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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

CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR IN NONFICTION: ALMAN RUSHDIE'S WONDER TALES

Izabela-Daniela ANTON (RADU)*

*This is the beauty of the wonder tale and its descendant, fiction: that one can simultaneously know that the story is a work of imagination, which is to say untrue, and believe it to contain profound truth. The boundary between the magical and the real, at such moments, ceases to exist. (Salman Rushdie, *Languages of Truth*, p. 6)*

Abstract: *The well-known Lakoffian thesis according to which metaphors are ubiquitous in everyday language finds plenty of evidence in both spoken and written language, in daily conversation and literature, in fiction and nonfiction, since conceptual metaphors reveal the deepest layers of human thought, consciousness and communication. Salman Rushdie's 2021 nonfiction book „*Languages of truth*“ begins with a presentation about „*Wonder tales*“, introducing the reader to the storytelling tradition of the East. The essay abounds in conceptual metaphors, underlying the author's specific cognitive universe as a traveler in wonderlands (2021: 23).*

Keywords: nonfiction, conceptual metaphor, storytelling, wonderlands

Preliminary remarks

The present paper investigates the countless ways in which the Indian-born British-American novelist Salman Rushdie creates conceptual metaphors not only in his breathtaking novels, but in his nonfiction, as well. The writer's cognitive universe encompasses conventional, simple metaphors, which the writer ceaselessly transforms into creative ones, inventing fresh, unexpected metaphors, developing basic meanings and giving novel values to the conventional meanings of words. By doing this, Rushdie transfers into nonfiction his own linguistic and conceptual universe configured in his literary works. An advocate of storytelling and freedom of speech, Rushdie has always been inspired by the Eastern storytelling tradition and the Western magiccorealism, he himself illustrating a parallel between the two.

A relevant example of nonfiction is the first essay from Rushdie's 2021 book *Languages of truth*, which is meaningfully named *Wonder tales*.

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The author considers the Eastern storytelling tradition and its wonder tales to be the premise of the storytelling art per se.

Gathering essays written between 2003 and 2020, *Languages of truth* is a nonfiction book considered by numerous critics to be a love letter to literature itself. The writer uncovers the nature of truth and offers new insights on literature, the art of storytelling, and his favourite topics - migration, multiculturalism, censorship, even with reference to the pandemic and his personal engagement with the illness.

Why wonder tales? Since they are stories that transport the reader to a world of wonder and glamour, often involving magic, enchantments, and mythical beings, wonder tales have the power to introduce the readers to the charming realms of the Eastern fantasy, with which Rushdie is so familiar. He acknowledges the inestimable value of the stories coming from the Orient, prasing them as inspiring and insightful: *for me, the real wonder tales were closer to home, and I have always thought it my great good fortune as a writer to have grown up steeped in them* (2021: 5).

Rushdie creates a suggestive conceptual metaphor - WONDER TALES ARE (GOOD) FORTUNE - to express his deepest gratitude towards the Eastern storytelling art and tradition. Moreover, for Rushdie, WONDER TALES ARE LIVING CREATURES since [...] *in India, as I grew up, the wonder tales all lived, and they still do* (2021: 7).

Research methodology

In order to demonstrate the premise of the paper, identifying metaphors and text analysis are used as research methods. In the process of identifying metaphor-related words, MIPVU is used as the basic procedure.

As the revised and extended version of 2007 Pragglejaz Group research procedure called MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure), MIPVU represents the result of *Metaphor in Discourse* project, conducted at VU University Amsterdam by G. J. Steen, A. G. Dorst, J. B. Herrmann, A. A. Kaal, T. Krennmayr and T. Pasma in 2010. The research eventually led to a new procedure which was published in the 2010 volume *A method for linguistic metaphor identification: From MIP to MIPVU*.

The text analysis follows the general ideas from the Lakoffian thesis, discussing the values of each relevant conceptual metaphor identified in the corpus, from a cognitive perspective, starting from the linguistic expressions.

Text analysis

At the beginning of the essay, Rushdie takes into consideration the value of stories, of unwritten tales, which have been nourishing the children's world since the birth of humanity: *Before there were books, there were stories and As the children grew older, they asked for stories as often as they asked for food* (2021: 3). He praises the very act of falling in love with stories, since it awakened something in the children that would nourish them all their lives: *their imagination* (2021: 3).

It goes without saying that Rushdie uses the conceptual metaphor STORIES ARE NOURISHING FOOD (FOR THE SOUL) within the first sentences of the essay in order to establish the context. In addition, the personifying metaphor STORIES ARE PEOPLE (TO FALL IN LOVE WITH) emphasises the value of storytelling, which he often calls a basic human need.

Moreover, the conceptual metaphors IMAGINATION IS A LATENT INNER POWER (WITHIN THE CHILDREN) and IMAGINATION IS NOURISHING FOOD (FOR A LIFE TIME) occur in the same paragraph in order to complete the picture.

The conceptual domain of FOOD occurs twice as source domain for two metaphors: STORIES ARE FOOD and IMAGINATION IS FOOD. This conceptual domain is one of Rushdie's favourites, since he uses it as source for numerous metaphors in his novels, for instance, *Midnight's Children* or *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*.

It is becoming more and more obvious that the novelist continuously plays with cognitive structures and novel ideas, creating conceptual metaphors as a natural process. The figurative language he uses proves that this phenomenon is spontaneous, an innate feature of each and every human being.

Undoubtedly, the writer improves the native process and enhances its effect, transforming it into a better way of understanding human cognition and comprehension, life experiences and human nature. It is well-known that Rushdie uses complex figurative language on a regular basis in his novels, creating an intricate and unmistakable style. This fact is also true when it comes to his nonfiction. Just like in his fiction, the writer makes use of procedures of novel metaphor creation (Lakoff and Turner 1989) – extending, elaborating and composing – as exemplified in the following pages.

Considering the inestimable power of a book or a story, Rushdie writes:

I believe that the books and stories we fall in love with make us who we are, or, not to claim to much, that the act of falling in love with a book or story changes us in some way, and the beloved tale becomes a part of our picture of the world, a part of the way in which we understand things and make judgements and choices in our daily lives. As adults, falling in love less easily, we may end up with only a handful of books that we can truly say we love. Maybe this is why we make so many bad judgments (2021: 4).

The significant conceptual metaphors from this excerpt are: BOOKS/STORIES ARE POWERFUL FACTORS INFLUENCING PEOPLE, THE ACT OF FALLING IN LOVE WITH A BOOK OR STORY IS A CHANGING EXPERIENCE, (THE BELOVED) TALE IS (PART OF OUR) COMPREHENSION and (THE BELOVED) TALE IS (PART OF OUR) THINKING. All of them are structural metaphors meant to create a representative picture of the ways in which books and stories do influence human beings.

Due to their impact upon people, Rushdie looks with irony at the ones for whom *stories began to seem irrelevant, unnecessary: kids' stuff. These were sad people, and we must pity them and try not to think of them as stupid boring philistine losers* (2021: 4). Therefore, for these *sad people*, STORIES ARE KIDS' STUFF, in other words, STORIES ARE (USELESS) OBJECTS.

The former children who were all storytellers [...], whom Rushdie calls makers of stories as well as receivers of stories, unfortunately lost their interest in stories as they grew up, and the stories were packed away in boxes in the attic, and it became [...] harder for them, sadly, to fall in love (2021: 4).

The conceptual metaphor STORIES ARE OBJECTS occurs again, but this time STORIES ARE VALUABLE OBJECTS, which can be made, given and received by people, therefore STORIES ARE COMMODITIES. This is an example of extending. Lastly, the metaphor STORIES ARE (USELESS) OBJECTS occurs once more, as long as they are items *packed away in boxes in the attic* by the *sad people* (2021: 4) mentioned before.

The epithet *sad* describing this type of people is meaningful, since the writer further refers to them as *stupid boring philistine losers* (2021: 4). The note of irony is more than obvious, as emphasised by the metaphor LACK OF STORIES IS SADNESS.

On the other hand, *a book may cease to speak to us as we grow older, and our feeling for it will fade. Or we may suddenly [...] be able to appreciate a*

book we dismissed earlier; we may suddenly be able to hear its music, to be enraptured by its song (2021: 4).

The personifying metaphor **BOOK IS A PERSON** occurs again, this time **BOOK IS A SPEAKING PERSON**. In addition, the entity metaphor **BOOK IS MUSIC** enchanting people plays its part to complete the auditory imagery, evoking vivid experiences for the readers. At the same time, it is an example of elaborating.

Rushdie goes on with personifying metaphors, writing about *the beauty of the wonder tale and its descendant, fiction, since the boundary between the magical and the real [...] ceases to exist* (2021: 6). Therefore, **FICTION IS THE DESCENDANT OF THE WONDER TALES**, based on the conceptual metaphor **FICTION IS A PERSON**, an example of extending. **THE MAGICAL AND THE REAL ARE PHYSICAL REALMS/CONCRETE DOMAINS WITH BOUNDARIES** is the orientational metaphor occurring further on to explain the existence of parallel worlds. This is another case of extended metaphor.

Writing more about boundaries – one of his recurrent topics, Rushdie refers to an episode from a later version of *Ramayana*, where the phrase *to cross the Lakshman rekha* occurs as a metaphor for *overstepping the boundaries of what is permissible or right, of going too far, of succumbing foolishly to iconoclasm, and bringing down upon yourself dire consequences* (2021: 8). He explicitly refers to the metaphor, explaining it in Lakoffian terms: **LAKSHMAN REKHA IS OVERSTEPPING THE BOUNDARIES (OF WHAT IS PERMISSIBLE OR RIGHT)**. Moreover, **WHAT IS PERMISSIBLE OR RIGHT IS PHYSICAL REALM** and one should not cross its boundaries. Given his experiences as a controversial writer, Rushdie knows far too well what crossing the boundaries can mean.

The phrase *tales whose express and sole purpose was enchantment* (2021: 8) shows explicitly that **TALES ARE ENCHANTMENT**, an entity metaphor praising their magic once again.

Another suggestive expression – *this great migration of narrative has inspired much of world's literature* (2021: 10) – displays a personifying metaphor, namely **NARRATIVE IS A MIGRANT**, based on **NARRATIVE IS A(N INSPIRING) PERSON**. This is an example of extended metaphor.

Once more, Rushdie confesses: *As a migrant myself, I have always been fascinated by the migration of stories* (2021: 17). **STORIES ARE MIGRANTS**, therefore, **STORIES ARE PEOPLE**, a recurrent personifying metaphor within the essay and a case of extending.

A relevant example of this migration phenomenon is *The Arabian Nights*, with its main character Scheherazade, the magnificent woman *who snared the prince in her never-ending story. Scheherazade, telling stories to save her life, setting fiction against death, a Statue of Liberty built not of metal but of words. [...] Scheherazade, who set herself the heroic task of saving her sisters by taming the king* (2021: 13).

The paragraph abounds in conceptual metaphors: SCHEHERAZADE IS A HUNTRESS, STORY IS A SNARE, TELLING STORIES IS LIFESAVER, FICTION IS A ALTERNATIVE AGAINST DEATH, SCHEHERAZADE IS A STATUE OF LIBERTY BUILT (NOT OF METAL BUT) OF WORDS, SCHEHERAZADE IS A HEROINE (SAVING LIVES), THE KING IS A WILD ANIMAL (NEEDING TAMING).

The description of the brave woman and her sacrifice goes on: *His savagery was blunted by the genius of the woman who, for a thousand nights and one night, risked her life to save the lives of others, who trusted her imagination to stand against brutality and overcome it not by force but, amazingly, by civilizing it* (2021: 13).

The conceptual metaphors are various: SAVAGERY IS (A SHARP) OBJECT, THE GENIUS OF THE WOMAN IS A DULLING FORCE, SCHEHERAZADE IS A HEROINE (SAVING LIVES), IMAGINATION IS ALTERNATIVE AGAINST BRUTALITY, IMAGINATION IS (NON-PHYSICAL) POWER, IMAGINATION IS (CIVILIZING) POWER.

Describing the main character from *The Arabian Nights* – Scheherazade – Rushdie creates composite metaphors in several paragraphs: SCHEHERAZADE IS A HUNTRESS, SCHEHERAZADE IS A STATUE OF LIBERTY BUILT (NOT OF METAL BUT) OF WORDS, SCHEHERAZADE IS A HEROINE (SAVING LIVES), THE GENIUS OF THE WOMAN IS A DULLING FORCE. Thus, he makes use of the most powerful procedure of novel metaphor creation, namely composing.

The phrase *hunger for fiction* (2021: 15) displays once more the domain of FOOD as source domain, this time within the structural metaphor FICTION IS (NOURISHING) FOOD, an example of elaborating.

Rushdie's metaphor regarding *newness* occurs in this essay, as well, the writer referring to this idea as being equal to *innovation*, fact explained in the following excerpt:

For innovation, for newness – and remember that the word novel contains the idea of newness – we must turn to irrealism and find new ways of approaching the truth through lies. The wonder tales of my childhood taught me not only that such approaches were possible but that they were

manifold, almost infinite in their possibilities, and that they were fun (2021: 19).

The metaphors occurring here are: WONDER TALES ARE TEACHERS (personifying metaphor), (NOVEL) APPROACHES ARE UNLIMITED POSSIBILITIES and (NOVEL) APPROACHES ARE FUN (entity metaphors).

Since *we are all dreaming creatures, and writers dream on paper* (2021: 19), WRITING IS DREAMING, a powerful structural metaphor and an example of elaborating, at the same time: *Only by unleashing the fictionality of fiction, the imaginativeness of the imagination, the dream songs of our dreams, can we hope to approach the new, and to create fiction that may, once again, be more interesting than the facts* (2021: 20).

The metaphor IMAGINATION IS A (PHYSICAL) PLACE occurs in the sentence *Even if we do not live wholly in our imagination, we all like to make journeys therein* (2021: 20), as an example of elaborating.

In addition, a fine observer of human nature, Rushdie writes: *Perhaps we, who are language animals, possess a song and story instinct; we need and move toward stories and songs not because we are taught to do so but because it is in our nature to need them* (2021: 21) and concludes that *Man alone is the storytelling animal* (2021: 21). Therefore, STORIES (AND SONGS) ARE HUMAN NEEDS, PEOPLE ARE LANGUAGE ANIMALS and MAN IS THE STORYTELLING ANIMAL.

To explain things further, Rushdie adds a novel definition: *Story is the unnatural means we use to talk about human life, our way of reaching the truth by making things up. And we are the only species that, from the beginning, has used stories to explain ourselves to ourselves* (2021: 21), since we all like spending time *wandering around wonderlands once again, the imaginary worlds we love to inhabit as children and as grown-ups too* (2021: 22).

Therefore, STORY IS A WAY OF REACHING THE TRUTH (BY MAKING THINGS UP) and IMAGINARY WORLDS ARE REAL PLACES (PEOPLE INHABIT).

As far as the former conceptual metaphor is concerned, its analysis reveals another metaphor - TRUTH IS A PLACE - based on the conventional metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS.

Consequently, Rushdie creates composite metaphors regarding STORIES, on the one hand, and PEOPLE, on the other hand: STORIES (AND SONGS) ARE HUMAN NEEDS, STORY IS A WAY OF REACHING THE TRUTH (BY MAKING THINGS UP); PEOPLE ARE LANGUAGE ANIMALS and MAN IS THE STORYTELLING ANIMAL, respectively.

I had grown up steeped in the tradition of the wonder tale [...]. From my earliest days, I have been – and I still am – a traveler in wonderlands (2021: 23) is Rushdie's most relevant confession. THE WRITER IS A TRAVELLER IN WONDERLANDS and WONDERLANDS ARE (REAL) PLACES, while THE TRADITION OF THE WONDER TALE IS (POWERFUL) INFLUENCE.

TALES ARE TRAVELERS themselves (based on the personifying metaphor TALES ARE PEOPLE, a case of extended metaphor), and REAL IS PURPOSE: [...] *even though they are unreal, because carpets do not fly and witches in gingerbread houses do not exist, they are also real, because they are about real things: love, hatred, fear, power, bravery, cowardice, death. They simply arrive at the real by a different route* (2021: 24).

The same idea occurs in the following sentence: [...] *the literature of the fantastic is not genre fiction but, in its own way, as realistic as naturalistic fiction; it just comes into the real through a different door* (2021: 26). Therefore, LITERATURE OF THE FANTASTIC IS A TRAVELER, based on the personifying metaphor LITERATURE IS A PERSON, and REAL IS PURPOSE, based on the conventional metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. Both are cases of extended metaphors.

Rushdie claims that

the stories ask the greatest and most enduring question of literature: How do ordinary people respond to the arrival in their lives of their extraordinary? And they answer: Sometimes we don't do so well, but at other times we find resources within ourselves we did not know we possessed, and so we rise to the challenge, we overcome the monster, Beowulf kills Grendel and Grendel's more fearsome mother as well, Red Riding Hood kills the wolf, or Beauty finds the love within the beast and then he is beastly no more. And that is ordinary magic, human magic, and the true wonder of the wonder tale (2021: 17).

The personifying metaphor STORIES ARE PEOPLE (ASKING QUESTIONS) occurs again, as a case of extended metaphor and a leitmotif within the entire essay.

Concluding remarks

The text analysis section demonstrates that there are plenty of linguistic expressions describing STORIES, IMAGINATION, BOOKS, WONDER TALES, FICTION, TALES, NARRATIVES, SCHEHERAZADE, WRITING, SONGS, MAN, IMAGINARY WORLDS, THE AUTHOR, WONDERLANDS, (LITERATURE OF THE) FANTASTIC in this essay, not to forget

NEWNESS, Rushdie's favourite metaphorical concept. All of them are target domains for the conceptual metaphors identified within the essay.

As far as source domains are concerned – FOOD, SADNESS, PERSON, MUSIC, FORTUNE, ENCHANTMENT, MIGRANT, STATUE OF LIBERTY (BUILT OF WORDS), TEACHERS, DREAMING, PLACES, HUMAN NEEDS, STORYTELLING ANIMAL, TRAVELERS, WAY OF REACHING THE TRUTH (BY MAKING THINGS UP) can be mentioned as source domains for the conceptual metaphors identified in this nonfiction work.

Abounding in conceptual metaphors that underline the author's specific cognitive universe as *a traveler in wonderlands* (2021: 23), the essay is a relevant example of nonfiction in which Salman Rushdie makes use of figurative language as a cognitive tool, emphasising the role played by conceptual metaphor in nonfictional literature.

The types of metaphors frequently utilised by Rushdie are: personifying metaphors and structural metaphors, a similar fact in the case of his novels. In addition, the conceptual domains of FOOD and MUSIC occur as source domains in the essay, just like in most of the author's novels.

The writer uses extending, elaborating and composing as procedures of novel metaphor creation, enriching and adorning the language, since he praises its malleability within the same 2021 book by saying that *English is the gold of languages* (2021: 143).

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TRE VERSIONI, UNA PREGHIERA: NOTE LINGUISTICHE SUL PADRE NOSTRO

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Abstract: *The Lord's Prayer (in Latin Pater noster) is one of the best known and most recited texts in the Christian tradition, a symbol not only of faith but also of a linguistic and cultural heritage belonging to the entire Christian community. In this article, we propose a brief contrastive analysis of the official versions in Romanian (Orthodox Church), Italian, and Spanish (Catholic Church), in order to highlight the linguistic, pragmatic, and translational choices that reflect historical and cultural differences. The Lord's Prayer is not only a text of faith, but also a linguistic document that carries with it centuries of history, traditions, and cultural encounters. Our goal is to show how lexical choices reflect theology, liturgical custom, and personal as well as collective identity. Using an interdisciplinary approach, we will highlight the importance of the complexity of religious discourse and the role of translation in the transmission of cultural and spiritual values.*

Keywords: religious discourse; religious communication; prayer analysis; contrastive linguistics

Introduzione

Analizzare la preghiera *Padre Nostro* in prospettiva contrastiva significa avvicinarsi ad un testo che appartiene a tutti e che, allo stesso tempo, assume forme diverse in ogni comunità linguistica (e liturgica). La preghiera non è solo un patrimonio religioso, essa rappresenta anche un frammento della (nostra) storia (tradotta), migliorata e vissuta da molte generazioni di credenti.

Il linguaggio religioso rivela il legame tra lingua e cultura. Ogni parola scelta nelle traduzioni riflette una propria visione del mondo, un modo diverso di intendere la relazione con il sacro, ma anche una sensibilità, non solo individuale, ma anche collettiva. Mettendo a confronto le versioni romena, italiana e spagnola potremo cogliere le sfumature che vanno dalla grammatica alla pragmatica, raggiungendo l'ambito culturale e identitario. Come opportunamente riferisce Răducănescu (2011), la Parola di Dio è una connessione della Divinità con i fedeli, una meditazione sulla morale, una guida alla preghiera o alla penitenza, alle virtù a cui ogni membro della comunità cristiana deve accedere. Analizzare similitudini e differenze tra le tre versioni significa quindi leggere ed interpretare i significati impliciti o indiretti, le storie delle comunità che le hanno trasmesse.

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Le lingue romanze e la traduzione sacra

Il *Padre Nostro* è una delle preghiere più antiche e più tradotte del cristianesimo. La storia di *Padre Nostro* attraversa secoli e comunità come un filo che unisce culture diverse. Nato in greco koinè e poi trasmesso attraverso il latino della Chiesa, il testo entra nelle lingue romanze non come semplice traduzione, ma come parola viva da recitare in coro, legata a rituali e tradizioni condivise, adattandosi alle esigenze linguistiche delle comunità.

In Italia e in Spagna, la tradizione latina ha mantenuto una forte influenza, assicurando una notevole stabilità testuale. La versione italiana mantiene un forte legame con il latino, usando una sintassi compatta e un tono melodico che richiama la continuità della liturgia. La versione ispanica ha uno stile limpido e diretto: termini come *deudas* o *líbranos* trasmettono chiarezza e immediatezza.

In Romania, in cambio, la traduzione ha risentito della posizione geografica e culturale del Paese, situato tra l'area latina e quella slava-bizantina. La versione (ortodossa) romena, invece, mostra l'influenza slavo-bizantina: i verbi riflessivi *sfințească-se*, *facă-se*, la scelta di *greșeli* e la ricchezza semantica di *ispită* svelano sfumature linguistiche specifiche, risultato di intrecci culturali. Il testo romeno mantiene tratti ereditati dalla tradizione latina, ma li inserisce in un contesto linguistico marcato da influssi ortodossi e slavi e ciò ne consegue una versione che, pur essendo pienamente riconoscibile - come parte della tradizione cristiana, presenta sfumature proprie. Questo chiarisce il perché di molte espressioni siano rimaste stabili, mentre piccole variazioni originarie abbiano assunto un valore profondo, diventando segni di identità collettiva. Il confronto con la versione italiana e spagnola consente così di mettere in evidenza il ruolo della traduzione come mediazione culturale oltre che linguistica.

Quadro teorico e metodologico

L'analisi contrastiva qui proposta adopera un approccio integrato tra linguistica, traduttologia e pragmatica armonizzate per leggere (e recepire) il *Padre Nostro* come testo religioso e culturale allo stesso tempo. Partendo dal livello lessicale e sintattico, con osservazione delle differenze formali ci soffermeremo sul livello pragmatico, con attenzione alla funzione performativa della preghiera. Il corpus di riferimento (vedi *Corpus dei testi*) comprende le versioni ufficiali in uso: la traduzione ortodossa romena, quella cattolica italiana e quella spagnola (ripresa dal sito del Vaticano). Tale

selezione consente non solo un confronto interlinguistico, ma anche interconfessionale, particolarmente stimolante dal punto di vista pragmatico.

In questa prospettiva, la preghiera non viene studiata come semplice documento liturgico, ma come testo vivo, che porta in sé la memoria di comunità diverse. La scelta delle tre versioni – romena, italiana e spagnola ci permette di mettere in luce sia la continuità con la tradizione latina sia le specificità locali. In questo modo, ogni versetto diventa base per un confronto e un'occasione di riflessione sul rapporto tra lingua e fede.

Analisi contrastiva

La preghiera *Padre Nostro* rappresenta uno dei nuclei più significativi della spiritualità. Vasile Vlad, riportato in Golea (2021: 30), sottolinea che il registro sacro non può essere separato dall'esperienza rituale che la lingua trasmette: "În tradiția creștină ortodoxă, rugăciunea este deopotrivă o lucrare dumnezeiască și omenească. Ea nu este o simplă rostire de formule de texte, ci o lucrare – slujire prin care Dumnezeu [...] pătrunde în registrul uman și sălășluiește întru el [...]". In accordo con l'autore, troviamo che la struttura della preghiera del *Padre Nostro* riflette un equilibrio tra invocazione, supplica e riconoscimento teologico.

L'analisi contrastiva prende in esame, in modo sequenziale e comparativo, le tre versioni della preghiera, con un approccio descrittivo e argomentativo: ad ogni segmento osserveremo la forma, evidenzieremo la funzione semantica e pragmatica ed estrarremo le corrispondenze traduttive. Il discorso religioso, come qualsiasi interazione verbale, si svolge in un ambiente spazio-temporale e presuppone l'esistenza di un emittente e di un ricevente (i fedeli partecipanti), il quadro spaziale essendo rappresentato in questa circostanza dalla Chiesa ortodossa o cattolica (Aioane 2014). La preghiera *Padre Nostro* non esprime solo contenuti dottrinali, ma rappresenta una successione di atti linguistici che stabiliscono una relazione tra il fedele e la divinità. Ogni versetto non è unicamente descrizione, ma un atto di invocazione, richiesta o lode che rivela la funzione discorsiva della preghiera. Vedremo, dunque, come le tre versioni (romena, italiana e spagnola) realizzano tali funzioni attraverso scelte linguistiche specifiche. L'analisi testuale consente di cogliere le somiglianze e le differenze (nonché le sfumature), nel modo in cui ciascuna tradizione ha configurato la (Sua) preghiera, rivelando percezioni teologiche e culturali differenti.

Versetto 1

1	Tatăl nostru care ești în ceruri,	Padre nostro che sei nei cieli,	Padre nuestro que estás en los cielos,
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Questo primo versetto inizia con l'invocazione *Tatăl nostru care ești în ceruri*, in italiano *Padre nostro che sei nei cieli* e nello spagnolo *Padre nuestro que estás en los cielos* visto come un atto direttivo di tipo imperativo rivolto a Dio, che stabilisce una relazione immediata tra fedele e divinità. Le tre varianti usano il significato più vicino in questo contesto e in quel 'mondo possibile' (Eco 2008: 4). L'elemento distintivo in tutte tre lingue è il pronome relativo *care* - una forma comune nel parlato formale e liturgico, che conferisce solennità e formalità e l'uso della seconda persona singolare *care ești, che sei, que estás*. L'invocazione individuale [...] rivela l'essenza divina, fondamentale e misteriosa (Niculescu 2006-2007: 19-21) e attiva la presenza della divinità come interlocutore immediato, interlocutore del bisogno del fedele.

Versetto 2-4

2	Sfîntească-se numele Tău,	Sia santificato il tuo nome,	Santificado sea tu nombre,
3	Vie împărăția Ta,	venga il tuo regno,	venga tu reino,
4	Facă-se voia Ta, precum în cer așa și pe pământ,	sia fatta la tua volontà, come in cielo così in terra,	hágase tu voluntad, como en el cielo, así también en la tierra,

Nei versetti 2-4 incontriamo le formule di desiderio, visti come atti direttivi di volere, espressi con forme congiuntive e imperative *sfîntească-se, sia santificato, santificado sea; venga il tuo regno, venga tu reino, vie împărăția Ta; facă-se voia Ta, sia fatta la tua volontà, hágase tu voluntad* che indicano il desiderio della realizzazione di un 'ordine' divino. La traduzione evidenzia due concezioni diverse della trascendenza: le formule di santificazione, con il riflessivo romeno *sfîntească-se* evidenzia un processo sacro, mentre *sia santificato* e *santificado sea* dell'italiano e spagnolo usano forme impersonali con valore di comando o desiderio. Le costruzioni verbali del terzo versetto *Vie împărăția Ta*, nonché *Venga il tuo regno* e *Venga tu reino* sono quasi identiche, dove sia l'italiano sia lo spagnolo ricorrono al congiuntivo volitivo 'venga'.

L'espressione romena *facă-se voia Ta* - come forma riflessiva/passiva impersonale - sottolinea un processo dinamico, un'azione nell'avvenire, che si compie nel tempo, ciò che Bazzanella (1994:140) definisce come "focalizzazione dell'oggetto che permette la continuità [...]", mentre in italiano e spagnolo i congiuntivi *sia fatta la tua volontà* o *hágase tu voluntad*

trasmettono un'idea di stabilità e compiutezza. La scelta linguistica rimanda a un modello teologico che privilegia l'azione in divenire. Tale contrasto mostra la relazione tra opzioni linguistiche e concezioni religiose, quali riflessione di un'identità, nonché di percezione linguistica differente.

Versetti 5-6

5	Pâinea noastră cea de toate zilele dă-ne- o nouă astăzi,	Dacci oggi il nostro pane quotidiano,	Danos hoy nuestro pan de cada día,
6	Și ne iartă nouă greșelile noastre, precum și noi iertăm greșiților noștri,	E rimetti a noi i nostri debiti, come anche noi li rimettiamo ai nostri debitori,	Y perdona nuestras deudas, como también nosotros perdonamos a nuestros deudores,

In queste righe, incontriamo le richieste di concessione e perdono: sono atti direttivi, ma con valore di preghiera supplicante - affida al Padre i bisogni essenziali della comunità (Gavin 2024). Nella lingua romena *pâinea noastră cea de toate zilele* ha valore descrittivo e insiste sulla ripetizione quotidiana, mentre l'italiano e lo spagnolo impiegano formule sintetiche, più concise come *pane quotidiano*, *pan de cada día* che manifestano bisogni umani fondamentali, come il pane (quotidiano), che vengono giustificati dalla relazione di dipendenza tra uomo e divinità. Se nella lingua romena viene suggerita una prospettiva concreta ed esistenziale, nell'italiano e nello spagnolo vediamo una visione più simbolica.

In quanto al perdono dei peccati, il confronto lessicale rivela tre approcci: *greșeli* in romeno, con valore di errore generico; *debiti* in italiano e *deudas* in spagnolo, più con valore giuridico-economico. Ne deriva una diversa rappresentazione del peccato: perdono ricevuto e concesso, colpa morale vs. debito da estinguere. Per quanto riguarda la scelta lessicale dell'italiano e dello spagnolo, le due lingue traducono 'il peccato' in termini di obbligo, mentre la lingua romena amplia il campo semantico, lasciando al lettore l'interpretazione a seconda della sua rivelazione, nonché rapporto con la Divinità.

Versetti 7-8

7	Și nu ne duce pe noi în ispită,	E non ci indurre in tentazione,	Y no nos metas en tentación,
8	Ci ne izbăvește de cel rău.	Ma liberaci dal male.	Mas líbranos del mal.

In questi versetti, viene invocata la protezione della divinità, ovvero atti di protezione e richiesta di aiuto contro il male (tentazione e liberazione); si manifesta un'aspettativa di salvezza che ha anche implicazioni morali e spirituali. Le voci *ispitǎ* in romeno, *tentazione* italiano e *tentación* in spagnolo sono vocaboli di origine latina, ma *ispitǎ* ha sfumature leggermente più ampie anche di prova spirituale. Le forme *izbăvește* (romeno), *liberaci* (italiano), *libranos* (spagnolo) sono imperative, ma la lingua romena usa una forma lessicale più marcata sul concetto di salvezza, mentre in tutte e tre lingue la forma negativa impersonale e le parole *cel rău* (romeno) e *male* (italiano) y *mal* (spagnolo) sono equivalenti.

Nel versetto 9

9	Că a Ta este împărăția și puterea și slava în veci. Amin.	Perché è tuo il regno, la potenza e la gloria, nei secoli. Amen.	Porque tuyo es el reino, y el poder, y la gloria, por todos los siglos. Amén.
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La preghiera chiude con un atto assertivo di lode e proclamazione: *Că a Ta este împărăția și puterea și slava în veci. Amin / Perché è tuo il regno, la potenza e la gloria, nei secoli. Amen / Porque tuyo es el reino, y el poder, y la gloria, por todos los siglos. Amén.* La struttura tripartita (regno, potere, gloria) evidenzia la solennità dell'atto finale.

Conclusioni

La breve analisi ci mostra come la preghiera *Padre Nostro* costituisce un ricco terreno di confronto linguistico e culturale nelle lingue romanze. Ogni traduzione del *Padre Nostro* racconta, a suo modo, una storia: non è soltanto un evento, un confronto di parole, ma un incontro di tradizioni e sensibilità. Questa varietà non divide i fedeli, ma li arricchisce: dimostra come una stessa preghiera possa vivere in più comunità senza perdere la sua forza originaria. Le differenze riflettono non solo scelte traduttive, ma anche profonde radici storiche e teologiche, particolarmente evidenti nel contesto romeno ortodosso rispetto all'italiano e spagnolo cattolici.

L'analisi contrastiva della preghiera *Padre Nostro* rivela che la traduzione (e la lettura) sacra è sempre più di una trasposizione linguistica: è un atto culturale che unisce fede, storia e identità. La preghiera mostra così la sua attualità, capace di essere ponte tra lingue e popoli diversi.

Corpus delle tre varianti a confronto

Versetto	Variante romena Chiessa Ortodossa	Variante italiana (CEI)	Variante spagnola (RVR1960)
1	Tatăl nostru care ești în ceruri,	Padre nostro che sei nei cieli,	Padre nuestro que estás en los cielos,
2	Sfințească-se numele Tău,	sia santificato il tuo nome,	santificado sea tu nombre,
3	Vie împărăția Ta,	venga il tuo regno,	venga tu reino,
4	Facă-se voia Ta, precum în cer așa și pe pământ,	sia fatta la tua volontà, come in cielo così in terra,	hágase tu voluntad, como en el cielo, así también en la tierra,
5	Pâinea noastră cea de toate zilele dă-ne-o nouă astăzi,	dacci oggi il nostro pane quotidiano,	danos hoy nuestro pan de cada día,
6	Și ne iartă nouă greșelile noastre, precum și noi iertăm greșiților noștri,	e rimetti a noi i nostri debiti, come anche noi li rimettiamo ai nostri debitori,	y perdona nuestras deudas, como también nosotros perdonamos a nuestros deudores,
7	Și nu ne duce pe noi în ispită,	e non ci indurre in tentazione,	y no nos metas en tentación,
8	Ci ne izbăvește de cel rău.	ma liberaci dal male.	mas líbranos del mal.
9	Că a Ta este împărăția și puterea și slava în veci. Amin.	Perché è tuo il regno, la potenza e la gloria, nei secoli. Amen.	Porque tuyo es el reino, y el poder, y la gloria, por todos los siglos. Amén.

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Corpus dei testi

- Variante romena (Chiesa Ortodossa) <https://mitropolia-ro.de/rugaciunea-domneasca/>
- Variante italiana (CEI) <https://www.vaticannews.va/it/preghiere/padre-nostro.html>
- Variante spagnola <https://www.vaticannews.va/es/oraciones/padre-nuestro.html>
- BibbiaEdu <https://www.bibbiaedu.it/>

THE IMPORTANCE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN L2 LEARNING; REFERENCING DIRECT AND GRAMMAR- TRANSLATION METHOD

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Abstract: *Language is not just a mere process of information transmission, but through it we communicate our experiences, thoughts, meanings, intentions, feelings and identity. When we communicate and relate with people using a second language we need to consider a significant number of factors, variables and dimensions affecting our own personal and linguistic ability to effectively manage these interactions. In this sense, both individual and psychological factors play an important role in our success or failure in acquiring and using a second language: we are unique, and so is our personal communication style. Starting with the analysis of different approaches to language learning, specifically Direct and Grammar-Translation Methods, the purpose of this paper is to contribute to a deeper knowledge and understanding of specific psychological and personal factors affecting second language acquisition and the ability to manage them effectively in our daily communication and interactions. Moreover, new methodologies will be analysed and compared considering both personal and psychological factors that intervene in the language learning process and which may require different teaching tools and approaches.*

Keywords: language, acquisition, psychology, personality, communication

Different Approaches to Language Learning: Direct and Grammar-Translation Methods

Translation has been discussed since the dawn of history. The practice of translation was discussed, for example, as early as the 1st century BC by Cicero and Horace, and later by Saint Jerome in the 4th century AD. And their writings on the subject remained significant well into the 20th century.

Indeed, it was only in the second half of the last century that the study of translation became an academic discipline. Before this, translation had been merely a functional element of language learning. Indeed, from the 18th century until the 1960s, language learning in many countries relied on the so-called *Grammar-Translation method*, a method of learning a foreign

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language that involves translating sentences into the foreign language or into the native language. By applying this method, students learn the grammatical rules of the foreign language and then attempt to apply them to their native language. The rules learned through this method were then practiced and tested through the translation of a series of often disjointed and artificially constructed sentences, exemplifying the structures studied.

On the basis of the specific objective outlined, it can be hypothetically stated that from a theoretical point of view the question takes on a spectrum that is not only didactic but also of an anthropological and sociological nature since, as Peeter Torop states in *Тотальный Перевод (Total'nyj perevod - Italian Translation "La Traduzione Totale"*, 2010), translating a text – of any type – means 'translating culture' and, when one decides to study a language, one cannot ignore the study of both components which constitute an inseparable pair.

As mentioned earlier, for a long time, translation has been the basis for teaching L2. It was the cornerstone of the so-called *Grammar-Translation Method*, the approach used in the study of the classical languages, Ancient Greek and Latin. Richards and Schmidt are responsible for its definition as “a method of foreign or second language teaching which makes use of translation and grammar study as the main teaching and learning activities” (Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics, 2002: 231).

At the beginning of the 1900s, in France and Germany, the *Direct Method* (or *Natural Method*) was adopted, precisely in response to the *Grammar-Translation Method*.

This new method also gained popularity in English-speaking countries in the 1960s and 1970s. This approach emphasized learners' natural ability to learn the language and then attempt to reproduce authentic communicative situations, favouring the spoken form over the written one and completely ignoring the native language.

Beyond the positive and negative aspects of both approaches, the pedagogical, and therefore didactic, implications are manifold.

Translation is undoubtedly an activity that aims to facilitate the communication process by transmitting information from L1 to L2. Therefore, the primary function of the translation process is to appropriately translate the message of a word or phrase not only linguistically, but also semantically and pragmatically.

Translation can be seen as an effective method for developing

Language learning and the students' psychology

Learning means transforming the structure of one's knowledge, its connections, for the purpose of storing and integrating new knowledge, and reorganizing the map of previously developed concepts to operate in new problem situations. Learning, especially meaningful learning, also presupposes the development of strategies to rapidly and effectively acquire new concepts and skills. Learning therefore becomes a process that engages intellectual and thinking processes to achieve different goals, retaining new knowledge over time for use in a variety of other contexts. The act of learning is an extremely complex process that varies depending on the individual and the context in question. Learning, in fact, results in an increase in knowledge, or rather in the skills possessed and in the complexity of the behaviours that the student puts into practice depending on the level of complexity of the external environment they interact with.

Another characteristic concerns the peculiarity of the behaviour that the individual carries out in a unique way: learning, therefore, determines the uniqueness of everyone. Each person is therefore inserted into a particular environmental context that makes them different and unique, and the strength of experience means that the contents they learn are stored differently compared to another individual who learns the same contents in a different context (Mandolesi, Passafiume, 2004). Through learning, the individual expresses their individuality (Kandel, Schwartz, Jessell, 1995).

An effective learning process tends to promote the development of metacognitive awareness and self-knowledge, taking into account the learner's personality, motivations, learning styles, attribution, and cognitive styles. Taking the metacognitive dimension into account means paying greater attention to how subject content is acquired and learned, that is, "allowing the temporal and mental space to think about *the how* and not just *the what*, the process and not just the product" (Carletti: 2004: 296), influencing essential psychological dimensions of learning such as motivation, self-efficacy, and self-esteem. In other words, metacognitive work allows the learner to understand their own personal learning characteristics, and their own knowledge-building paths and requires a significant level of awareness as well as the choice of learning strategies based on encouraging the learner, who thus becomes autonomous and responsible in managing their own learning approach. Therefore, through metacognitive activities, the learner is consciously involved in active, meaningful, and self-regulated learning (Cera: 2016).

The quality of the learning environment is determined by a series of physical, psychological and social factors, which will affect the students'

performance and their level of engagement and commitment. Emotions play a significant role in language learning, influencing both motivation and the ability to learn: there can be no learning without emotions. Positive emotions such as joy, curiosity, and enthusiasm can promote learning, making it more enjoyable and motivating. Conversely, negative emotions such as anxiety, frustration, or fear can hinder the learning process, creating barriers to language comprehension and production. Personality and emotions play a significant role in language learning. A positive and mindful approach to emotions, along with an understanding of one's personality traits, can facilitate the acquisition of a new language. Emotions are adaptive responses of the mind to external pressures (Balboni, 2013).

Personality is the set of traits and characteristics that make each individual unique, influencing the way they think, feel, and behave. It is a complex construct, the result of the interaction between biological, psychological, and social factors, and manifests itself through the way a person interacts with the world (Hopwood et al., 2011). Language learning is, therefore, significantly influenced by personality traits such as extroversion, openness to experience, and conscientiousness that may be considered to positively impact on the process. On the other hand, language learning might be more dependent on the learners' performance or their preferred practice strategies (Dewaele, Thirtle, 2009).

Motivation for learning is the internal drive that leads an individual to actively engage in any kind of activity, and it is a crucial factor for learning success, determining the initiation, direction, intensity, and persistence of effort. It is a key psychological factor in the acquisition of a language. The first research on motivation in language learning was conducted by the social psychologists Gardner and Lambert (1985), who identified two types of motivation: instrumental and integrative. Instrumental motivation refers to the drive to learn a language to achieve practical and utilitarian goals, such as finding a job, getting a promotion, passing an exam, or interacting more easily in a specific context. Unlike integrative motivation, which arises from the desire to integrate into the culture of which the language is an expression, instrumental motivation is linked to the practical use of the language for purposes external to the cultural context. The intensity of the two types of motivation certainly leads, determines and influences the attitude of the learners towards the second language. These should not always be considered as opposed to each other, but they can be seen as complementary, according to the objectives and desires of the learners (Dörnyei, Ushioda, 2010). Therefore, this apparently clear distinction between integrative orientation and instrumental orientation has gradually lost much of its value.

Ryan and Deci (2000) focus on the learner, developing reflections on motivation within the framework of Self-determination theory, which distinguishes between behaviours freely assumed by the individual (autonomously, self-determined) and behaviours imposed on the individual (externally controlled). Based on this distinction, they postulate the existence of two categories of motivation: intrinsic motivation, based on the pleasure of learning and curiosity, and extrinsic motivation, linked to external factors such as rewards or assessments. "Understanding these different types of extrinsic motivation, and what fosters each of them, is an important issue for educators who cannot always rely on intrinsic motivation to foster learning. Frankly speaking, because many of the tasks that educators want their students to perform are not inherently interesting or enjoyable, knowing how to promote more active and volitional (versus passive and controlling) forms of extrinsic motivation becomes an essential strategy for successful teaching", (Ryan e Deci, 2000: 55). Motivation is also considered an unstable process as it can increase or decrease over time and depending on the situation. In this sense, Dörnyei (2001) distinguishes between initial motivation (which must be generated), executive motivation (which must be sustained and protected during the performance of an activity), and retrospective motivation (which must be reinforced by focusing on the progress made, the goals achieved, and the efforts made). Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System (2010) proposes that motivation in learning a second language is driven by three key components: *the ideal L2 self* (promotion-focused motivation, driven by hopes and desires to achieve proficiency), *the ought-to L2 self* (prevention-focused, motivated by a desire to avoid negative consequences or meet expectations), and *the L2 learning experience* (can significantly impact both the ideal and ought-to L2 selves, either strengthening or diminishing motivation). These components interact to shape a learner's motivation and behavior in the L2 learning process. The model suggests that motivation is not simply a matter of personal desires, but also a complex interplay between internal self-images, external expectations, and the immediate learning environment.

A reference point is the model used by many language pedagogists, that is the model by Balboni (2002), the three terms *dovere*, *bisogno* and *piacere* (*obligation*, *need* and *pleasure*, respectively) are essential elements of the learning process. According to Balboni, in the learning process, *duty* represents an extrinsic motivation, *need* an instrumental motivation, and *pleasure* an intrinsic motivation. *Duty*, like the obligation to study, leads to learning but not to acquisition (the contents are in fact stored in short-term

memory and quickly forgotten); *need*, linked to a specific need, is effective if it is satisfied (the student is aware of needing to develop specific knowledge to achieve a goal). *Pleasure*, on the other hand, is the most lasting, powerful and significant motivation, as it derives from intrinsic interest in the subject. The model explains how learners decide whether the actions they have undertaken confirm their long-term strategy, reinforcing the idea that learning a foreign language is a useful thing (“need”) and unpredictably stimulating (“pleasure”) even in cases where it is imposed by the education system (“duty”).

The concept of the “self” is also involved in the learning process, in particular *self-perceptions*, *self-efficacy*, *self-esteem*, *self-worth*, and *self-determination* (Mariani, 2012). The more “self” students perceive, the more confident, competent and capable they might feel in acquiring a foreign language, as well as more motivated to work hard, persevere and face difficulties without becoming discouraged. Managing emotions, such as anxiety, and receiving encouragement and appreciation, is essential to maintaining a positive sense of self-efficacy (Menegale, 2015).

Expectations of success are conditioned by cognitive and affective structures (beliefs and attitudes) relating to the perception of the causes of one's successes and failures. In this sense, the Locus of control in language learning refers to a learner's perception of their ability to influence their learning and the outcomes they achieve. In other words, it is an individual's belief whether success or failure in learning a language is primarily due to their own actions and effort (internal locus of control) or to external factors such as luck, the teacher, or the difficulty of the language itself (external locus of control). These attributions are, though, the explanations that people find, trying to understand the reason, or the reasons why they failed in doing something or, on the contrary, did something correctly: they regard to one's role as a learner and one's abilities involved in the learning process, and they are strictly connected with a sense of self-efficacy: people who possess a high level of self-efficacy will attribute more to personal success or failure, while people who have a low level of self-efficacy will attribute success or failure to a lack of skill (Mariani, 2012). Attributions are also relevant to determine the expectation of people's future behaviors: failure would be attributed to poor personal skills and the expectation of future success would decrease while success would be attributed to luck (Hosseini, Ashgari, 2012). In the context of language learning, anxiety plays a definite role. It can negatively affect language learning, causing difficulty in concentrating, fear of making mistakes, and a general feeling of frustration,

interfering with the acquisition of new words, the understanding and use of grammar, and the ability to communicate. The consequence is a general sense of incompetence and uselessness, underestimation of one's own abilities as well as the perception of a low level of self-efficacy. Language anxiety is a common experience and part of the "internal" affective factors that affects most second language speakers. Language anxiety may also be triggered and developed by the context (Gkonou, Daubney, Dewaele, 2017). Therefore, the effects of language anxiety are linguistic, cognitive, social and interpersonal, emotional and affective.

Experimental research

Case A: Applying the Direct Method

The Direct Method, or Natural Approach to Language, was used in a class of 18 first-grade students in middle school. The goal was to learn English vocabulary related to daily routines. The teacher displayed images related to the lesson topic on the IWB. Initially, the images were read and then repeated with the students. The students then played a short game, in the form of a challenge, using both the IWB and game-based learning to deepen their vocabulary acquisition and to leverage the students' visual memorization. The activity also included watching a short video with a simple listening test: the students transcribed portions of the conversation onto a handout. Finally, each student took turns briefly presenting their daily routine to the class.

The Game-Based Learning methodology, especially in the form of a challenge, involves various aspects of learning and numerous factors such as motivation, enjoyment of learning, self-determination, and self-esteem. This methodology, combined with the Natural Approach to Language, acts, at various levels, on personality traits and emotions, facilitating or increasing student engagement.

Case B: Applying the Grammar-Translation Method

The Grammar-Translation Method was applied in a class of 20 first-grade students in a high-school with focus on modern languages. As noted before, this method includes the systematic learning of grammar rules and their use in translating texts (from and into English). The goal was to learn the system of English tenses, with particular focus on the differences between Past Simple, Past Continuous, Present Perfect Simple and Present Perfect Continuous. The didactic unit thought through by the teacher foresaw four five lessons (one for each tense, plus another one in which comparisons were made). The students were presented with the grammatical structures and

peculiarities for each tense and homework was given to consolidate the new information obtained. The activity included, of course, grammar and translation exercises, as well as short writing tasks, where the students could apply and deepen their knowledge. At the beginning of every following lesson, students were asked if something was not clear. In case, explanations were given.

At the end of this cycle of lessons, all students learnt the differences between all tenses and were able to use them properly. The shiest and the most introverted students had not had any problem in learning the rules and could express their personality and their true selves in the writing tasks. However, some critical aspects emerged: the “quickest” students sometimes demonstrated to be bored because of the excessive focus on grammar and because of the lack of interaction among peers.

Conclusion

In language learning, the Direct Method, or Natural Method, is based on the idea that a foreign language can be learned through the same natural process as one's native language, emphasizing communication and immersion rather than a formal grammatical study. This approach aims to create an environment in which students can acquire the language intuitively, through exposure to comprehensible input and meaningful interactions. The focus is on communication and information exchange, rather than memorizing grammatical rules. Students are exposed to linguistic input that is slightly above their current level, allowing them to understand the general message and also learn new expressions and structures. Grammatical corrections are avoided or minimized to avoid interrupting the flow of communication and discouraging students. The learning environment is rich in linguistic stimuli, such as conversation, reading, listening to music, and watching films, to foster the most natural language experience possible. Teaching activities are often based on games, role-playing, and other activities that make learning more fun and motivating. Vocabulary is seen as a central element of language learning, and new words are acquired through contextual use. Language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) develop progressively, following the natural rhythm of learning. Sometimes students are very anxious about speaking a second language, especially when teachers encourage them to expose themselves in conversations. Furthermore, they worry about construction and production errors, creating a disconnect from teachers and classmates they perceive as more extroverted or exuberant.

The natural approach certainly offers significant advantages in language learning. This approach helps students gain motivation and overcome anxiety

in language learning, as in the case study presented above. The goal of language learning is to facilitate the communication process while also giving students time to explore their thoughts to convey messages and meanings to their peers and teachers. The important thing about language is that listeners or recipients can understand messages in the target language. However, high levels of anxiety can impair performance and make it difficult for students to express their ideas and beliefs. An effective strategy in these cases is for the teacher to design activities that encourage students to communicate in the second language without undue hesitation and provide them with meaningful input, using teaching methods that can alleviate anxiety or increase motivation and engagement. Therefore, it can be stated that the Grammar-Translation Method can be very useful in order to create a solid linguistic base, but it is important to integrate it with other and more “lively” approaches which could boost communication and interaction in the L2 language acquisition.

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MECHANISMS OF WORD FORMATION IN FOOD NAMING

Giacomo Ferrari*

Abstract: *Food is one of the most important aspects not only of human survival, but also of human commerce, culture, and tradition. Food is exported, imported, processed and cooked, and all these movements are mirrored in the history of any single word naming a specific food. There are names migrating from one language to another, new names created by description, by metaphor, and by other processes. Tracing the history of any word may reveal interesting facts about the migration and the different adaptations of the foodstuff in the countries it was introduced in. Although this aspect can offer interesting insights into the economic history of peoples, it also confirms some universal mechanisms of word formation or creation, already studied in other fields.*

Keywords: word formation, etymology, word history, history of food, food commerce

Introduction

Food is certainly one of the most important components of human life, regardless of the culture and the degree of societal development. Besides its importance in the survival of any living being, when focusing on human societies it can be considered a cultural product, as it reflects all the phases of the economic history, the intercultural contacts and the hybridizations of communities. This complex history is highlighted not only by the complexity of the cooking techniques, but also in the vocabulary employed to name cooking instruments and even separate dishes. In the following paragraphs, after having given a brief overview of the importance of food for human civilizations and their history, we will analyse some ways of naming of different dishes in different cultures, distinguishing cases of loaning, new formations and metaphorical labels.

1. Importance of food

The search for food has been the most important concern for humans since the origin, with the same importance of energy in more recent times. Its importance is stressed by the fact that much of the ancient commerce was about food (Haldane 1993), and the early bills of lading stand probably at the origin of some writing systems. According to Schmandt-Besserat (2022),

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since 8000 B.C. people used clay tokens to represent units of goods and to count them. Finally they started to press such tokens on clay tablets; the evolution of this practice gives origin to the first cuneiform writing. If this explanation can appear insufficient, it is however a certain fact that ancient bills of lading were represented on tablets, both in ancient Mesopotamia and in ancient Crete, as shown in figure 1.



a

under the surveillance
of *We-we-si-jo* rams 58 ewes 2
we-we-si-jo-jo , OVIS^m 58 OVIS^r 2



a-te-mo , ku-ta-to o OVIS^m 50
A-te-mo at Ku-ta-to missing rams 50
(has a flock of sheep)

b

Figure 1 – ancient bills of lading

Figure 1a shows the impression of two measures of grain, the round one representing a large measure and the conical ones representing a smaller quantity. Figure 1b is a linear-B bill of lading of about 1400 B.C., where rams and ewes are represented by means of ideograms. Later on, ancient Greeks started to establish many colonies in the Mediterranean, often torn by internal conflicts, but also searching for larger and more fertile land to grow wheat, and other primary foodstuff (Antonaccio 2007).

Moving on to more recent times, the commerce of spices motivates a quantity of commercial interactions of the XV and XVI centuries, not to speak of the origin of modern colonialism and explorations (Antinucci 2016). In addition, food and cuisine carry the traces of cultural, besides commercial, contacts between populations. Modern examples are the spreading of pizza

from Italy, hamburgers from the USA, and sushi from Japan. Pizza Huts, MacDonalds, Sushi bars are present today in almost all countries.

Therefore it is no wonder that such an important network of trades and interactions has left important traces in almost all languages. Foodstuff has always been exported and imported, new cooking techniques were and are still shared by different communities, new ingredients motivate the production of new recipes, thus imposing the need for new names for new preparations. Thus, the study of the naming process for food may uncover important evidence for the whole history of mankind.

For reasons of clarity it may be useful to make some terminological distinctions. The ingredients used in food preparation will be referred to as “raw material”, while the different procedures, which food must undergo in order to be manufactured and preserved, will be referred to as “preparation”. Thus milk or vegetables will be referred to as “raw material”, and may be either native or imported, while cheese or pasta will be “processed food”. Finally, the food is “cooked” according to different techniques, which are rooted in popular traditions or can be the result of cultural contacts.

2. Cooking phases

2.1 Raw materials

Ancient cuisines were based on the mere consumption of raw materials, while food processing grew more and more complex with the time going, till the complexity of modern chefs’ recipes.

Thus, ancient Greeks and Romans used honey, milk (also to make cheese, and less frequently butter), olive oil, figs, wine and vinegar, legumes, all kinds of meat including game, and fish. All these materials had original names, directly derived from some Indo-European root, if not adopted from the pre-Indo-European substratum. Terms meaning “milk”, Gr. γάλα (gala), Lat. lactem, or “honey”, Gr. μέλι (meli), Lat. *mel* may be compared with other Indo-European languages, while the term for “fig”, σῦκον (sykon), is probably borrowed from a pre-existing Mediterranean language. In fact, many names of plants come from a Mediterranean linguistic substratum and entered both Greek and Latin during the early contacts between the resident and the incoming peoples; this is the case, for example, of the terms for “rose” or “cypress”.

Later, the Romans started to import new food and new materials, especially from the East. Thus ginger was introduced in the 1st century C.E. with the name *gingiber*, from the Sanskrit *śrṅgaveram*. In turn, this Sanskrit word is probably an adaptation of a Dravidian (pre-Indo-European) term, Tamil

inciver, where *inci-* means “ginger” and *ver* means “root”. Romans also imported apricots from Armenia, and called them *precoquus*, meaning “precocious”, due to their early ripening period. The following history of the terms is a good example of how the names of food may migrate and be adapted. It is common knowledge that the Arab term *al-barqūq*, with the same meaning is an adaptation from the Latin name, and from the Arab term we now have the Italian *albicocca*, the Spanish *albaricoque*, the Catalan *abercoc*, from which also English *apricot* and German *Aprikose*, and many other derivations appeared.

But the most important wave of import of food takes place in the 15th to the 17th century, from Eastern countries and from the Americas. Tomatoes and potatoes were introduced in this period, and tracing their names draws an interesting picture of the history of the penetration of these products.

In Nahuatl tomatoes are called *xitomatl*, meaning “the swelling fruit”. This particular fruit was introduced in Spain in 1540 by Hernan Cortes and, in the following centuries, it progressively spread in Europe. Tomatoes kept the original name in English (*tomato*), Spanish (*tomate*), French (*tomate*), Greek (τομάτα - *domata*), Turkish (*domates*), etc. In Italy, instead, the name was called *pomodoro* (“golden apple”), and this name was also used in Russian and in Polish (*pomidor*). This situation shows that a first wave hit Europe and spread with the original name, a plain loan word; a second wave started from Italy, where it received a “descriptive” name (introduced in 1544 by the scientist Pietro Andrea Mattioli), and then reached some eastern European countries.

Another development is Romanian *roşie*, which is also a descriptive term, which stresses the colour of the fruit, as is the case for *vânătă* (aubergine, or eggplant) (dexonline.ro); at least in these two cases Romanian seems to adopt a descriptive model, which takes the colour as the salient feature.

The spreading of potatoes follows roughly the same path. It keeps the original Haitian name *batata* in English (*potato*), Spanish (*patata*, meaning “sweet potato”, as potato is *papa*), Greek (πατάτα), and Italian (*patata*). French took a different path, naming it *pomme de terre* (earth-apple), a sort of descriptive term, similar to Swedish *jordpäron* (earth-pear), or to Italian dialectal *tartufolo* (small truffle, as it grows in the earth as truffles do) from which German *Kartoffel* was derived. Also, in this case it is possible to hypothesize different waves of penetration from the evolution of the names. From eastern countries come coffee and tea, as well as aubergines and other vegetables also introduced in the 15th century. The word “coffee” comes from the Turkish *kahve*, which in turn comes from the Arabic *qahwah*, and remains unchanged in almost all European languages. On the other hand, “tea”

comes from Chinese, which has two readings, *tei* or *cha*. The two pronunciations divide all world languages in two groups, those receiving the former, like Italian or English, and those receiving the latter, like Romanian, Greek, or Turkish.

Also, the history of the names of the aubergines follows two paths. Its original Arab name is *bādingān*, or, with the determinative, *al-bādingān*. From the first form Italian develops *petonciana* or *petronciana*, which later has been changed in *melanzana*, by a paretymological analogy with *mela* "apple". French *aubergine*, Catalan *alberginia* derives from the form with determinative. Spanish has the two forms: *alberengena* and *berengena*.

The history of the spreading of food raw materials can be followed through the spreading of the related terminology, and brings an important contribution to the history of world economy.

2.2 Food manufacturing

Manufacturing food implies processes, which are very localised and often belong to long-standing cultural traditions, and names are created according to different models.

Italian pasta is just one of such manufactured foods, and may take different forms like *spaghetti*, derived from *spago* "twine", *vermicelli* from *verme* "worm", or *capellini* from *capello* "hair". These names describe the shape of the single product, as shown in figure 2 below.

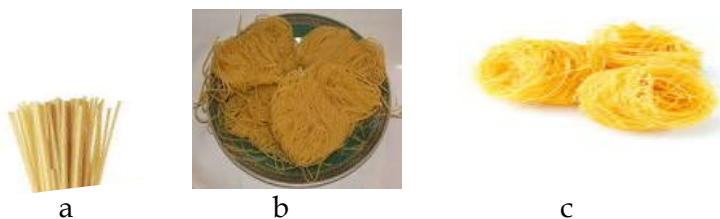


Figure 2: Shapes of pasta: a *spaghetti*, b *vermicelli*, c *capellini*

Also, cheese is one of the most important manufactured food, and Italian offers a variety of naming models. *Mozzarella* and *caciocavallo* are named according to the processing technique. According to many theories the name *mozzarella* is a diminutive of *mozza* "cut off (cheese)", as it is produced by kneading it and finally cutting the desired piece by hand. *Caciocavallo* "horse cheese" is dried, after production, storing it in straddling position, as shown in Figure 3.



Figure 3: techniques of production of *mozzarella*, *caciocavallo*, and *spaghetti alla chitarra*

The technique of production is at the origin also of a type of pasta, the *spaghetti alla chitarra* “guitar spaghetti”, from the name of the instrument on which they are laid to dry up; it is called *chitarra*, because it consists into a set of strings which prevents the spaghetti to be laid on a surface.

Pecorino, from *pecora* “sheep” takes the name from the type of the raw material, i.e. sheep milk. *Gorgonzola* and *parmigiano* take the names from the place where it has been produced first, the first one originating from the Lombard village of Gorgonzola. The name *parmigiano* curiously means “from Parma”, but the certified type is *parmigiano reggiano*, i.e. “from Reggio Emilia”. Probably it is to be interpreted as “Parma-style cheese produced in Reggio”. The same holds for *castelmagno*, produced in the homonymous Piedmontese village.

Sometimes, this origin is not immediately evident, as is the case of Italian *torrone*, from which Spanish *turrón*, Catalan *turró*, and Portuguese *turrão*, a cake made of almonds and honey; the name comes from Latin *torrere* “toast”, and there is no intermediate form in Italian.

2.3 Cooked food

Food is normally cooked and may be characterised by the cooking techniques. A simple case can be Italian *arrosto* “roasted”, which can be applied to any kind of meat. The name *minestra* is more complex both as name and as its

meaning. It indicates the first course of a meal, in general a soup, but it was usually given also to pasta, *minestra asciutta* “dry”, especially in the past. Its name comes from Latin *ministrare* “pour, serve”.

The term *brasato* “braised meat” derives from a dialectal (Northern Italian) *brasare* and *brasa* “embers”, as the meat is cooked in a close pot put and covered with live coals.

When cooking some meat on coals, it is also possible that the name stresses some extra character, like the meat *scottadito* “burn finger”, as it must be consumed immediately after cooking.

The preparing techniques are also in play in the case of the meat dish *spezzatino* “little chopped (meat)”, as the meat is chopped in small pieces.

The Occitan *bolhabaissa*, related to French *bouillabaisse*, is a composition of the two verbs: *bolhir* “boil” and *abaissar* (cook slowly), and this describes the cooking technique.

A metaphorical name is the Italian *saltimbocca*, a type of meat roulade considered so tasty to “jump in mouth” by itself. Moving further, from metaphor to legend, a Turkish dish based on aubergines is called *imam bayıldı* “the imam fainted”; this is also cooked in Greece and known with the name *μελιτζάνες ιμάμ* (*melitzanes imam*). It refers to the legend according to which an imam fainted and fell down from the minaret after perceiving the smell of such a delicious dish. This name makes reference to the gluttony of the clergy, exactly as in Italian pasta *strozzapreti* “strangle priests”. It is an interesting convergence between both the Christian and the Muslim tradition, confirmed by the Italian name *boccone del prete* “the bit of the priest” given alternatively to the fish’s cheek and to the chicken’s tail, both considered particularly tasty.

Food preparation and cooking is also a domain in which cultural differences may even take the form of differing mental models. Ferrari (2015) discusses examples of cultural differences giving raise to different categories of cooking techniques. An example for all is the Turkish term *zeytinyağlı*, adopted by the Greek culinary tradition with the term *λαδερά* (*ladera*); this term, meaning “cooked in olive oil” classifies a set of dishes, in general vegetables, cooked with the same technique, regardless of the raw material they are based on.

After all, in our cultures we also classify some dishes on the base of the preparation techniques, such as the Italian *fritto*, designating “fried stuff”, similar to the Japanese *tempura*, but these are offered in the same list of other main dishes, while the food “cooked in olive oil” is generally presented as a specific category, separated from the other categories.

On the different cognitive models underlying the structure of menus see Ferrari (2015).

With the evolution of cooking techniques and the quest for refined dishes there appears the new habit of naming dishes according to the name of the chef who invented them, or some episode characterising them. This is the case of *salade César*, or the dishes *à la Bismarck*, or *Stroganoff* or even the *pollo alla Marengo*, or *poulet Marengo*. This last dish is based on chicken and different vegetables, wine and tomato sauce. It is related to the battle of Marengo (June 15th 1800) following different traditions. According to one of the stories, after the battle Napoleon went in an *auberge* and asked for something to eat, but he did not appreciate roasted meat, so the innkeeper prepared this dish. According to another tradition Napoleon's cook offered this dish to the Emperor, after the battle, as he was unable to find more appropriate ingredients. The recipe is common to France and Piedmont.

The *Fillet Stroganoff* takes its name from the Russian count Pavel Stroganoff for whom his personal chef prepared it for the first time. Something similar holds valid for the dishes *à la Bismarck* (characterised by a fried egg on top) or *à la Rossini* (characterised by truffles).

On the contrary, the *salade César* is a salad inspired by a Mexican dish, produced for the first time in 1924 in the United States by the chef Cesare Cardini. The *spaghetti Alfredo* are also very popular in the United States but the dish has a Roman origin as it appears for the first time in Rome in the 15th century; later in 1908 it was taken up by the Roman chef Alfredo Di Lelio, whence the name comes.

There are too many examples of this type, especially in more modern times, so that tracing all of them would require specifically devoted research.

Findings overview

The examples above show how complex is the history of any single word, which not only names a food, but traces its migration through different countries. Searching through historical dictionaries (Etymonline for English, Pianigiani, for Italian, Dexonline for Romanian, Lexilogos for French) may also give an idea of the progressive penetration of such terms, and consequently of the corresponding goods.

But the models of word formation can be formally described and fall into a limited number of patterns.

The base level consist of those terms that we consider primary, i.e. which do not apparently come from some external source. They can be either original or borrowed from the substratum languages, i.e. the languages spoken

by the inhabitants of a region before the arrival of the historical inhabitants. Romans and Greeks, and Indians were preceded by some Indo-Mediterranean peoples, of which we know very little, but the fact that they loaned to the incoming communities an entire lexicon relative to (food) products they used but were unknown to the invaders. In some cases the invaders adapted the loan words to their phonetic systems or even to some names, which appeared more familiar. This is the case of the Sanskrit *śrṅgaveram*, which is a loan word from a Dravidian (pre-Indoeuropean) language, but has been restructured by analogy with the word *śrṅga*- "horn". Although substratum terms are loan words, they can be considered primary as well, as in historical times they are perfectly integrated in the lexical repertoire of many languages.

More interestingly, when with the increase of commerce, more and more goods started to be imported, the need to name the new materials arose, following the same process of technological innovations (Ferrari 2018). The most common naming techniques are summarised below.

- Loan words: are those names taken from the language where the innovation comes from, be it raw material, processed material or simply cooking technique. These words are taken either as they stand or adapted to the phonetic system of the receiving language. Words like *tomato*, *potato*, *sushi*, or *pizza* (for non Italians) are taken more or less as they stand. Loan words can undergo a process of "normalisation", in order to be adapted to the phonetic and grammatical system of the receiving language. The word *ginger* has undergone such a process at least two times, the first one from a Dravidic language (*inciver*) to Sanskrit (*śrṅgaveram*), the second one from Sanskrit to late Latin (*gingiber*).

- Pressure of analogy: an important process of "normalisation" of loan words is the rebuilding of the word by analogy with some other known word. The Sanskrit *śrṅgaveram* "ginger" is borrowed from Dravidic, but rebuilt by analogy with *śrṅga*- "horn". Also the Italian *melanzana* is the result of a reconstruction of the original *petonciana*, closer to the Arab name, by analogy with *mela* «apple».

- Generic description: Instead of using the original name of an imported material, a new name is created, which describes the merchandise. The Italian *pomodoro* is such a case, as also the French *pomme de terre*, or the Italian dialectal *tartufolo*, out of which comes the German *Kartoffel*. The description may highlight a single feature, as is the case of the Romanian *roşie* or *vânătă*, which stress the colour of the fruit. Also, as shown above, most of the names of Italian pasta describe the shape of the product.

- Reference to the preparing technique. This holds true both for manufactured and for cooked food. The above-mentioned *mozzarella* and *caciocavallo* are good examples. Also, the Romanian *telemea* falls in this category, from the Turkish *telemek* “curdled”. Also, in the field of cooked food, words like the Italian *arrosto* or *brasato*, as well as the French *bouillabaisse* make reference to the way these foods are cooked.
- Reference to the place of origin: this is true above all for the names of cheeses. The Italian *gorgonzola* or *castelmagno*, as well as the French *camembert*, or the English *cheddar* are derived from the names of the villages wherefrom they originate. A curious history is the name *parmigiano reggiano*; both names indicate a place of origin, *parmigiano* being “from Parma” and *reggiano* “from Reggio Emilia”. The protected origin is Reggio Emilia and the name *parmigiano* simply indicates the type of cheese. An interesting sub-case of a popular dish, which has different names according to the country; this is the Italian *insalata russa*, called by this name also in Romania, i.e. *salată rusească*, as well as in Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, Serbia and Turkey. It is called instead *salade Olivier* in French, Russian, German; it is also *Italian salad* in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. The reason of these different names is rather unclear, except, perhaps, the reference to Olivier, which may be redistributed to the following case.
- Reference to the creator of a recipe or some event connected with it: this holds valid for the more refined recipes. This is the case of *salade César*, or *Caesar salad*, from the name of the Italian cook, who emigrated in Mexico and then the USA, Cesare Cardini. In some cases, this reference classifies a set of dishes, like those *à la Bismarck*, or *à la Stroganoff*, or *à la Rossini* (with truffles). All three names do not mention the chef, but the person who was fond of those ways of cooking, i.e. Otto von Bismarck, count Pavel Stroganoff, and the opera writer Gioacchino Rossini. The *pollo alla Marengo* “chicken Marengo” takes the name from the battle fought by Napoleon near the village of Marengo. There are at least two different stories, but all of them make reference to the battle.
- Reference to some popular myth: the name of pasta *strozzapreti* “strangle priests”, makes reference to the (supposed) gluttony of the clergy.
- Reference to some legend: the Turkish dish *imam bayaldi* makes reference to a legend of an imam who fainted after tasting this dish. Also, the Italian wine *Est!Est!Est!*, takes its name from the legend according to which the archbishop Johannes Defuk, who travelled in 1111 together with emperor Henry V during his Italian campaign, asked his cupbearer to taste Italian wines in order to suggest the best ones. The coded communication was to

write “*est!*” “it is (good)” on the wineries where he tasted the wines. When in Montefiascone, the cupbearer was so impressed by the local wine that he wrote the message three times.

-Metaphor: the name *saltimbocca* can be considered a metaphor as it portrays a situation in which a food is so tasty as to jump into the eater’s mouth by itself. This is close to the process described in 7, but it differs to the extent that in the case of *strozzapreti* the metaphor is based on a common popular belief, while in this case it focuses on a specific feature of the dish.

The origin of the names of food in all its phases, from raw material to its more sophisticated cooking is very complex and varied. Apparently, every name reveals an intricate history of commerce, preparing and cooking techniques. However, the creation of names can be compared with the process of terminological creation in other fields.

Conclusion

These models of creation do not belong only to the food semantic area, but are certainly more general. Ferrari (2018) identified a number of name formation models in the field of technological innovations, and it appears that some of them apply to this field as well.

Loan words are present in both areas. Besides the names of foods identified above, the technical language is also rich in mostly English loan words. It is not only the case of jp. *Daraya* (from English *dryer* referred to the hair dryer), but also of much of the computer or economic terminology. These can be absorbed as they are, or adapted to the receiving linguistic system, as is the case for the Italian *scannerizzare* from the English *scan*.

The overview above summarizes the different ways of description which take into account the colour or other specific features. In the technical domain there are cases of description of the shape by simile. Thus, the hair dryer in Greek is *πιστολακι* (*pistolaki* “small pistol”).

Reference to the preparation of the cooking techniques has also been highlighted. This is comparable to the description of the components of a technical appliance, as in the Greek *σιρμα* (*sirma*), meaning “wire”, but also “kitchen whip”, as this final example is made with wires.

Reference to the creator was not treated in Ferrari (2018), but it can be observed in terms like *Allen wrench* (“hex key”), due to the patent of hexagonal screw head by William Allen (1908).

Also, metaphor is present in the technical terminology, in the Italian *phon* “hair dryer”, which is based on the mapping of the feature “hot and dry” from the katabatic wind to this appliance.

The only model absent in this review is the description by function (*hair-dryer*), as the function of food is only one and cannot characterise single dishes of materials.

The process of name formation seems to apply to all semantic domains, or at least to the two areas under investigation. The domain of food is certainly more complex as it involves historical commercial exchanges, popular traditions, intercultural modelling and many processing procedures. It is, then, obvious that the ways of naming food meet and represent such a complexity.

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On-line dictionaries

English: Etymonline: www.etymonline.com

French: Lexilogos: www.lexilogos.com/etymologie.htm

Italian: Pianigiani online: www.etimo.it

Romanian: dexonline: dexonline.ro

OBITUARIES AS DIGITAL MEMORIALS AND EXPERIENTIAL TRANSLATION SITES

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Selma ĐULIMAN**

Abstract: *The paper discusses different frequent expressions typically used in conventional obituaries written in English and compares the features to the newly emerging, more durable multimodal narratives recounting life of an individual in the form of digital memorials. The aim of the paper is to illustrate how the genre of death announcements and obituaries has changed sentiment from 'informative' to 'opiniative' (Crespo-Fernández 2007) in recent years. The main part of the analysis focuses on the dedications written on The National COVID Memorial Wall page dedicated to victims of COVID-19 as a unique expression of grief and affection.*

Keywords: death announcement, dedication, multimodal genre, COVID-19, English language

Introduction

The aim of this paper presented at the *Fourth Bosnian-Herzegovinian Congress in Slavic Studies held at the University of Sarajevo – Faculty of Philosophy in May 2025* is to reflect on the changing nature of the genre of death announcements and obituaries in the digital era, the general features of the genre, as well as its universal value across various cultures.

The genre of the obituary usually comprises elements of journalese and literary genres (Corona 2009) but also remains “an intriguing and multifaceted genre, evolving over time to fulfill multiple roles in society” (Komninos 2025: 21). Today, the multimodal genre of the obituary combines linguistic and other modes of expression aimed to inform and commemorate. These layers of meaning bring to the surface “general cultural values as well” (Nagy 2017: 1). As the narratives of the past, the present, and the future merge to tell the story of a person, the obituary, as a “multidimensional and multimodal multigenre” (Lickiss 2020) materialises grieving as a situated interpretive and communicative activity:

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It is situated in the sense that mourning always unfolds in the context of a given familial, social, cultural, and historical context; it is interpretative in that it inevitably entails attempts to make sense of a compelling emotional experience; it is communicative as it is intrinsically embedded in spoken, written, and non-verbally performed exchanges with others; and it is an activity in that it is an enacted process, not merely a state to be endured (Neimeyer and Cacciatore 2016: 4).

The obituary thus functions as a specific perlocutionary speech act that tells the story within the collective memory of a society as every experience is historically, socially and culturally situated (Nagy 2017: 14). The central role played in the construction of memory and the impact it creates is the role of language.

Obituaries are often in the social register of the “middle class” (Gerbner 1980: 66), “with more space being dedicated to more important people” (Komninos 2025: 27). In terms of the content and the author-reader interaction, the author or authors of the obituary may remain anonymous. Yet, it rarely occurs, as both the deceased and the author(s) are subjects of individual and social memory. The text of the obituary is a reminder of the “socially acceptable role” of the deceased person, his/her achievements, the length of his/her service, etc. In some obituaries, names of predecessors and names of the deceased person’s successors are also given along with the text.

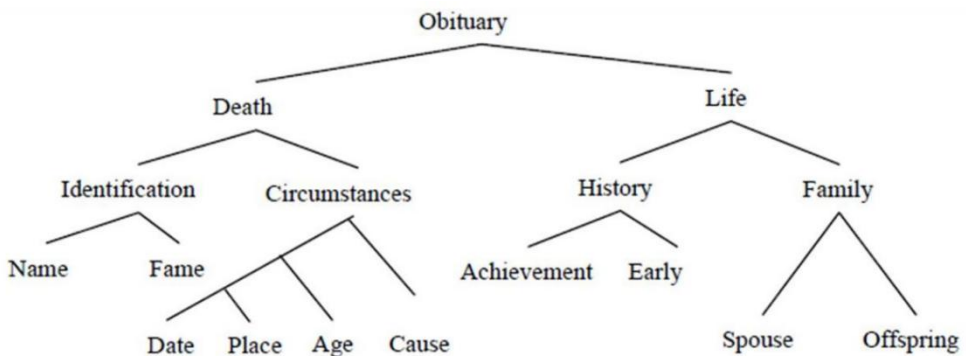


Fig. 1. Obituary topic framework
(Moses and Marelli 2004 in Komninos 2025: 26)

These features will be discussed in relation to the emerging genre of digital memorials and dedication pages, tributes and public records (Komninos 2025). In the next part of the paper, we briefly discuss linguistic features frequently used in obituaries and dedications in order to proceed to a qualitative analysis which focuses on the corpus used for the purpose of this paper to illustrate the changing nature of the genre in era of COVID-19 since pandemics “have not been sufficiently ‘mediated’ in collective memory” (Honigsbaum 2023; also see Ribarić 2025). In this way, the paper aims to contribute to previous findings (Komninos 2025; Crespo-Fernández 2007) by offering new insights into the genre through different channels of transmission.

Theoretical framework: Language in death announcements and obituaries

An important distinction, as stated earlier, can be made between the form of two types of death announcements (see Crespo-Fernández 2007: 10-11) – i.e., informative and opinative. To illustrate the difference, the author provides the following examples:

(1) Informative death announcement

At Bath, Mrs. Fitz-Gerald, widow of Edward Fitz-Gerald, Esq., of Caragran, in the co. of Clare, and mother of Sir William Fitz-Gerald, Bart., in the said county.
(TCE, February 12)

(2) Opinative death announcement

At Sleaven, on the 24th inst., Mrs. Lacy, widow of the late Mr. Corns. Lucy, and mother to DI. Lucy, Esq., of Macroom, at the old age of 92 years, 64 of which she spent in the very house in which she died. *If piety, extensive charity, and honourable dealing be necessary for the security of blissful rewards in the world of unending glory, this much respected woman must now be in the full enjoyment of the fruits of a well spent life.* Amen. (TCE, March 3)

According to Crespo-Fernández (2007: 10), opinative obituaries are generally written by relatives, friends, or funeral home staff and provide a more emotional and personal portrayal of the deceased. They use consoling and praising language to honour the departed and help comfort the surviving family members. They contain figurative language, hyperbolic language and euphemistic discursive strategies (such as “mitigating apology expressions”). In the English language, for instance, some frequent euphemisms used in

relation to death and mourning have changed (e.g. *undertaker* to *mortician*, and finally, to *funeral director* (Jamet 2010: 7; also see Nagy 2017)). Even though certain differences may be found in terms of tone and style, “despite their diversity, obituaries display consistent features, such as syntactic complexity and lexical density, while their structure and focus are shaped by the producing institution and audience expectations” (Komninos 2025: 22). In this context, the genre may be influenced by the context of publication (newspaper (broadsheet, tabloid, local, national) vs. institution)) (Komninos 2025: 30).

Today, the “structural and linguistic features” are more difficult to categorise as social networks have, to a certain degree, replaced death announcements as found in the newspapers (see Harper 2024). In both cases, the deceased remain “passive objects of emotions” (Long in Nagy 2014: 53). Dedication pages such as *the legacy.com* website allow readers to: “add comments”, “order memorial trees”, “send flowers”, “plant trees” or “add cards” to celebrate life of the deceased person. In this way, the text itself is interactive and ongoing, allowing readers to express grief in different ways as in “this digital era, obituaries have evolved from mere announcements to *dynamic memorials*” (Harper 2024).

Research framework

In order to explore the changing nature of the genre, *The COVID National Memorial Wall* in London and the accompanying dedication page will be analysed in this study using a mixed methods approach as efficient quantitative methods still have not been produced for multimodal analysis (Komninos 2025: 38). For this purpose, the methodology section comprises two parts.

In the first part of the following section, *The COVID National Memorial Wall* is analysed from an ethnographic perspective at the macro level, i.e., as an actual wall and a tangible (dynamic) memorial in a wider socio-cultural and global context within a broad framework of multimodal discourse analysis (Jones 2021). *The COVID National Memorial Wall* as a memorial is thus observed as an example of a contemporary artefact that provides evidence on how different semiotic, textual and visual elements interact in a dynamic multimodal and multilingual setting to create different narratives mediated by the semiotics of the writing and as a social construct of the local and global discourse community (Komninos 2025: 23).

The second part briefly reflects on the features the genre of informative (conventional) obituaries and dedications usually contains in order to contrast them against a more intimate involvement with the text

based on lexical and sentiment features that the online opinative obituary allows in the case of the present corpus, functioning as a perlocutionary act along with its impact on the discourse and global community. Thus, another aim of the research is to offer an insight into the perlocutionary effect of multimodal texts found that, in the case of the present corpus, may be classified as *hybrid opinative*.

Corpus

The COVID National Memorial Wall as a monument

Within the theoretical framework of multimodal discourse analysis (Jones 2021), *The COVID National Memorial Wall* may be described as a multimodal communicative act encompassing “spoken, written, and non-verbal exchanges” that materialise collective mourning into a tangible visual and textual form, integrating linguistic and pictorial elements (Wardle 2025: 103). More than 200,000 red hearts painted on the 500-meter long wall symbolise each individual who has died with COVID-19 recorded on their death certificate in the UK. Furthermore, the Wall is conceptualised as an *experiential translation site*, as the contributors’ experience of grief is transformed into a continuously evolving multilingual visual and textual reality. In this process, the collective and individual memory evolves and transforms from a “fixed artifact” into an (still) *ongoing*, transformative experience.

The experiential dimension also extends to visitors and tourists in real space. In this way, the visitors engage with the Wall’s individual narratives, both as “discrete stories and as part of a collective memorial that allows for an interaction of context and people” (Wardle 2025: 93). Being at an intersection of a multilingual and multicultural urban context and landscape, the Wall is also at the intersection between personal narratives and public commemoration. It also features inscriptions in languages other than English, such as Greek, German, Italian, Arabic, Chinese, Russian, Hebrew, thus reflecting the linguistic diversity of London and its linguistic landscape. Furthermore, the shared motif of the red hearts transcends geopolitical and sociocultural boundaries. In addition, the “open-ended nature of the text” allows for continual additions, thus transcending the conventional notion of a static monument (see Vidal and Campbell 2025).

Beyond the contributions from bereaved families and friends, the Wall is maintained by volunteers who refresh the hearts with paint, renew the inscriptions, remove graffiti, and interact with visitors and passers-by through dialogue (Wardle 2025: 104). As such, the Wall exemplifies a

memorial as a cultural artifact that embodies an interplay between contextual factors and human agency that transforms grief into “a multimodal, evolving public expression” (Gumpert and Drucker 2018: 238) as can be seen from the following dedications:

- (1) It reminds me that I’m not the only one getting up in the morning and feeling lost and lonely and broken hearted and robbed of a loved one, that all of us are going through the same heartbreak.
- (2) A place of unity. Where losing someone this way has been very isolating for many different reasons, the wall is a reminder we aren’t alone. They had names, families who loved them, stories to tell – and they will never be just a number. The wall reflects that.
- (3) The wall means so much to me.... it’s knowing that people have cared enough to keep the names of our loved ones alive. Someone I’ve never met wrote the name of my mother in a heart, and even though I’ve not been able to visit it myself yet, my son was able to go see it and video it for me. It comforts me to know that every day, people walk past, and maybe just one person might see my mum’s name and spare a thought in that moment for her.
- (4) My Dad’s heart is a reminder that he was loved so much and is missed every second of every day. It also symbolizes to me that his life was taken by something that could have been avoided if things were done differently. It’s a place of unity for all those that had their loved ones taken before their time.
- (5) This wall is an anchor, a lodestone for the shock and horror, the anguish and anger of so many hundreds of thousands of us, bereaved and bereft by covid. Somehow, this simple wall of hearts captures and holds the enormity of our loss. All those beautiful souls. The wall is all we have left.
- (6) We couldn’t hug our consolations in times of great sadness, but we could be together here – loved ones and strangers – enduring loss, finding hope, remembering and grieving. We are more than statistics – we are the lives, words and hearts on this wall.
- (7) My darling husband’s name on a heart. Not forgotten. A constant reminder of a life lost unnecessarily.¹

The COVID National Memorial Wall dedication page

To contribute to the findings pertaining to the complexity of the genre, we also analysed general features of *The COVID National Memorial Wall* dedication page to gain important insights into the peculiarities of the genre

¹ See <https://www.nationalcovidmemorialwall.org/gallery-quotes>

23/02/2022 Rosalynde robinson	miss	you Mum x 23/02
02/2022 George Gerard Bennett	miss	you Dad each day hurts
2022 Clifford Reid Love and	miss	you always Dad,so sorry
02/2022 Nellie Butler We	miss	you everyday 🍷 your smile 🍷 your
of us died with you	miss	your infectious laugh your jokes
infectious laugh your jokes but	miss	you 🍷 please continue to look
for 6 weeks. Love and	miss	you both. Thank you for
2022 Ellen Haughey Mum I	miss	you so much, you are
23/02/2022 Griff Jones	miss	you so much 🍷 Xx 23
far too soon mam we	miss	you every day our hearts
2022 Jessie-leigh Jessie we	miss	you so much some days
all these to us. We	miss	you beyond words. Melanie, Henry
far too soon from us.	miss	her every day. She was
the light of our lives.	miss	you darling girl. 🍷🍷🍷 23/02
2022 Laura-Louise Turner-Hewitt	miss	your phone calls, miss your
Hewitt Miss your phone calls,	miss	your smile, most of all
smile, most of all we	miss	you. 🍷🍷xx 23/02/2022

Fig. 3. A short excerpt from the corpus for the verb ‘miss’ and concordances

The Wall and the dedication page, as mentioned earlier, are not monolingual sites. This is another significant difference as conventional informative obituaries and dedications are usually written in one language, in which case editors editing the text on behalf of the newspaper or website may contribute to the changes in the text, usually making it more formal. In this sense, we may say that the Wall and the dedication page are more immediate in the artistic and communicative expression.

Other elements that contribute to a less formal but more intimate expression of grief, which is not always the case with informative (conventional) obituaries, may be found in all the dedications. For example, the authors rarely sign their full name and surname at the end of the dedication form (e.g., “*Always remembered*”; “*Always in our hearts*”; “*Missed by all your loving family*”; “*Tragically lost. Incredibly missed*”; “*Sweet dreams, sleep tight*”; “*Forever sweet sixteen*”). In this way, (anonymous) authors may choose to be more expressive, without paying much attention to punctuation or long, coherent sentences. Additionally, when it comes to different expressions typically used in conventional obituaries and dedications, comparing the features to the emerging multimodal narratives, it may also be generally concluded that all the social roles are portrayed as “acceptable” and equal “space” is assigned to every individual. The achievements of individuals as professionals in a particular field are rarely mentioned but rather their roles as family members (e.g., “*A much-loved brother, Dad, uncle, cousin, and grandpa*”). Unlike in conventional obituaries, we find different photographs portraying the individuals drinking, celebrating Christmas,

proposing a toast, and, most frequently – laughing or smiling in the company of their children, grandchildren, spouses and friends.

The prevailing sentiment of the messages on the dedication page analysed here as a digital open-ended corpus for mining linguistic data is regret for not being there when the person passed (e.g., *“I’m sorry I let the paramedics take you that day, only to find you hadn’t hurt yourself and you could have come home, instead you were passed from one ward to another till you finally caught Covid”, “so sorry I couldn’t have been there to hold your hands”, “I am sorry I wasn’t by your side at the end”, “I’m so sorry I was not with you as you took your last breath”, “So sorry we could not be with you to say goodbye, but you are in our thoughts forever”, “Really sorry we never fulfilled our last promise to you that we would see you again!”, “I am so sorry I couldn’t hold your hand, I’m so sorry that none of the family were allowed to be with you in your final hours and days.”, “So sorry we couldn’t be with when you passed.”, “I’m so sorry I couldn’t make your last wishes - to die in your home - come true.”*).

Although it is not explicitly stated, it is understood by contemporary readers that the authors of the message regret not only for “not being there” but also imply they were not allowed to say goodbye to their loved ones due to COVID, which is used rarely as a subject (agent) in the corpus. The deceased were *“taken by covid”, “lost to covid”, “fighting covid”, “acquired covid”, “caught covid”, “lost their lives to covid”,* whereas only in a few examples we find the word “COVID” as agent (subject) in the sentence (e.g., *“Covid took you from us forever.”, “Covid cruelly took you from us”, “covid (that) took you down”, “letting covid keep us apart now”, “until covid hit”, “covid has broke our family”, “covid stole it all away”*).

Finally, the inscriptions on the Wall and the dedication page could also be observed within the framework of authentic and affective texts, i.e., unedited texts, providing evidence of individual language usage and stylistic choices that may be further explored in the future.

Suggestions for future research

In this paper, we explored the changing nature of the conventional obituary as a genre. Personal tributes inscribed on *The National COVID Memorial Wall* in London and the accompanying dedication page were used as a corpus to offer new insights into how grief is expressed and the loved ones lost to COVID-19 commemorated in a new type of multimodal discourse, which may reflect broader changes in terms of authorship and creating authentic and affective texts to express grief and regret.

Together, *The National COVID Memorial Wall* and the dedication page, written in the form of electronic text, function as a hybrid multigenre, each with its own specific features that can be further explored and explained within the theoretical framework blending multimodal discourse analysis and corpus linguistics. Finally, further and more in-depth exploration and studies of linguistic styles, particularly the use of function and content words, may offer valuable insights into authorship, psychological states, and multicultural identity of the participants in the (global) discourse community.

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A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW ON THE TRANSLATION OF ENGLISH LITERARY TEXTS INTO ROMANIAN IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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Abstract: *Starting from an overview of the translations from and into English in the Romanian cultural space, the present paper enlarges on a retrospective presentation of the relevant translations of English literary texts into Romanian in the first half of the XIXth century with a view to illustrate the fact that these translations played an important role in shaping the modern Romanian literature of the time.*

Keywords: translation, literature, imitation, adaptation, writers-translators

Preliminary aspects regarding translations in Romania

As an integral part of the Romanian culture, the translations made on the territory of our country have experienced, over time, a remarkable evolution. Initially focused on religious and historical texts, and later on literary and scientific texts, translations have become a fundamental instrument for maintaining a constant dialogue with other cultures in the European space.

Limited to the process of interpretation during the formation of the Dacian state (70 BC), during its colonization (106 - 271 AD) and in the Middle Ages, translations "acquired a cultural role in the 14th century, when communities on both sides of the Carpathians laid the foundations of state institutions." (Bantaş & Croitoru 1999: 105) (our translation)

The first official data regarding translations on the Romanian territory dates back to 1521, when a series of documents were translated from and into Romanian for the Sibiu City Council.

Once this first step was taken, translations from and into Romanian gradually experienced significant growth and diversification, which allowed Romania to remain in a constant cultural dialogue with other European states and to develop coherently by imitating or adapting to representative European cultural and literary trends.

The fact should not be overlooked that numerous representatives of the Romanian culture, connoisseurs of one or more languages widely used at the European level, in different stages of cultural effervescence, wrote their

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works directly in a foreign language (Slavonic, Latin¹, Greek, Russian and, later, French, English, German, Italian). In this respect mention should be made to Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940), whose works on Byzantinology and modern history were written in French, English, German, and Italian, besides Romanian, to Antioh Cantemir (1708-1744), the son of Dimitrie Cantemir, who wrote fables and odes in Russian, as well as to Elena Văcărescu (1864-1947), Marthe Bibesco (1876-1933), Panait Istrati (1884-1935), Tristan Tzara (1896-1963), Ilarie Voronca (1903-1946), Emil Cioran (1911-1997), Mircea Eliade (1907-1987), Eugene Ionesco (1909-1994) who wrote in French.

1. Translations of English texts into Romanian

The first translations of English texts into Romanian date back in the late 15th century, when the copying of texts translated into Romanian was attested in Transylvania. Among these are religious texts (*Song of Songs, Lives of the Saints*), apocryphal books (*The Dream of the Blessed Virgin*) and popular books (*Alexandria – the life of Emperor Alexander the Great, Esopia – The Life and Fables of Aesop, The Flower of Gifts, The Story of Archirie*).

The 16th and 17th centuries were marked by the translations of *the Old and New Testaments* into common Romanian and by Coresi's vast translation and editing activity, which contributed, significantly, to the unification of the Romanian language at that time.

Nicolae Costin (1660-1712?), son of the great chronicler Miron Costin (1633-1691), also occupies an important place among the people of culture who made translations into Romanian, being "the first European to translate from Latin, with his original contributions, the book *Libro aureo del gran imperador Marco Aurelio con el Rolex de Principes*, 1529, written by the Spanish historian Antonio de Guevara, under the title *Ceasornicul domnilor (The Princes' Horologe 1710-1712)*" (Bantaș & Croitoru 1999: 106) (our translation).

Relevant for the aspects presented in this section is also the publication, in 1688, of the *Bucharest Bible* (also called *The Bible of Șerban Cantacuzino*), fully translated into Romanian "after extensive efforts made by several of the most renowned scholars of the time, including the polyglot Nicolae Milescu" (Bantaș & Croitoru 1999: 106) (our translation).

The XVIIIth and XIXth centuries were marked by the use of translation for the purpose of developing the linguistic awareness of readers in the

¹ Dimitrie Cantemir was the first Romanian whose work "*Istoria creșterii și descreșterii Imperiului Otoman*" ("*History of the Growth and Decline of the Ottoman Empire*") written in Latin was translated into several foreign languages. The English translation belongs to his son, Antioch Cantemir, and was published in London in 1724. (Bantaș & Croitoru 1999: 106)

Romanian cultural space. The *Transylvanian School*, through its representatives – Samuil Micu-Clain (1745-1806), Gheorghe Șincai (1756-1816), Petru Maior (1761-1821), Ion Budai Deleanu (1760?-1820), Gheorghe Lazăr (1779-1823), Gheorghe Asachi (1788-1869) and the program of the *Dacia literară* magazine, which encouraged "translations from various fields and from all parts of the world" (Bantaș & Croitoru 1999: 107) – were key factors, with a determining role in this process. The intense translation activity in this period may be considered all the more valuable if the fact is taken into account that the original works of numerous writers of the time (Gheorghe Asachi, Ion Heliade Rădulescu, Grigore Alexandrescu, Costache Negruzzi, Alexandru Donici, Dimitrie Bolintineanu, Vasile Alecsandri) were significantly influenced by the style of those translated from other languages.

A clear proof of the openness towards and synchronization of Romanian literature with world literature is represented by the two translations of the novel *Coliba lui Moș Toma*, which appeared in the Romanian cultural space very shortly after its publication (1852), more precisely in 1853 in Iași and in 1854 in Bucharest.

The groups of Romanian writers-translators were joined by other great names such as: Mihai Eminescu, George Coșbuc², Ștefan Octavian Iosif and, later, Ion Luca Caragiale, Lucian Blaga³, Tudor Vianu⁴, Alexandru Philippide⁵, Tudor Arghezi⁶ who succeeded, through their sustained activity, in facilitating Romanian readers' access to valuable European and universal literature.

The XXth century was marked by translators such as A. E. Baconski, Leon Levițchi, Dan Duțescu, Aurel Covaci, Romulus Vulpescu, Dan Grigorescu, Ela Boeriu, Theodor Boșca, Ștefan Augustin Doinaș and Petre Solomon, whose "masterful pen" (Bantaș & Croitoru 1999: 109) completed

² George Coșbuc is known for numerous translations among which: Homer's *Odyssey*, Virgil's *Aeneid* and *Georgics*, Kalidassa's *Sacuntala*, *Rigveda*, *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, Byron's poem *Mazepa*, comedies by Plautus and Terence and verses by Catullus, Anacreon, Schiller, Chamisso and Longfellow. The exceptional translation of *The Divine Comedy* is complemented by extensive and erudite commentaries.

³ Lucian Blaga is known for his translations of Goethe's *Faust* and of some poems written by Edgar Allan Poe.

⁴ Tudor Vianu is known for his translations of Goethe's poems and Shakespeare's Roman tragedies.

⁵ Al. Philippide is known for his translations of Baudelaire's and Edgar Allan Poe's poems.

⁶ Tudor Arghezi is known for his translations of Moliere's comedies and for his adaptations of La Fontaine's and Krylov's fables, the latter being considered by the Russian scholars as "independent masterpieces which would deserve to be retranslated into Russian." (Bantaș & Croitoru 1999: 109) (our translation)

the list of works of world literature translated into Romanian with remarkable versions of classical texts and, sometimes, with competitive versions of the same text (see Baudelaire's *The Flowers of Evil* and the four complete works of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*).

2. Translations of Romanian texts into English

Although not very numerous, the translations of valuable (non)literary texts from Romanian (or Latin) into various European languages (English, French, German, Italian) have made a significant contribution to familiarizing European readers with relevant aspects of Romanian culture from various periods of cultural and literary effervescence.

Confessio fidei orthodoxae (*The Confession of the Eastern Orthodox Religion*) is a first relevant example in this respect. Written in Latin by the Moldavian bishop Petru Movilă in 1643, with the approval of the Synod of Patriarchs of Constantinople, this text was translated into several foreign languages, including English.

Representative for the XVIIIth century is the translation, into several languages, of the historical text *Istoria creșterii și descreșterii Imperiului Otoman*, written by Dimitrie Cantemir in Latin.

The first translations of Romanian literature were made by Vasile Alecsandri (1821-1890), who published in Paris, in 1852, the volume *Poésies roumaines, Les Doinas, Poésies Moldaves*. These popular Romanian texts collected and polished by Vasile Alecsandri were translated into English (*The Doinas or the National Songs and Legends of Romania*) by E.C. Granville Murray and presented to the English public in London, in 1843.

The Romanian literary texts with the greatest circulation worldwide belong to Liviu Rebreanu (1885-1944). His writings (including the novels *Ion*, *Răscoala*, *Ciuleandra* and *Pădurea spânzuraților*) were widely translated during his lifetime, reaching 25 languages and being published in 31 countries by 1973.

According to Andrei Bantaș and Croitoru (1999: 109), “[a] somewhat comparable achievement was the spread of the novel *Descult* by Zaharia Stancu (1902-1974), which went around the world in golden slivers” (our translation) especially during the period when the Romanian state officially and materially supported literature that promoted communist propaganda internationally.

Despite the considerable reduction in translation activity from Romanian into foreign languages due to the centralization of editorial activity and the discouragement of foreign initiatives, many translators and publishers abroad supported the translation into languages of international

circulation of texts written by Marin Sorescu, Ștefan Augustin Doinaș, Ana Blandiana and Mircea Dinescu, a favorable aspect in this regard being “their courageous attitude as critical dissidents of the Ceaușescu tyranny” (Bantaș & Croitoru 1999: 110) (our translation).

The most remarkable work dedicated to Romanian poems translated into English, entitled *Romanian Poetry in English Translation*, “records 240 poets from the XVIIIth– XXth centuries present in English-language volumes, anthologies and magazines” (Bantaș & Croitoru 1999: 110) (our translation) and is notable, in addition to the large number of poets presented, for the excellent annotated bibliography produced by the American professors Charles Mc. Carlton and Thomas A. Perry of the University of Rochester in New York.

3. On the translation of English literature into Romanian in the first half of the 19th century

Despite the fact that Romanian-English linguistic interactions were documented since the first half of the 17th century, translations from English literature into Romanian cannot be discussed before the beginning of the 19th century.

Compared to religious and historical texts, which were the subject of early translations, literary texts drew the attention of Romanian cultural figures only after they became aware of the need to develop a national and linguistic consciousness among the masses and to educate the public through reading.

A decisive aspect for the special attention paid to literary texts in the Romanian territories at the beginning of the 19th century was the fact that this period was characterized by a “massive assimilation of Western literatures” (Gavriliu 2006: 13) (our translation). Such an approach corresponded to the ideology and program promoted by the *Transylvanian School* and supported by the cultural mentors of the time, Gheorghe Asachi, Ion Heliade Rădulescu and George Barițiu. They encouraged the translation⁷ of representative texts from modern Western literature and did everything possible to ensure that the translation activity was carried out simultaneously with the printing and publication of these literary texts.

Ion Heliade Rădulescu's concerns regarding the opening of the Romanian culture to the European ideological current were materialized by the publication of the work *Începutu de biblioteca universală* in *The Romanian*

⁷ Translations were regarded by Ion Heliade Rădulescu as an instrument meant “to tame customs, to dispel prejudices [...] to show everyone their duties” and by G. Barițiu “as a means of shaping the language troubled and enriched by a multitude of translations of the classics and by numerous searches for originals” (Gavriliu 2006: 13) (our translation).

Courier in 1846 and, a year later, in *The Courier of Both Sexes*. This project included 232 authors grouped by different fields of interest (history, philosophy, morality, law, politics, literature), the section dedicated to the English literature targeting, in particular, "English writers who enjoyed high European prestige" (Gavriliu 2006: 14) (our translation) such as: A. Pope, J. Swift, E. Young, Ossian, T. Gray, G.G. Byron, T. Moore, W. Scott, W. Shakespeare, J. Milton, C. Dickens and O. Goldsmith.

An important aspect regarding translations from the English literature is that some of these were conditioned by "the existence of intermediaries in French, German, Greek, or even Serbian" (Gavriliu 2006: 15-16) (our translation) "who, in the spirit of the era, treated the basic texts with great freedom", transposing some poetic creations into prose or remodeling the original texts through eliminations or amplifications. From this perspective, "the first Romanian translations from English should be read more as adaptations and interpretations" (Gavriliu 2006: 16) (our translation) than as translations in the sense generally accepted today.

3.1. Translations from the literature of the English Enlightenment

English Enlightenment literature entered the Romanian cultural territory mediated through other languages such as French, Greek, German or Serbian and, for this reason, it was only partially accessible to the Romanian readership. Moreover, among the works with continental echo which reached the Romanian Countries, the cultural figures of the time chose only "those which responded to local needs, the emancipation of mentalities and the evolution of national literatures in this area of the late Enlightenment" (Gavriliu 2006: 21) (our translation)⁸.

The interest of Romanian intellectuals in the wisdom literature specific to the English Enlightenment was fully justified by their desire to contribute to the cultural and social rebirth of the inhabitants of the Romanian geographical space: "The entire literary production printed or represented on stage had only one fundamental intention that the Enlightenment attributed to culture in general everywhere, that of stimulating, instructing, criticizing, regenerating and above all enlightening the entire society" (Marino 1980: 21) (our translation).

The identification of the cultural and social needs of the period justified directing the attention of prestigious Romanian intellectuals to the

⁸ Al. Duțu 1971. „English Literature of the Enlightenment in South – East Europe” in *Actes de Premier Congrès International des Etudes Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*, VII, Sofia, pp. 15-24, cited by Eugenia Gavriliu (2006: 21)

translation of relevant texts written by English Enlightenment writers: Addison, Chesterfield and Pope, and later, Defoe and Swift.

Although Gheorghe Asachi had direct access to the writings of the English Enlightenment scholars, the first translation of a text written by Addison belongs to Țichindeal, who published, in 1814, his collection of *Fables* after the fables of the Serbian writer Dositei Obradovič. Țichindeal's work, which included most of Addison's essays⁹, was later "reedited and prefaced with praises of Heliade in Muntenia" (Gavriliu 2006: 22) (our translation).

Lord Chesterfield's letters to his adopted son were also mediated in the Romanian cultural space, the bilingual (French-Greek) work *Le philosophe indien ou l'art de vivre hereux dans la société* published in Vienna in 1872 representing the basis of the translations made by I. Buznea, in 1834 (Moldova), and by N. Jianu, in 1835 (Muntenia).

Another valuable Enlightenment text translated into Romanian is the philosophical poem *Essay on Man* written by Alexander Pope between 1732 and 1734, which "re-established the relations between the individual and the divinity in the norms of reason and man's right to happiness." (Gavriliu 2006: 22) (our translation). We owe a first translation of this poem to Ioan Cantacuzino, who, starting from Silhouette's intermediate text, proposed a variant (*Man* – published between 1791 and 1797) with numerous omissions and additions which make the original text difficult to recognize. The next translation of the same poem, entitled *Prințiile moralului: Cercare de voroavă asupra omului*, belongs to Costache Conachi and appeared posthumously, in 1856, in the collection *Poezii, pulturiri, talmaciri*. Similarly to Ioan Cantacuzino's translation, this is a mediated variant, Conachi's sources being both Silhouette and Du Resnel.

Last but not least, it is worth mentioning the presence in the Romanian cultural space of the English Enlightenment writers Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift through the texts *Robinson Crusoe*, translated¹⁰ by Vasile Drăghici in 1835, and *Gulliver's Travels*, translated by the painter Ion Negulici in 1848. Even though Negulici's translation originates in the French version published by Desfontaines in 1727, it contains all 4 books being faithful to the original with which it is confronted. This translation proves to

⁹ Many of Addison's essays had been published in *The Spectator*.

¹⁰ Al. Duțu 1971. „English Literature of the Enlightenment in South – East Europe” in *Actes de Premier Congrès International des Etudes Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*, VII, Sofia, pp. 15-24, cited by Eugenia Gavriliu (2006: 21)

be all the more interesting as the Romanian text¹¹ also includes a series of representative engravings which increase its value.

As Eugenia Gavrilu (2006) states, the examination of

the first Romanian translations of English Enlightenment literature lead to the finding that the translated works are first-rate works from the English literary heritage and that they are assimilated to the national culture where they are circumscribed to the general purpose of stimulating thought and behaviour, of regenerating morals, in a word, of enlightening the entire society (Gavrilu 2006: 26) (our translation).

3.2. Translations from the literature of the English pre-Romantics

“English pre-Romantic literature was able to generate a literary fashion” in the European cultural space, and subsequently in the Romanian one, because the “pre-Romantic way of thinking and feeling” was found, to a large extent, among the readers of the mentioned target groups (Gavrilu 2006: 39) (our translation).

Although James Thomson was the pioneer of the English pre-Romantic movement, his *Seasons*, published successively between 1726 and 1730, did not particularly attract the attention of the Romanian intellectuals of the time.

The English pre-Romantic writers to “penetrate the consciousness of the Romanian intelligentsia and arouse the imagination of the native writers” (Gavrilu 2006: 43) (our translation) in the first half of the XIXth century will be Young, Gray and Ossian.

Young's *Nights*, although unknown to the Romanian readers of the time, drew the attention of the translator Lazăr Asachi and of his son, Gheorghe Asachi, who annotated this "autograph manuscript" written between 1816 and 1819.

Gheorghe Asachi's preference for English writers of the time was proven by his verse processing of Thomas Gray's *Elegy. Elegy Written on the Beat of a Village*, included in the volume *Poems* published in Iași in 1836, is, as the translator himself declares, an "imitation" of the original *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*. However, Asachi's version is relevant for the way in which the autochthonous writers of the time would write their original works.

¹¹ *Călătoriile lui Gulliver în țere depărtate*. Traduse de I. D. Negulice și confruntate cu originalul engles prin ajutorul D. Em. Angelescu. Ediție ilustrată cu 80 figurine tot de traducător, București, 1848 (in Gavrilu 2006: 25).

"Coming after Young and Gray, Ossianism would enhance the trends in Romanian culture after 1840 when Romanticism was establishing itself as the dominant literary movement." (Gavriliu 2006: 45) (our translation) Ossian was accessible to Ion Heliade Rădulescu through the French version of Letourneur, whose extensive *Discours préliminaire* fascinated the Romanian intellectuals. "Heliade's enthusiasm for Ossian would become a constant in his preoccupations for more than three decades" (Gavriliu 2006: 45) (our translation), including all six songs of *Fingal* in his *Course of Poetry* and providing Romanian readers with detailed information about the Celtic culture and civilization on the territory of England selected from Letourneur's introductory chapter.

Ossian also drew Cezar Bolliac's attention, who would include the translation of the poem *Oina* in the volume *Poesii noue* published in 1847.

Translations from the literature of the English pre-Romanticists stimulated "reactions already latent in the tradition of the Romanian culture. The pre-Romantic elements are adapted to social themes, determined by the immediate realities within the receptive factor at the stage of the great transformations of the pre-Paşoptist period" (Gavriliu 2006: 46) (our translation).

3.3. Translations from the English Romantic literature

English Romantic literature entered the Romanian cultural space through several of its prominent representatives, more specifically G.G. Byron, Thomas Moore and Walter Scott.

As regards Byron, the reception and assimilation of his Romantic poetry had already been prepared by Lazăr Asachi's translations of Young's texts. As Eugenia Gavriliu (2006) states: "Young's despair prepared the public mentality in the Romanian Countries for Byron's despair and revolt and, therefore, the pre-Romantic poetry of melancholic meditation opened the way for the assimilation of Byronic Romantic poetry into the Romanian culture" (Gavriliu 2006: 61) (our translation).

Byronic translations experienced a period of glory between 1830 and 1847 when Byron's work was translated more than that of any other English writer. Ion Heliade Rădulescu, the Romanian man of culture who translated extensively from Byron, published his major works (*Stories, Orientales, Dante's Prophecies, Beppo, Mazepa, Marino, Faliero, Hebrew Melodies, Don Juan*) and occasional poems (*Verses written on an album, etc.*) in successive volumes entitled *From the Writings of Lord Byron*. Moreover, in the same period (1843), C. A. Rosetti translated the drama *Manfred*, this being "the first

Romanian translation originating in the English original." (Gavriliu 2006: 61). The post-Paşoptist poet Grigore Ilaru was another translator of Byron who published, in 1854, the volume of verses *Ora de desgustu*. Demonstrating a "judicious understanding and power of insight", Ilaru will write an extensive preface to this volume, a preface designed as "an essay on the moral function of poetry" (Gavriliu 2006: 63) (our translation) symbolically represented by Homer, Dante and Byron.

The special interest in Byron's work, which resulted in numerous translations and a series of critical studies, meant less availability of the Romanian readership for other English romantic writers.

One of those who enjoyed less attention in the Romanian cultural space was the English writer of Irish origins Thomas Moore. He aroused the interest of Costache Negruzzi with his suite of *Irish Songs* which Negruzzi translated between 1838 and 1839 and Iacob Negruzzi, his son published posthumously in 1868.

Another English romantic writer who drew the attention of Romanian intellectuals to a lesser extent was Walter Scott. He established himself in the Romanian Countries with his romantic historical novels which were mediated in the Romanian cultural space through the French channel. We owe the Romanian translations of Walter Scott's texts to G. Baronzi, who, fully aware of the Romanian readers' preferences for novels "which combined the extraordinary and sensational with the realistic evocation of a historical-social setting" (Gavriliu 2006: 65) (our translation) translated, in 1856, *Fidenzata de Lammermoor* and *Ricardu Inimă-de-leu sau Talismanulu*. A third text by Scott translated into Romanian was the epic poem *The Bridal of Triermain*, whose prose version benefited from the *Translator's Word*, the first "attempt of critical evaluation of a novel by W. Scott in our country" (Gavriliu 2006: 65) (our translation).

3.4. Translations of Shakespeare's works

Present in the Romanian literary press since the 1930s, Shakespeare's name was first brought into discussion by Ion Heliade Rădulescu through his characters (*Brutus, Hamlet, Macbeth*). As in the case of other English writers, Shakespeare's texts entered the Romanian cultural space through French or German channels, the first evidence of the popularization of his creation in this space being traceable in 1836, when Cezar Bolliac published, in the pages of his magazine *Curiosul*, the monographic study *Şakspear*. Remarkable for the information presented by Bolliac, the study discusses "the universal and national character of Shakespeare's work, the typological

variety, the contrast and unity between the comic and the tragic" (Gavriliu 2006: 86) (our translation) and mentions, for the first time, in addition to titles such as *Timon of Athens*, *Cuscrele din Vinsor*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Simbelina* (sic) and *The Tempest*, Shakespeare's sonnets and epic poems (*Venus*, *Adonis*, *Lucretia*).

The Romanian public's direct access to Shakespeare's work was facilitated, however, by G. Barițiu, who published the first translations into Romanian (fragments from *The Merchant of Venice* and *Julius Caesar*) probably using the German Schlegel-Tieck¹² version.

After the period 1830–1840, in which Heliade, Bolliac and Barițiu popularized Shakespeare in the literary press, thus preparing the Romanian public for direct contact with the work of the great English poet and playwright, the first translations printed in Wallachia¹³ and Moldavia appeared: *Julius Caesar* (1844), *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello* (1848 and 1868), *Macbeth* (1850 and 1864), *Hamlet* (1855).

3.5. Translations of John Milton's work

As in the case of Shakespeare, the "[i]ntegration of Milton's work into the Romanian cultural circuit takes place within the process of romantic recovery (Duțu 1972: 104) through which writers of literary orientations and distinct eras are received from the positions of romantic aesthetics and ideology, in the stage of fruitful emulation and creative effervescence from the mid-XIXth century" (Gavriliu 2006: 103) (our translation).

Easily accepted in the Romanian cultural space due to his convictions regarding the important role of literature in propagating innovative ideas and correcting morals, Milton becomes known among the Romanian cultural representatives through *Paradise Lost*, which Ion Budai Deleanu learned about during his studies in Vienna (1778 -1783).

What must be emphasized is the fact that "the fame of Milton's name precedes direct contact with his work" (Gavriliu 2006: 104) (our translation), the first mention of Milton with *Paradise Lost* being documented around 1839, when Cerchez G. Ciomac, from Botoșani, "translates" Milton from Greek. The full translation of the Miltonian text will be completed by Ciomac with a special section entitled *The Life of John Milton the Anglican*, which will include biographical information, mostly correct, valuable

¹² The German Schlegel-Tieck version was also used by Mihai Eminescu for the translation of a fragment of *Timon of Athens* and *Sonnet 27* (preserved as a manuscript)

¹³ Starting from the 1870s, some translations of Shakespeare's texts were based on the English original.

references to the English writer's work and pertinent observations regarding "the effect of the poet's blindness on his ways of expression" (Gavriliu 2006: 105) (our translation).

Ion Heliade Rădulescu will have an important role in the reception of Milton's work in Romanian culture, but the first attempt to translate *Paradise Lost* into Romanian belongs to G. Sion who, using Chateaubriand's prose version and Dellile's decasyllabic verse version, translates a fragment of *Book VII*¹⁴ in 1851.

Taken over by the periodical Zimbrul, Sion's work is preceded by an extensive introductory note in which the translator specifies his intentions and makes known to readers Milton's life and artistic personality, revealing particularly interesting aspects for the evolution of the curve of reception of Milton's work in our country. (Gavriliu 2006: 107) (our translation).

Entering the Romanian cultural space relatively late, Milton's work impresses with its monumental images and expressive literary language which function as stimulating elements for correcting morals and shaping the Romanian literary language of that period.

3.6. Translations from the English Realist literature

The English realist writers translated into Romanian in the first half of the 19th century were Charles Dickens, with his sketch *The Death of a Drunkard*, published in *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură* in 1844, and O. Goldsmith with his novel *The Vicar of Wakefield*, translated from the original English text in the sixth decade of the century under discussion.

Although the Romanian cultural representatives of the 19th century had ambitious editorial plans, those regarding the English narrative prose were not equally visible, the circulation of such texts in the Romanian cultural space being less prolific and predominantly in the form of serials in the periodicals of the time.

However, the fact remains that the most valuable representatives of the English novel who entered the Romanian cultural space "contributed to the establishment of that field of intellectual incitement" which stimulated the local public to receive the original Romanian creations to be written in the following decades and lead to "viable constructions of the interwar period" (Gavriliu 2006: 118) (our translation).

¹⁴ *Din Paradisul Pierdut de Milton*, traducțiune de George Sion, Iassii, Tipografia Buciumului romanu, 1851 cited in Gavriliu 2006: 106.

Conclusions

Taking into account the aspects mentioned in this paper, the conclusion may be drawn that the Romanian translations of English literature made in the first half of the XIXth century played an important role “in affiliating the Romanian literature to the European vein” (Gavriliu 2006: 17) (our translation) and in shaping modern Romanian literature. The quality of the texts translated from the English literature in the period in under discussion is attested by the fact that they drew the attention to other valuable translators of the XXth century, generating competitive versions and creative rewrites.

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INTER-SEMIOTIC AND INTER-CULTURAL TRANSLATION IN FASHION COMMENTARY: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF OSCAR 2024 DISCOURSE ACROSS ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN MEDIA

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Abstract: *Fashion communication works at the crossroads of language, images, and how people from different cultures understand things. In other words, fashion operates as a semiotic system, where garments function as signs that “translate” ideas, identities, or ideologies. As global events such as the Oscars disseminate through various media, the meanings of fashion experience multiple layers of translation: linguistic, cultural, and semiotic. This paper examines inter-semiotic and inter-cultural translation in online critical discourse on fashion by conducting a comparative analysis of three instances from the 2024 Academy Awards red carpet: Andrea Riseborough in Loewe, Anya Taylor-Joy in Dior, and Billie Eilish in Chanel. There are two English sources for the comments (Luke Meagher, The Guardian) and two Romanian sources (Sabina Teodora, Domnica Mărgescu, Ioana Ulmeanu). The paper analyses the negotiation of aesthetic, ideological, and cultural meanings in fashion through verbal and visual texts, employing the frameworks of multimodality, resemiotisation, and shifters (Jakobson, 1959; Roland Barthes, 1983; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001; O’Halloran et al., 2016).*

The findings indicate that transmutation, akin to translation, is not merely a transfer but an act of cultural re-creation; Romanian commentators reinterpret Western fashion narratives through local aesthetic values, humour, and socio-cultural sensibilities. Inter-semiotic translation thus manifests as both a linguistic and affective process that transforms global fashion discourse into regionally significant communication.

Keywords: fashion discourse, inter-semiotic translation, shifters, multimodality, cultural translation.

Introduction

Although fashion is a universal language, its grammar relies on verbalising the fashion images. The Oscars and other red-carpet events are ceremonial performances in which clothing conveys cultural affiliation, artistry, and identity. However, these performances are not widely regarded as having constant meanings; they are analysed, captioned, and interpreted

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differently in different cultures. As a result, their meaning changes not just with their linguistic representation but also between the different semiotic systems, between the technological fashion item, photographed item, and the descriptive linguistic item.

From clothing to image, from image to speech, and from speech to intercultural commentary, this study examines the 2024 Oscars red carpet commentary as a network of translations. The paper attempts to answer three questions, based on a bilingual corpus of reviews on three of the most significant 2024 Oscar looks: Andrea Riseborough in Loewe, Anya Taylor-Joy in Dior, and Billie Eilish in Chanel. The texts are in both English and Romanian. These questions are:

1. How do meanings about fashion design and identity shift as they pass between linguistic and cultural contexts?
2. When the same visual event is recounted in a different medium, what semiotic changes take place?
3. How does intersemiotic translation function in modern fashion communication?

1. Theoretical Framework

1.1. Inter-Semiotic and Cultural Translation

Roman Jakobson's (1959) distinction between intralingual, interlingual, and inter-semiotic translation provides the foundation for understanding how meaning transfers between semiotic systems. Inter-semiotic translation "from verbal signs to nonverbal sign systems" becomes crucial in fashion, where meaning oscillates between material design, digital image, and verbal commentary. Scholars such as Calefato and O'Halloran extend this idea to *resemiotisation* as the process by which meaning is remade as it moves across semiotic modes and media.

Patrizia Calefato (2021), in *Fashion as Cultural Translation: Signs, Images, Narratives* assumes: "Fashion constantly undergoes processes of cultural translation and resemiotisation, as meanings move from one semiotic system to another—between dress, image, text, and discourse—transforming themselves in the passage." (p. 14)

O'Halloran, Tan & Wignell (2016) in *Inter-semiotic translation as resemiotisation: A multimodal perspective* believe that "Inter-semiotic translation may be conceived as resemiotisation, that is, the process through which meaning is transformed across semiotic modes and social contexts." (p. 199)

Cultural translation complements this by emphasizing that translation not only transmits meaning but *transforms* it, adapting discourse to local aesthetic and ideological frameworks. Homi K. Bhabha (1994) in

The Location of Culture, a Routledge article states that: “Cultural translation describes the process whereby meanings are neither transmitted nor received in pristine form but are always transformed in the process of enunciation.” (p. 224) According to Boero’s 2023 article, *Sociosemiotics of Fashion: Theory, Trends, and Communication Tools in Proceedings of the 5th International Conference on Language, Linguistics and Literature*: “Fashion acts as a system of cultural translation, constantly adapting global aesthetic codes to local social frameworks and ideological values.” (p. 6)

In the Romanian commentaries, cultural translation appears in the informal, conversational tone that reframes the elite codes of fashion critique into vernacular humour and gendered social commentary.

1.2. Multimodality and Fashion Communication

According to Kress and van Leeuwen communication is inherently multimodal: meaning is produced by the interplay of multiple semiotic modes – language, image, gesture, spatial arrangement, and material design.

In their work *Multimodal discourse: The modes and media of contemporary communication* published in 2001 the authors state that:

All communication is multimodal. It uses a range of semiotic modes, all of which contribute to meaning. Even where one mode appears to dominate, as in the written language of a novel, other modes such as layout, typography, or even the materiality of the book itself also contribute to the production of meaning. Meaning is always the result of the semiotic work of a multiplicity of modes operating together.

Fashion communication integrates garment design (material), photographic representation (visual), red-carpet performance (embodied), and commentary (verbal). Each layer translates the previous one. The critic’s verbal evaluation becomes yet another semiotic object: a *translation of a translation*.

1.3 Shifters in Fashion Discourse

As fashion discourse often relies on intersemiotic translation through shifters this section will show why they are signs with variable reference.

Jakobson’s (1971) notion of “shifters” as context-dependent signs such as pronouns or deictics has been adapted in fashion semiotics to describe elements that pivot meaning across contexts. Barthes (1967/1983) redefines shifters as the semiotic instruments that make translation possible between the material, visual, and verbal levels of fashion. He writes that “there exist fashion shifters – those that make it possible to pass from the

object to the garment-image and then to the written garment” (p. 10). In this sense, shifters are mediators of fashion’s inter-semiotic translation: they connect the real garment to its photographed and verbalised forms, transforming the object of dress into a communicative sign. Barthes’s model thus anticipates later theories of resemiotisation (O’Halloran et al., 2016), showing that fashion meaning emerges not from the garment itself but from the semiotic shifts that move it across modes.

In the original French text *Le Système de la mode*, Barthes explains that “Il existe des embrayeurs de mode, des shifters, qui permettent de passer de l’objet au vêtement-image, puis au vêtement-écrit.” Translated in *The Fashion System* (1983) we find that: There are fashion shifters that make it possible to pass from the object to the garment-image and then to the written garment. Barthes adds: “They [the shifters] are the instruments of translation that link the real clothing to its representation, functioning as connectors between material and language.” (p. 10–11)

Calefato (2021) broadens the notion further to include visual and material shifters such as logos, silhouettes, and accessories, which move meaning between the body, the image, and the social code. Patrizia Calefato in *Fashion as Cultural Translation: Signs, Images, Narratives* maintains that: “In fashion, certain elements—logos, accessories, silhouettes—function as shifters: they move meaning from one context to another, translating identity, status, and style.” (p. 27). Further, she states that “These fashion shifters are semiotic devices that link the individual body to collective codes, allowing meanings to slide across social and cultural boundaries.”(p. 28)

Together, these frameworks reveal that fashion communication is structured by a network of shifting signs—linguistic, visual, and material—that constantly translate style across modes and contexts.

Logos, silhouettes, accessories, and even media platforms act as shifters. In red-carpet fashion, a handbag, hairstyle, or political pin can redirect interpretation. In discourse, evaluative adjectives and affective expressions (“impeccable,” “crazy,” “very Jonathan Anderson”) function as linguistic shifters, signaling shifts in tone, ideology, or cultural positioning. This theoretical triad—inter-semiotic translation, multimodality, and shifters—frames the subsequent comparative analysis.

2. Data and Methodology

The corpus derives from a compilation of online fashion commentaries on the 2024 Oscars red carpet, and it includes:

1. English-language YouTube transcripts of Luke Meagher's *HauteLeMode* reviews;
2. Romanian-language YouTube commentaries of Sabina Teodora;
3. Romanian print/video dialogue of Domnica Mărgescu and Ioana Ulmeanu from *Elle România*;
4. Brief English press excerpts from the British newspaper *The Guardian*.

These are treated as *semiotic translations* of the same visuals. The analysis compares how each culture re-encodes the same fashion appearance across linguistic and affective registers. All Romanian text is paraphrased into English, preserving as much as possible the semantic nuance and tone.

The translation chain of the fashion meaning can be seen as linear having as the starting point the fashion designer concept materialized as transmuting the verbal idea into a visual sketch:

[Designer Concept]

| (verbal idea → visual sketch)



[Garment / Look]

| (material translation)



[Red-Carpet Appearance]

| (embodied performance + photography)



[English Commentary]

| (inter-semiotic translation into designer-centred discourse)



[Romanian Commentary]

| (inter-lingual + cultural translation into social/affective discourse)



[Audience Reception & Digital Circulation]

| (re-translation through memes, reposts, moral judgments)



[New Fashion Meaning]

The diagram represents in short the resemiotisation path from a creative concept to public interpretation. Each downward arrow denotes a **semiotic shift** (object → image → text 1 → text 2 → social meaning). The process is cyclical, as feedback from audiences influences future design concepts.

3. Case Studies: Translating Fashion Across Languages and Media

3.1 Andrea Riseborough in Loewe: The Semiotics of Experimentation

In Luke Meagher’s English commentary, Riseborough’s Loewe dress whose print is a deconstructed plaid fading into black was praised as “very Jonathan Anderson,” meaning conceptually artistic and experimental. His tone blends irony and expertise, positioning fashion as an intellectual exercise in design innovation. He reads the garment through a designer-centered lens, where *artistic intention* becomes the anchor of value.

By contrast, Romanian commentators reframe the look through pragmatic and social codes. Sabina Teodora appreciates seeing more Loewe on the red carpet but notes that the leather bag feels “too casual” for an Oscar gala—an index of social decorum rather than artistry. The *Elle România* reviewers echo admiration but stress *boldness* and *unexpectedness*, emphasizing elegance through fabric flow and silhouette rather than conceptual artistry.

This contrast reveals a key translation shift: the English discourse constructs fashion as *aesthetic innovation* while the Romanian discourse translates it as *social performance*, focusing on appropriateness, elegance, and emotional effect.

Table 1. Comparative translation of Andrea Riseborough’s Loewe look

Mode	English commentary	Romanian commentary	Semiotic shift
Verbal register	Analytical, ironic, design-focused	Conversational, evaluative, socially anchored	Shift from designer discourse to social etiquette discourse
Value orientation	Creativity, subversion	Elegance, appropriateness, charm	Translation from avant-garde to relatable glamour
Tone	Detached expertise	Emotional and communal	Translation of authority from design to shared taste

The case illustrates what is called *cultural resemiotisation*: the same dress signifies “artistic innovation” in one discourse and “elegant boldness” in another. The handbag, a minor accessory, acts as a *shifter*, redirecting interpretation from conceptual design to social context.

3.2 Anya Taylor-Joy in Dior: Translating Heritage and Modernity

Meagher’s description of Taylor-Joy’s silver Dior gown is a masterclass in historical semiotics. He places the look in the context of Dior’s 1949 Venus

gown, talking about the shape, the Dior's traditional embroidered pieces, and the politics of Maria Grazia Chiuri's new take on Dior exaggerated skirt shapes. His discourse performs a scholarly transmutation of design heritage: the critic functions as a cultural mediator between fashion history and contemporary audience.

But in Romanian media, the same dress is transmuted in enjoyment and judgemental attitude. Sabina Teodora calls it "a very beautiful, correct gown,"; she likes the dress beading and color shade subtlety that are inspired by the 1930s. The *Elle România* editors agree that the reference to the archives is valid, but they disagree on whether the dress reduced lower volume takes away from its original's design strength. They call Taylor-Joy "striking" and "special," and they talk less about the historical context and more about the gown wearer personality and fashion style. The translation shift is clear: in English, the discourse focuses on history and technological structure while in Romanian, the accent falls on aesthetic and affective.

The Romanian paraphrases reveal a transmutation from designer intent to embodied presence. The historical subtext is redefined as emotional grace.

The gown's evolution from archival homage to contemporary elegance exemplifies how inter-semiotic translation encompasses not only words but also values, reflecting what Roland Barthes might refer to as a transformation of fashion mythologies.

Dior archival imagery → red carpet interpretation → English transmutation → Romanian transmutation → audience translation.



Luke Meagher: Next up is **Anya Taylor Joy** she's wearing Christian Dior and at first I was like; what is she doing? and now you're probably say

Luke why would you say that? but she is very obviously **referencing the Venus gown** it's not **the Junon Gown** from 1949 but it's **the Venus gown** from 1949 which is **the sister dress** and pictures when I see them I usually am like oh it's kind of **brown** it's not really brown.

It's actually **a silver dress** and so Anya does have the color very much so on point in that regard but these two dresses are some of the most famous Christian Dior by Christian Dior himself; gowns that exist in the Lexicon of his work but it's also not **a bouffant skirt** and so I was like why would you make the Venus gown if you're not going to do like a bouffant skirt that's the whole point that is **the Dior silhouette** that's what **the iconic shape** is about, like you can't reference it and then be like I'm just going to do whatever I want like that's not really how that works but I was listening to Anya's talk about it and she was saying that this was **Maria Grazia take on the Venus gown**; [...] Christian Dior saw **women as these beautiful flowers** who would wear these gorgeous over-the-top constricting sometimes gowns; it's **a floor length gown** with probably what 10-15 pounds worth of embroidery [...] I can only imagine those **poor poor poor people in Paris** just like literally do this all day long. I can appreciate that.

I think **the fit of it is fantastic** again I don't really know if I love the skirt per se I love the embroidery I love the petals I love the **reference to Venus**[...] she's wearing Tiffany and Co and I believe that the necklace that she's wearing is from the **Under the Sea** collection so I like her and her team are fully thinking through what she's doing and that I always really appreciate so to an yeah **I see and I recognize and I respect**.

The Guardian: Anya Taylor-Joy's Christian Dior haute couture looked even better on the live stream as it glimmered and glittered down the red carpet.



Romanian transmutation:

Sabina Teodora: **Annia Taylor Joy** în Dior couture: o rochie foarte frumoasă Îmi place această întoarcere cumva pe care am văzut-o la mai multe rochii și la mai multe look-uri din seara asta la elemente de astea foarte **thirties** și nu mă refer la croială, mă refer la aceste tipuri de **suprapuneri cu mărgele** pe ele. Am renunțat la **zona de paiete** ne-am întors un pic la **mărgele și tonurile astea un cenușiu grejuliu**; iarăși mă

duc foarte mult cu gândul la **anii 30** și partea de corsaj; foarte frumoasă; **o rochie cinstită corectă** ai un pic mai mult decât clasica rochie; v-am zis **un Bodycone sau o sirenă** fără nimic pe ea; îmi place când avem un pic de **strălucire adăugată de mărgeluțe** care sclipesc atunci când te miști și v care vă zic de fiecare dată: degeaba arată niște rochii bine doar în poze sau doar în mișcare, trebuie să arate la fel de bine și dacă o vedem pe un video și dacă avem într-o poză statică și în special din cât mai multe unghiuri că sunt multe **outfit-uri** care dacă le prinzi un pic dintr-o parte sau din spate sau nu știu ce laterală nu mai are același efect ca atunci dacă o vezi doar din față dintr-o anumită poziție.

Domnica Mărgescu și Ioana Ulmeanu, Elle magazine editors:

- Încă un Dior pe **Ania Taylor Joy**. Da îmi place mult mai puțin Dior ul ăsta decât cel dinainte.

-Dar știi că de fapt este și acesta **o replică downside** la o alta rochie Dior din arhive care avea **partea de Jos** mult mai amplă.

-Hm, da eu prefer **rochiile mai puțin încărcate**, mai nu știu, simple. Asta e **foarte clasică foarte embellished foarte perfectă** ca la carte știi eu prefer când e un pic prea mult ceva, nu știu mai diferit mai creativ mai...dar nu pot să spun că nu mi place.

-Nu nu nu se poate spune așa ceva și îmi place și coafura ei și poziția și ea îmi place și ea ea arată foarte **striking** are da e o tinuta foarte specială


-N-aș zice că-mi place atât de mult, nu este preferata mea. Nici pe departe, dar îmi place ca prezență. Da îmi place ca prezență mai mult decât îmi place ca actriță. O să fiu onestă aici și mi se pare că stilistul cu care lucrează, nu-mi dau seama în momentul ăsta exact cu cine, știe cumva să exploateze **figura asta care e foarte specială** și să-i dea rochii și ținute în general care sunt **un pic retro, un pic weird** dacă se poate, să lucreze cu atuurile pe care le are ea și să le **să le facă să funcționeze** însă nu mi dau seama dacă funcționează foarte mult aici.

-Cred că aș fi preferat o **variantă originală a rochiei** poate mai **amplă**. Dar nici nu mi se pare o rochie pe care o vei uita în secunda doi sau ceva, cred că este cumva redusă, e **lucrată manual impecabil** se vede efortul și totul da.



Audience translation

@TeresaJosephine 1 year ago I loved Anya's dress, I felt like it was a

beautiful reimagining of the Venus dress and I just loved it, I think she looks stunning and the dress was just gorgeous. Honestly one of my favourites looks 

@lilwinborne 1 year ago (edited)

I loved hearing more about **Christian Dior's Venus gown**. I like the **history of the bouffant skirt** and that the designer saw **women as flowers**. All of the **embroidered petals** are incredibly detailed in awe! Luke's descriptions are beautiful as always!! Anya Taylor Joy didn't have my favorite look personally. But, I love to learn something new, so thank you!!



The example above demonstrates the role of *multimodal shifters*: embroidery becomes a tactile narrative in one context, a visual sparkle in another, and a metaphor for moral refinement in yet another. The Romanian discourse's stress on "honesty" and "correctness" illustrates how translation localises global fashion codes into moral-aesthetic idioms.

3.3 Billie Eilish in Chanel: From Corporeal Fit to Political Symbol

The Billie Eilish case illustrates the translation between the visual semiotic system of clothing and the verbal semiotic system of political activism and brand ideology. Meagher doesn't like how Eilish's Chanel blazer fits, but he does like how the material codes like tweed, Mary Janes, and two-tone detailing, stay true to Chanel couture house code. His speech is mostly about form and craftsmanship, and he sees the flaws in the outfit as technical deviations.

The semiotic axis changes completely in the Romanian commentaries. Sabina Teodora is exasperated of Eilish's ongoing Chanel contract because in her opinion it limits her ability to express herself. She states that the outfit seems not to make sense, as if it was put together instead of being styled to suit Billie's personality. The Romanian *Elle* editors reframe the outfit politically: Eilish's Artists4Ceasefire pin becomes the focal shifter that transforms Billie's fashion choice into activism.

The conversation goes beyond looks to include moral issues like privilege, voice, and solidarity. In this case, inter-semiotic translation and ideological translation come together: the Romanian discourse uses the same outfit to talk about politics and ethics. The fashion object becomes a sign of global responsibility, turning high fashion choice into a sense of duty.

Table 2. Translation dimensions of Billie Eilish’s Chanel look

Mode	English commentary	Romanian commentary	Translation type
Visual	Fit and tailoring	Ensemble coherence	Semiotic (form → structure)
Ideological	Brand heritage	Activism and privilege	Cultural (luxury → ethics)
Affective	Technical critique	Emotional disappointment	Pragmatic (craft → morality)

Eilish's pin is a semiotic shifter that moves the focus from fashion to political activism. The Chanel logo is a shifter for privilege. This interaction is a perfect example of the politics of fashion transmutation: the same sign (a logo or pin) can mean different things for different cultures.

Comparative Discussion: Theorising Fashion as Translation

4.1 Translation as Meaning Production

In the three case studies (Andrea Riseborough in Loewe, Anya Taylor-Joy in Dior, and Billie Eilish in Chanel), translation serves more as meaning production than as transmission of information. English commentary frequently emphasizes the designer's intent and the technical semiotics of fashion; Romanian commentary reinterprets these concepts into emotional, moral, and political contexts. What happens is not distortion but reinterpretation, which is how fashion discourse becomes readable in a cultural way.

This aligns with Calefato's (2021) idea of fashion as "cultural translation," where clothes move between global and local settings, creating new meanings. Patrizia Calefato's *Fashion as Cultural Translation: Signs, Images, Narratives* explicitly defines fashion as "cultural translation." A relevant passage in Chapter 4, titled *Fashion as Cultural Translation*, articulates the concept in context: "Clothing and accessories represent, in both an explicit and hidden way, instances and social tensions in a constant process of cultural translation." According to this perspective, translation constitutes a creative endeavour: Romanian reviewers reconstruct global fashion into vernacular discourse democratising aesthetic authority.

4.2 Multimodal and Media Translations

The comments (Luke Meagher, *The Guardian*, Sabina Teodora, Domnica Mărgescu, Ioana Ulmeanu) also illustrate how media platforms mediate transmutation/semiotic translation. There are obvious differences between

YouTube videos (spoken, gestural, visual) and online print articles (written, curated, editorial), therefore they translate differently. Spoken reviews are *affective translation*, relying on tone, emphasis, and humour with a focus on the entertaining value of the discourse.

Written reviews enact *discursive translation* based on adjectives and comparative framing with accent on the informative aspect of the discourse. Each mode filters fashion's visuals through its semiotic characteristics and interpretation possibilities. Multimodality becomes the infrastructure of translation. Theo van Leeuwen (2001) defines multimodality as the use of multiple semiotic modes—such as language, image, sound, gesture, and movement—in communication or representation. Van Leeuwen (2005), in *Introducing Social Semiotics* emphasizes that meaning is made through the combination of these different modes, not just through language: “Multimodality is the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event, together with a particular way in which these modes are combined—integrated or separated” (p. 281)

Fashion exists simultaneously as object, performance, and commentary. Each layer reshapes fashion communication and transfers meaning.

4.3 Shifters as Translation Triggers

Our analysis reveals also a classification of *shifters* in:

Material shifters such as accessories (handbag, pin) that redirect attention.

Linguistic shifters such as adjectives (“bold,” “correct,” “crazy”) that reframe tone.

Platform shifters like YouTube's conversational intimacy vs. print media's editorial authority.

These shifters operate as semiotic pivots, enabling the movement of meaning between aesthetic and cultural registers. They illustrate how the fashion communication system is inherently unstable, considering media, audience, and affect and accounting for the discourse functions of informing, persuading and entertaining.

4.4 Translation and Power

Translation in fashion is also about translating power: who has the authority to define what is beautiful and innovative? English online reviewers often speak from the global centre of fashion discourse—New York, London, and Paris—while Romanian online commentaries negotiate peripheral involvement. Sometimes translation reverses hierarchy because

by reinterpreting fashion through local idioms, Romanian critics assert their agency and construct their own evaluative frameworks.

This sustains Bhabha's (1994) idea of the existence of a "third space", that of cultural translation, being a hybrid zone where global and local meanings meet and generate new forms of discourse. In his work *The Location of Culture* he wrote: "It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricised and read anew." (p. 37)

Fashion commentary, in this sense, is both interpretive and decolonizing, it provincializes the "universality" of the red carpet.

Table 3. Comparative Translation Across English and Romanian Fashion Commentaries

Analytical Dimension	English-Language Discourse	Romanian-Language Discourse	Type of Translation Shift
Linguistic register	Technical, designer-centred, ironic expertise	Conversational, humorous, socially embedded	<i>Stylistic resemiotisation</i>
Value orientation	Innovation, artistry, heritage	Elegance, appropriateness, emotional appeal	<i>Cultural re-coding</i>
Mode of authority	Critic as expert interpreter	Critic as peer or friend	<i>Ethos translation</i>
Affective tone	Detached evaluation	Warm, moralised appreciation	<i>Affective translation</i>
Ideological focus	Fashion as aesthetic system	Fashion as social behaviour / ethical stance	<i>Ideological reframing</i>

The table summarises cross-cultural resemiotisation patterns found in the commentary corpus. The rightmost column identifies the dominant translation mechanism through which meaning shifts.

Conclusion

Fashion discourse functions as a multi-layered process of intersemiotic and inter-cultural translation, as the article has tried to demonstrate. It illustrates how English and Romanian discourses convert the same visuals into different semiotic narratives applied to the 2024 Oscars red-carpet

event online criticism as a case study. Romanian online reviewers translate clothing into discourses of elegance, social codes, and moral values, while English online critics, based on designer semiotics, translate clothing into discourses of artistic history and innovation.

While multimodality guarantees that translation is continuous rather than permanent, the shifters, both linguistic and visual, mediate meaning switching across these translations. From this perspective, fashion is a continuous process of translation between fabric/material and words/language, between local culture and international image, and between aesthetic enjoyment and ethical assessment.

Thus, a critical framework for researching fashion as communication is provided by intersemiotic translation or transmutation. It demonstrates how fashion media reviews actively create style through an interpretive translation of fashion phenomenon rather than just describing the fashion item. Understanding fashion critical review as transmutation adds to deciphering the modes that local narrative is constantly rewritten to reflect global glamour in an era of globalised digital media, where red carpets are streamed and subtitled across cultural boundaries.

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DESTITUTION IN TRANSLATION: A 'COMMON SENSE' READING OF BABURAO BAGUL'S STORIES

Kavita PATIL*

Abstract: *This article, drawing on Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels's concept of 'ruling ideas' from their book The German Ideology (1998), Antonio Gramsci's notion of 'common sense' from Prison Notebooks: Volume I (1996), Jacques Derrida's essay "Who or What Is Compared? The Concept of Comparative Literature and the Theoretical Problems of Translation" (2008), and Aniket Jaaware's theorisation of 'destitute literature' from his book Practicing Caste: On Touching and Not Touching (2018), strives to compare the English translations of Baburao Bagul's Marathi (an official language of Maharashtra- one of the states of India) short story collections, analysing the nexus between consumption and translation of Marathi Dalit (a term used in India for historically oppressed castes that stand lowest in caste hierarchy, also known as untouchables) Literature. The translations of Baburao Bagul's short story collections Jevha mi Jaat Choral Hoti (1963) by Jerry Pinto into English as When I Hid My Caste (2018), and Maran Swasta Hot Ahe (1969) by Manav Kambli as Lootaloot (2024) present a 'common sense' reading of the source texts, which have generally been labelled as Dalit Literature. The use of standard Indian English by the narrators as well as the characters would surely make the translation accessible to many readers of English literature. Still, the loss of devices like a figure of speech, 'alliteration', and the nuanced distinctions in language between narrators and characters reveal the limitations of this translation. Avoiding alliteration in translation contributes to the popular perception that Dalit literature, including short stories, poems, novels, autobiographies and so on, is more political and revolutionary than literary. Notably, the absence of literary style in translation makes it an excruciating reconsideration of literature and society. Alliteration is a figure of variance and recurrence. Bagul's Marathi stories repeat the use of alliteration and Sanskritised diction, the features of the Brahminical (upper caste) tradition of Marathi literature, but differ from the content of the Brahminical tradition of Marathi literature. The translator, like many critics and scholars of Marathi Dalit Literature, too, seems to be ethically satisfied with the popular knowledge that Dalit literature is inherently political than literary. I propose to problematise this 'common-sense' reading of Marathi Dalit literature by its translators. The grounds for comparison here are the institutionalised or, in other words, hegemonic reading practices suspended by Baburao Bagul and promoted by Jerry Pinto and Manav Kambli.*

Keywords: translation, Baburao Bagul, destitution, common sense, Antonio Gramsci.

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Introduction

Literature, when read in institutions, must be read in a 'de'institutionalised manner. I use the word 'deinstitutionalised manner' as the opposite of 'institutionalised manner'. Here, by institutions, I refer to universities and academic establishments where literature is taught and read by teachers and students. By institutionalised reading, I mean the established way of reading literature, which is guided by the ideology of the dominant class and caste (in the context of India), instrumentalised by its organic intellectuals, it is only in the institutions that lie the possibility of reading literature in a deinstitutionalised manner, because institutions are the only spaces where counter-institutionalised practices are reproduced along with institutionalised practices. The critique of institutions, therefore, comes from within. Most of the teachers of literature in India teach literature in an 'institutionalised' way. The institutionalised way of teaching literature in India is grounded in the morality practised by the upper castes, especially the Brahmin caste, habitually, according to which literature must teach moral lessons and should be analysed on ethical grounds.

I employ an 'institutionalised' way of literary practices (teaching, reading, and writing literature) as a synonym for the 'common sense' way of literary practices. I bring into play (in a Derridean sense) the notion of 'common sense,' as conceptualised, elaborated, and critiqued by the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci in his *Prison Notebooks: Volume I* (1996). This institutionalised way of literary practices was formulated in the nineteenth century by Indian scholars when they came in contact with the literary writers and critics of Victorian England, who emphasised morals. Remarkably, these scholars were English-educated Indians who followed literary and social standards set by Western, especially English writers and critics. They were mostly upper-caste men who established the didactic reading and writing practices of literature and attempted to maintain their 'cultural hegemony', in the Gramscian sense, through the upper-caste customary morality. This is how the Indian epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* read even today, to hone the moral sense.

Jacques Derrida in his essay "Who or What Is Compared? The Concept of Comparative Literature and the Theoretical Problems of Translation" (2008), argues that an institution: "...can outlive [survivre à] its own death, continue to translate itself in rituals, objective behaviours, reproductive procedures, and give all the exterior signs of vitality, all the apparent guarantees of its smooth functioning, of its continuity, of its

legitimacy.” (22) The origin of the words ‘institute’ and ‘institution’ allows us to assume that it has something to do with law, regulation, established law or practice, an established system and so on. Every inference of these words leads to an establishment and structure. It could be possible to suppose here that any established structure is an institution. These structures survive their own demise by transforming old hegemonic practices into new ones, thereby sustaining and revising them to ensure their own survival. However, it is also within these structures that the possibility of ‘play’ (in Derridean sense) resides, which opens the domain for the production of multiple counter-hegemonic practices. The institution of literature, particularly Marathi literature, is not an exception to this.

One of the important Marathi writers who challenged hegemonic reading and writing practices in literature and whose short stories invite readers to approach them in an ‘uncommon sense’, is Baburao Bagul. He has also been considered one of the early Marathi Dalit (a term used in India for historically oppressed castes that stand lowest in caste hierarchy, also known as untouchables) writers. His short story collections, *Jenoha mi Jaat Chorali Hoti* (1963) and *Maran Swasta Hot Ahe* (1969), do not allow ‘common sense’ reading and suspend the customary morality of readers by rendering them incapable of producing ethical judgments. However, the English translators of these collections, like many other scholars and critics of literature in India, cannot overcome their habitual hegemonic reading practice and represent the common-sense reading of Bagul’s stories.

Common-sense Reading

The English notion ‘common sense’ is a mistranslation of the Italian *senso comune* that Gramsci uses in his Italian original of *Prison Notebooks: Volume I*. The Italian term carries a neutral meaning, whereas the English notion conveys positive connotations. Kate Crehan, in her book, *Gramsci’s Common Sense: Inequalities and Its Narratives* (2016), explicates the difference between English and Italian words:

Senso comune, by contrast, is a more neutral term that lacks these strong positive connotations, referring rather to the beliefs and opinions held in common, or thought to be held in common, by the mass of the population; all those heterogeneous narratives and accepted “facts” that structure so much of what we take to be no more than simple reality. (44)

The etymology of the English notion leads us to conclude that common

sense in English has to do more with ordinary understanding about general things, lacking which makes one insane or foolish; therefore, it is called good sense. This meaning is rooted in “Aristotelian philosophy that named a supposed extra sense, beyond the five basic ones” (Crehan, 43). However, the origin of Italian *senso comune* denotes a shared understanding or popular beliefs held by the masses, but, because there is no other equivalent that can match the Italian term, English translators and scholars preferred to translate it as common sense. I follow the same in this article.

Gramscian common sense can be understood as a continuation as well as extension of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels’s concept of ‘ruling ideas’ from their book *The German Ideology* (1998). As Marx and Engels expound:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, consequently, also controls the means of mental production, so that the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are, on the whole, subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relations, the dominant material relations grasped as ideas; hence of the relations which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance. (67)

Remarkably, the ruling class of every society controls a means of mental production through the means of material production. This ruling class consists of traditional intellectuals and organic intellectuals, who control and manage the mental production of folklore and rule it. According to Gramsci (1996), every social group gives rise to several ranks of intellectuals with its own world of economic production. Two such ranks of intellectuals are ‘organic’ and ‘traditional’ intellectuals, who, “...must have the technical capacity (of an intellectual nature) to be organisers of society in general, including its whole complex body of services right up to the state, in order to obtain the most favourable conditions for the expansion of their own group or at least the capacity to choose the ‘underlings’ who are specialists in this activity of organizing general relations beyond the ambit of the business” (Gramsci, 199). Traditional intellectuals, conversely, persist with historical continuity despite changes in social and political structures. Gramsci illustrates this with ecclesiastics, who for extended periods monopolised spheres such as religion, ideology, education, theory, science, philosophy, morals, and justice (199).

Dominant groups seeking leadership within a society both assimilate and ideologically co-opt traditional intellectuals. These intellectuals then become organic intellectuals, producing constructed narratives about representing the entire society, while ultimately serving the interests of their own class, and, in the context of this study, their caste. The ideas formulated by these intellectuals make hegemony possible, which remains largely unquestioned by the masses. These ruling ideas shape the common sense of the masses in every social stratum; however, they do not remain static; rather, they change when the ideology of the ruling class changes. What Marx calls ideas, Gramsci calls popular beliefs and argues:

Every social stratum has its own "common sense", which is ultimately the most widespread conception of life and morals. Every philosophical current leaves a sedimentation of "common sense": this is the document of its historical reality. Common sense is not something rigid and static; rather, it changes continuously, enriched by scientific notions and philosophical opinions which have entered into common usage. "Common sense" is the folklore of "philosophy" and stands midway between real "folklore" (that is, as it is understood) and the philosophy, the science, the economics of the scholars. "Common sense" creates the folklore of the future, that is a more or less rigidified phase of a certain time and place. (173)

The words 'conception of life and morals', 'historical reality', 'notions and opinions that have entered into common usage' signify that Gramsci is not referring to philosophy in a systematic sense, but the everyday popular philosophy of common people or folklore. Gramsci appears to suggest that the ideology of the ruling class is embedded in common sense, a space where the ruling class sustains hegemony, yet where counter-hegemonic ideas can also emerge. In this way, he defines 'common sense' as a factor that shapes the average judgment within a society and produces 'taken-for-granted' knowledge.

Within the framework of this article, dominant approaches to reading Dalit literature, written by authors from Dalit communities, emerge from the 'common sense' fashioned among the Marathi reading public by the hegemony of literature produced by upper-caste writers in the Brahminical tradition of Marathi literature. Bagul's short stories were categorised as Dalit literature because they depicted destitute characters and articulated a counter-hegemonic approach to literary production.

Destitution in Translation

Aniket Jaaware in his book *Simplifications: An Introduction to Structuralism and Post-structuralism* (2009) reasons that: "If there is any institution that is fundamental to modern culture, it is the institution of reading and writing. Ways of writing and ways of reading are regulated by this institution." (425) I speculate that the state and its agents regulate the modes of reading and writing in order to control the institution of literature, ensuring that anything threatening its propaganda can be proscribed. In this way, the state secures its position as the sovereign owner of institutions and processes of institutionalisation. What remains outside the institution falls under the notion of 'destitution.' The etymology of 'destitute' indicates abandonment, exclusion, or being forsaken; the prefix 'de-' signifies removal, suggesting that destitution entails the taking away of the institution.

Here, I would like to draw your attention towards the first half of the title of my article - (that is) 'Destitution in Translation'. Please note I am using the word 'destitution' as a noun meaning 'absence of means or resources' or 'absence of grants and funds.' Also, in its literary and political sense, which Jaaware uses in his essay "Destitute Literature" (2012) and a book *Practicing Caste on Touching and not Touching* (2018), respectively. I also deploy this word as the opposite of the word 'institution'. The word 'destitution' implies two senses in Bagul's stories: one, the stories are about destitute characters who are excluded from the institution, and two, they are depicted in a deinstitutionalised manner, as their situation does not allow readers to produce ethical judgements. Therefore, I submit here that destitution in translation is something which is not institutionalised; therefore, the need to read and translate it in a 'de-institutionalised' way arises from within.

The translations of Baburao Bagul's short story collections *Jevha mi Jaat Chorali Hoti* (1963) by Jerry Pinto into English as *When I Hid My Caste* (2018), and *Maran Swasta Hot Ahe* (1969) as *Lootaloot* (2024) by Manav Kambli came fifty-five years after the publication of the original short story collections. This fifty-five-year span suggests several signifiers. Before I analyse them, it needs to be highlighted that until the mid-nineteenth century, Dalits were denied the right to education and were treated as slaves of all the castes that stood higher in the caste hierarchy. It was a secular education policy that was introduced and implemented by the British Government ruling in India in the mid-nineteenth century that allowed Dalits the right to education. Dalits entered the domain of reading and writing, and that signified the marker of modernity in Maharashtra.

Since Dalits inherited their writing practices from their oral literary traditions, unlike Brahmins, who inherited their traditions from scriptures and written records, Brahmins excluded this form of written literature from mainstream Marathi literature and branded it as Dalit literature. It was as if branding some human beings as Dalits was not enough; they branded literature written by them as Dalit literature. Moreover, Brahminical Marathi literary tradition lacked a social anthropological approach while attempting to analyse this literature and that resulted in the production of several beliefs about this literature, including that it is more social and political than literary. The upper-caste writers could successfully exclude this literature from mainstream literature by naming it *vidrohi sahitya* (revolutionary literature) and analysing only the *vidroh* part, not the *sahitya* part.

In the initial phase, in the nineteenth century, of Dalit writing, oral literary forms like *Abhangas*, *Tamasha*, *Lavani*, *Bhagvata*, and so on were followed, and in the twentieth century, some of the early Dalit writers like Shankarrao Kharat, Baburao Bagul, and P. E. Sonkambale attempted fiction in the form of storytelling inherited from the oral tradition of storytelling along with earlier forms and also *Ambedkari Jalasa* (folk theatre performances rooted in *Tamasha* tradition spreading B. R. Ambedkar's ideas of social emancipation of Dalits). In the later phase, that is, the 1970s onwards, there was a sudden flurry of autobiographies and lyrical poems. When Dalit writers recognised the demand for autobiographies among Marathi readers, they turned to autobiographies and lyrical poems rather than short stories or other genres, thereby supplying readers with what they sought. Interestingly, the primary consumers of this literature were upper-caste readers, who derived an ethical sense of satisfaction from engaging with these survival narratives. The fifty-five-year gap thus reflects the larger politics of the publication industry and the dynamics of print capitalism.

Seeing the popularity of autobiographies, most of the Dalit writers wrote their autobiographies and practised their 'ethical superiority' and gave rise to the popular belief that Dalit literature is more political than literary. It is important to note that storytelling in India is rooted in oral traditions, whereas autobiographies, lyrical poems, and novels are borrowed from Western literary forms. The demand that caused the surge in autobiographies also caused the translation of autobiographies and lyrical poems. Therefore, the translators preferred to translate these genres in the initial phase to gain cultural capital, that is, forms of knowledge, legitimacy, and symbolic prestige recognised in the literary field (Bourdieu 1986, 243) and then the translators attempted the translation of the rest of the genres,

like short stories and so on, to meet the demand of literature written by the marginalised writers in the global market. The translators, giving in to the global demand, translated Dalit writings frequently, in a hurry and that resulted in several institutionalised practices and beliefs about Dalit literature. Please note that what I am suggesting here is that popular is always problematic. These translations, it seems to me, promoted the ruling ideas or popular beliefs or the common sense understanding of destitute beings.

Translating Bagul: Stylistic Erasures and Common Sense

Let me cite a few examples from short stories in English translation to show how the loss of alliteration and the use of standard English for both narrators and characters result in a common-sense reading of Dalit literature. Six out of ten short stories from *Jenoha mi Jaat Chorli Hoti*, translated as *When I Hid My Caste* by Jerry Pinto, discuss the atrocities on destitute women's bodies and their suffering, whereas the remaining four discuss the caste system. The stories depict the exploitation of destitute characters, especially women, at the hands of other destitute characters and upper-caste men. The grounds of comparing the source text and its translation here are the 'common sense' reading practices deferred by Bagul and encouraged by Pinto. The unit of comparison is neither words, nor sentences, nor paragraphs, nor stories, but rather the entire discourse of Marathi Dalit literature, and to be specific, the reading practices of destitute literature.

The first paragraph of the story "Kalokahche Kaidi" (Prisoner of Darkness), in which the son of Deshmukh wants his father's keep to become his keep after his father's death and when she denies, he tries to murder her:

Suryachya snehane sundar jhaleli sandhyakal surya paschimechya palikade jatach kalavandu lagli hoti. Asha ya udas veli Ramrao Deshmukhanchya shav saranavar jalat hote. Chitagnine tyanche doke dadekhali dabatach avaj jhala, tasa tyanchya javalchya manasanni akant kela; ni tyancha putrane - Devaramane – apla ughadabamb kativ poladi deh garakan firavun saranakade snayune bharleli khadkasarkhi path keli. Sutakisaman jabaradast muth avalun tweshane varyavar hanli. Daat karakara khat to putputla – 'Bane tula...!' (9)

What happens here? Please concentrate on the repetition of the consonant sounds /s/ and /d/ in words like: *Suryachya, snehane, sundar, sandhyakal, surya, saranavar, doke, dadekhali, dabatach* and so on and the rhythmic effect it creates. The words repeat the consonant /s/ and /d/ at the beginning of each of the above-mentioned words, but the rest of the word is different.

Alliteration is the figure of repetition and difference. This is an example of how alliteration is deployed in Bagul's Marathi stories. And now, let's read how the translator translates:

THE EVENING, A woman adorned by the departing sun's warm love, proceeded to the west, and darkness fell. It was at this melancholic moment that Ramrao Deshmukh's body was ablaze on his funeral pyre. His son Devram, bare-chested, his massive body as hard as a rock, spun around from the pyre; the heat pressing down upon the corpse's chin had caused the skull to explode, the sharp crack eliciting a wail of grief from all those who had been close to the dead man. Devram punched the air with a fist as powerful as hammer. He gnashed his teeth and between sobs, he shouted, 'Banoo! You...'* (1)

The Marathi surname Deshmukh is explained in the footnote in translation. The translator, as can be seen, has missed translating alliteration. In Bagul's stories, alliteration helps to make them literary, but Pinto's translation, firstly, fails to deploy alliteration, and secondly, concentrates on explaining an upper-caste surname in translation to draw readers' attention more to the social aspect of the story than the literary aspect and leads to the common assumption that Dalit literature is more social than literary.

Another example could be cited from the story "Jenvha Mi Jaat Chorli Hoti" (When I Hid My Caste), where the workers enquire about the caste of the narrator, and the narrator and his friend both get scared.

Maze he bolne konalach pasant padle navhote; ulat kahinche oth mala jaat vicharanyasathi phurphurat hote. Te pahun majhya potat gole utht hote. Kashinathasathi maza jiv tutat hota. Pan tohi ires padun bhandat hota. Mukadam hi aikayla swatantra navhata; ani sarvach kamgar Kashinathviruddh zala hota. Mi urichya vednancha urus sambhalit pudhe zhalo. (84)

The translator translates as:

No one liked what I said; contrariwise, many seemed to be bubbling over with the desire to ask what my caste was. Seeing this, a bomb exploded in my stomach. My heart was breaking, thinking about Kashinath. But he was still fighting with great determination. The muqaddam was not at liberty to listen; and all the workers had turned against Kashi. There was an urs of pain in my heart as I came forward to say something.* (126)

The translator explains the word *urs* in the footnote as a moment of mourning and again fails to translate alliterative consonants like /p/ in the words *pasant*,

padle, phurphurat, pahun, potat, pan, padun and this loss of alliteration, here too, culminates in the morbid account of destitute suffering. It is to be noted here that Bagul employed the figure of speech alliteration (which was earlier employed by the upper-caste Marathi poets in their poems and literature to represent upper-caste characters) to represent destitute characters; it was itself a counter-hegemonic act. The Brahminical tradition of Marathi literature written before Bagul never depicted the Dalit experience, that too, in a poetic language. This act of literature by Bagul seems revolutionary to me. However, the translator fails to identify the invitations of the text and translates only the *vidroh* part of these short stories rather than the *sahitya* part of them.

Translation of Bagul's another short story collection, *Maran Swasta hot Ahe* as *Lootaloot* by Manav Kambli, is also a hurried attempt at translation. Kambli, for example, has separated clauses into sentences; a character called Kala Kisan (dark Kisan) has been changed in translation. The translator has retained the word *kala*, which means dark in English and removed Kisan. This is an example of mistranslation. Also removed the name of the character Chimi and made her a 'wench' in translation. The translator has not provided enough attention and has italicised the dialogues in single inverted commas unnecessarily. Following is an opening of the short story "Aai" (Mother) in the original collection:

Taas ghyayla aalelya mastaranni 'Aai' hi kavita ashi shikvali ki magasavargatil ti mule taasbhar tari talapasun var uchalali geli. Shikshak path sampoun baher gele ani var geleli mule kavitechya kavetun satasat satku lagali. Khali adalu lagali. Anolakhi adbhutata panyachya payane palun geli ani mule punha hoti tashi zali. (29)

The translator translates as:

The teacher who had arrived to take the class was so compelling in his teaching of the poem titled 'Mother', that the mood of every unfortunate child was uplifted. After completing the session, the teacher left, and one by one, the children escaped from the poem's clutches, falling back down to earth. The strange, marvellous feeling receded like the tide. The children returned to their original state. (40)

Here, too, the translator misses alliteration of the consonant sounds like /t/, /k/, /s/, and /p/ in words like *taas, ti, taasbhar, tari, talapasun, kvitechya, kavetun, satasat, satku, panyachya, payane, palun, punha, and tashi*. By avoiding attempting alliteration in translation, the translator suppresses the potential

of the original to be one of the most poetic passages written about the backward class children and produces prose paraphrasing of the original passage that promotes the common sense understanding of the destitute characters that they too glorify their mothers and bind them to sexual morality, the way upper-caste people do. Such portrayals of mothers are found in Brahminical Marathi literary texts, where the figure of the mother sacrifices all her comforts for her children. Reading and translating the figure of the mother on moral grounds is a hegemonic way of reading Marathi literature. Bagul's story suspends the possibility of common-sense reading; however, Kambli's translation promotes common-sense reading.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak articulates in her "The Politics of Translation" (2000) that "[t]ranslation is an intimate act of reading. I surrender to the text when I translate" (398). She seems to advocate the close and slow reading of the text, which permits the readers to identify and accept the invitations that the text has to offer. However, it seems to me that the translators of Bagul's stories fail to surrender to the text and present a common sense or popular reading of Marathi Dalit literature. These hegemonic reading practices are based on the customary morality of the translators and readers.

The Marathi Dalit autobiographies enable us to argue that literature teaches morality and helps readers to differentiate between what is ethically right and what is wrong with the characters' behaviours and their situations. Bagul's stories do not allow a hegemonic reading of his stories; they suspend readers' habitual morality and make readers ethically destitute. However, his translators, Pinto and Kambli, allow common-sense reading through the loss of a figure of speech, 'alliteration' and produce critical judgements over characters' conduct and situation.

Thus, it could be suggested here that these translations have become what Spivak (2000) calls 'a sheer material production' of the Marathi short story collections by Bagul. She suggests that the translator must provide special attention to the rhetoricity of the language of the text she/he is translating. She distinguishes between the translation done with investing a lot of time in it, with inordinate care and others done hurriedly. As she argues further:

I myself see no choice between the quick and easy and slapdash way, and translating well and with difficulty. There is no reason why a responsible translation should take more time in the doing. The translator's preparation might take more time, and her love for the text might be a matter of a reading skill that takes patience. But the sheer material production of the text need not be slow. (399)

Extending Spivak's explication, one may argue that the translations of Jenvhami Jaat Chorali Hoti and Maran Swasta Hoti appear to have been produced in haste, reducing them to mere material commodities. The translators have also ignored the rhetorical force or the literariness of the literary, as they do not deploy the figure of speech alliteration while translating. On the one hand, Bagul suspends the moralistic reading of literature; on the other hand, the translators attempt a didactic reading through translation. This act of translation is a result of the hegemonic shared knowledge of Marathi Dalit literature that it is political and revolutionary. It is to be noted that the characters from Marathi Dalit literature could hardly get any space in the years preceding this phenomenon called Dalit literature and access the Sanskritised diction. Dalit literature, as many scholars believe, is to be read differently from the hegemonic mainstream Marathi literature. But even though it was to be read differently, this 'different' kind of reading again resulted in the institutionalised reading of Marathi Dalit literature, where several critics and scholars labelled it political and revolutionary, which do not allow it to be literary. The political anti-caste aspect of these short stories made the readers forget that Dalit writings are literature and demand to be read in a destitute manner because they were branded in a specific way.

Conclusions

Literature, when taught in institutions like universities and colleges, is read and taught in an institutionalised way where it is taught that literature is something which is unreal, not true, and therefore, the students are expected to interpret what was in the mind of the poet or a playwright or a novelist while writing a literary work. On the contrary, the other possible way of reading literature is to read it in a deinstitutionalised way, that is, by taking away what institutions have to say about literature and reading it literally, concentrating on what is written on the page, and what the text invites us to think, feel, and perform. It is important to note here that every text has its own set of invitations. It seems to me, Pinto and Kambli, firstly, have not succeeded in reading the short stories by Bagul intimately and secondly, have failed to identify and accept the invitations to think, feel and perform. They could not overcome their training in customary morality while interpreting the short stories, which caused the loss of alliteration and contributed to the hegemonic knowledge that Bagul, Dalit writer's, stories are more political as they discuss caste discrimination and anti-caste struggle.

One of the important things to be mentioned here is that in the first short story, there is no mention of caste; however, Pinto keeps on explaining the caste of one of the characters in the footnotes. It is to be noted here that Bagul concentrates on the impoverished lives of the characters rather than their castes; on the contrary, Pinto focuses on the 'caste' aspect and anti-caste struggles present in the story. The demand and supply politics of the publication industry are to be noted here. 'Anti-caste' struggle narratives are in demand in the global market; therefore, the translators give in to that pressure and focus on that rather than the destitute conditions of the characters.

Therefore, it could be possibly contended that the translations of Baburao Bagul's short story collections by Pinto and Kambli into English present a 'common sense' reading of the source texts, which have generally been categorised as Dalit Literature. The use of standard Indian English for the narrators as well as the characters would surely make the translation reach many readers of English literature, but the loss of devices like a figure of speech, 'alliteration' and the difference in the languages used by narrators and characters shows the limitations of this translation. Avoiding the use of 'alliteration' in translation results in the prevalent understanding that Dalit literature, including short stories, poems, novels, autobiographies and so on, is more political and radical than literary. Notably, the absence of literary style in translation makes it an excruciating reconsideration of literature and society. Alliteration is a figure of variance and recurrence. Bagul's stories repeat the use of 'alliteration' and the Sanskritised words, which can be easily found in the Brahminical tradition of Marathi literature, but differ from the content of the Brahminical tradition of Marathi literature. The translators, like many critics and scholars of Marathi Dalit Literature, too, seem to be ethically satisfied with the common-sense reading of it. Dalit literature attracted the attention of the world between 1972 and 1992, which caused the surge of amateurish translations of Dalit literature. It seems to me that this flurry of translations, which has continued until today, has brought down the possibilities of destitution in translation. The translations by Pinto and Kambli contribute to a 'common sense' understanding that Dalit literature is less literary and more political and social.

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REGISTER SHIFTS IN CLIL SUBTITLES: INTRALINGUAL TRANSLATION FOR YOUNG LEARNERS

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Abstract: *This study examines intralingual translation within Taiwan's bilingual arts education, focusing on how instructional content is reshaped across English subtitles, teacher manuals, and textbooks in CLIL-based curricula for young learners. Rather than analyzing subtitles in isolation, the study adopts a triangulated approach to uncover register shifts across these multimodal educational texts, with particular attention to tenor—the interpersonal dimension of language. A corpus-informed methodology extracts 70 lexical bundles from a 3,000-token subtitle corpus using AntConc, classified through structural and functional frameworks, then compared with parallel excerpts from bilingual teacher guides and English textbooks. Findings reveal that subtitles display a more conversational, learner-oriented tone characterized by interpersonal scaffolding and discourse-organizing expressions (e.g., "now let's try," "what you can see") in contrast to the authoritative tone of manuals and formal style of textbooks. This tonal shift is achieved through directive softening, inclusive pronouns, and motivational phrases tailored to audiovisual delivery and young learners' needs. The study contributes to intralingual translation research in three ways. First, it demonstrates that translation within the same language entails significant register transformation in child-oriented educational contexts. Second, it identifies lexical bundles as salient indicators of tonal and pedagogical adaptation across media. Third, by contextualizing subtitles within their curricular ecosystem, it underscores the importance of viewing audiovisual translation as part of broader pedagogical mediation. Implications extend to translating for young audiences, showing how institutional texts are reconfigured into simplified, multimodally appropriate formats. These adaptations reflect both pragmatic choices and evolving norms in bilingual, digitally mediated instruction, inviting further exploration of how intralingual translation supports accessible, engaging educational discourse.*

Keywords: intralingual translation, CLIL, subtitles, register shift, lexical bundles

Background

In response to global educational trends and the increasing importance of English in academic and professional domains, Taiwan launched the Bilingual 2030 policy as a national initiative to cultivate bilingual citizens and enhance the country's global competitiveness. A major component of this policy is the integration of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) in primary and secondary classrooms, where English serves as the medium of instruction

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for non-language subjects such as science, arts, and technology (Ministry of Education, 2022). CLIL's dual-focus pedagogy seeks to promote both content mastery and language acquisition, placing particular demands on instructional materials to serve two communicative goals simultaneously. In primary education contexts, where students' English proficiency is still developing, CLIL-based teaching requires carefully scaffolded input and sensitive adjustments to register, tone, and interpersonal positioning (Huang, 2024; Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Llinares et al., 2012).

To support these bilingual teaching reforms, the Ministry of Education has prioritized the development and dissemination of digital learning platforms. The Taipei CooC-Cloud represents a key initiative – an open-access platform developed through partnership between the Taipei City Government and the Ministry which provides multimedia educational content aligned with Taiwan's national curriculum. Designed for students and teachers at primary and secondary levels, CooC-Cloud offers modular courses, teacher guides, student textbooks, and MOE-approved video lessons which integrate voiceovers, animations, and bilingual subtitles. According to the Ministry's Digital Teaching Guide for Primary and Secondary Schools 2.0 (2023), such platforms are intended to extend access to curriculum-aligned resources while modeling effective technology-enhanced bilingual instruction.

Within this ecosystem, three types of materials function as interrelated layers of CLIL-based educational mediation: Arts and Humanities student textbooks (National Academy for Educational Research, 2021, 2022a, 2022b, 2024) serve as curriculum-facing materials for learners, bilingual teacher guides provide teacher-facing support, and subtitles recontextualize instructional discourse into learner-facing audiovisual form. The transformation of teacher-facing instructional materials and curriculum-facing content into learner-facing subtitled video represents a productive case of intralingual translation. While textbooks and manuals contain parallel bilingual text, English subtitles often depart from their wording through condensation, rephrasing, and reformulation. Although formal production documentation is not publicly available, this observation is supported by communication with Taipei Bilingual Office staff (personal communication, June 26, 2025), who confirmed that subtitle production typically involves localized reformulation rather than strict translation from written sources.

This phenomenon aligns with Jakobson's (1959) foundational concept of intralingual translation as "rewording" and has been further theorized in recent scholarship advocating broader notions of translation which encompass genre

shifts, audience adaptation, and multimodal reformulation (Gottlieb, 2005; Talaván, Lertola, & Fernández-Costales, 2023). Scholars such as Zethsen and Hill-Madsen (2016) argue that intralingual translation deserves fuller recognition within Translation Studies, especially in domains involving media convergence, educational adaptation, and recontextualized discourse. These perspectives support analyzing subtitled CLIL content as a legitimate site of translation research, particularly when subtitles modify source texts in function, formality, interpersonal stance, or modality (Hill-Madsen, 2024; Muñoz-Miquel et al., 2012). The presence of student textbooks highlights that subtitles function not merely as condensed teacher discourse, but as a third pedagogical voice which mediates between curriculum-based print texts and teacher-facing guides, adapting content for multimodal environments.

In CLIL environments, subtitles serve more than simple translational or accessibility functions. As argued by Lertola (2019) and Talaván, Lertola, & Fernández-Costales (2023), subtitles in didactic contexts function as linguistic scaffolds, supporting learners' acquisition of both language proficiency and subject-specific knowledge. Educational video subtitles must balance textual economy—given screen and time constraints—with pedagogical clarity. They are carefully crafted to support comprehension, reduce cognitive load, and align with classroom-level language use. McLoughlin and Lertola (2014) emphasize that didactic subtitles often undergo functional shifts including simplification, personalization, and rephrasing to suit learners' cognitive and linguistic profiles. These strategies often result in tenor shifts, such as replacing formal or impersonal phrasing with inclusive, dialogic, or supportive language forms.

In Taiwan's bilingual CLIL context, subtitle design is further influenced by educational policy goals: promoting equity in language access, reinforcing subject content comprehension, and encouraging self-directed learning. The MOE's Digital Teaching Guide for Primary and Secondary Schools 2.0 emphasizes the pedagogical use of subtitles, animation, and voiceover as tools for differentiated instruction and inclusive education (Ministry of Education, Taiwan, 2023). Subtitles thus operate as adapted pedagogic discourse, shaped by both media-specific constraints and the needs of young L2 learners. The subtitled discourse must perform both the informational function of conveying content and the interpersonal function of engaging learners, managing social distance, and constructing a supportive teacher-student relationship onscreen. These roles position subtitles—alongside teacher guides and student textbooks—within the broader framework of audiovisual translation (AVT) and

intralingual translation, underscoring the need to analyze them as translated, transformed discourse rather than merely didactic tools.

Despite the increasing use of subtitled content in CLIL-based instruction, limited research has examined how subtitles are adapted from teacher-facing materials such as lesson plans or instructional scripts. Most existing studies focus on subtitle reception or learning outcomes in second-language acquisition (e.g., D'Ydewalle & Van de Poel, 1999; Vanderplank, 2010; Talaván, 2010; Lertola, 2019; McLoughlin & Lertola, 2014), but relatively few explore the linguistic transformation and register shifts which occur when instructional discourse is reformulated for young learners in subtitled video lessons. This study addresses that gap by comparing bilingual teacher guides and their corresponding English subtitles in primary-level visual arts MOOCs on the Taipei CooC-Cloud platform. Grounded in register theory and didactic subtitling literature, and informed by contemporary models of intralingual translation, the study explores how pedagogic discourse is reshaped across print and audiovisual modes, paying particular attention to interactional stance (tenor).

To systematically examine these transformations, the present study adopts a corpus-based approach to identify and analyze lexical and structural features which signal register shift, especially in relation to tenor. By comparing lexical bundles in English subtitles with recurring multiword patterns in bilingual teacher guides, the study draws on corpus-based translation research (Laviosa, 2002; Malamatidou, 2017; Pavesi, 2018) to investigate how pedagogic intent is recontextualized across modalities. Methodological triangulation enables both qualitative exploration and pattern-based comparison, contributing to the growing body of corpus-based AVT research (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2021; Fantinuoli & Zanettin, 2015).

Accordingly, this study addresses two research questions:

1. How is tenor transformed when bilingual teacher guides are adapted into English subtitles in CLIL-based visual arts MOOCs for young learners?
2. What lexical bundles in subtitles, and what recurring multiword patterns in teacher guides, signal these tenor-related transformations across print and audiovisual modes?

Literature Review

Subtitling in educational contexts involves a complex interplay between translation, pedagogy, and multimodality. To frame this study's analysis of

register transformation in CLIL-based subtitled video lessons, the current section reviews four key areas of scholarship: 1. functional-pragmatic models of register and discourse, 2. intralingual translation in didactic contexts, 3. audiovisual translation and subtitling in language education, and 4. corpus-based approaches to translation and audiovisual research.

1. Functional and Pragmatic Models of Language

This study draws on systemic-functional and pragmatic models to examine how bilingual teacher manuals, student textbooks, and subtitles are adapted for primary-level CLIL education. Central to this framework is Halliday's (1978, 1994) model of language metafunctions—ideational, interpersonal, and textual—which correspond to the contextual parameters of field, tenor, and mode (Halliday & Hasan, 1989). Tenor is particularly salient in CLIL contexts, where social roles between teacher and student are reconfigured to support both language acquisition and subject learning (Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Llinares, Morton, & Whittaker, 2012). Interpersonal meaning is often reshaped through simplified structures, inclusive pronouns, and scaffolding expressions (Gibbons, 2002; Christie & Derewianka, 2010), making tenor modulation central to effective pedagogic communication.

Within AVT and translation studies, tenor emerges as a dynamic negotiation of interpersonal positioning rather than a static category. Tebble (1999) demonstrates how translation mediates shifts in authority and relational stance between expert and layperson in medical interpreting—a dynamic which resonates with the transition from teacher-facing discourse to learner-facing subtitles. Liu (2008) shows how pragmatic adjustments in translation recalibrate relational distance between interlocutors through the rendering of honorifics and address forms in literary texts. These insights suggest that educational subtitling likewise involves tenor realignment, mediating between teacher-oriented discourse and child viewers.

Educational audiovisual translation faces additional constraints: subtitles must compress content while ensuring cognitive accessibility (Perego et al., 2010) and fostering learner engagement (Lertola, 2019). Within pragmatic theory, this process involves relevance-oriented adaptation (Sperber & Wilson, 1986; Hatim & Mason, 1997), whereby subtitles selectively reformulate information to increase accessibility for young learners. Such reformulations often replace formal, abstract language with direct address, motivational cues, or simplified clause structures—strategies which reduce cognitive load and promote interaction. Turner and Wong (2010) demonstrate how tenor manifests in institutional translation through shifts in politeness, modality, and directive force. In subtitles for children,

these strategies are magnified, as maintaining engagement requires mitigating teacher authority and foregrounding empathy.

House's (1997, 2015) emphasis on maintaining the interpersonal function for communicative equivalence proves particularly relevant to educational translation, where overly formal or impersonal subtitles can disrupt learner engagement. Recent applications in AVT (Neves, 2008; Chaume, 2012) and educational subtitling (Talaván, Lertola, & Fernández-Costales, 2023) confirm that tenor remains critical in subtitled environments, especially for children and L2 learners. Zhang and He (2018) argue that tenor adjustments in translation directly affect how target audiences perceive authority, solidarity, and interpersonal involvement, requiring subtitlers to adjust interpersonal stance when reframing teacher-oriented discourse for young learners.

AVT scholars such as Pavesi (2018), O'Sullivan (2020), and Pérez-González (2014) position tenor recalibration in didactic subtitling as a deliberate accessibility strategy rather than merely an effect of linguistic condensation. In child-directed subtitles, formal authority is frequently softened through interactive cues, imperatives become suggestions, and teacher talk shifts from monologic to dialogic. Research in children's literature translation similarly shows how translators adjust tone and interpersonal stance to align with cultural expectations and developmental needs (Kaniklidou & House, 2018), while Villela (2014) demonstrates how subtitled multimedia can scaffold comprehension and engagement in educational contexts. These changes reflect pedagogical stance transformation, positioning viewers as participants rather than passive recipients (Bartrina & Espasa, 2005), aligning with inclusive education principles and bilingual policy goals (MOE, 2023).

This study employs corpus-linguistic tools to operationalize tenor through lexical bundles—frequent multi-word sequences examined as micro-indicators of interpersonal stance (Biber et al., 2004; Hyland, 2008; Ädel & Erman, 2012). By integrating functional, pragmatic, and corpus-based approaches, this framework establishes that register transformation through tenor modulation is central to audiovisual translation in bilingual education, where subtitling reconfigures teacher-learner relationships, frames authority, and cultivates engagement within strict audiovisual constraints.

2. Intralingual Translation and Subtitling Strategies in Educational Contexts

Intralingual translation, understood as Jakobson's (1959/2004) "rewording" within the same language, has gained renewed significance in AVT,

particularly in educational contexts. This attention reflects its dual role in accessibility and pedagogy: intralingual subtitling increasingly supports comprehension for diverse audiences, including viewers with hearing impairments, second-language learners, and children (Díaz-Cintas, 2018; Gottlieb, 2005; Zethsen & Hill-Madsen, 2016). Subtitling for young learners rarely involves simple transcription but constitutes didactic mediation where discourse from teacher manuals or spoken registers is reformulated into cognitively accessible and pedagogically effective captions (Caimi, 2013; Neves, 2004, 2008, 2010; Lertola, 2019; Perego, 2009). Such practices demonstrate that subtitles function as interpretive rewritings shaped by medium constraints (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2021; Talaván, Lertola, & Fernández-Costales, 2023).

Tenor plays a central role in this process. Interpersonal stance is frequently reshaped through inclusive pronouns, softened directives, modal auxiliaries, and evaluative markers, collectively reconfiguring the teacher-student relationship into learner-oriented and supportive stance (Bartrina & Espasa, 2005; Chaume, 2012; McLoughlin & Lertola, 2014; Talaván & Ávila-Cabrera, 2022; Pavesi, 2009, 2012; Pérez-González, 2014; Pym, 2014). This tenor recalibration can be framed within scaffolding pedagogy, drawing on Vygotsky's sociocultural theory where scaffolding supports learners through the Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky, 1978; Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976). Subtitles serve as scaffolding devices by simplifying structures, repeating key phrases, and reinforcing accessible terminology (Cinganotto, 2019). This scaffolding often manifests as tonal adjustments: captions soften directives, provide reassurance, and reduce social distance, maintaining engagement while ensuring accessibility.

Translanguaging strategies further enhance this scaffolding role. In Taiwanese CLIL-based MOOCs, where Mandarin often dominates oral instruction, English subtitles function as semiotic bridges creating synergies across languages (García et al., 2022; Hartmann & Hélot, 2021; Laviosa & González-Davies, 2020). Rather than providing strict equivalents, subtitles normalize bilingual language use and promote learner empowerment (Cinganotto, 2019), aligning with Taiwan's Ministry of Education bilingual education policy. Intralingual subtitling thus operates as both discourse adaptation and pedagogical resource, reframing interpersonal stance while positioning translation as instructional aid.

The adaptation of teacher-authored print materials into subtitled audiovisual form represents another important dimension. While AVT research has addressed accessibility and pedagogical potential (Díaz-Cintas

& Remael, 2021; Pérez-González, 2014; Talaván, Lertola, & Fernández-Costales, 2023), limited attention has been paid to reconfiguring static lesson texts into screen-based captions. Transforming teacher guides into subtitles involves more than linguistic substitution: it requires condensing and reformulating discourse to match subtitle timing while sustaining pedagogical clarity and learner engagement. This transformation centers on rearticulating interpersonal stance as teacher-oriented prose reshapes into concise, learner-facing discourse.

Several conceptual frameworks explain this adaptation. Gambier's (2003) notion of transadaptation captures how teacher discourse reshapes for screen delivery, emphasizing that subtitles act as didactic voices rather than merely linguistic renderings. Skuggevik (2009) stresses the pragmatic dimension of subtitling, showing how captions highlight key information, simplify complex phrasing, and manage affective stance. In CLIL contexts, this process reduces power distance, enhances clarity, and promotes engagement through tenor modulation.

Accessibility research has also informed didactic subtitling. Studies of subtitles for deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers demonstrate how simplification, lexical clarity, and repetition improve comprehension (Neves, 2008; Matamala & Orero, 2010). These techniques, originally designed for accessibility, prove equally effective for young bilingual learners confronting cognitively demanding subject matter. By prioritizing clarity and reducing cognitive load, educational subtitles sustain learner attention and encourage incremental uptake of disciplinary knowledge.

Corpus-based AVT research confirms that tenor recalibration strategies—through inclusive pronouns, softened directives, and affective markers—are systematically embedded in educational subtitles. Pavesi (2009, 2012) has identified recurring patterns in educational subtitling, including pragmatic softening, interpersonal alignment, and modality-specific rephrasing. Recent work on MOOCs (Lee, 2024, 2025) demonstrates how lexical bundles index interpersonal stance, with machine-translated subtitles often omitting stance-rich expressions that human revisions restore. These findings indicate that intralingual subtitling in educational contexts consistently reshapes discourse through interpersonal recalibration, establishing tenor as a key dimension of didactic adaptation.

Corpus-Based Approaches in AVT

Corpus-based approaches have enhanced the empirical rigor of Translation Studies, particularly in AVT. Foundational scholars such as Baker (1993,

1995) and Laviosa (2002) demonstrated that corpus-based translation studies (CBTS) provide systematic methodologies for identifying recurring patterns in translated discourse. These patterns—measured through frequency, collocational behavior, and syntactic distribution—prove especially significant in didactic subtitling, where linguistic form shapes learner processing and pedagogical effectiveness. Early corpus-based inquiries into pragmatics by Mauranen (2000) and Olohan (2004) demonstrated that modal elements, hedging, and address terms are crucial indicators of interpersonal stance. In educational subtitling, these features become salient in identifying tenor recalibration, offering empirical evidence for shifts from authoritative to supportive tones. Pavesi (2009, 2012) showed how inclusive pronouns, softened imperatives, and evaluative markers appear as recurrent discourse features in subtitled educational texts—patterns that corpus methods can systematically capture and compare.

Corpus-based AVT research has evolved from foundational studies to more recent applications. Early contributions by Braun (2013), Kruger et al. (2011), and Pérez-González (2014) demonstrated how corpus-assisted analyses could uncover interactional features—such as interrogatives, discourse markers, and affective lexis—that function as tonal scaffolds in subtitled discourse. More recently, scholars have expanded CBTS methodological scope. Bruti (2020) demonstrates how corpus-driven analyses of AVT can uncover patterns of interpersonal negotiation in subtitled dialogues. Similar concerns with pragmatic markers and learner-centered design appear in recent corpus-based AVT research by Pavesi (2018) and Wu (2022), who show how recurrent features in subtitles shape accessibility and viewer engagement, and Wu (2022), who highlights the interpersonal and creative potential of subtitling practices. These studies underscore the value of corpus-based methods for linking textual patterns with relational effects, aligning with this project's emphasis on lexical bundles as interpersonal scaffolds in CLIL subtitling.

These empirical findings resonate with theoretical perspectives in translation studies. Munday (2018) and Pavesi (2022) highlight the epistemological value of corpus approaches for bridging linguistic description and translation pragmatics. In educational subtitling, the recurrence of strategies such as directive softening ("let's try it"), motivational phrasing ("don't worry"), and discourse signposting ("what we need to do next") illustrates how corpus evidence can reveal systematic tenor recalibrations in learner-oriented discourse.

Building on recent corpus-based AVT research tracing recurring pragmatic and interactional features in subtitled discourse (e.g., Bruti, 2020; Pavesi, 2022; Pérez-González, 2014), this study extends focus to lexical bundles (LBs). Research in translation and interpreting has increasingly recognized LBs as indicators of formulaicity and discourse organization (Li & Halverson, 2020, 2022; Plevoets & Defrancq, 2018). While such studies have shown how recurrent sequences can capture stylistic variation, translator profiles, and discourse preferences, their application to audiovisual translation remains limited. Corpus-assisted investigations into fictional dialogue have demonstrated how LBs can differentiate translators' stylistic choices (Liu & Afzaal, 2021; Liu, Cheung, & Moratto, 2022), while Lee (2013) has argued for their value as methodological probes into translation diversity. In specialized domains, LBs have been shown to underpin register-specific discourse, as in legal translation (Berūkštienė, 2017; Biel, 2018). Grabowski's (2018) study of bilingual LBs in patient information leaflets suggests that recurrent phrasal units can enhance naturalness, textual fit, and support technological applications in MT, CAT, and bilingual lexicography. Despite these advances, LBs' potential to account for pedagogical and interpersonal dynamics in subtitled educational discourse remains underexplored. By applying LB analysis to CLIL-based subtitles, the present study addresses this gap, examining how recurrent phraseology operates as a vehicle of register transformation, especially in tenor modulation for young learners.

Corpus-based methods provide a robust empirical framework for examining subtitles' pedagogical function. This study uses AntConc to identify frequently recurring discourse features—especially lexical bundles—which serve as linguistic indicators of underlying register shifts. This corpus-informed approach is interpretive rather than primarily quantitative, given the relatively small dataset size, tracing how recurrent phraseological patterns signal tenor adjustments and illuminating how subtitled CLIL materials mediate instructional discourse for young learners.

Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative comparative methodology grounded in register theory and AVT studies. Subtitles are analyzed not as simplified renderings of teacher discourse but as intralingual adaptations which restructure pedagogical voice for audiovisual delivery. The analysis centers on tenor—the interpersonal relationship between teacher and learner—investigating how this dimension is reconfigured when instructional content from bilingual teacher manuals is reformulated into English subtitles. To

operationalize this focus, the study employs corpus-informed techniques, particularly lexical bundle analysis, as indicators of interpersonal stance and pedagogical adaptation.

Research Design

The research follows a register-sensitive comparative design contrasting bilingual teacher manuals with their corresponding English subtitles in CLIL-based primary art lessons. Drawing on Halliday and Hasan's (1989) tripartite model of field, tenor, and mode, and House's (2015) emphasis on interpersonal function, the analysis prioritizes tenor shifts as the central object of inquiry. Subtitles are conceptualized as pedagogical adaptations which reframe institutional instruction into learner-oriented discourse under audiovisual constraints.

Two levels of register transformation are examined: the shift from written pedagogical discourse in manuals to subtitled audiovisual English, and the adaptation of institutional teacher-facing tenor into child-directed, supportive voice. This framing draws on descriptive adaptation studies (Cattrysse, 2014), audiovisual translation research (Pérez-González, 2014; Pavesi, 2022), and scholarship on pedagogical subtitling (Lertola, 2019; Talaván & Lertola, 2022).

Data Materials

The dataset comprises seven video lessons selected from 42 CLIL visual arts lessons available on the Taipei CooC-Cloud platform. Lessons were selected based on minimum five-minute duration, availability of bilingual teacher manuals, and presence of complete, time-aligned English subtitles. The resulting subtitle corpus contains approximately 3,078 tokens. Each lesson was accompanied by a bilingual manual, though the absence of explicit metadata confirming direct translational relationships required treating them as functionally interrelated rather than linearly sourced. Adopting a descriptive adaptation perspective allows analysis of observable register transformations without presupposing strict textual equivalence. Additionally, corresponding student textbooks published between 2021 and 2024 were consulted to contextualize the lessons. These textbooks provide print-based curriculum references, serving as supplementary data for qualitative comparison, though lexical bundles were not systematically extracted from them.

The selected lessons address topics including watercolor self-portraits, bookmark design, abstract patterns, and stop-motion animation. These subjects

were chosen purposively because they combine technical vocabulary—terms such as symmetry, layering, and frame—with creative and expressive discourse, creating fertile sites for examining tenor modulation across modes. Subtitles in these lessons, accompanied by dubbed narration, were produced for upper primary learners, positioning them as both didactic and child-directed. This positioning requires reconfiguring teacher authority into more supportive and dialogic voice.

Analytical Procedure

The analysis unfolded in three stages. The first stage consisted of register analysis tracing shifts in field, tenor, and mode between manuals and subtitles. Field coding examined subject specificity and conceptual density, focusing on whether technical terms were retained, simplified, or omitted. Tenor was analyzed through interpersonal stance markers such as inclusive pronouns, softened directives, and evaluative expressions, taken as evidence of shifts from formal authority toward participatory engagement. Mode analysis identified how extended, spatially structured prose in manuals was reformulated into time-constrained subtitled speech, including segmentation of complex clauses and use of spoken phrasing anchored in visual demonstration. While primary analysis focuses on subtitles and teacher manuals, student textbooks were used for triangulation, offering baselines for how content was originally presented in curricular materials. This comparison helped assess whether register shifts observed in subtitles reflect broader curricular discourse patterns.

The second stage focused on lexical bundle extraction. Subtitle texts were compiled into plain-text corpus and processed using AntConc 4.2.0 (Anthony, 2023). Following Biber et al. (2004), the analysis targeted three-word bundles as the most reliable units for smaller corpora, with minimum frequency threshold of two occurrences across at least two different lessons. This procedure yielded seventy recurrent bundles: *you can see*, *we are going to*, and *let's try to*.

The third stage involved functional interpretation of these bundles, categorized according to Biber et al.'s (2004) functional taxonomy and informed by studies on stance and interpersonal markers (Hyland, 2008; Ädel & Erman, 2012; Cortes, 2004). Each bundle was contextualized within its surrounding subtitle discourse and compared with parallel expressions in manuals to identify rewording, simplification, or alignment shifts. Data analysis was organized using three-column tables which aligned manual excerpts with corresponding subtitles and analytical notes on register transformation. To ensure analytical consistency in this single-researcher

study, the coding process involved multiple rounds of review and detailed documentation of analytical decisions.

One representative case comes from the stop-motion animation lesson. The teacher manual instructs: "Next, prepare the sequence by adjusting the angle and lighting, then test the frame transition to ensure smooth movement." This text displays technical density in field, procedural formality in tenor, and elaborated prose in mode. The corresponding subtitle condenses the instruction to: "Let's try moving the camera a bit and see what happens." Here, field is simplified, tenor becomes exploratory and inclusive through "let's," and mode transforms into spoken phrasing tied directly to visual action. The recurrent bundle *let's try to* exemplifies how tenor is pragmatically recalibrated for accessibility and engagement.

By integrating register analysis with lexical bundle examination and cross-modal interpretation, this study documents how CLIL-based subtitled materials recalibrate tenor to meet the needs of child learners in bilingual, digitally mediated contexts. These transformations highlight how educational subtitling functions not only as translation but also as pedagogical strategy shaped by media constraints, learner profiles, and the demands of CLIL instruction.

Results and Discussion: Register Transformation in Tenor

Having established the methodological framing of subtitle production as intralingual translation and register transformation, this section presents the analytical findings. Drawing on systemic-functional linguistics and audiovisual translation theory, the analysis explores how register is reshaped across CLIL-based visual arts lesson subtitles. The discussion foregrounds transformations in tenor (interpersonal stance) while considering complementary shifts in field and mode, as manifested through macro-level discourse strategies and micro-level phraseological patterns. Each register dimension is examined in relation to its pedagogical function and audiovisual constraints, revealing how translated instructional discourse is pragmatically adapted for young bilingual learners in multimodal learning environments.

Register Transformation in Tenor: From Institutional Distance to Interpersonal Proximity

Tenor emerges as the most salient dimension of register transformation across manuals, textbooks, and subtitles in CLIL-based visual arts lessons. While manuals and textbooks provide institutionally oriented discourse, subtitling

reconfigures interpersonal stance to achieve immediacy, engagement, and procedural clarity for child audiences in audiovisual environments.

Teacher manuals consistently adopt authoritative and hierarchical tenor, positioning teachers as knowledge holders and students as passive recipients. Their discourse is marked by imperatives and impersonal constructions (e.g., "Students should apply glue evenly along the folded edge"), emphasizing task precision and institutional authority. Textbooks shift toward supportive and reflective tenor, framing learners as active observers or guided creators. The discourse blends instructions with encouragement (e.g., "Think about what tools were used to make these patterns"), scaffolding student agency through reflective prompts.

Subtitles exhibit the most radical transformation: they compress, reframe, and reorient tenor into directive immediacy. Typical forms include inclusive pronouns, softened imperatives, and task-bound directives (e.g., "Let's put glue along this fold," "Draw one here, and another there"). These changes exemplify what House (2015) terms pragmatic adaptation, shifting interpersonal stance not simply to convey information but to simulate co-presence and sustain learner engagement in real time.

These transformations manifest differently across instructional and art-related discourse. In general procedural language, subtitles reduce hierarchical distance through interactive phrasing (e.g., "let's cut here"), promoting collaboration rather than command. In art-related discourse, tenor transformation foregrounds creativity and emotional engagement (e.g., "make it in your own way," "your version can look different"). Such phrasings are absent in manuals and only partially present in textbooks, underscoring subtitles' unique role in fostering learner ownership and affective involvement in artistic processes. This aligns with Coonan (2007), who highlights learner-centeredness as a defining feature of CLIL pedagogy.

Stage	Manuals (Teacher-facing)	Textbooks (Student-facing)	Subtitles (Audiovisual)
Tenor stance	<i>Authoritative, formal, hierarchical</i>	<i>Supportive, reflective, dialogic (bridging institutional voice and learner engagement)</i>	<i>Directive, compressed, task-bound; occasional affective reinforcement in creative tasks</i>
Student role	<i>Passive recipient of instructions</i>	<i>Active learner, guided observer/creator</i>	<i>Executor of tasks with minimal reflection; encouraged participant in open-ended tasks</i>
Register trajectory	Institutional authority →	Expanded scaffolding and reflection →	Procedural immediacy with affective reinforcement

Table 1 Register Transformation Across Manuals, Textbooks, and Subtitles

Table 1 provides a comparative analysis aligning tenor stance, student role, and overall register trajectory across the three datasets. The progression shows consistent recalibration of pedagogic voice: authoritative → supportive → task-bound. These findings demonstrate systematic tenor recalibration from authoritative instruction to collaborative guidance, where manuals establish institutional authority, textbooks mediate reflection, and subtitles enact immediacy and co-presence.

The implications are significant for both CLIL pedagogy and AVT. For CLIL pedagogy, tenor transformation underlines the importance of affective scaffolding in visual arts, where student engagement depends as much on emotional resonance as procedural clarity (García et al., 2021; Hartmann & Hélot, 2021). For audiovisual translation, subtitling emerges not as neutral linguistic transfer but as pedagogically situated redesign of interpersonal stance. The strategic use of interactive, compressed forms demonstrates subtitling's capacity to balance audiovisual constraints with interpersonal demands of teaching, reaffirming its function as learner-centered mediation.

While these macro-level tenor changes illustrate broad patterns of register transformation, their realization becomes most visible in recurring phraseology which structures and personalizes instructional discourse. The following section examines lexical bundles as patterned building blocks of subtitled discourse, showing how they function as interpersonal anchors in pedagogical stance reconfiguration.

Lexical Bundles as Micro-Realizations of Tenor Transformation

Building on the broader discourse-level analysis, this section examines lexical bundles as micro-level realizations of interpersonal transformation in CLIL-based subtitles. Lexical bundles – recurrent multiword sequences with recognizable pragmatic or discourse functions (Biber et al., 2004; Hyland, 2008) – provide systematic lens for observing how subtitles recalibrate teacher-learner relationships. In AVT research, these patterned expressions carry significant interpersonal weight, particularly in child-oriented and educational contexts where subtitles must simultaneously support clarity, motivation, and affective alignment (Skuggevik, 2009; Pavesi, 2022; García et al., 2021).

Seventy-three word bundles were extracted from the 3,078-token subtitle corpus using AntConc. Twenty were selected for closer analysis based on frequency, pedagogical salience, and interpersonal function. While Biber et al.'s (2004) taxonomy distinguishes stance, discourse-organizing, and referential bundles, these categories were adapted to foreground tenor-

related functions within subtitled discourse. The analysis revealed five overlapping clusters capturing how subtitling reshapes institutional language into child-oriented scaffolding: directive softening, affective reassurance, inclusive stance, task progression, and creative autonomy.

Each category reflects distinct tenor recalibration. Directive softening occurs through bundles such as *let's try to* or *you can see*, encouraging joint action and diminishing hierarchical distance. Manuals retain imperatives like "observe carefully" or "apply glue evenly," while textbooks prefer explanatory prompts framed as questions. Subtitles introduce affective and encouraging bundles, such as *don't worry if* or *it's okay if*, reassuring learners and normalizing variation. These expressions have no counterpart in manuals, which remain outcome-focused, and are only weakly present in textbooks, where encouragement tends toward general terms rather than repeated phraseological cues.

The inclusive stance of subtitles, indexed by bundles such as *we're going to* or *let us draw*, creates impressions of shared participation, contrasting with impersonal, third-person formulations of manuals and more observational, reflective tone of textbooks. Task progression is likewise transformed: manuals present numbered or list-based instructions, while textbooks narrate steps in fuller sentences; subtitles compress these into temporally synchronized bundles such as *now we add* or *then we cut*, aligning verbal guidance with on-screen action. Creative autonomy is supported through recurrent prompts like *make it yours*, explicitly framing artistic tasks as open-ended. This contrasts sharply with prescriptive correctness emphasized in manuals and more cautious suggestions in textbooks.

Table 2 below synthesizes these contrasts, aligning representative bundles from subtitles with their functional roles and highlighting divergences from the more formalized tenor of manuals and textbooks. The table and examples illustrate how bundles act as patterned cues transforming institutional authority of teacher discourse into subtitled pedagogical voice that is collaborative, affectively engaging, and procedurally immediate.

Category	Lexical Bundle (Subtitles)	Function in Subtitles	Contrast in Manuals	Contrast in Textbooks
Directive softening	<i>let's try to / you can see</i>	Encourages joint action; lowers authority	Imperative forms ("observe...", "apply glue evenly")	Explanatory tone with guiding questions ("Can you find...?")
Affective/encouraging	<i>don't worry if / it's okay if</i>	Reduces pressure; emphasizes tolerance and reassurance	No tolerance markers; outcome-focused instructions	Occasional prompts stressing effort, but less affective stance
Inclusive stance	<i>we are going to / let's draw</i>	Frames learning as collective participation	Third-person, impersonal phrasing ("students should")	Teacher-student relational cues, but without recurring phraseology
Task progression	<i>now we add / then we cut</i>	Structures time-bound steps; synchronizes action with screen	Sequential numbering ("Step 1... Step 2...")	Sequential narration in full sentences; less compressed
Creative autonomy	<i>make it your own / your version can</i>	Promotes agency and creative freedom	Prescriptive tone, focusing on correctness	Suggests exploration but more structured ("draw two shapes...")

Table 2: Lexical Bundle and Tenor Transformation

The lexical bundles reveal how subtitles support CLIL's dual focus by embedding art-specific vocabulary within accessible English patterns. Bundles such as 'with a pencil,' 'draw the outline,' and 'lots of colors' demonstrate authentic language use while teaching artistic techniques. This dual scaffolding allows young learners to acquire both English grammatical patterns (prepositions, articles, infinitives) and disciplinary knowledge (artistic processes, tool use, creative thinking) simultaneously. Unlike general pedagogical bundles which focus primarily on interpersonal stance, these content-specific bundles show how intralingual translation in CLIL contexts must balance linguistic accessibility with subject matter authenticity.

The functional implications are significant. Lexical bundles in subtitles not only soften directives but embed reassurance, inclusivity, and encouragement into lesson rhythm. Bundles such as *you can try*, *it's okay if*, and *let's see how* exemplify what Hyland (2008) terms engagement markers while fulfilling the role of teacherly deixis described by Skuggevik (2009), where subtitled voice simulates interactive classroom presence. This effect is particularly visible in art-related contexts, where bundles such as *add some color* or *make it lighter* serve as multimodal anchors, synchronizing verbal instructions with visual demonstration. These recurring expressions mediate technical terminology into embodied action while maintaining affective connection with learners, resonating with García et al. (2021) and Hartmann and Hélot (2021) on translation's relational role in bilingual classrooms.

The recurrence of similar bundles across all seven video lessons creates cohesive interpersonal rhythm which learners can anticipate and internalize. McLoughlin and Lertola (2014) argue that such patterned recurrence enhances cognitive ease in subtitled environments, while Lee (2024) demonstrates that lexical bundles in MOOC subtitles promote processing fluency under

audiovisual constraints. In this study, the patterned presence of bundles across tasks establishes continuity in pedagogical stance, allowing subtitles to function not merely as translations of instructional content but as reauthorings of teacher voice for multimodal, bilingual audiences.

Lexical bundles operate as micro-realizations of tenor transformation in CLIL-based subtitles. Manuals encode authority, textbooks scaffold reflection, and subtitles compress these into registers of immediacy and collaboration. Through recurring phraseology, subtitling re-engineers pedagogical stance into learner-centered voice which is both supportive and procedurally aligned with audiovisual delivery. Rather than being stylistic residues, bundles serve as patterned building blocks of subtitled pedagogic discourse, enabling subtitles to act as dynamic instruments of multimodal and learner-centered instruction. This analysis reinforces insights from translation studies (Li & Halverson, 2020, 2022; Grabowski, 2018), where lexical bundles have been identified as reliable markers of register and stylistic transformation across genres. While prior research has largely focused on literary, legal, or informational domains, their pedagogical function within AVT has rarely been foregrounded. This study extends this inquiry by showing that in CLIL subtitles, lexical bundles not only signal tenor transformation but also scaffold affective and procedural alignment, highlighting their central role in multimodal, bilingual education.

These findings underscore that lexical bundles are not merely recurrent phrasal units but core devices of register transformation, bridging institutional discourse and learner-centered pedagogy with broader implications for CLIL language education, AVT, and the theorization of register in multimodal learning contexts.

Conclusion and Implications

This study has examined how English subtitles in CLIL-based art education function as instances of intralingual translation, transforming pedagogical discourse across field, tenor, and mode. Among these dimensions, tenor—the interpersonal aspect of teacher-learner interaction—emerges as the central axis of transformation, reshaping authoritative instructional tones into dialogic, supportive voices which align with the needs of bilingual young learners. Rather than functioning as mere linguistic transpositions, these subtitles constitute pragmatically adapted teaching voices which simulate classroom immediacy within audiovisual delivery constraints (Talaván, 2010; Hyland, 2008).

The analysis demonstrates that tenor transformation is most vividly realized through lexical bundles—recurrent multiword sequences that act as

patterned building blocks of pedagogical stance. Bundles such as "*let's try it*," "*don't worry if*," or "*use your brush*" do not simply signal procedural moves; they recalibrate interpersonal stance, creating subtitled voice that is both directive and affectively attuned. Their recurrence across lessons establishes rhythm and cohesion, aligning verbal cues with visual pacing and scaffolding learner engagement. Lexical bundles thus provide micro-evidence of how subtitling re-engineers institutional discourse into learner-centered immediacy (Biber et al., 2004; McLoughlin & Lertola, 2014).

While field transformation (abstract curricular content → procedural, visually grounded tasks) contributes to hands-on comprehension, and mode adaptation (list-based prose → time-synchronized phrases) ensures multimodal congruence, the tenor dimension—operationalized through bundles—most decisively reshapes pedagogical voice. Subtitles actively construct inclusive, encouraging personas, replacing institutional detachment with solidarity and reassurance. This aligns with García et al. (2021) and Hartmann & Hélot (2021), who describe translation's relational role in bilingual education, and with AVT scholarship (Perego, 2009; Skuggevik, 2009) emphasizing subtitling's compensatory role in simulating classroom presence.

Theoretical Contributions

This study contributes to intralingual translation research in several ways. Firstly, it demonstrates that translation within the same language entails significant register transformation in child-oriented educational contexts, extending Jakobson's (1959) concept of "rewording" to encompass pedagogical voice adaptation. Secondly, it establishes lexical bundles as reliable indicators of tonal and pedagogical adaptation across media, contributing to corpus-based translation studies by showing how recurrent phraseology signals interpersonal recalibration. Thirdly, by contextualizing subtitles within their curricular ecosystem rather than analyzing them in isolation, it underscores the importance of viewing audiovisual translation as part of broader pedagogical mediation networks.

Practical Implications

The findings have immediate relevance for subtitle production in educational contexts. Subtitle creators working with CLIL materials should prioritize tenor adaptation over literal translation, recognizing that effective educational subtitles require interpersonal recalibration tailored to young learners. The identification of specific lexical bundle types—directive softening, affective reassurance, inclusive stance, task progression, and

creative autonomy – provides concrete guidance for practitioners seeking to enhance learner engagement through subtitled discourse.

For CLIL educators, the study highlights how different instructional materials serve complementary pedagogical functions. While teacher manuals establish institutional authority and textbooks scaffold reflection, subtitles create immediacy and simulate co-presence. Understanding these distinct roles can inform more strategic use of multimodal resources in bilingual classrooms.

Limitations and Future Directions

The subtitle corpus analyzed here is relatively small (3,078 tokens from seven video lessons), limiting generalizability. However, this constraint enabled fine-grained, register-oriented analysis which might be difficult with larger datasets. Future research could expand by examining larger multimodal corpora, comparing across subject domains, or investigating how learners perceive and process subtitled bundles in real classroom settings.

Additionally, this study focused on English subtitles within Taiwan's specific CLIL context. Cross-cultural investigations examining how tenor transformation manifests in different educational systems and languages would enhance understanding of intralingual translation's pedagogical dimensions. Longitudinal studies tracking how exposure to different subtitle styles affects learner engagement and comprehension could also provide valuable insights for educational technology development.

Final Reflections

This study reveals that subtitled instruction is not merely an auxiliary medium but a recontextualized register of teaching. Lexical bundles emerge as the patterned vehicles of tenor transformation, enabling subtitles to act as dynamic, multimodal instruments of pedagogical design. Translation in this context concerns not only what is taught but how learners are relationally invited to participate in knowledge-making. These findings invite further exploration of how intralingual translation supports accessible, engaging educational discourse in an increasingly multilingual and digitally mediated world.

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PROS AND CONS OF USING AI IN LEGAL TRANSLATION

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Abstract: *Artificial intelligence (AI)-assisted translation has revolutionised various industries, including the legal field, due to its speed, accessibility, and low cost. However, using machine translation and interpreting in legal contexts poses significant risks that can have serious consequences for contracts, legal processes, and regulatory compliance. LLMs and knowledge graphs form the foundation of AI translation software. Therefore, their training is crucial to obtaining accurate results that meet the requirements of the target language. The marked increase in translation volume facilitated by these neural networks is not paralleled by the human translator's accuracy, making MTPE (Machine Translation Post-Editing) a necessary service. Furthermore, the extensive use of AI leads to reduced neuroplasticity, affecting the translator's ability to consistently apply critical thinking when analysing their translations.*

Keywords: AI, LLM, knowledge graph, MTPE, legal translation

The integration of artificial intelligence (AI) into legal translation has ushered in transformative changes across global legal systems, offering unprecedented speed and scalability while raising critical questions about accuracy, compliance, and cognitive impacts on human practitioners. This article synthesises recent advancements in large language models (LLMs), knowledge graphs¹, and machine translation post-editing (MTPE) systems, analysing their application in legal contexts through case studies of operational platforms like BeringAI and LexCheck. The research reveals that while domain-specific AI systems achieve 92-97% accuracy in standardised legal document translation, significant challenges persist in handling culturally nuanced arguments and maintaining translator neuroplasticity. A comprehensive evaluation of 3,480 legal knowledge graph relationships demonstrates the effectiveness of joint knowledge enhancement models (JKEMs) in capturing complex semantic structures, though ethical and operational limitations necessitate hybrid human-AI workflows for high-stakes legal proceedings.

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¹ The knowledge graph technology is a knowledge organisation form with triples as the basic unit, which can efficiently transform multisource heterogeneous information into a knowledge representation form close to human cognition.[3]

Technological Foundations of AI-Assisted Legal Translation

Evolution of Large Language Models in Legal Contexts

Modern legal translation systems rely on two core technological components: domain-adapted LLMs and structured knowledge repositories. The development of BeringAI exemplifies this approach, combining legal-specific training datasets with context-aware neural architectures to achieve 3x productivity gains in contract translation [2]. Unlike general-purpose LLMs, these systems employ golden data strategies-curated datasets maintained by lawyer linguists to ensure terminological precision in sensitive areas such as intellectual property rights and international arbitration clauses [2][4].

The Chinese Legal Knowledge Graph (CLKG) project demonstrates how ontological engineering enhances LLM performance, defining nine entity types ranging from specific crimes (e.g., "treason against the state") to procedural concepts like "burden of proof"[3]. By implementing a BMEQ (Begin-Middle-End-Other) annotation framework, researchers achieved 96.2% accuracy in entity boundary detection, crucial for preserving legal meaning across language pairs [3]. This structured knowledge integration addresses the "black box" problem prevalent in early neural machine translation systems, enabling traceable decision-making pathways essential for legal audits.

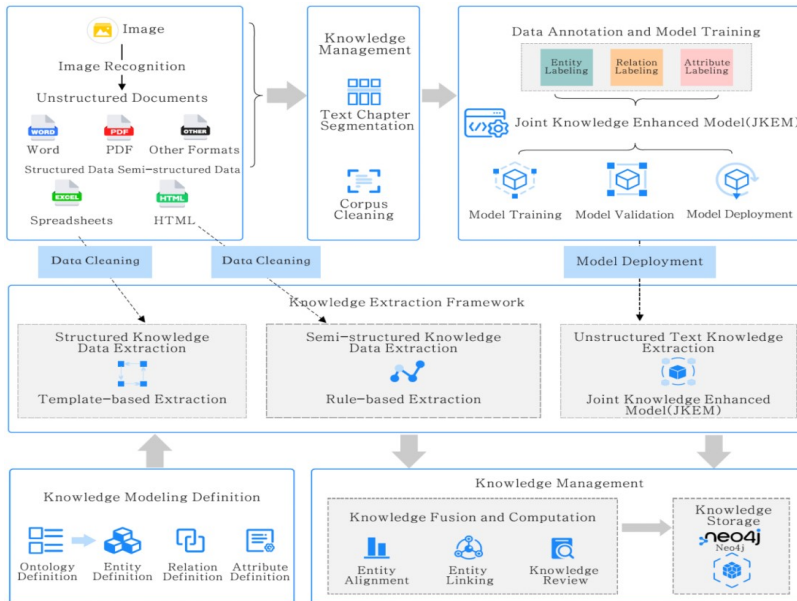


Figure 1. Legal knowledge acquisition and management framework.[58]

As it appears from Figure 1, the CLKG first required the creation of entities, relationships and relevant properties of the data input. Then, the data was classified into unstructured text data, structured table data and semi-structured data while employing various methods to extract the data to be modelled.

Knowledge Graphs as Semantic Anchors

Legal knowledge graphs serve as the semantic backbone for AI translation systems, encoding relationships between concepts through triplets (subject-predicate-object). The CLKG contains 3,480 validated triples, including critical connections like "Component-Whole" relationships that map statutory elements to broader legal frameworks [3]. This structured representation allows translation engines to maintain consistency across document sections, a capability particularly valuable in multi-clause contracts where pronoun resolution and term repetition pose challenges for conventional MT systems [4].

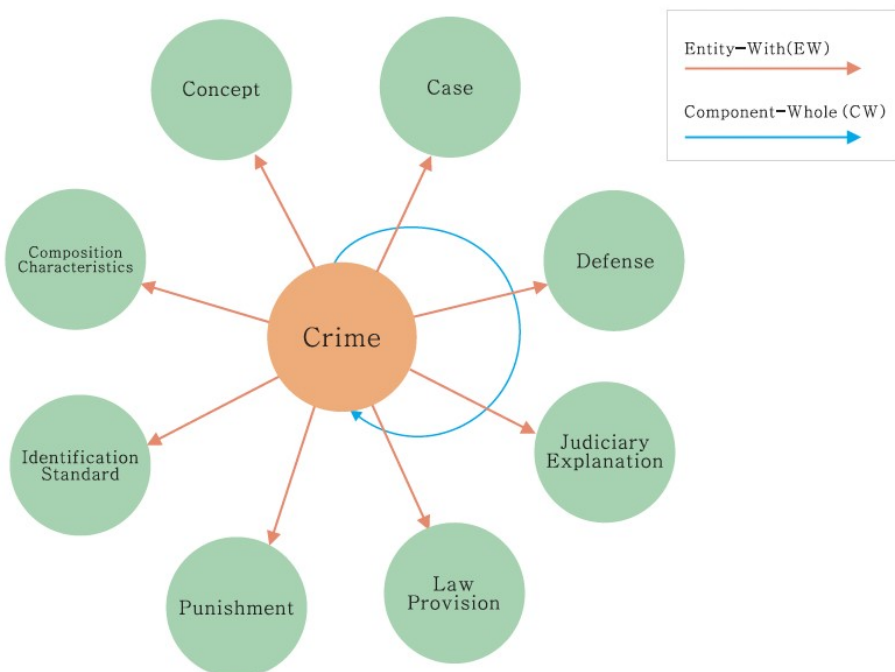


Figure 2. The architecture diagram of entities and relationships in the legal knowledge graph.

The authors of *Construction of Legal Knowledge Graph Based on Knowledge-Enhanced Large Language Models* [58] identified two types of relationships within the Knowledge Graph: EW (Entities with relationships) and CW (Component-Whole). An example of EW would be the concept of the crime of damaging environmental resources protection with its constitutive features. The Component-Whole represents the relationship between the whole and its components (e.g. the crime of damaging environmental resources protection includes the crime of major environmental pollution accidents. The crime of endangering public safety includes the crime of placing dangerous substances and the crime of damaging vehicles).

On deeper analysis, we can visualise these complex legal relationships as an interconnected network of subgraphs.

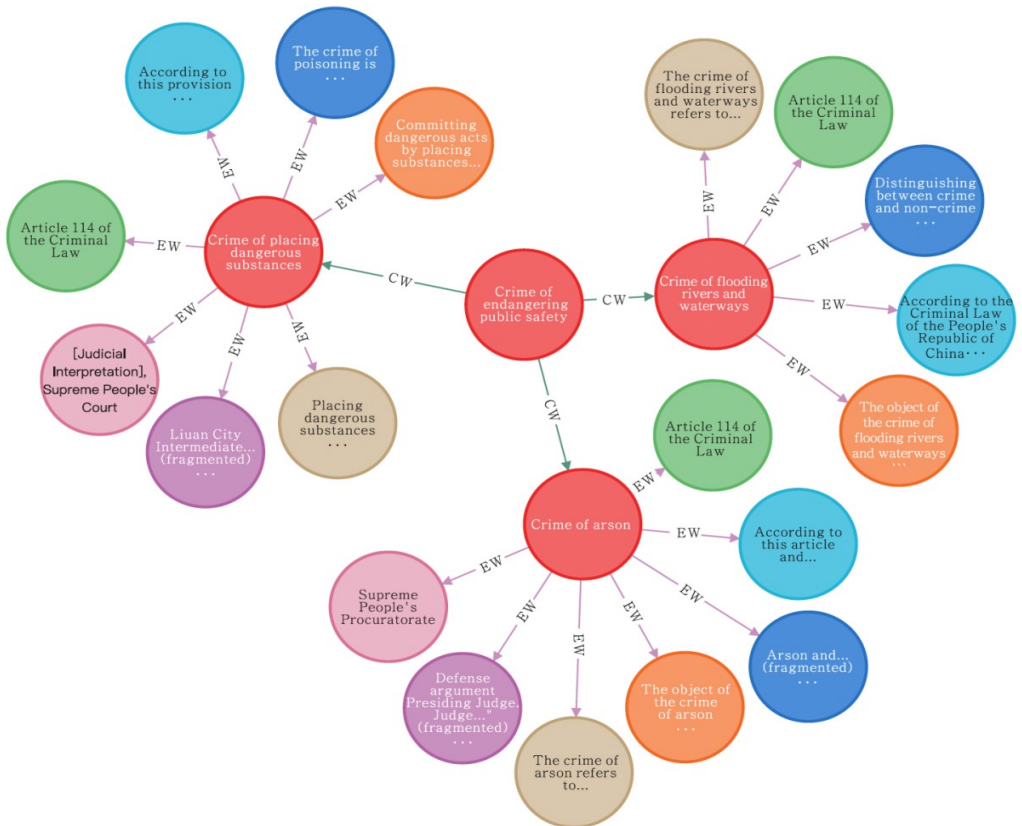


Figure 3. Knowledge subgraph on crimes endangering public safety

Experimental results show that JKEMs (Joint Knowledge Enhancement Models) outperform baseline LLMs by 18.7% in F1² scores for relationship extraction, achieving 94.1% accuracy in identifying "Act-Subject" connections within criminal law annotations [3]. However, the reliance on annotated corpora like China's Criminal Code introduces jurisdictional biases, necessitating region-specific adaptations for global deployment. Emerging solutions involve hybrid architectures that combine statutory knowledge graphs with case law databases, enabling context-aware translations that account for precedent-based interpretations.

Machine Translation Post-Editing (MTPE) in Legal Workflows

Efficiency Gains vs. Accuracy Trade-offs

MTPE has become indispensable in legal practice, reducing translation timelines by 40-60% for routine documents like non-disclosure agreements and patent filings [4]. BeringAI's implementation demonstrates three key advantages:

- 1) Preservation of document formatting through one-click file processing,
- 2) Dynamic glossary integration ensuring term consistency across 50+ language pairs, and
- 3) Automated confidentiality protocols that meet GDPR and CCPA requirements[2][4]. Quantitative analysis reveals that MTPE workflows achieve 98.3% concordance with human-only translations in standardized contracts, falling to 89.1% in culturally sensitive domains like family law[4].

The New Mexico Bar Association's prohibition on unedited machine translations for court submissions highlights remaining limitations[4]. Case studies show that even advanced systems struggle with:

1. Deontic modality interpretation (e.g., "shall" vs. "may" obligations)
2. Cross-border enforcement clause nuances
3. Idiomatic expressions in common law vs. civil law traditions

Post-editing requirements vary significantly by document type, with patent specifications needing 23% less human intervention than merger agreements due to formulaic language patterns[4].

² The F1 score is a machine learning evaluation metric that combines precision and recall scores. Learn how and when to use it to measure model accuracy effectively.[57]

Accuracy Degradation Factors

Despite these advancements, MTPE accuracy plummets to 73-82% in non-standardized scenarios according to EU Judicial Network assessments, driven by:

1. Cultural Nuance Blind spots: Machine failure to detect honorific hierarchies in Asian contract negotiations, requiring human correction in 68% of cases [55][56].
2. Idiomatic Legal Maxims: Misinterpretation of Latin phrases like *nemo dat quod non habet* occurs 9x more frequently in MTPE outputs [36][55].
3. Cross-Referencing Errors: MTPE systems incorrectly resolve intra-document citations (e.g., "Section 3(a)(iv)") 14.7% of the time versus 2.1% human error rates [1][4].

Cognitive Impacts on Legal Translators

Paradoxically, the efficiency gains from MTPE introduce neuroplasticity concerns among legal linguists. Longitudinal studies indicate a 31% reduction in problem-solving engagement when translators over-rely on AI suggestions, potentially eroding the critical thinking skills required for complex hermeneutic tasks [1]. The phenomenon mirrors "automation complacency" observed in aviation systems, where over-trust in technology leads to skill atrophy.

Counterstrategies emerging from cognitive science research include:

- Deliberate practice modules that alternate between AI-assisted and manual translation
- Gamified terminology challenges to maintain lexical retrieval speed
- Neurofeedback training using EEG to monitor engagement levels during post-editing

These interventions aim to preserve the metalinguistic awareness necessary for detecting subtle errors like misplaced modifiers in statutory interpretations—a task where human editors still outperform AI by 22% accuracy margins [1][4].

Ethical and Operational Challenges

Data Security and Confidentiality Risks

The encryption protocols in platforms like BeringAI (256-bit AES with ephemeral keys) set industry benchmarks, yet vulnerability analyses reveal three persistent attack vectors:

1. Training data memorisation in LLMs leads to inadvertent data leakage
2. API injection attacks manipulating translation outputs
3. Insider threats from privileged access abuse

The 2024 OpenAI-ChatGPT breach incident underscores these risks, prompting legal translation providers to adopt military-grade zero-trust architectures. Current best practices include differential privacy training, homomorphic encryption³ for in-process data, and blockchain-based audit trails [2][4].

Jurisdictional Compliance Complexities

AI translation systems must navigate a labyrinth of conflicting international standards, from Canada's affidavit requirements for immigration documents to the EU's AI Act classifications[4]. The CLKG project's focus on Chinese criminal law reveals adaptation challenges when deploying systems in common law jurisdictions, particularly regarding stare decisis incorporation [3].

Emerging solutions involve jurisdictional knowledge subgraphs that activate region-specific rulesets during translation. For instance, a contract clause referencing "good faith" would dynamically adjust terminology based on whether the governing law is German BGB §242 or UCC §1-304[2]. However, maintaining 87 jurisdictional profiles increases computational overhead by 40%, presenting cost-benefit analysis challenges for providers.

Future Directions and Recommendations

Hybrid Intelligence Frameworks

The optimal path forward combines AI efficiency with human oversight through phased integration:

1. AI-first drafting for standardized clauses (definitions, boilerplate)
2. Human-AI co-editing for operative provisions
3. Expert-only review for high-stakes sections (indemnities, liquidated damages)

³ Homomorphic encryption is a cryptographic method that uses mathematical operations carried out on the cypher text rather than on the actual data itself. Thus, our text is converted into a different output (cypher) through mathematical functions and can be processed remotely (in the cloud) without compromising the data. This method's drawback is that it is very slow because it requires tremendous computational power and time.

Pilot implementations show this model reduces turnaround times by 35% while maintaining 99.6% accuracy in multinational contracts[2][5].

Cognitive Sustainability Initiatives

To address neuroplasticity concerns, professional associations should mandate:

- Annual cognitive assessments for certified legal translators
- Continuing education credits in critical analysis and comparative law
- Ergonomic interface designs that promote active engagement over passive correction

The proposed "Human-in-the-Loop" certification standard would require a minimum 45% manual contribution in MTPE workflows, preserving essential skill development[1][4].

Regulatory Evolution

Lawmakers must update evidentiary standards to address AI-translated documents, potentially introducing:

- Algorithmic transparency registers detailing training data sources
- Error rate disclosure requirements per document category
- Third-party validation protocols for mission-critical translations

The EU's proposed Artificial Intelligence Liability Directive offers a template, requiring translation providers to maintain liability insurance proportional to system autonomy levels[4].

AI translation and interpreting in sensitive areas such as immigration or criminal law should be subject to critical thinking appraisal, and no final decision should be made in the absence of a human translator or interpreter (see the case of Carlos – a pseudonym used to protect the identity of a victim of DHS's own CBP Translate who was denied asylum due to unreliable translation that resulted in the separation from his family and his detention in a US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (Ice) detention centre)[59]

Conclusion

The maturation of AI-assisted legal translation presents a dual-edged sword: unprecedented efficiency gains tempered by enduring challenges in accuracy preservation and cognitive sustainability. As evidenced by the CLKG's 3,480 relationship knowledge base and BeringAI's domain-specific architectures, technological advancements continue to narrow the quality gap with human translators. However, the New Mexico and Canadian

regulatory examples highlight irreducible needs for human oversight in high-stakes contexts.

Future success hinges on hybrid frameworks that leverage AI's speed while cultivating translator expertise through deliberate practice ecosystems. By implementing cognitive sustainability metrics and jurisdictional adaptation engines, the legal sector can harness neural technologies without compromising the hermeneutic rigour underlying justice systems worldwide. The path forward requires equal investment in silicon and synapses, i.e. advancing machine capabilities while nurturing the human expertise that remains indispensable in the age of artificial intelligence.

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