping involved, as there is in the case of RRTT and CTT, which choose to employ the adjective *îngrozitor* “terrifying”.

The second underlined phrase in Table 3 is also a pair of adjectives linked by the copulative conjunction *and*. This time, however, the adjectives have a similar ending, and their association results into a figure of sound, a homoioteleuton. All versions seem to capture this stylistic device, with varying degrees of musicality. There is also unavoidable overlapping between some of the epithets selected by translators from the set of available synonyms describing a lined face.

The third underlined structure is another pair of adjectives, built as the last element in a symmetrical triad of pairs. They also form one of the many instances of alliteration employed by the author in this book. Of the four versions under discussion, the only one that recreates the alliteration is the fourth, and I admit that, although I have refrained from consulting the published versions, this is the one occasion in which I have knowingly borrowed the epithet *scofâlcită* „scuffed, wizened” from TT1, thus placing CTT in a relation of “filiation” (Zhang & Ma, 2018: 578) with TT1. In this case, the overlapping existing between these two versions counts as “forced” (Sanz Gallego *et al.* 2023: 103). While none of the published versions manages alliteration for this last pair of epithets, all versions, including the unpublished, artificially built one, compensate with another homoioteleuton, thus replacing the triad polyptoton-homoioteleuton-alliteration as follows: TT1 and RRTT – Ø-homoioteleuton-homoioteleuton, RRTT – polyptoton-homoioteleuton-homoioteleuton, CTT – polyptoton-homoioteleuton- alliteration + homoioteleuton. It appears that the first two versions retrieve two elements of the triad, identically built, i.e. two homoioteleuta, while RRTT manages to keep the triad of stylistically marked pairs of epithets, but without managing to identically copy the three stylistic devices employed in the original. CTT, on the other hand, overcompensates again, by doubling alliteration with homoioteleuton in the third component of the triad.

**Table 4 Complex homoioteleuton – Direct Retention**

ST	TT1	RTT	RRTT	CTT
her mind will always be <b>plotting and scheming and churning and burning and whizzing and phizzing</b> with murderous bloodthirsty thoughts. p. 12	mintea ei <b>arde, clocotește, cerne și bolborosește</b> tot felul de gânduri criminale și însetate de sânge. p.7	mintea ei nu va avea odihnă: <b>va unelti și plănuî, va combina și proiecta, va șmecheri și născoci,</b> însetată de sânge, gânduri ucigașe. p. 8	mintea ei tot <b>uneltește și ticluiește și toarce și mocnește și sfârâie și şuieră,</b> duduind de gânduri ucigașe, însetate de sânge. p. 8	mintea ei tot asta face: <b>face și desface, sfârâie și pâraie, toacă și răstoacă</b> gânduri ucigașe, gânduri sângeroase

Table four illustrates the translation of a homoioteleuton made up of as many as six rhyming present participles. The rhyme contributes to reinforcing the rhythm of the sentence. All four versions manage to recover the figure, preserving the components of the homoioteleuton. TT1 manages only four of the six, while all the others are more successful. Just like in previous cases, CTT overcompensates, adding repetition (the verb *face* “does”, the noun *gânduri* “thoughts”), a polyptoton built on prefixation (*toacă și răstoacă* “churns and overchurns”) and a second homoioteleuton (*ucigașe-sângeroase* “murderous-bloodthirsty”). No coincidence of foregrounded material is identifiable in this particular segment.

**Table 5 Epistrophe, alliteration – Deletion, Adaptation, Compensation**

ST	TT1	RTT	RRTT	CTT
<b>"Miserrrrable vitches!"</b> she yelled. <b>"Useless lazy vitches! Feeble frrribbling vitches!"</b> You are a heap of idle good-for-nothing vurms!" p. 72	Mizerrrrabilelor!- urlă ea. Nemerrrnice și leneșe! Slabe și frrricoase! Sunteți o grămadă nemerrrnice și leneșe! p. 58	-Vrăjitoare nenorocite ! țipă ea. Vrăjitoare puturoase, care nu sunteți bune de nimic! Vrăjitoare nevolnice, pierde-vară! Sunteți o grămadă de viermi buni de stârpit! p. 105	Frrrăjitoarrre buturroase și netrebuincioase! Frrrăjitoarrre netrebnice și becisnice! Nu sunteți decât o hrămadă de fiermi nefolnici, de limbrici nimurici! p. 76	-Frăjitoarrre doande! a zbierat ea. Frăjitoarrre leneșe și ignorrrrande, frăjitoarrre fără cap și fără minde! Atunăturrră netrepnică de fierrrrmi ce sundeți!

Table 5 illustrates a figure of speech constantly employed in discourse: epistrophe, a figure of repetition which allows for a word/phrase to be repeated at the end of successive structures. In this case, the word that is repeated is deformed through sound distortion, placed in three imperative phrases, each accompanied by epithets. Again, reading the passage aloud reveals a musical, rhythmic text. Epistrophe is also doubled by alliteration (*feeble frrribbling*). The task of the translator is difficult, as proved by TT1, that does away with epistrophe and with alliteration, opting for a simplified kind of repetition (a diacope: *nemerrrnice și leneșe* “useless and lazy”). Both RTT and RRTT and CTT recover the rhetorical device, yet due to parametric variation

between English and Romanian (adjective-noun vs. noun-adjective), epistrophe is transformed into anaphora, by adaptation. None of the versions manages to capture the alliteration. However, both RRTT and CTT resort to compensatory devices such as homoioteleuta (RRTT: *netrebnice-becisnice* “useless-worthless”, *nevolnici-limbrici-nemurici* “worthless-worms-feeble”, CTT: *toante-ignorante-fără minte* “stupid-ignorant-mindless”), doubled by word deformation through sound distortion.

As for overlapping material, some of the epithets available in a set of synonyms describing worthless individuals are recurrent (such as *netrebnic*, *nevolnic* “worthless”). Just like in some of the previous cases discussed above, these are instances of “imperative coincidence” (Sanz Gallego *et al.* 2023: 103).

### Concluding Remarks

Perusal of the data reveals that translators apply direct retention for sound distortion and repetition, as well as for homoioteleuta, followed close by adaptation and compensation, as anticipated in the introduction of this article. It seems that the stylistic device that was the most troublesome and almost impossible to recover was alliteration. Although we expected to see instances of compensation in place (alliteration employed elsewhere in the text), none of the translators resorted to this kind of strategy. They did, however, make use of compensation in kind, opting for replacing alliteration with homoioteleuton, or with repetition.

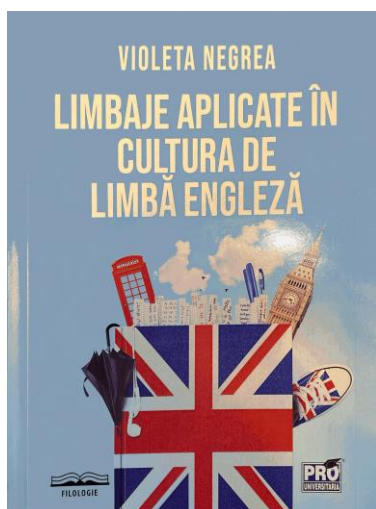
Of the three published versions discussed here, it appears that the most recent one, signed by Adrian Oțoiu for ‘Arthur’ Publishing House, was the most successful in capturing the musicality and quirkiness of Dahl’s style. Apart from cleverly used compensatory techniques, the translator made use of dialectal and highly literary lexemes, meant to recover some of the translation loss inherent in any target text. Although produced for the purposes of the present paper and meant as a sort of measuring tool, the fourth version turned to be over-compensatory and ornate. A read-aloud test performed on all four versions in front of a young audience registered a marked preference for RRTT and for CTT, which indicates that the devices employed by the two translators were ultimately effective.

The second purpose of this paper was to check whether the Unretranslatability Hypothesis proposed by Sanz Gallego *et al.* 2023 held true for translated children’s literature, in particular for Romanian translations of Dahl’s books. The data indicate that there is consistent overlapping in many of the instances of foregrounded linguistic material analysed. However, the examples discussed in this paper seem to point to imperative coincidence, having to do with lexical availability of synonyms rather than other types of choices. Probably a larger corpus is needed to reinforce or refute this result. While strategies in translation coincide in many cases, the ensuing linguistic material in the versions analysed here did not evince instances of recycling as

proposed by Sanz Gallego *et al.* 2023. I believe that a more detailed description or definition of what counts as coincidence in retranslation is needed for more reliable results.

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Violeta Negrea (2021) *Limbafe aplicafe în cultura de limba engleză*. București: Pro-Universitaria, 177 p, ISBN 978-606-26-1476-8

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The book is a useful addition to the vast field of English for Professional Purposes, aiming to analyse the relationship between occupational fields and the English language as a tool, in the attempt to generate material wealth as a result of “forming applied linguistic and communicational skills” (p.7). While there is no doubt that nowadays English has a clearly established status as the main lingua franca in any type of communication, either specialized or general, the author manages to fill a gap in considering the essential role it plays in shaping world culture as we know it. This interdisciplinary project is of evident interest to all types of readers, either expert or not, from the perspective of translating and interpreting professional content, as well as training mentors for the management of forming applied linguistic competencies of various sorts.

It is also noteworthy that, all through the volume, the author is constantly concerned with the objectives and framework of the linguistic policies of the European Union, with an aim to integrate our country into the global intercultural dialogue, and paying particular attention to the role of the linguistic standardization process in the economic development and welfare increase of human society as a whole. An interesting uptake is occasioned by the impact that Brexit has had on the evolution of global knowledge transfer and cultural exchanges in recent history. Similarly, this excursion into the linguistic phenomena correlated to the Anglophone culture and its worldwide reach includes a highly revealing bird’s eyeview of relevant events, personalities, developments, and circumstances connected to the status of English as a means of socio-professional and educational evolution and communication; such a vertical analysis, albeit limited in scope, has an undeniable role in shaping the critical thinking of any English language professional.

The book is structured as follows: a foreword (by the author), two comprehensive chapters, 1. From Language History to Teaching Applied Languages, and 2. Applied English: The Culture of Development and

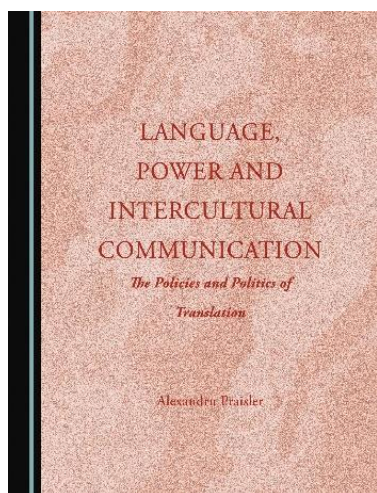
Standardization, a 16-page selective glossary, a closing argument, and a rich bibliography.

The first chapter is concerned with theoretical issues, aiming at creating the framework of the study. The operational concepts are language families, Germanism and insularity, linguistic paganism and Christianity, the linguistic interference brought about by the Norman Conquest, relocation and linguistic transfer, and *lingua franca* from a particular to a universal perspective.

The second chapter focuses on an in-depth analysis of English as an impact factor in economy and geopolitics, dealing with issues such as the standardization stages of the English language, dictionaries and the trans-border lexicon, the linguistics of industrial revolutions, skills and concepts in the market economy, applied languages and literacy, exploitation and development policies. Ample space is devoted to explanatory graphs, tables, diagrams and photos supporting the claims made by the author.

In conclusion, the novel perspective on language history and the variety of arguments brought in favour of the importance of English as an essential instrument of shaping and furthering global culture entitle us to recommend this volume as a suitable reading for any individual interested in both linguistics and cultural studies.





Alexandru PRAISLER, 2023. *Language, Power and Intercultural Communication. The Policies and Politics of Translation*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. ISBN 978-1-5275-9419-7, 215 pp.

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The language-power relationship cannot be overstated. It has been with us since the dawns of civilisations; evidence of how power influences language and how they contribute together to the development of (cultural/ethnic/national) identity, as well as to the vast and elusive domain of intercultural communication, has been brought repeatedly, in numerous studies. Whether it's grounded in Cultural Studies, Sociolinguistics, Discourse Analysis, or all of the above informing Translation Studies, as is the case here; whether it's scholarly research or empirical observation laid out in simpler terms, the path is well-trodden, and the literature available is overwhelming.

It is, therefore, challenging for new scientific output in the field to stand out, as it needs some elements of originality that are difficult to identify at this point. Alexandru Praisler's book on *Language, Power and Intercultural Communication* succeeds in this regard through its employing several features that have been less taken into consideration in the field of Translation Studies. The first and perhaps most important of all is Praisler's concern with the translator's empowering and empowerment. Studies in translation often overlook the person behind the textual connector of languages and cultures. Yet, while the author might be dead (see Barthes 1967), the translator is very much alive (and kicking) precisely through their role as both reader and transmitter. Translators can read the meanings of the source text as they want, just as any reader, but they can also alter/manipulate it for the further use of other readers. This is intercultural communication and mediation but it also wields power, which is why Praisler's focus on the translator – most assuredly, determined by his being a practitioner rather than a theorist of translation – fills a gap in the literature. This is not to imply that the translator might be some kind of *Magus* – their ways are kept in check by what the study discerns between the *policies* and *politics* of translation, which are also treated extensively. But Praisler convincingly advocates for "a reaction against the non-critical, 'invisible' type of translation, in which the translator is a technical

service provider, having no responsibilities with regard to intellectual content and with scarce cultural know-how" (2023: 82).

The second aspect that makes the volume under the lens here an interesting addition to its field is its engagement with postmodernism and poststructuralism. Quite unexpectedly, the reader comes across a rich theoretical background anchored in Foucault, Bakhtin, Derrida, Barthes, Deleuze and Guattari, Jameson, Baudrillard, Lyotard, Giroux or Said. The seminal works of these theorists and ideologists help Alexandru Praisler focus on ideological matters at play when translating politics, abiding by the policies of translation. Even more significant support comes from the area of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, van Dijk and others), employed "to look into the act of translation as a socially determined discourse, also contaminated by change and by a politics of manipulation" (1).

The study is structured into two parts, each with its share of political discourse, that is critically analysed from a discursive standpoint, and then translated and commented on (by the author). The first two chapters deal with the idea of language and power in political discourse, with emphasis on political speech. The case study selected is the 2009 presidential election campaign, which opposed, in its final debate ("The Great Confrontation"), the more refined speaker Mircea Geoană and the populist Traian Băsescu. Praisler highlights their respective manipulative techniques and rightly points out that "a good translation would not attempt to erase the practiced manipulation, but be aware of the strategies intended to control the masses and preserve them as such" (73).

The latter part of the study, rather surprisingly, gives up political discourse proper and focuses, instead, on cultural discourse with pronounced social and political undercurrents. Translation is tackled in the context of globalisation, as an important vector of cultural mediation, and multimodality is brought to the table, as it has, of late, become much more relevant than the translation of the written text. Having laid out several translation strategies – with a telling preference for the theories of Venuti and Hatim and Mason, aptly combined, once again, with elements of CDA, Praisler opts for subtitling, if not for other reason, because "in dynamic 'screen texts', language, image and sound are related and used to narrate in many different ways, other semiotic resources (such as gesture, gaze, colours, framing, camera position/movement, etc.) being intermingled into a coherent whole" (90), which makes the translator's task "doubly challenging, with the complexity of nuance forced to be preserved and transmitted within a constrictive space" (90). The film analysed, translated, subtitled and commented on is Horațiu Mălăele's *Nuntă mută* [Silent Wedding], 2008, a tragicomedy that "unmasks the submission to the political regime which was to dominate the Eastern European space for the last decades of the previous century, starting in the 1950s" (113). Without disregarding the obvious political dimension of the film in his translation and analysis, Praisler shifts his focus

towards marketing translation and, as already mentioned, towards empowering the translator in the informational society of today.

The general conclusions of the study stress, once again, the fact that translation should be regarded as more than a simple technical service, since it allows its analysis as a power-enforcing apparatus, a relativiser of truth, and, ultimately, a form of cultural and political representation. I should say that Alexandru Praisler has succeeded in proving that “both the language of politics, and that of films function within a complex set of power relations and as power structures themselves, and that they have the potential to discursively modify social practices if the translator engages in intercultural mediation after culturally sensitive and multidisciplinary training” (133). This brings me to my general conclusion that, in Alexandru Praisler’s *Language, Power and Intercultural Communication. The Policies and Politics of Translation*, we are looking at an original and necessary scientific contribution to the field of 21<sup>st</sup>-century Translation Studies.



Carmen Opreț-Maftei & Iulia-Veronica Cocu (2023) *English for Professional Communication. Part I: Oral Presentations in a Nutshell*. Lambert Academic Publishing, 86 p, ISBN 9786205487532

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Oral communication unquestionably stands for a crucial component of daily life, and the ability to efficiently communicate is becoming ever more significant thanks to a growing social urge and an ever-increasing institutional need to constantly adapt our discourse and tune our thinking to countless cultural, social, economic and linguistic effects of globalization.

It is in this particular context that the workbook titled *English for Professional Communication - Part I. Oral Presentations in a Nutshell* published last year by LAMBERT Academic Publishing and co-authored by Drs. Carmen OPRÎȚ-MAFTEI and Iulia Veronica COCU serves as a valuable tool to improving linguistic competences of non-native English-speaking students and professionals. It basically helps them increase their oral communication skills and engages them with its very diverse language exercises and its original topics – which are specially designed to improve their oral communication practice.

Mostly addressing the communication needs of *Applied Modern Languages* and *Business English* students and future professionals, and including a conspicuously diverse vocabulary in its structure, *English for Professional Communication - Part I. Oral Presentations in a Nutshell* aims at encouraging its readers to engage in very specific conversations and to proficiently express themselves in varied real-life situations.

The introduction does explicitly describe the content of the workbook and objectively exposes the authors' vision on professional language and its role in communication, as well as on the directions to follow in the development of effective communication skills in oral English.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Considered as a whole, the work represents a logical, coherent and creative approach regarding the practice of professional communication. The perspective is shifted to practical aspects of oral presentations, with vocabulary exercises focused on business communication – one of the central areas of interest among current students.

The first chapter<sup>81</sup> sets the theoretical directions that are the basis of the practical approach in the subsequent chapters.<sup>82</sup> The authors carefully consider in the most practical terms those elements that future employees will particularly need when they access the labor market – which does offer a strong applicative character to this entire workbook.

Oral communication – as used in all sorts of presentations, from the most common to the very sophisticated – is a highly complex process, in which notions from various fields such as mathematics, geography or linguistics are clearly noticed to intersect, and therefore speakers or presenters have to master a solid yet also accessible language so as to have a deep impact on their audience. Therefore, the authors' approaching the elements presented in the second chapter stands for an excellent option to further addressing this issue. This approach increases speakers' self-confidence, who thus feel able to aptly convey their ideas and also thus resonate with the entire audience.

The language used is appropriate, varied, accessible, but very relevant and useful at the same time, combining the use of specialized terms with that of common terminology, so that students manage to acquire elements of scientific language yet also common elements to be used in an effective and persuasive communication.

Studying a foreign language requires a significant amount of time and also the instructor's undivided attention. Even when speaking in the learner's native tongue, professional communication can occasionally be extremely difficult. Nevertheless, the pool of exercises provided by this workbook at the end of each chapter does offer readers a very wide range of stimulating activities designed to boost and enrich their oral expression – which is intricately linked to their better getting integrated into the labor market.<sup>83</sup> Their layout reflects the authors' creativity and their concern to capitalize the applicative nature of these exercises – which implicitly leads to increasing students' ability to express themselves in an authentic fashion that should be appropriate to the targeted professional field. At the same time, conversation-based exercises represent an elaborate linguistic strategy, as they actively involve students in real-life situations, training them all along a complex but predictable process in which they have to make the most of their communication skills in order to simply produce some very specific oral messages or to decode others.

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<sup>81</sup> *Planning and Delivering an Effective Presentation*

<sup>82</sup> *Presenting Figures, Graphs and Statistics in Meetings and Job Interview Presentations.*

<sup>83</sup> The interactive character of this workbook is highly remarkable – consisting in special tasks presented in detail at the end of each working unit and which directly and explicitly aim at the interaction among the students who benefit by this special instructive input. These tasks build and strengthen specialized knowledge and stimulate both the imagination and the desire of students to communicate efficiently and to the point.

In the same line of thought, the authors of this workbook made an excellent choice in using the interview as a means of enhancing oral expression skills, as it is based on nothing but the principles of oral expression – its content analysis basically being one of the key agents in building up oral communication skills or enhancing the very sense of language itself.

All in all, the chapter dedicated to the job interview proves the double intention of the authors: to teach students how to prepare for a job interview and instruct them in drafting the presentations involved by this process.

The work ends with a series of appendices that complement the notions exposed throughout the work, offering a further insight on vocabulary elements.

The bibliography is very appropriate to the chosen topic, and we can also note the extensive and wide-ranging documentation varying from specific linguistic fields of interest and ESP to interdisciplinary approaches including sociology and psychology.

To conclude, this workbook is of a major importance at a practical-applicative level, being meticulously written and thoroughly explained, with addressing a highly sought-after subject such as *oral presentations* and aiming at developing those specific communication skills and competences that Applied Modern Languages and Business English students will capitalize in their professional future.



Florian Andrei Vlad. *A Close Reading of the Poetry of John Quinn: Space, Place, Tone and Narrative*. Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2022, ISBN 978-1-4955-1039-7, 172 pp.

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The structure of the study published by Florian Andrei Vlad on John Quinn's poetry - *A Close Reading of the Poetry of John Quinn: Space, Place, Tone and Narrative* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2022) contains analyses of three of the poet's volumes, *The Wolf Last Seen* (1980), *Easy Pie: Avian Poems* (1987), *That Kind of Bear/ Genul acela de urs* (2006), the recent critical bibliography used pointing out to the tropes of spatiality and wilderness, from a geocritical, ecocritical, cartographic, narrative and stylistic perspective. "The natural world simply is, but good poems like those explored in this volume turn the perception of the natural world's bewildering diversity into a meaningful experience, where sometimes unexpected contrasts, similarities and incongruities will lead to special effects, achieved not by modern technology, but by the poet's verbal art" (15). The poet is defined mainly as a traveler covering large American vistas, "from Alaska to Oregon, to the Far West and the Southwest, from Northern Iowa to Henderson, Clark County, Nevada and further south" (11).

John P. Quinn, the poet whose poetry has been analyzed by Florian Andrei Vlad in *A Close Reading of the Poetry of John Quinn: Space, Place, Tone and Narrative*, has embraced many interests and passions from a military career to collecting rare books (generously donated to the American Corner Constanța, Romania), to teaching at various universities across the US and Japan. Out of the courses he has been teaching, John Quinn's favorite is the one on Creative Writing, which I benefitted from as an undergraduate student of English, together with my colleagues and other series of students of Ovidius University Constanța for several years in the early 2000s. John Quinn's articles, essays, stories and poems have appeared in literary journals and magazines, such as *Hudson Review*, *College English*, *Gray's Sporting Journal* and *Rocky Mountain Review* (Eduard Vlad in *That Kind of Bear/ Genul acela de urs*, 3).

In 2006, the writer of the book under review here, Florian Andrei Vlad, with myself and three other colleagues from the English Department at Ovidius University Constanța, Ludmila Martanovschi, Lucia Opreanu and Ileana Jitaru, translated poems from the volume *That Kind of Bear* (2006), in

order to pay homage to the generous man and Professor and to make known to the Romanian public the literary creation of a valuable American Poet (Adina Ciugureanu in *ExPonto. Text/Imagine/Metatext*, 58).

The presentation of the volume *The Wolf Last Seen* announces the preoccupation with wildlife, resumed in the subsequent volumes. The eponymous text in the book features the last timberwolf spotted in Oregon, near Mapleton, around 1946, the vision acquiring an apocalyptic significance, with WWII war imagery evoked: "The real war is yet to come./ The wolf last seen,/ holding out, yellow eyes,/ armed to the teeth" (Quinn, *The Wolf Last Seen*, 11). "This Dream of Indians," the second text discussed by Florian Andrei Vlad, contains the road sign WILDLIFE, solemnly placed near the Nez Percé reservation, preparing the traveler poet for the squirrels, sheep, elks to be spotted, but the point of interest lies here in the parallel Vlad draws between the wolf last seen and the Indians in this place: "the real Indians in this dream/ are somewhere in the high country/ waiting with the elk,/ calling on the sky again/ to test the brittle temper/ of chipped obsidian" (Quinn, *The Wolf Last Seen*, 13). The Indians, just like the wolf, are waiting in a world "where volcanic eruptions and human injustice are part of the Earth's long story" (Vlad 31), a lesson which constitutes the backbone of Quinn's volume, as it appears in Vlad's conclusions to each chapter. The rest of the chapter deals with many other poems in the three sections of *The Wolf Last Seen*: "The Last Cattle Drive," "Sullivan's Cousin," "Dust Dances."

The second chapter of Florian Andrei Vlad's study covers *Easy Pie: Avian Poems*, John Quinn's second volume. Vlad first explains the title, *Easy Pie*, from the English idiom "Easy as pie" and links it to the art of writing poetry seen as "easy" for the poet as birdwatcher this time. "Work at the Rookery" is an invitation for the reader to imagine being one of the crow family building the nest, in terms of awareness about how the poem gets shaped. Andrei Vlad also remarks the aviary approach to the Irish descent of the poet himself through texts, such as "Easy Pie in Dublin" and "Greystones." In "Easy Pie" we retrace the wood pigeons in Herbert Park, Ireland, whereas in "Greystones" the poet shares with his friends, the birds, angry attitudes towards the English in Ireland: "There's a stuffy name for a place to walk/ the summer's sea-border bluffs. Sure,/ and let's have no Victorian sentiment./ I may be as foreign as the Pope at Bray,/ but I know what Victoria did for Ireland: Nothing [...] And as if that weren't enough,/ Now half the country (More than half!)/ Seems named from lines from Tennyson,/ Or sounds like mournful Matthew Arnold. [...] The birds know what I mean, the gannets/ And gulls, skewing the angles of fall/ From cliffs, skirring the sound of waves/ On stone, looking far to the Irish Sea/ For words, not to the colour of rocks" (Quinn in Vlad 89-90).

*That Kind of Bear/ Genul acela de urs* (2006), the bilingual edition used by Vlad, contains the title poem, followed by three other sections, "Ambergris,"



"Permafrost" and "Love Among the Animals." "That Kind of Bear," the opening text, is at length discussed by Andrei Vlad in *A Close Reading of the Poetry of John Quinn: Space, Place, Tone and Narrative*. It is a narrative of the speaker and his friend busy with fish traps at Copper Center (Alaska), facing the bear that they are forced to shoot, a decision that is regretted, as there is the Indian belief according to which the bear may be the guardian of your ancestor: "We never hunt that kind of bear in Gakona./ If you shoot one, that could be the spirit/ of your grandfather" (Quinn, *That Kind of Bear*, 11). In "Turned Ermine" and "Jeff's Bear Stump," the hunter's narratives continue, according to Vlad. "Permafrost" introduces a chilly, almost frozen landscape, in "White Mountain," "Spider Hatch," "Night Skiing" and "Glacier Bear." The last poem in "Love Among the Animals," namely "The Bison in the Dublin Museum of Natural History," is paid special attention by the critic as another text that takes the reader to the Irish land of Quinn's ancestors. The beginning of the text presents W.D.M Bell (Karamojo), a famous big game hunter in the British imperial history, and the displays of animals in the Victorian cabinets: buffaloes slaughtered on the westward move and one "more animal ghost" (Vlad 152), whose fate evokes that of the Irish: "on the tall, bog-stained bones/ of a hugely-antlered Irish elk,/ [...] the English ran the Irish down./ Who then to blame? Who yet to thank?/ It's hardly a question of fair or just,/ This quandary in the museum's dust" (Quinn, *That Kind of Bear*, 77). The skeleton of the Great Irish Elk discovered in the peat bog appears in Seamus Heaney's poem "Bogland" (*Door into the Dark*), like in Quinn's cabinet, as a reminder of layers of Irish history and identity. The two Irish elks and the two poets – Seamus Heaney and John Quinn – are thus tied in a North American Irish connection, which has bloomed in this post-exile age of transatlantic journeys. Vlad's conclusion to the chapter – and to the study – emphasizes the reluctance of the poet to put the blame on any side for the brutal historical power games he has witnessed all along the way and the joy of the poet's (artistic) journey.

The last section of *A Close Reading of the Poetry of John Quinn: Space, Place, Tone and Narrative*, "Post Reading, Pure and Simple," leaves the last words to the poet himself, as Florian Andrei Vlad puts it: "They [the words] are to be taken in a broad sense, in which such ghostly apparitions as a landscape, a moment, an impression, a meditation, often lead to readers imagining what lies behind and beyond the words, in the poet's artistic universe" (154). Thus, without failing to acknowledge the value of the critical responses of Florian Andrei Vlad to John Quinn's poetry, the last invitation is to the readers to discover the pleasure of wandering with the poet across the US and not only, benefitting from a companion's guidance, Florian Andrei Vlad's *A Close Reading of the Poetry of John Quinn: Space, Place, Tone and Narrative*.

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