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**TRANSLATION STUDIES.
RETROSPECTIVE AND PROSPECTIVE VIEWS**

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Translation Studies: Retrospective and Prospective Views

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8–10 October 2010

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Editors

Elena **CROITORU**
Floriana **POPESCU**
Antoanela Marta **MARDAR**

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This issue includes a selection of the papers presented at the International Conference

Translation Studies: Retrospective and Prospective Views

8–10 October 2010

“Dunarea de Jos” University of Galati, ROMANIA

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p. i

EDITOR'S NOTE

Welcome to the eighth issue of the review of *Translation Studies: Retrospective and Prospective Views*!

Published as a sequel to the 5th edition of the international conference with the same name, which took place between 8 and 9 October, 2010, this issue is intended to bring scientifically sound and original contributions to the attention of the international community of professionals in the fields of translations and translation studies the refined and the peer reviewed contributions of the conference participants. This review actually reflects the format and the objectives of this traditional international event hosted by the Department of English, the Faculty of Letters, "Dunarea de Jos" University of Galati.

The second issue each year is focused on language studies exclusively. The current issue consists of eight contributions whose brief presentations are available in the closing section of paper abstracts or resumes. The issue ends with a book review section.

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 - "Dunarea de Jos" University of Galati for their steady support and dedication during the editing works.

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

Elena CROITORU

Floriana POPESCU

Antoanela Marta MARDAR

LEXICAL COHESION: ASPECTS OF COLLOCATION USING HALLIDAY AND HASAN'S SYSTEMIC MODEL OF COHESION¹

Introduction

Before discussing lexical cohesion it would be useful to define cohesion and point out the differences between cohesion and coherence. Generally, these terms are interchangeable, but there is an important difference between them. Cohesion refers to linguistic devices by which the speaker can signal the experiential and interpersonal coherence of the text, and, as a result, it is a textual phenomenon. On the other hand, coherence is a mental phenomenon and it can not be identified or quantified in the same way as cohesion. However, in most texts they are linked because a language which uses cohesive resources will create a coherent piece of writing.

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976) [1], "cohesion is expressed partly through the grammar and partly through the vocabulary". These are called grammatical cohesion and lexical cohesion. Grammatical cohesion involves grammatical resources, namely grammatical items (conjunctions, reference items, substitute items) and grammatical structure (absence or substitution of elements of structure). Lexical cohesion is expressed by a set of lexico-grammatical systems that use specific resources in order to pass across the boundaries of the clause - that is "the domain of the highest-ranking grammatical unit" [2]. At the level of reference, lexical cohesion is represented by synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy [3] and at the level of wording, by repetitions (reiterations) and collocations.

1. Theoretical background

The linguistic study of the contribution made by inter-sentence groups of related words to text understanding was first carried out by Halliday and Hasan (1976) [4] who set up the concept of 'lexical cohesion'. They consider the lexis as a distinct level within lexicogrammar, concerned with open as opposed to closed system items, making the point that the word and the lexical item were not necessarily co-extensive units; i.e. *round the twist* patterns lexically as a single lexical item agnate to *crazy*, *insane*, but it is composed of three words. Later (1989) [5], they included the concept of 'cohesive harmony'. Cohesive harmony adds lexico-grammatical structure to word-groups by dividing them into two types:

- (i). identify-to-reference word-groups which combine reference and lexical cohesion
- (ii). similarity word-groups which use only classical relations

Cruse (1986) [6] linked these groups together in a tight unit with intra-sentence relations, and discussed the concept of 'pattern of lexical affinities' where intra-sentence relations were called 'syntagmatic affinities' which can create a more-general concept of lexical affinities called 'paradigmatic relations'.

Lexical semantic relations create lexical cohesion, cohesive harmony and the concept of patterns of lexical affinity. Their initial treatment by Halliday and Hasan (1976) is vague

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and general. They took in consideration only the relation between two or more words. More recent works of Halliday and Hasan use only classical relations since the rest are “too intersubjective” [7]. They have analyzed lexical semantic relations out of the context of the text, but have assumed that lexical semantic relations are relevant within it.

In his article *Modes of Meaning*, Firth (1957) [8] discusses the notion of collocation in a wider theoretical framework, pointing out the necessity of studying words together with their collocations, not separately in lexicography.

Sinclair (2004) [9] differentiates between collocation in both a lexicographic sense and a cohesive one. In lexicography the collocated terms are placed right next to the node; they are typically between four and six. In a cohesive sense, since cohesion refers to larger pieces of texts the items are not placed so closely in the text. For example, mind the commentary between *night* and *dark*, used by Firth (1957): if they occur next to each other we deal with a lexicographic collocation, but if they appear separately in a longer text we deal with a cohesion collocation.

2. Lexical cohesion: collocations

The aim of this article is to discuss only collocations within systemic framework without analyzing other lexical cohesions, e.g. reiterations.

According to Halliday and Hasan, collocation is “cohesion that is achieved through the association of lexical items that regularly co-occur” [10]. This general definition of collocation may seem a little vague, but they try to clarify it: the association is achieved when the lexical items have a tendency to appear in similar lexical environments or when they are related lexico-semantically. For example, *boy* and *girl* are cohesive because they have opposite meanings, but *laugh* and *joke*, and *boat* and *row* are also cohesive, although they are not systematically related, only “typically associated with one another”. [11]

As we have mentioned before, collocation is achieved through the association created by the co-occurrence of two lexical items. These items occur in similar environments because they describe things or happenings that take place in similar situations. According to this definition, we can identify three types of collocations: ordered set, activity-related and elaborative collocations.

2.1. Ordered sets

This is the first type of collocation which is the clearest of the three categories and the closest to more systematic reiteration. The category includes members of ordered sets of lexical items, for example, colours, numbers, months, days of the week and so on. Such collocations can be identified relatively easy in texts, but unfortunately they are not very frequent. The collocations in the following examples are written in italics:

(1) The composer nevertheless informs us that “the action takes place *yesterday, today and tomorrow*”, which alone justifies director David Freeman’s updating.

(06 December 1996, *The Times Literary Supplement*)

(2) There was the *violet blue* of the sky, and the *greenish blue* of the soft distance. The colours of *salmon, magenta, orange* and *white* are reflected upon the blue and green waters.

(August, 2009, *Venice: Pure City* by Peter Ackroyd, *The Times*)

(3) Mike: See you on *Sunday*?

Jane: I think so. I’ll be back in town *on Saturday night*. (Daily conversation)

2.2. Activity-related collocations

Activity related collocations discussed by Halliday and Hasan (1976) are more difficult to identify. They are nonsystematic, based only on an association between items and, as a result, they can neither be defined precisely, nor classified systematically. "Consequently, we can not construct watertight rules or models which would always tell us which items are related and which are not". [12] Martin (1992) redefined collocation categories dividing the relations into two: *nuclear* (extending and enhancing) and *activity sequence* relations. Active sequence relations are very difficult because their identification involves a reclassification of taxonomic relations (reiterations). This is why we are concentrating on nuclear relations in this paper. According to Martin (1992) [13], nuclear relations reflect the ways in which actions, people, places, things and qualities configure as activities. The example used by Martin is the relation between *serve* and *ace*.

In our examples we can find pairs such as *spend - money* (4) or *build - houses* (5) in which the relation between the items is based on an activity: we can *spend money* or *build houses*. In classifying such items it may be helpful to think of their associations as resulting from such a relation. Consequently, they are called *activity-related collocations*.

(4) There are only two ways to reduce how much we *spend* on healthcare: either cut services or become more efficient in spending *money*. Clearly, the latter strategy is more appealing than the former.

(04 September 2009, *The Guardian*)

(5) While the homes are intended for low-income individuals, some of the original buyers could not hold on to them. To Mr. Phillips's disappointment, half of the *houses* he has *built* have been lost to foreclosure - the payments ranged from \$99 to \$300 a month.

(03 September 2009, *The New York Times*)

2.3. Elaborative collocations

This is a category of collocations which consist of pairs whose relation is impossible to define more specifically than stating that the items can expand on the same topic. However, the relation is created in a frame which are structures evoked by lexical items. For example, if a text begins with *education*, it evokes the educational frame, and the following items, such as *university* and *teach* are interpreted according to this frame, creating coherence in the text:

(6) *Cambridge* is one of the world's oldest universities and leading academic centres, and a self-governed community of scholars. Cambridge comprises *31 Colleges* and over *150 departments, faculties, schools and other institutions*.

(www.cam.ac.uk)

In this example *Cambridge* evokes the university frame, and *31 Colleges, 150 departments, faculties, schools and other institutions* can be interpreted within this frame. As a result, frames create a general basis for coherence, but they are conceptual, they are not visible at the surface of a text. In their turn, these frames are related to another concept named 'trigger' which establishes the relation between items and can be observed in the text. A trigger is usually a repetition of the previous item and it can be used to clarify the associations between the item and its repetition [14]. If there is no relation between the item and its repetition, the result would not be satisfying. Consequently, a 'trigger-test' can be helpful in verifying some elaborative collocations.

In some cases, the relation between the trigger and the associate items can be dependent on specific knowledge rather than on general knowledge [15]. However, regardless of which knowledge is required, shared or specific, both the speaker and the listener have to be aware of the association.

The producer of the text has to evaluate the communicative situation and decide whether the trigger and the associates will be clearly understood by the listener, so that the listener would be able to identify the association. The evaluation of the situation must involve a consideration of the listener's knowledge of the text and of the context. If the listener fails to understand the relation between the trigger and the associates the collocation will not be noticed. At the same time, the receiver can not assume a passive role; on the contrary he has to negotiate the relation between the trigger and the associates in order to identify this relation.

The producer of the text must evaluate correctly the listener's ability to identify the relation, and the listener has to receive the signals from the producer of the text, namely the triggers. Halliday (1976) [16] defines the collaboration between the producer and the listener *collaborative knowledge* which tells the communicators how to keep the communicative process going.

Elaborative collocations are difficult to analyse because this type of relations are not as numerous as any other types of relations, but sometimes they can become significant in texts, and if we do not analyse these relations we will not be able to fully understand the importance of lexical cohesion in texts.

Conclusions

The main problem in separating collocations from other means of embodying lexical cohesion consists in the fact that they do not depend on any general semantic relationships, but rather on a particular association between the words we analyse a tendency to co-occur. In this paper we have classified collocations according to their most important features. Firstly, there is a semantic basis between the words that form a collocation; at the same time the relationship between them is a direct association between these words, and secondly, collocations are specifically associated with a particular register or functional variety of the language.

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GRAMMAIRE CONTRASTIVE ET TRADUCTION¹

Ayant comme but de réaliser la confluence entre deux cultures synchroniques ou distancées dans le temps, la traduction arrive à couvrir deux (ou plusieurs) paradigmes de l'expérience humaine et du langage qui diffèrent plus ou moins radicalement d'une situation à l'autre. Voilà pourquoi la transposition d'une œuvre littéraire dans une autre langue doit recourir aussi à une analyse linguistique et discursive approfondie. La démarche du traducteur ne peut être tracée que dans ses lignes générales au-delà desquelles interviennent son talent, sa sensibilité et finalement ses choix.

La traduction permet de dégager les opérations qui sous-tendent l'activité langagière et la manière dont celles-ci s'actualisent dans les deux langues visées. Il s'agit en fait d'opérations qui, au niveau de la mise en texte, déclenchent, dans la structure de profondeur, le jeu complexe des catégories grammaticales et de la référence.

En dépit du fait que certains critiques nient le statut du référent lorsqu'il s'agit de textes littéraires, nous soutenons, en accord avec d'autres, que nous ne pouvons concevoir de langage sans référence, comme nous ne pouvons imaginer de langage sans construction. La mise en texte littéraire a ses propres lois et ses domaines de référence caractéristiques : elle expose soit des situations extralinguistiques soit des situations imaginées qui n'existent qu'à partir du langage qui les a créées.

Le point de départ dans cette réflexion a été donné par l'activité de traduction avec nos étudiants en licence et surtout en master, au bout de laquelle nous avons fait quelques observations générales : toutes les fautes prévues pour l'évaluation dans le barème de correction n'ont pas été commises, mais par contre il y en avait d'autres que nous n'avions même pas prévues ; les traductions avaient peu de fautes de grammaire et pourtant cela ne passait pas dans la langue d'arrivée ; l'apparition des mêmes fautes, aux mêmes endroits était loin d'être arbitraire.

Une fois ces conclusions cernées, nous nous sommes proposé d'étudier, dans une perspective contrastive, un nombre de phénomènes linguistiques qui apparaissent dans les traductions littéraires de notoriété du français en anglais et de les soumettre au jugement de nos étudiants. Pour cela nous avons pris comme corpus une œuvre littéraire française classique, *Bouvard et Pécuchet* (début du Chapitre IV) de Gustave Flaubert dans la traduction en anglais réalisée par Alban J. Krailsheimer [1] et celle de Thierry Alberto et Henry Craig [2]. Le choix que nous avons fait sur le corpus est motivé par la notoriété de la langue et du style de Flaubert qui a dû imposer aux traducteurs des exigences comparables.

Au niveau du texte que nous nous sommes proposé d'analyser, nous avons répertorié une suite de structures syntaxiques récurrentes, tant dans la langue de départ que

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dans la langue d'arrivée. En lignes générales, ces structures tenaient à l'ordonnement des informations dans la présentation et donc dans la référence, à leur agencement et actualisation, à la présence, à l'absence ou à l'introduction des syntagmes verbaux, aux types de formes verbales (repère ou repérée), etc. Cette recherche nous a permis aussi de mettre en évidence les relations particulières qui entrent en jeu dans les deux langues entre l'énonciateur, l'énoncé et le domaine référentiel.

A l'intérieur même du domaine linguistique dans lequel nous avons situé notre étude, certains contrastes morphosyntaxiques et sémantiques se sont avérés plus fréquents (et donc constitutifs des deux langues) que d'autres que l'on a pu considérer plutôt comme accidentels. Une fois notre dépouillement terminé, nous avons procédé à un classement basé sur les réalisations de surface. Les lignes directrices s'en sont rapidement dégagées : le premier critère a été la fréquence des phénomènes, moyen de contrôle qui nous a paru pertinent.

La spécificité du domaine contrastif fait que telle structure syntaxique ou forme verbale relativement courante dans une langue puisse s'avérer être d'un emploi assez restreint, dans une autre. Mais il ne suffit pas de faire des statistiques sur la fréquence de tels phénomènes dans chacune des deux langues en miroir. Par contre, il faut toujours tenir compte des conditions dans lesquelles ils apparaissent et aussi des co(n)textes : une même réalisation de surface pourra être plus fréquente tantôt dans la langue de départ, tantôt dans la langue d'arrivée, sans pour autant entrer en contradiction. C'est pourquoi il faut les considérer dans leur inter-relation.

Comme les critères scientifiques sont difficiles à déterminer dans les fins détails de la traduction, notre analyse a visé surtout les cas récurrents que nous avons essayé de systématiser le mieux possible : au niveau du GN, au niveau du GV, au niveau des constituants de phrase, au niveau stylistique, au niveau culturel. Le tableau qui suit présente la structure des groupes nominaux dans les deux langues¹.

1. (fr.) GN = Pdt + N + Dt → (angl.) GN = Pdt + Dt + N

<i>le mur en face</i>	→ <i>the opposite wall</i>
<i>pièce unique</i>	→ <i>a unique piece</i>
<i>l'arbre généalogique</i>	→ <i>the genealogical tree</i>
<i>la bouche béante</i>	→ <i>(his...) gaping mouth</i>
<i>en costume Louis XV</i>	→ <i>in Louis XV costume</i>
<i>la famille Croixmare</i>	→ <i>Croixmare family</i>
<i>tuiles rouges</i>	→ <i>red tiles</i>
<i>lettres blanches</i>	→ <i>white letters</i>
<i>sa tiare très jaune</i>	→ <i>his bright yellow tiara</i>
	→ <i>his tiara very yellow</i>
<i>fond chocolat</i>	→ <i>chocolate background</i>
	→ <i>a chocolate ground</i>
<i>le nez de travers et en trompète</i>	→ <i>a crooked, turned-up nose</i>
	→ <i>a crooked nose shaped like a trumpet</i>
<i>sa main couverte d'un gant</i>	→ <i>his gloved hand</i>
	→ <i>His right hand, covered with a glove</i>
<i>un sombrero en feutre noir</i>	→ <i>a black felt sombrero</i>
	→ <i>a sombrero of black felt</i>
<i>une commode en coquillages</i>	→ <i>a chest of drawers made of shells</i>
	→ <i>a shell chest of drawers</i>
<i>un fauteuil en tapisserie</i>	→ <i>a tapestry chair</i>
	→ <i>an upholstered armchair</i>

<i>un tonneau de faïence</i>	→ <i>an earthenware barrel</i> → <i>an earthenware cask</i>
<i>corbeille de paille</i>	→ <i>straw basket</i>
<i>avec des ornements de peluche</i>	→ <i>with plush ornaments</i> → <i>trimmed with plush</i>
<i>une boîte à ouvrage</i>	→ <i>a work-box</i>
<i>un pot à beurre</i>	→ <i>a butter jar</i> → <i>a butter-pot</i>
<i>l'embrasure de la fenêtre</i>	→ <i>the window embrasure</i> → <i>the embrasure of the window</i>
<i>un bonnet de Cauchoise</i>	→ <i>a bonnet from Caux</i> → <i>a Cauchoise cap</i>
<i>un pot de beurre portant ces mots</i>	→ <i>a butter jar, with these words</i> → <i>a butter-pot bearing these words</i>

Les exceptions sont rares et tiennent soit à la structure du français qui pour certains adjectifs exige, pour des raisons sémantiques ou d'usage, une position anténominale :

<i>les anciens livres</i>	→ <i>the old books,</i>
<i>un vieux tapis</i>	→ <i>an old carpet,</i>
<i>de gros yeux ronds</i>	→ <i>great round eyes / big round eyes,</i>

soit à l'anglais comme dans cette structure génitive caractéristique à cette langue :

la chambre de Bouvard → *Bouvard's room.*

Parfois, un déterminant purement nominal est transposé par une structure à adjectif verbal à sens passif :

une boîte à ouvrage en coquilles → *a work-box also made from shells / a work-box, also of shell work;*

clef [...] de couleur vert pomme → *key [...] coloured apple-green / of apple-green colour.*

Au niveau du GV / GPréd, nous avons décelé plusieurs situations récurrentes :

2. (fr.) GV \emptyset → (angl.) GV

Le complément circonstanciel exprimé par un gérondif, forme verbale non finie, repérée par rapport au verbe principal est rendue dans la variante de Krailsheimer par une subordonnée circonstancielle de temps à verbe fini (forme verbale repère, indépendante) :

*ceux qu'**en arrivant** ils avaient découvert dans une armoire* → *and those they had discovered in a cupboard **when they arrived***

Notons que la seconde variante respecte le GV \emptyset : → *those which, **on their arrival**, they had found in a press.*

Le déterminant adjectival de *tiare*, résultat de l'ellipse du verbe copule *être*, a été traduit en anglais par un prédicat explicite.

*Sa tiare très jaune, **pointue** comme une pagode*

→ *his bright yellow tiara **was pointed** like a pagoda / his tiara very yellow, **pointed** like a pagoda*

3. (fr.) Phrase à verbe fini → (angl.) GAdv

Cette fois-ci, le texte de départ n'a été respecté que par Thierry Alberto et Henry Craig qui ont rendu effectivement l'aspect itinératif. Krailsheimer, par contre a préféré une réduction marquant le résultat de l'action :

*quand **avait franchi** le seuil* → *just inside*

la seconde chambre, où l'on descendait par deux marches → *the second room, two steps down*
As soon as you crossed the threshold

4. (fr.) Phrase à verbe fini → (angl.) Dt adjectival (à sens passif)

Sa chasuble, que des fleurs de lis agrémentaient → *His chasuble, decorated with fleurs-de-lis*

5. (fr.) SV (verbe non fini) → (angl.) SV (verbe fini)

Deux noix de coco (appartenant à Pécuchet...) → *Two coconuts (Pécuchet had had ...)*

En général, nous avons remarqué deux tendances – soit le traducteur s'est rangé du côté de Flaubert, pour rendre son style de la façon la plus adéquate (comme dans le cas des deux co-traducteurs), soit il a sacrifié le style de Flaubert au profit des tendances stylistiques dominantes dans sa langue ou tout simplement parce qu'il a fait un choix. Dans cette seconde catégorie, nous avons remarqué le fait que la « vision avec » caractéristique à la narration flaubertienne a été annulée par le traducteur Krailsheimer presque systématiquement :

Sur des planchettes tout autour, on voyait des flambeaux → *on shelves all around stood torches* ;

Devant la bibliothèque se carrait une commode en coquillages, avec des ornements de peluche
→ *in front of the library stood a chest of drawers made of shells, with plush ornaments* ;

La carcasse d'un bonnet de Cauchoise → *the frame of a bonnet of Caux*;

6. Différences concernant la façon de présenter les référents :

Une vieille poutre de bois se dressait dans le vestibule.

→ *An old wooden beam stood in the vestibule.*

→ *In the vestibule stood an old wooden beam.*

Les points de vues des traducteurs privilégient soit la structure canonique S + V + Circ., soit la structure qui place le circonstant en antéposition. À partir de cet exemple et du suivant, nous pouvons observer à l'œil libre que Thierry Alberto et Henry Craig préfèrent respecter la topique du texte de base qu'ils suivent de près, alors qu'Alban J. Krailsheimer prend plus de libertés synthétisant l'expression, utilisant des formes verbales repérées, non prédicatives, présentant les référents dans un ordre différent, comme dans l'exemple suivant :

Ils avaient décroché la porte entre les deux chambres où ils ne couchaient pas et condamné l'entrée extérieure de la seconde, pour ne faire de ces deux pièces qu'un même appartement.

→ *They had taken out the connecting door between the two spare bedrooms and blocked the outside entrance to the second to make the two rooms into one.*

→ *They had taken off its hinges the door between the two rooms in which they did not sleep, and had condemned the outer door of the second in order to convert both into a single apartment.*

7. Différences concernant le jeu subtil des diathèses verbales : Alban J. Krailsheimer, par l'emploi de la diathèse active, met en évidence l'agent, alors que Thierry Alberto et Henry Craig, par l'emploi de la diathèse passive, choisissent de mettre sur le premier plan le patient :

Les spécimens de géologie encombraient l'escalier ; et une chaîne énorme s'étendait par terre tout le long du corridor.

- **Geological specimens** cluttered up the staircase, and an enormous chain stretched along the floor for the whole length of the corridor.
- **The staircase** was encumbered with the geological specimens, and an enormous chain was stretched on the ground all along the corridor.
Le sol disparaissait sous des tessons de tuiles rouges.
- **Shards of red tiles** hid the floor.
- *The floor was rendered invisible beneath* **fragments of red tiles**.

La traduction de Thierry Alberto et Henry Craig est incontestablement plus élaborée et garde la vision itinérante du narrateur qui accompagne ses personnages et son lecteur dans l'univers qui fait l'objet de la description. Alban J. Krailsheimer réduit la phrase transformant une circonstancielle complexe (de type locatif et spatial en même temps), en complément circonstanciel de lieu. C'est appauvrissant et ce choix de traduction élimine un effet stylistique flaubertien bien connu : pour le lecteur de Flaubert, quel qu'il soit, la description se repère en général de manière visuelle, parce que celui-ci s'attend à ce que ce fragment de texte lui montre un lieu, un décor, un personnage. En ce sens la description peut être considérée comme l'une des modalités du récit romanesque, à la fois comparable et opposable à d'autres telles que le dialogue ou le monologue. Plus schématiquement encore, le décrit s'oppose au récit, la description se démarque de la narration, ou, si l'on veut encore, sa finalité représentative (*mimèse*) la distingue du flux même du récit (*diégèse*). Dans l'exemple analysé nous voyons la description déborder à l'évidence ces espaces isolés que sont les paragraphes descriptifs pour s'insinuer dans le champ même de la narration.

Ce qu'il faut préciser à ce point c'est la notion fluctuante du point de vue. Qui voit ? Qui décrit ? L'auteur, le personnage, le narrateur, le lecteur lui-même comme dans ce cas ? Si on relisait le fragment discuté dans son intégralité, on observerait l'aspect fluctuant de la notion de point de vue, son ambiguïté dans ce texte descriptif, toute rassemblée dans l'utilisation inédite que fait Flaubert du pronom *on* traduit dans un texte par *one* et dans l'autre, par *you* à valeur généralisante :

- Quand on avait franchi le seuil, on se heurtait à une auge de pierre (un sarcophage gallo-romain), puis les yeux étaient frappés par la quincaillerie.*
- *Just inside one bumped into a stone trough (a Gallo-Roman sarcophagus), then a display of ironmongery caught the eye.*
- *As soon as you crossed the threshold, you came in contact with a stone trough (a Gallo-Roman sarcophagus); the ironwork next attracted your attention.*

8. Différences dans le type de description résultées à la suite de la traduction

Un autre facteur de perturbation dans la description est constitué par les interférences constantes entre le temps du récit et le temps de la description. Si Balzac se plaît souvent à isoler de longs prologues descriptifs, on voit chez Flaubert la description participer du temps même du récit jusqu'à faire corps avec lui, jusqu'à devenir parfois le récit lui-même. Dans l'exemple qui suit, nous retrouvons le même traducteur simplificateur et réductionniste dans le premier cas (phrase elliptique de prédicat), et dans le second, les traducteurs minutieux, attentifs à ce que le texte et son auteur veulent dire ou montrer (phrase entière, respectant le point de vue du narrateur ainsi que l'ordonnement des informations du texte source) :

- Contre le mur en face, une bassinoire dominait deux chenets et une plaque de foyer qui représentait un moine caressant une bergère.*
- *Against the opposite wall a warming-pan rose above two fire-dogs and a hearth-plate representing a monk fondling a shepherdess.*

→ *Fixed to the opposite wall, a warming-pan looked down on two andirons and a hearth plate representing a monk caressing a shepherdess.*

Dans le roman moderne, le temps de la description est rarement un « temps inutile », où rien ne se passerait. Et si le roman contemporain (depuis Sartre et les « nouveaux romanciers ») privilégie de plus en plus l'emploi du présent, c'est qu'il est bien le temps où s'effectue le plus naturellement la conjonction du temps de la narration et de celui de la description. Cette remarque sur le roman contemporain se justifie d'autant plus que l'on peut observer une évolution en quatre temps de la fonction de la description : une fonction ornementale, considérée comme un effet de style (chez les « anciens »), une fonction symbolique (chez Balzac) une fonction narrative (comme si la description envahissait tout le champ du récit, chez Flaubert), une fonction d'opposition et de destruction de la reproduction (chez les « nouveaux romanciers »).

Dans l'exemple ci-dessous, la différence entre les diathèses passive et active fait que la première variante de traduction - appartenant à Krailsheimer - réduit la description à sa fonction ornementale alors que la seconde garde tout son pouvoir narratif.

Soulignons entre autre la transposition malheureuse de *un bonnet de Cauchoise* par *a bonnet from Caux* (chez Krailsheimer) qui, n'en retenant que la provenance de l'objet, prive le lecteur de toute la connotation culturelle contenue dans le texte flaubertien.

Une table au milieu exhibait les curiosités les plus rares: la carcasse d'un bonnet de Cauchoise, deux urnes d'argile, des médailles, une fiole de verre opalin.

→ *On a table in the middle were exhibited the rarest curiosities: the frame of a bonnet from Caux, two clay urns, some medals, a phial of opaline glass.*

→ *A table in the centre exhibited curiosities of the rarest description: the shell of a Cauchoise cap, two argil urns, medals, and a phial of opaline glass.*

La même impression de traduction négligente avec l'occultation de la phrase au profit de l'expression brève, sans verbe fini, percutante, mais peu attentive au style de la description flaubertienne, nous la retrouvons toujours sous la traduction de Krailsheimer :

La seconde chambre, où l'on descendait par deux marches, renfermait les anciens livres apportés de Paris, et ceux qu'en arrivant ils avaient découverts dans une armoire.

→ *The second room, two steps down, contained the old books brought from Paris, and those they had discovered in a cupboard when they arrived.*

→ *The second room, into which two steps led down, contained the old books which they had brought with them from Paris, and those which, on their arrival, they had found in a press.*

Dans une démarche pareille, nous ne nous étonnons pas de trouver deux phrases distinctes combinées dans une phrase complexe où l'utilisation de la coordination conjonctive enlève à la deuxième phrase, *Ils l'appelaient la bibliothèque*, sa propriété de faire voir le point de vue ironique du narrateur et le petit clin d'œil de Flaubert lui-même.

Les vantaux en étaient retirés. Ils l'appelaient la bibliothèque.

→ *They had taken off the doors and called it the library.*

→ *The leaves of the folding-doors had been removed hither. They called it the library.*

Remarquons encore le soin pour l'expression appropriée, pour la variante synonymique (*library/ bookcase*) la plus convenable dans le contexte pratiqué par les deux traducteurs, Thierry Alberto et Henry Craig ainsi que la différence stylistique entre une

transposition neutre (*with plush ornaments*) et une transposition nuancée, plus suggestive et plus consistante (*trimmed with plush*) :

Devant la bibliothèque se carrait une commode en coquillages, avec des ornements de peluche.
→ *In front of the library stood a chest of drawers made of shells, with plush ornaments.*
→ *In front of the bookcase stood a shell chest of drawers trimmed with plush.*

9. Le choix du traducteur

Parfois, si les langues ne posent pas de problèmes de contrastivité, les traducteurs jouent sur la topique, mais sans obtenir d'effets importants. L'ordre des mots dans les deux traductions n'a à la base aucune impossibilité, aucune solution dictée par le système de la langue d'arrivée. C'est seulement le choix des traducteurs qui fait que l'attribut soit mentionné avant ou après le locatif spatial :

Mais le plus beau, c'était, dans l'embrasure de la fenêtre, une statue de Saint-Pierre !
→ *But the best of all was in the window embrasure, a statue of St Peter!*
→ *But the finest thing was a statue of St. Peter in the embrasure of the window.*

Dans la phrase suivante, le génitif du texte source (*la clef du Paradis*) n'est pas respecté dans le cas de Krailsheimer qui le traduit par un accusatif qui ne se justifie pas (*the key to Paradise*) :

Sa main droite couverte d'un gant serrait la clef du Paradis, de couleur vert pomme.
→ *His gloved hand clutched the key to Paradise, coloured apple-green.*
→ *His right hand, covered with a glove of apple-green colour, was pressing the key of Paradise.*

10. La paraphrase interlinguale

Parfois entre l'unité source et l'unité cible il y a des rapports d'inégalité. C'est le cas de la paraphrase interlinguale qui intervient là où la langue d'arrivée enregistre des lacunes par rapport à la langue source. L'information portée dans cette dernière par une seule unité (*nez...en trompette*) est transposée dans la langue d'arrivée par plusieurs unités (*a crooked nose shaped like a trumpet* – dans la seconde traduction) :

Il avait les joues fardées, de gros yeux ronds, la bouche béante, le nez de travers et en trompette.
→ *His cheeks were rouged; he had great round eyes, gaping mouth and a crooked, turned-up nose.*
→ *He had flabby cheeks, big round eyes, a gaping mouth, and a crooked nose shaped like a trumpet.*

Dans d'autres cas, l'unité (*Pécuchet, de son lit, apercevait tout cela en enfilade*) est étouffée par une intervention explicite ou, comme dans notre cas, implicite du traducteur (*From his bed Pécuchet could see all this in enfilade*). L'introduction du modalisateur *could* est un ajout de Krailsheimer que les deux autres traducteurs n'adoptent pas (*Pécuchet, from his bed, saw all these things in a row*) :

Pécuchet, de son lit, apercevait tout cela en enfilade, et parfois même il allait jusque dans la chambre de Bouvard, pour allonger la perspective.
→ *From his bed Pécuchet could see all this in enfilade and sometimes he even went into Bouvard's room to extend the perspective.*

→ *Pécuchet, from his bed, saw all these things in a row, and sometimes he went as far as Bouvard's room to lengthen the perspective.*

Conclusions

Arrivée au terme de cette analyse, nous pouvons conclure que les contrastes entre les deux systèmes linguistiques (français et anglais) obligent les traducteurs à faire des choix qui ont le rôle d'adapter la langue d'arrivée pour qu'elle puisse exprimer au mieux ce que l'auteur du texte de départ a voulu dire. Ces contraintes relevant de la contrastivité entre les deux systèmes linguistiques appellent donc la nécessité de mettre en marche des stratégies traductives appropriées. C'est pourquoi nous avons trouvé important de discuter l'acte traductif en miroir et les risques auxquels le traducteur s'expose dans chaque cas.

Par conséquent, le rapport entre l'analyse contrastive et la traduction est très étroit car l'acte de traduction ne se joue pas entre deux textes, mais entre deux langues. C'est pourquoi l'article s'est efforcé de montrer le parti que l'on peut tirer d'un commentaire systématique de textes bilingues surtout quand ils jouissent de deux traductions comme dans l'analyse présentée.

NOTES

1. Les variantes de traduction sont données soit dans l'ordre : 1) Alban J. Krailsheimer et 2) Thierry Alberto & Henry Craig; soit en une seule variante quand les deux traductions coïncident.

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4 LUNI, 3 SĂPTĂMÂNI, 2 ZILE. THE CHALLENGES OF SUBTITLING¹

Introduction

Postmodernism is said to describe the emergence of a social order in which the importance and power of the mass media and popular culture mean that they govern and shape all other forms of social relationship. The idea is that popular cultural signs and media images increasingly dominate our sense of reality and the way we define ourselves and the world around us. It tries to come to terms with, and understand, a media-saturated society.

Important transformations are now taking place in the information and communications media as a result of new technological forms of delivery. One is witnessing the reorganisation of image spaces and information and the creation of a new communications map, defined by international connections and common ground for the flood of information. "Our senses of space and place are all being significantly reconfigured". [1] Doreen Massey has argued that places themselves should no longer be seen as internally identical, bordered areas, but as "spaces of interaction in which local identities are constructed out of resources (both material and symbolic) which may well not be at all local in their origin, but are none the less 'authentic' ". [2]

1. Mass Media Boom

Mass media help break down distance between the macrosocial and the microsocial, between the global and the local. Influenced by authorities, orientations, or local conditions, they enter into our homes 'contaminating' what was private. By expressing particular ideological perspectives and by relating them to sources of power and contemporary institutions, the mass media help shape and regulate social reality by structuring some of their audiences' most common and important experiences. The mass media may even initiate organized social action by 'exposing' conditions which are at variance with public moralities as an enforcement of social norms.

However, the contact with this flood of information functions as a narcotic rather than as a stimulant for the average reader or listener. As an increasing need of time is devoted to reading and listening, organized action becomes a less important aspect of one's everyday existence. In short, the individual takes this secondary contact with the world as a vivid performance. "He comes to mistake knowing about problems of the day for doing something about them". [3] Thus, this vast supply of communications may call forth only a superficial concern regarding the problems of society, and this superficiality often hides mass indifference.

"Isn't the real threat of 'mass culture' – of things like television rather than things like football and the circus – that it reduces us to an endlessly mixed,

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undiscriminating, fundamentally bored reaction? The spirit of everything, art and entertainment, can become so standardized that we have no absorbed interest in anything, but simply an indifferent acceptance. You're not exactly enjoying it, or paying any particular attention, but it's passing the time". [4]

That the mass media have lifted the level of information of large populations is evident. Yet, increasing dosages of mass communications may be unconsciously transforming the energies of man from active participation into passive knowledge. Being a "speech without response", as Baudrillard characterized them, the mass media make any process of exchange impossible, thus turning into a system of social control and power. [5]

Despite the concerns many people have about them, the mass media are among the most powerful authorities of modern day. The vast majority of people say they trust television more than any other source of information. Television wins the credibility contest because it is visual, immediate, and convenient. In an era in which our experiences are rooted in the process of consumption, and not that of production, television not only constructs identity, but also becomes a means of expressing it. Feeding on our needs, be them false or genuine, the mass media – the television in particular – leave the impression that anything can be possible, that perfection can be achieved. In a competitive world it is not enough to be ordinary and we are all encouraged to approach more nearly the ideal of youthful bodily perfection, or that of intellectual excellence in order to give ourselves added market value.

What better way to reflect the other's desire, to reflect its demand like a mirror than through images? Images push their way into the fabric of our social lives. They enter into how we look, how we think, and they are still with us in our everyday domestic activity. If an image is worth a thousand words, how much more valuable are the film's hundreds of shots as they interweave with phonetic sound, written materials, and music? It is because of its heterogeneous matter of expression that the film grows to be a precise medium for conveying thoughts and feelings.

Is cinema art or merely a mechanical recorder of visual phenomena? Looking back at the original names given to the cinema, one can almost witness the development of this medium.

"Biograph" and "animatograph" emphasize the recording of life itself. "Vitascope" and "Bioscope" emphasize the looking at life, and thus shift emphasis from recording life to the spectator and scopophilia (the desire to look). "Cronophotographe" stresses the writing of time, while "Kinetoscope" stresses the visual observation of movement. "Scenarograph" emphasizes the recording of stories or scenes, calling attention both to décor and to the stories that take place within that décor, and thus privileges a narrative cinema. "Cinematographe", and later "cinema", call attention to the transcription of movement." [6]

Although seen as being essentially visual, because it mimics our mental constructions of life, and the way our consciousness shapes the world, the film 'touches' deeper aspects of our inner world, such as emotion, attention, and imagination.

Nevertheless, in the long view, the history of film should be seen as following the growth of nationalism, where cinema was used as an essential instrument for projecting national imaginaries. It must also be seen in relation to colonialism, where the cinema combined narrative and spectacle to tell the story from the colonizer's perspective. In the hands of the leading imperialist countries, cinema was a powerful means of control which idealized the colonial enterprise as a philanthropic civilizing mission.

Nowadays, although the cinema is seen as a way of entertaining the masses, of keeping people abreast of what is going on outside their homes, we fail to notice that, like any mass media, it 'injects' certain values, ideas, even feelings and reactions. Speculating on the conscious and unconscious state of the millions towards which they are directed, the cinematic representations are social constructions rather than value-neutral reflections of the 'real' world. But, as Annette Kuhn argues, "meanings do not reside in images: they are circulated between representation, spectator and social formation". [7]

2. Film Translation

Along with the development of the film industry, the problem of translation began taking shape. In the times of silent movies, translation was relatively easy to conduct: the so-called intertitles interrupted the course of a film every couple of minutes, so the target language titles could easily be translated and inserted in place of the original ones.

The problem arose with the appearance of 'talkies' in the late 1920s. At first, American film companies tried to solve it by producing the same film (using the same set and scenario, but different directors and actors) in various language versions, which turned out to be unprofitable. The studios that had been built in France for this purpose began to produce dubbed versions of films instead.

The wide gap between larger and smaller countries, created by the difficulty of smaller countries to export their productions, was to be reflected later in the choice of the film translation mode. In the main, two basic approaches to the translation of the spoken language of the original programme have developed: to retain it as spoken or to change it into written text. In the first instance the original dialogue is replaced by a new soundtrack in the target language in a process generally known as revoicing. The replacement may be total, whereby we do not hear the original, as in lip sync dubbing and narration, or partial, when the original soundtrack can still be heard in the background, as in voice-over and interpreting.

When the decision has been taken to keep the original soundtrack and to switch from the spoken to the written mode, by adding text to the screen, the technique is known as subtitling. Quicker and a lot cheaper than dubbing, it has recently become the favored translation mode in the media world. Sometimes referred to as captions, subtitles usually consist of one or two lines of an average maximum length of 35 characters. As a rule, subtitles are placed at the bottom of the frame and are either centered or left-aligned.

According to Henrik Gottlieb, there is a definite communicative state corresponding to each translation. A difference must be made between monosemiotic texts which use only one medium of expression easily controlled by the translator, and polysemiotic texts, where the translator is held back by the communicative channel: visual or auditory. "If the translation uses the same channel – or set of channels – as the original, the result is an isosemiotic translation; where it uses different channels the result is referred to as a diasemiatic translation". [8]

When looking at subtitling from the point of view of translation, there are many constraints that will affect the translation in question and cause the translator to modify the source text to a certain degree. Nevertheless, the translation for subtitles should always accomplish its function within this polysemiotic environment. While both channels – verbal and visual – may help communicate the sequence of events, they may also act as a constraint. Although the realism of the original discourse can be savored by the audience at any time, they are overwhelmed by the flood of information.

3. The case of *4 Months, 3 Weeks, 2 Days*

The text under focus in the present study comprises the subtitled version in English of the Romanian 113 minute film *4 Months, 3 Weeks, 2 Days*, directed by Cristian Mungiu in

2007. The analysis is mainly related to the constraints the subtitler witnesses when translating an audiovisual programme. Although the rules and principles that a subtitler should obey are countless, I only dealt with the general problems that one may observe while watching a movie.

Subtitles are said to be most successful when not noticed by the viewer. For this to be achieved, they need to comply with certain levels of readability and be as concise as necessary in order not to distract the viewer's attention from the programme. The technical spatial and temporal constraints of audiovisual programmes relate directly to the format of subtitles. Thus, in the limited space allowed for a subtitle there is no room for long explanations. The length of a subtitle is directly related to its on-air time. Accurate in and out timing is very important and the text in the subtitles should always be in balance with the appropriate reading time setting. No matter how perfect a subtitle is in terms of format and content, it will always fail to be successful if viewers do not have enough time to read it.

As legibility and readability are two main factors relevant to achieving successful subtitling, strategies have been developed in order to provide suitable guidelines for subtitlers. When it comes to legibility, subtitlers must pay attention to timing and the appearance of the subtitles (from the font of the subtitles, and the colour to the length of the lines and punctuation). Obviously, the translator must consider ways to present the text so that it is readable, focusing on constraints such as reading speed and genre, but also bearing in mind the ever-present problems of space availability on the screen, that of the length of time, the frame changes and all the other limitations on their translation abilities. One of the techniques used to achieve readability is that of reduction. This can be obtained by simply using fewer words to render the same meaning.

Example 1:

- Faceți rost? Deci veniți la mine și vă rugați că v-a costat hotelul cu 100 de lei mai mult și acum faceți rost de două, trei mii de lei așa...	- Really? You complain to me about the hotel and now you can get 2-3 thousand just like that?
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Since two lines of texts are usually the norm, and the average number of characters per line is 35, this fragment is an example of how reduction works. Nevertheless, there is no meaning loss. Thus, the adverb “really” retains the original purpose of the sentence – that of doubt and distrust – which was obtained in the source text by partial repetition of the previous sentence, and by intonation. Moreover, the fragment “că v-a costat hotelul cu 100 de lei mai mult” was simply translated as “the hotel”, just like the verbs “veniți” and “vă rugați” have been changed to “complain”.

Example 2:

Știți că de la patru luni încolo e altă încadrare? Nu te mai bagă la avort. Te bagă la omor. Și e de la cinci la zece ani.	After four months it's no longer called abortion; it's homicide. Five to ten years!
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The differences in punctuation between the script and the subtitles come from the need to condense the text. Thus, after merging the lines in the suggested translation, punctuation has been changed so as to maintain the meaning of the text. The idea that the speaker has emphasized through intonation should also be marked in the written text (“Și e de la cinci la 10 ani.” – “Five to ten years!”). Moreover, the translator should pay careful attention to the way numbers are written. Cinema tradition dictates that numbers up to twelve have to be written in words, while large numbers should be grouped in three's, without the use of points or commas which can be difficult to distinguish.

Simpler syntactic structures tend to be both shorter and easier to understand than complex syntactic structures and should, therefore, be preferred, provided that a fine balance is achieved between semantic aspects and pragmatic aspects (maintaining the function of the original).

Example 3:

Îmi place, pe tine te-a prezentat cardiolog. Și pe mine m-a lăsat la doctori.	So you're a cardiologist, while I'm just a doctor!
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Most spoken language is ephemeral in the sense that it is there one minute and gone the next. It is tied to the context in which it is produced. It consists of all the hesitations, repetitions and reformulations that are missing from the written mode. Some of them may be discarded without affecting the message of the film, since they are of little if any informational value. Thus, although the verbs “îmi place” and “te-a prezentat” were translated by the contracted version “you’re”, the semantic load of the original was maintained by the use of the exclamation mark.

Subtitles leave no room for footnotes to explain the connotations of a particular phrase or term. It will often be necessary to be more explicit in the subtitles, since what is common knowledge in the country for which a film was originally made may not be so well known abroad. In order for the references to be understood, subtitles will sometimes have to depart from the original in a way that would be inadmissible in other contexts.

Example 4:

Și cu 10.50 găsești acum. Eu am un student care are 10 pe linie până în anul 6 și cu 50 de sutimi de la ASC, 10.50.	Even with 10.50. I have a student who graduates with 10.50 after receiving 0.50 from the Party.
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This would be a perfect example for the need of flexibility on the part of the subtitler. Not only does he have to know what to acronym “ASC” (Asociatia Studentilor Comunisti) stands for, but he has to provide a translation that would not alter the meaning or interfere with the space limit. Therefore, the syntagm “the Party” came as a simplified version of the over lengthy “Union of the Communist Students”.

Another form of reduction is to merge sentences together or to simplify the syntactical structure of the spoken sentence. This may well be a process that is imposed on the translator by the structure of the foreign language into which they are translating. But equally such sentences may represent a stylistic way of speaking, which would need to be rendered in the foreign language.

Example 5:

- Băi, deci tu mie nu-mi propui nimic, da? Tu vii la mine și mă rogi ceva. Eu ți-am spus că da, te ajut și ți-am explicat în ce condiții.	- You can't suggest anything, got it? You came to me for help and I agreed to do it under some conditions.
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Thus, the last two sentences from the example given were merged in order to achieve readability and to allow the subtitler to work within the constraints. Clearly, the more natural a conversation is, the more likely it is for extra utterances or redundant expressions to occur and, as such, the translator will always be in a position of having to summarise the conversation.

The subtitler can take advantage of the visual element linked to the subtitles in order to delete certain parts of the dialogue that are, by and large, redundant. “Any information which may be gleaned from the actor’s performance ought not to be reproduced in the text”. [9]

Example 6:

Acvariul ăsta, așa ți l-a dat Marius?	Was it like this when Marius gave it to you?
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In the above-mentioned example, part of the dialogue has been omitted (“acvariul ăsta”) since the image supports the utterances of the speaker. Either the term “aquarium” or “fish bowl” proves to be unnecessary as the character holds it while speaking about it.

A further topic of discussion would be that of simplification, a technique which deals with the type or quality of text that appears on the screen rather than making changes regarding the amount of text appearing on the screen. Firstly, the very fact that the medium changes from spoken to written when subtitles are introduced, will inevitably cause the loss of such aspects of speech as intonation. This can, to a certain extent, be rendered in the written format by way of punctuation. However, in subtitles, the inclusion of punctuation can affect the legibility of the text. A common feature of simplification is, therefore, that marked language will be made more neutral or standard. This can have an important effect on the characters portrayed, as their speech could well be an intentional feature used to establish certain facts about the characters.

Example 7:

- Până sâmbăta viitoare îi aveți pe toți?	- All of it? By next Saturday?
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In this example, the feeling of suspicion and disbelief is retained through the use of an additional question (“All of it?”), since the intonation of the speaker cannot always be reproduced.

Strong language is another type that tends to be toned down in subtitling or even not be translated. The reasons for this could, in fact, be out of the subtitler’s hands, if censorship prohibits the rendering of swearwords. The problem that occurs if strong language is toned down, again, relates to characterisation. There are countless films in which the “bad guys” use such strong language and, in fact, it could be argued that the more swear words they use, the more aggressive they appear to be. So, by neutralising the language in the subtitles, the traits of the character are altered, thereby perhaps making them appear less threatening and evil than they are intended to be. According to Andersson and Trudgill, swearwords derive from subjects of taboo, being used as expressions of anger, surprise, etc. A swearword is “not just any ‘dirty’ word”, but a word which refers to a subject of taboo in a certain circumstance. [10] Thus, they can be divided into different categories: religion, sex, sexist terms of abuse, and physical and mental handicaps.

Another problem that exists is related to the acceptability of swear words in the foreign language and the implications of their use. Also, because the strength of different swearwords varies, it may be difficult for the subtitler to gauge and therefore, the equivalent chosen may reflect either a stronger or weaker version of the original, again, affecting the overall impression for the viewer.

Example 8:

- Băi fato, băi! Păi ce p... mea, mă, tu crezi că mă prostești tu pe mine ca pe ultimul fraier?	- What the hell? Do you think you can fool me like I’m a bloody idiot?
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This would be a perfect example of neutralisation, where the language has been 'softened'. The Romanian version uses swearwords from the sex category, whose negative connotation is much stronger than the religious swearwords from the English translation. Although in English, swearwords are more frequently used than in Romanian and, as such, have a far less impact on the viewer than its Romanian equivalent, the subtitler is still held back by certain norms.

Conclusions

All in all, but without any pretence of having exhausted an otherwise extremely generous topic, it might be said that there are numerous factors influencing a final subtitling product, such as various technical constraints, individual translator preferences and target culture audience expectations, but there is no systematic recipe to be followed. The task of the subtitler involves constant decision-making to ensure that the audiovisual programme is not bereft of its style, personality, clarity, and that the rhythm and its dramatic progression not hindered. The subtitle needs to preserve "the sequence of speech act in such a way as to relay the dynamics of communication". [11] The final aim is to retain and reflect in the subtitles the equilibrium between the image, sound, and text of the original.

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THE CONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL MEANING AS ACTION¹

Introduction

In this article we consider the way in which meaning and cultural meaning are conveyed through actions and interactions of speakers in social contexts. Individuals of different social and ethnic backgrounds communicate with one another.

However, the meanings of words are different if they are conveyed face-to-face in the close proximity of another fellow human being, or over a distance, through the technological medium of writing and print. These actions by the participants are attuned to the cultural norms and conventions of the group they belong to and its attitudes and beliefs. Our data show that *even relatively advanced non-native English speakers experience difficulty* with various aspects of American greetings on both *productive and receptive* levels. Challenges of cross-cultural communication range from lexical choices to substantial differences in cultural norms and values; thus, pragmalinguistic or sociopragmatic *failure* may occur in cross-cultural greeting encounter.

1.1. Context of situation, context of culture

The anthropologist *Bronislaw Malinowski* was the first to introduce the two notions that he called the *context of situation* and the *context of culture*; both of these, he considered, were necessary for the adequate understanding of the text. The activities that people are engaged in, may differ from one place or one time to another; but the general principle that all languages must be understood in contexts of situation is just as valid for every community in every stage of development.

B. Malinowski [1], J. R. Firth [2] and D. Hymes [3] tried to set the features of the context of situation. Their model had a common thread.

1. *The field of discourse* - what is happening, the social action that is taking place: what is it that the participants are engaged in.

J. R. Firth's Model:

2. *The tenor of discourse*: refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles, relationships etc.

3. *The mode of discourse*: refers to what part the language plays (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two)

Dell Hymes proposed a set of concepts for describing the context of situation, which were in many ways similar to those of Firth. He identified:

- the form
- the setting

Dell Hymes' Model:

- the participants

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- the intent and effect of communication
- the key
- the medium
- the genre
- the norms of interaction

Dell Hymes' work led to a renewal of interest in the different ways in which language is used in different cultures - the value of speech, the various rhetorical modes that are recognized and so on.

From the study of the so-called primitive languages in their respective societal context, it was discovered that their language was the key to understanding the meaning of their practices. But observing and exploring their daily activities (as Malinowski did with the fishing and agricultural practices in the Trobriand Islands) it was realized that, in order to understand what was going on, it was not enough to understand and write down the meaning of their words. One had to understand why they said what they said and how they said it, to whom, in a specific *context of situation*. In addition, one had to link their words, beliefs, and mindsets to a larger *context of culture* such as social organizations, kinship patterns, seasonal rhythms, concepts of time and space. Thus we can add that the *semantic meanings of verbal signs* had to be supplemented by *the pragmatic meanings of verbal actions* in context. But the question is how is pragmatic meaning culturally realized in verbal exchanges? Meaning is created not only through what speakers say to one another but through *what they do with words* in order to respond to the demands of the environment.

Let us look at an example. It is a text, an actual utterance taken down from a conversation of natives in the Trobriand Islands, N. E. New Guinea [4]:

* <i>Tasakaulo</i>	<i>kaymatana</i>	<i>yakida</i>			
We run	front-wood	ourselves;			
<i>Tawoulo</i>	<i>oranu;</i>	<i>tasivila</i>	<i>tagine</i>	<i>soda;</i>	
We paddle	in place;	we turn	we see	companion	ours.

The verbatim English translation of this utterance sounds at first like a riddle or a meaningless jumble of words. If the listener were to understand even the general trend of this statement, he would have first to be informed about the situation in which these words were spoken. He would need to have placed in their proper setting of native culture. In the example above the utterance refers to an episode in an overseas expedition of those natives.

Let us throw a look at some English characteristic traits [5]:

(a) *binge drinking* is now usually used to refer to the action of *going out to get drunk*, and not as we tend to give the equivalent in other languages – *going out to drink*. It is exactly the context of culture that helps us to understand, it is connected to the British custom of *buying rounds* - encouraging everyone in the round to drink at the same rate as the fastest drinker and drink more than they otherwise might. (b) The anonymous expression "*Hell is a place where the motorists are French, the policeman are German, and the cooks are English.*"

(c) "Ladies from hell": Scottish soldiers wore kilts in combat during WWI, leading German troops to nickname them the ladies from hell.

(d) Keeping a "stiff upper lip": overseas the British are regarded as a reserved, unemotional people that face misfortune with resolution and without recourse to tears.

(e) "When two Englishmen meet, their first talk is of the weather" wrote Dr Johnson

back in the 18th century. Not much has changed. Brits seem to regard talking about the weather as an ice-breaker and no doubt we as foreigners would suggest it is so commonplace in Britain because its inhabitants are too far reserved and emotionally stunted to just begin chatting freely without a specific reason.

Given to English learners outside the cultural and situational context (as we tried to practice during the course of British Cultural Studies, for the sake of this article) was a complete breakdown.

1.2. Structures of expectation

Language users have learned to realize certain speech acts in a culturally appropriate manner, like saying “good morning” as a way of greeting each other in the morning, or “thank you” in response to receiving gifts, they have learned to speak differently to people of different ranks and to distinguish an insult from a compliment. These behaviors have become second nature to them because they are grounded in their physical experience of the phenomena around them. This experience filters their perception and interpretation of the world. Language users have not only learned to interpret signs and to act upon them; they have also learned to expect certain behaviors of others as well. In the same manner as they expect cars to stop at a STOP sign and pedestrians to be able to cross the street at a WALK sign, so too they expect to be greeted upon a first encounter, to be listened to when they speak. There are *cultural differences* in these expectations. French speakers from France may expect to be greeted with a handshake, Albanians with a handshaking or bowing of the head, Americans may expect a smile instead; a professor may expect to be greeted differently from a student, a friend from a stranger. On the basis of their experience in their culture (or a combination of cultures), people organize knowledge about the world and use this knowledge to predict interpretations and relationships regarding any new information, events, and experiences that come in their way. The general *structures of expectation* established in people’s minds by the culture they live in have been variously called *frames*.

Albanian speakers of English are another case of these frames. *Nodding with the head*, in the Albanian language means moving the head from *up-down*, when they *disagree* to what the listeners say, which is the contrary in most other European languages. But when they speak English, they nod like the English do.

2.1. Contextualization Cues

The words people exchange in verbal encounters are connected to the situational and cultural context in which they occur. For example, in the conversation below, (learner) L1’s words to L 2: “I need to borrow one of your books. Can you lend it to me for some days?” will have meaning for L2 only if he knows English and is able to catch the semantic meanings of L1’s utterance; but he must also relate the ‘I’ to the friend he knows and recognizes him by his voice and his outward appearance; he must relate the “one of your books” to his friend’s library that is always available for him; from L’1 smile, tone and intonation, he must understand that this is a justified, friendly request for help and not an accidental inquiry. So beyond the semantic meaning of the L1’s individual words, L2 has to understand how these words relate to the pragmatic context of the utterance. These *verbal* (I, one of your books, borrow), *paraverbal* (stress and intonation, laughter) and *non-verbal signs* (gaze direction, tone of voice) that help speakers and learners hint at or clarify or guide their listener’s interpretations of what is being said are called **contextualization cues**.

These cues help language users make the appropriate *situated inferences* that means, to evoke the cultural background and social expectations necessary to interpret speech.

A good training task that can be given to students is the following: they have to make contrasts and see the difference between **digital culture** and **network culture**.

To this effect, a *short dialogue* on the tape containing the following words was provided to them:

(heavy *CRT monitor*, *Smart phones* such as the *Blackberry*, *Google G1*, and the *iPhone*, *iPod*, and *Mars rover* are the same device, minor exceptions, the laptop, smart phone, *cable TV set top box*, *game console*, *wireless router*, distributing *audio*, *video*, *Internet*, *voice*, *text chat* etc.....)

Results of the task

The words in italics are all *contextualization cues*, helping to distinguish between the two types of culture.

When language learners were first asked to state what they knew about digital culture and network culture, they found it difficult to interpret, they mixed the cues together and at some point the discussion was "frozen". With the teacher's help and through a Venn Diagram, all the contextualization cues were put to the proper circle, students understood that, through the use of *contextualization cues*, speakers and hearers can convey to each other what their expectations are with respect to the communication they are engaged in.

Participants in verbal exchanges have to manage their interpretation of each other's utterances in accordance with how they perceive the situational and cultural context to be on an instant-by-instant basis.

2.2. Pragmatic coherence

An Englishman went to Spain on a fishing trip. He hired a Spanish guide to help him find the best fishing spots. Since the Englishman was learning Spanish, he asked the guide to speak to him in Spanish and to correct any mistakes of usage. They were hiking on a mountain trail when a very large, purple and blue fly crossed their path. The Englishmen pointed at the insect with his fishing rod, and said, "Mira el mosca!" The guide, sensing a teaching opportunity, replied, "No, señor, 'la mosca'... es femenina."

The Englishman looked at him, then back at the fly, and then said, "Good heavens... you must have incredibly good eyesight."

Two factory workers are talking. The woman says, "I can make the boss give me the day off." The man replies, "And how would you do that?" The woman says, "Just wait and see." She then hangs upside-down from the ceiling. The boss comes in and says, "What are you doing?" The woman replies, "I'm a light bulb." The boss then says, "You've been working so much that you've gone crazy. I think you need to take the day off." The man starts to follow her and the boss says, "Where are you going?" The man says, "I'm going home, too. I can't work in the dark."

In the above jokes language users are trying to make the words uttered meaningful within the respective situational and cultural context of the exchange. Through these efforts they are trying to establish the *pragmatic coherence*. Coherence is not given in speakers' utterances, it is created in the minds of speakers and hearers by the inferences they make based on the words they hear. So if *semantic cohesion* relates *word to word*, *pragmatic coherence* relates *speaker to speaker* within the larger cultural context of communication.

Contextualization cues can also serve to highlight the discrepancies in participants' inferences and frames of expectations, and thus leading to coherence breakdowns in cross-cultural conversations. Between people from different national cultures, the same contextualization cues may lead to different inferences and may occasion serious misunderstandings, since they tend to be attributed to personal attitudes or character traits. The resulting lack of pragmatic coherence generally leaves the participants baffled and perplexed, or frustrated and angry.

A young man comes before a customs agent. (Here the pragmatic coherence is not established because of the misuse of English) Tone of voice is usually interpreted as a *direct cue* to attitude, and therefore a piece of intended behavior.

A: "State your citizenship."

B: "American" (pronounced with a Spanish accent).

A: "Hold on there, buddy. Say that again."

B: "I sed American."

A: "I'm going to give you a test."

B: "No, no senior, no need for test, I tell you I'm American."

A: "Yeah, sure buddy. OK, let's see, ... I've got it. Make a sentence with the following colors: green, pink and yellow."

B: "Oh senior, I tell you I'm American. But OK, let's see... I was at my bruder-in-laws house and the phone went 'green, green, I pinked it up and sed yellow!"

The study of *contextualization cues* brings to light (a) the way in which speakers give *pragmatic coherence* to their respective utterances; it also hints to the way participants in verbal interactions co-construct cultural roles for themselves, while they co-operatively construct the topic of the conversation.

3.1. The construction of culture and the role of participants

Generally speaking, the following elements of social life are considered to be representative of human culture: stories, beliefs, media, ideas, works of art, religious practices, fashions, rituals, specialized knowledge, and common sense...

Yet, examples of culture do not, in themselves, present a clear understanding of the concept of culture; culture is more than the object or behavior. Culture also includes norms, values, beliefs, or expressive symbols. Roughly, norms are the way people behave in a given society, values are what they hold dear, beliefs are how they think the universe operates, and expressive symbols are representations, often representations of social norms, values, and beliefs themselves.

Speakers from different cultural backgrounds may have different interpretations of what it means to be true, relevant, brief or clear with regard to conversations. They may have different definitions of the speech activity itself.

A service encounter at the customs office may have different social value in Spain and in America (as in the previous example.) Participants in verbal exchanges play out various social roles that reveal a great deal about the social persona they wish to represent, and about the social personae they are thereby assigning to their interlocutors. For example, they may come across as confident or shy, interested or indifferent, close or distant, helpful or pushy; they may take on a friendly, competitive, bossy, motherly role.

Pupils' and teachers membership in school culture is recognizable in part by the way teachers tend to animate pupils' utterances. In the following example a teacher and her class are talking about apples:

Teacher: What color are the pips?

Child 1: Brown

Child 2: Black

Child 1: Brown

Child 2: Brown [6]

Similarly, gender roles are not the natural result of biological makeup, but they, too, are socially constructed by males and females enacting *participant roles* in conversation. These roles are obtained by a pattern of small cues that show self-assertiveness or uncertainty, dominance or submissiveness, and that get attributed over time to one gender or another. Consider the following:

Husband: When will dinner be ready?

Wife: Oh ...around six o'clock...? (rising intonation) [7] The woman's rising intonation is often interpreted as signaling female uncertainty and lack of self-assertiveness. However, one may not automatically equate a participant's role with the gender of an individual, before one has observed that individual behave in various contexts with various interlocutors of both similar and various gender.

Language use is a *cultural act* not only because it reflects the *way one individual acts* on another individual through such speech acts as *thanking, greeting, complementing*, that are variously accomplished in various cultures. Language use *is a cultural act* because *its users co-construct* the very social roles that define them as members of a discourse community.

3.2. The Artificiality of Cultural Categorization

One of the more important points to understand about culture is that it is an artificial categorization of elements of social life. As Griswold [8] puts it,

"There is no such thing as *culture* or *society* out there in the real world. There are only people who work, joke, raise children, love, think, worship, fight, and behave in a wide variety of ways. To speak of culture as one thing and society as another is to make an analytical distinction between two different aspects of human experience. One way to think of the distinction is that *culture* designates *the expressive aspect* of human existence, whereas *society* designates *the relational (and often practical) aspect*."

In the above quote, Griswold emphasizes that culture is distinct from society but affirms that this distinction is, like all classifications, artificial. Humans do not experience culture in a separate or distinct way from society. Culture and society are truly two-sides of a coin; a coin that makes up social life. Yet the distinction between the two, while artificial, is useful for a number of reasons. For instance, the distinction between culture and society is of particular use when exploring how norms and values are transmitted from generation to generation and answering the question of cultural conflict between people.

3.3. Cultural relativism is the belief that the concepts and values of a culture cannot be fully translated into, or fully understood in, other languages; that a specific *cultural artifact* (e.g. a Ritual) has to be understood in terms of the larger symbolic system of which it is a part. An example of cultural relativism might include slang words from specific languages (and even from particular dialects within a language). For instance, the word *tranquilo* in Spanish translates directly to 'calm' in English. However, it can be used in many more ways than just as an adjective (e.g., the seas are calm). *Tranquilo* can be a command or suggestion encouraging another to *calm down*. It can also be used to ease tensions in an argument (e.g., everyone relax) or to indicate a degree of self-composure (e.g., I'm calm). There is not a clear English translation of the word, and in order to fully comprehend its many possible uses a cultural relativist would argue that it would be necessary to fully immerse oneself in cultures where the word is used.

4.1. Developing Cultural Sensitivity

One of the most important and fundamental aspects of teaching L2 students is having cultural sensitivity towards students' cultural background. Cultural sensitivity is to know and understand students' cultural differences as well as to respect individuals. It is suggested that teachers carefully consider why English language learners are experiencing difficulties in learning English. These students have different constructive processes from their first language learning experiences. It is also recommended for teachers to

accommodate teaching instruction effectively for English language learners and to interact with their colleagues for enhancing their cultural sensitivity.

4.2. If we try to investigate how the **cross-cultural realization of greetings** in American English is performed, we will notice a lot of problems for the non-native English speakers.

Simplified greetings are introduced early in most second language courses and are often included in texts on cross-cultural communication. Greetings are complex, involving a wide range of behaviors and sensitivity to many situational and psychosocial variables. When it is not performed well, it can result in confusion, awkwardness and hostility. Non-natives have significant difficulty in performing greetings in a manner that is acceptable to native speakers of American English.

Two categories of greeting appear to present non-native speakers with special problems, i.e., (a) *speedy greeting: it begins and ends abruptly but information is exchanged*) and (b) *greeting on the run: (when two people see each other and exchange brief phatic statements or questions which do not necessarily require responses)*

The non-natives find both the *speedy greeting* and the *greeting on the run* almost impossible to perform. They are unable to make their greetings short enough. Even when they are given instructions to make their greetings shorter, they are unable to do so.

Here is an example:

A: I'll come in, President.

B: Yes, please.

A: By the way, what is you have something to discuss with me?

B: Before that, why don't you have a seat.

A: Oh. Thank you.

Here, both A and B perform a full greeting. As receivers of these *speedy greetings*, they reported feeling that they were treated badly or rudely. Here we, also, have an inappropriate use of titles; a non-native speaker saying: "Hi President" to the head of a company. Occasionally, however, the non-natives who have not yet learned the proper register use highly *informal* language. **Compare:**

Non-native: "Hi. I do not know you. My name is (name)

Native: "Hi. I don't think we've met"

Some types of English greetings are received by non-native English speakers as a *sociopragmatic failure* on the part of the native English speaker.

There are a number of instances of *pragmalinguistic* failure. In a few cases, students use the phrase "How do you do?" when they mean to say "How are you?"

Length of greeting can vary cross-culturally; the *speedy greeting* as performed in American English presents difficulties for many other cultures including Hispanics. Hispanics appear to find the *speedy greeting* next to impossible to perform. For them friends, in one's presence take priority over other obligations, such as imminent appointments. In Puerto Rico, greeting a friend or acquaintance is of such a high priority that on-going conversations are often interrupted to greet passers-by. Nine - Curt [9] elaborates on this by noting that speakers are continually looking away from each-other to notice others in their vicinity. She refers to this as the "*rubber neck*" syndrome of Puerto Ricans.

Just as *length of greeting* can vary cross-culturally, the *choice of an appropriate topic* can be a source of difficulty. Certain topics that are freely raised in American English greetings *have different rules of use in other cultures and languages.*

It is common to ask about the well-being of the person being greeted as well as that person's family members in English and many other languages. Among Arabs, Iranians, and Afghans, however, men may ask about the well-being of other male family members, but are not as free to inquire about females as is commonly done in the United States. For Russians, Ukrainians and Georgians, greetings among co-workers and acquaintances do not usually

contain inquiries about well-being. When Americans greet with expressions like “Hi. How are you” they sometimes find the question so unexpected and startling, and do not understand why the other person wants to know about their health.

As with the Russians, Ukrainians, and Georgians who are startled about questions of well-being, speakers of American English sometimes find themselves speechless when they are greeted in a number of countries in Asia by two common greetings that translate:

“Have you eaten” and “Where are you going?” In the observation done, the native speaker of English misinterpreted the greeting as an invitation.

The way that greetings are performed can vary from culture to culture. In English, greeting usually involves a turn-taking. In Afghanistan, both parties often begin greeting each-other simultaneously. Questions about well-being are not answered, but are overlapped by the other speaker with similar questions about well-being. While English will perform the *greeting on the run*, Afghans almost *always stop walking* and *perform a full greeting* each time they encounter each-other during the day. Americans typically wave, nod or say a word or two in subsequent greetings unless they have a subject to discuss.

Complex rules of non-verbal behavior that accompany greeting such as *bowing, kissing, handshaking and touching* vary from culture to culture, Japanese are often highly embarrassed when enthusiastically hugged or kissed by Americans. These non-verbal behaviors often distinguish social classes and generational distinctions within a particular culture.

Generally non-native speakers express anxiety about greeting people in social settings. Little is available in textbook materials to show learners how a topic of conversation is mutually developed or how native speakers ease into formal introductions.

There is not always a good fit between American greeting rituals at parties and those common in other cultures. For example, in Swedish a *guest is expected to go around and normally introduce him/herself to all the other guests*, while in an American context introductions often proceed *under the guidance of the host or hostess or are an option, but not a requirement*, for the individual.

Conclusions

The system of signs that constitute culture is actively constructed through the verbal actions taken by sign-makers in interaction with one another. In the construction of meaning, the interpretation of events is grounded in each person’s experience and field of perception. The *context of situation* and the *context of culture* in which verbal actions take place *are constitutive* of these actions; they imbue them with the necessary pragmatic coherence. As they talk, speakers draw on frames of expectation they have in common with other members of the group who share the same life history and the same larger *context of culture*. Based on these expectations, speakers then position themselves vis-à-vis the situational context of a given exchange by means of contextualization cues. These *contextualization cues* are evidence of situated inferences that speakers make, based on their culturally shared frames of expectations and applied to the local situation of the exchange. These *cues* give the exchange *pragmatic coherence*. The participants maintain this verbal coherence by observing a principle of conversational co-operation, which prompts them to align their expectations on to those of others by playing various participant roles. All these actions by the participants are finely attuned to the cultural norms and conventions of the group they belong to and its attitudes and beliefs. Our data show that *even relatively advanced non-native English speakers* experience *difficulty* with various aspects of American greetings on both *productive and receptive* levels. Challenges of cross-cultural communication range from lexical choices to substantial differences in cultural norms and values; thus, *pragmalinguistic or sociopragmatic failure* may occur in cross-cultural greeting encounter. A major implication for second language pedagogy is that models for learning must be based on research into

how greetings are actually performed. Regrettably, few current texts for English as a second or foreign language meet this criterion. Furthermore, the complexity and interactive nature of greetings and how they are realized in different languages and cultures must be considered. However, the meanings of words are different if they are conveyed face to face in the close proximity of another fellow human being, or over a distance, through the technologized medium of writing and print.

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AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY ON CATEGORIZATION AND PROTOTYPICALITY IN ROMANIAN: NATURAL SPECIES AND ARTEFACTS¹

Background

The aim of this study is to demonstrate experimentally that the concept of categorization is both a universal and a cross-cultural one.

The theoretical background for my study is provided by a set of principles and assumptions that have come to be known as 'cognitive linguistics' – an approach to language that is based on our experience of the world and the way we perceive and conceptualize them.

Categorization is fundamental to all higher cognitive ability. To the extent that a language is a conventionalized symbolic system, it is indeed the case that a language imposes a set of categories on its users. The categories encoded in a language are motivated by a number of factors – the discontinuities in the world, the way in which human beings interact, in a given culture, and by general cognitive processes of concept formation.

Language, "being both the creation of human cognition and an instrument in its service" [1] is likely to reflect more such cognitive abilities – i.e. the ability to categorize.

In my undertaking to devise experiments for Romanian, I started from the following assumptions:

- Categories have internal structure in which categories are not represented only as criterial features with clear-cut boundaries and in which items within categories may be considered differentially representative of the meaning of the category term, all categories displaying gradient of membership;
- The concept of internal structure, previously specified only for perceptual domains (e.g. colours), is applicable to other types of categories (e.g. common objects of everyday use and biological species), gradient of membership judgments applying to the most diverse kinds of categories.

In order to check the validity of all these assumptions for Romanian as well, I used a series of experiments on natural categories and species as follows:

Experiment 1 was designed to determine whether these categories have internal structure;

Experiment 1' was performed to check the validity of the findings of the first experiment, starting from the hypothesis that in naming items of one category the tendency is to mention the more prototypical member first;

Experiment 1" was carried out in order to check if advance priming with the category name facilitates responses to good examples of the categories and hinder responses to poor examples for physically identical pairs of items, arguing that the mental representation of the category is more like the better than poorer exemplars;

Experiment 2 was performed to check the hypothesis according to which a measure of the degree to which an item bore a family resemblance to other members of the category

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is correlated with previously prototypicality ratings of the members of the category;

Experiment 3 was performed to emphasize the graded structure by using a language device, namely hedge words which prove that people make the full range of distinctions in the category hierarchy.

1. Material and Methods

1.1. EXPERIMENT 1

Method

Subjects: analysis was made on the basis of 100 subjects, Romanian students of the English department and the Faculty of geography, aged 19-23, and coming both from Bucharest and from other towns in Romania.

Stimuli: the categories for which ratings of instances were to be gathered were chosen in the following manner:

- A category was considered concrete only if the items in it could be unequivocally represented by pictures (e.g. categories such as “relative” or “number” were not considered concrete);
- Categories were eliminated if:
 - a) the items bore part – whole relationship to the only reasonable superordinate (e.g. parts of the body, of buildings);
 - b) if there was linguistic ambiguity among possible superordinates (e.g. “animal” is commonly used as a synonym for “mammal”)
 - c) if the superordinates crosscut a large number of other taxonomic structures (e.g. food)

Kučera and Francis ([2] found only 17 concrete categories to meet the initial frequency requirements, 7 of which were eliminated by other criteria.

The remaining 10 categories, which we also used in this paper, are: fruit, bird, vehicle, vegetable, sport, tool, toy, furniture, weapon, and clothing.

The categories that met these criteria are categories which were also included in the Battig and Montague [3] normative tabulations of the frequencies with which instances were produced in response to the category name, e.g. all the tools appear in the Battig and Montague norms under “carpenter’s tools”.

We used Battig and Montague’s lists as a basis for selecting those members of the categories, which were to be rated in the present experiment. Items that were jokes or obvious misreadings of the category as well as items unknown to the Romanian subjects were excluded by a lot of 10 subjects. Additional items were added, according to the Romanian realities (e.g. the 10 subjects who selected the items, added “lobodă”, “ștevie”, in the list of “vegetables”, besides “herbs” or “greens”)

Procedure: all the items of a category were listed below the category name. Subjects were asked to rate on a 7-point scale the extent to which each instance represented their idea or image of the meaning of the category. Then, specific instructions were given, following Rosch’s words [4]

This study has to do with what we have in mind when we use words which refer to categories. Let’s take the word “red” as an example. Close your eyes and imagine a true red. Now imagine an orangish red ... imagine a purple red. Although you might still name the orange red or the purple red with the term “red”, they are not as good examples of red as the clear “true” red. In short, some red are redder than others.

The same is true for other kinds of categories. Think of dogs. You all have some notion of what a “real” dog, a “doggy dog” is.

On this form you are asked to judge how good an example of a category various

instances of a category are. At the top of the page is the name of a category. Under it are the names of some members of a category. After each member is a blank. You are to rate how good an example of the category each member is on a 7-point scale.

A1 means that you feel the member is a very good example of your idea of what the category is.

A7 means you feel the member fits very poorly with your idea or image of the category (or is not a member at all).

A4 means you feel the member fits moderately well.

Don't worry about why you feel that something is or isn't a good example of the category. And don't worry about whether it's just you or people in general who feel that way. Just mark it the way you see it.

Categories were typed on separate sheets of paper and each subject received a different order of categories.

Results and discussion

In Fig. 1A (1, 2, 3, 4) the rank orders as well as the score for all instances of the categories are shown. (due to the lack of space I give just 4 Tables)

With the help of Romina Mihalache, from the Department of Chemistry-Physics, I succeeded in comparing the results between all 100 subjects, between split halves of subjects divided at random and between subjects from Bucharest and those from the other towns/villages from Romania.

Spearman rank order correlation and Pearson reciprocal correlation¹ were used in order to quantify the results and express accurately the findings Table 1B.

Agreement between subjects was high for the items rated as very good examples of the categories.

The results of this experiment clearly indicate that semantic categories do have internal structure:

- a) subjects consider it a meaningful task to rate members of such categories according to how well they fit their idea or image of the meaning of the category name;
- b) there is high agreement between subjects concerning the ranking, the categories being perceived as internally structured into a prototype (the clearest case or the best example of the category) and non-prototype members, with non-prototype members tending towards an order from better to poorer examples.

This experiment establishes that degree of category membership is psychologically a very real notion.

Moreover, in our case, even if the subjects come from Bucharest or other towns/villages from Romania, there was high agreement concerning the rating of the prototype and the most marginal members of the category, while the slight differences along the middle section of the list reflect a difference in the socio-cultural component of their background.

Precautions

The norms were collected on a somewhat restricted sample of subjects – strictly students enrolled in the English department; therefore, no claims are made that the internal structure of these categories should be universal for all cultural groups.

1.1. EXPERIMENT 1'

We tried to check the validity of the findings of the previous experiment by two further ones.

Hypothesis

In naming items of one category, the tendency is to mention the more prototypical members first.

Method

Subjects: 100 students of the Faculty of Mathematics, ages 19 – 24.

Procedure: the subjects were asked to name exemplars of the 10 categories. Data on the naming of exemplars are shown in TABLE 2.

Results and discussion: The first 3 members listed in each of the 10 categories corresponded almost identically (at least the first 2 ones) to the prototypical items ranked in Experiment 1.

We can conclude, that these are precisely the members assigned the highest degree of membership, the best exemplars of each category.

There is a correlation between degree of category membership and the frequency and order with which category members are named.

1.1. EXPERIMENT 1"

Hypothesis: - degree of membership interacts with the effect of priming

- if the words are poor examples of a category (e.g. "coş de gunoi" for "mobilă"), the response time is slower; if the 2 stimulus words are good examples (for example, "scaun" for "mobilă"), then priming with the category name results in faster response time.

The basic logic of priming technique as it was used by Rosch [5], and as it was used in our experiment is that a prime can only facilitate a response if it contains some of the information needed to make a response.

Method

Subjects: 20 students of the Faculty of Mathematics and Geography, aged 19 –23.

Procedure: two words were shown on a board and the subject had to indicate, as rapidly as possible, whether the two words were the same or different.

The presentation of the two words was preceded by the presentation of a superordinate category name. For example, the words "vrăbie – vrăbie" were preceded by "Păsări".

Results and discussion: the response time is shown in TABLE 3, suggesting that the category name activates the names of the better exemplars and deactivates the more marginal members of the category. There is, therefore, a correlation between degree of category membership and the effect of priming.

Again, the prototypical members in Experiment 1 were named first and faster.

1.2. EXPERIMENT 2

Hypothesis

For most domains prototypes do not appear to precede the category and must be formed through principles of learning and information processing from the items given in the category.

Such a structural principle that governs the formation of the prototype structure of semantic categories was first suggested in philosophy by Wittgenstein [6]: the referents of a word need not have common elements in order for the word to be understood and used in the normal functioning of language. He suggested that a family resemblance might be what linked these various referents of a word.

A family resemblance relationship consists of a set of items of the form AB, BC, CD, DE, each item having at least one element in common with one or more items, but no, or few, elements are common to all items.

Basic hypothesis: members of a category as a whole in proportion to the extent to which they bear a family resemblance to (have attributes which overlap those of) other members of the category. Conversely, items viewed as most prototypical of one category will be those with least family resemblances to or membership in other categories.

Purpose

In the present experiment we viewed natural and artificial semantic categories as networks of overlapping attributes. The major purpose of this experiment is to observe that the degree to which an item bears a family resemblance to the other members of the category will prove significantly correlated with previously obtained prototypicality ratings of the members of the category.

Method

Subjects: 30 students of the English Language Department, aged 19-24.

Stimuli: we used one category for the superordinate biological categories (e.g. BIRDS and FURNITURE).

The two categories were used in Experiment 1 in order to obtain norms for the prototypicality ratings of the extent to which each item for their idea / image of the meaning of the category name. (Table 4)

Procedure: items were chosen within a category according to the place they occupied in the first Experiment, including the first ranked items, followed by those ranked in the middle and with the last ranked ones in the end.

Subjects were asked to list the attributes possessed by each item. Instructions were given following Rosch's quotation [7]:

This is a very simple experiment to find out the characteristics and attributes that people feel are common to and characteristic of different kinds of ordinary everyday objects. For example, for 'Bicycles' you might think of things they have in common like two wheels, pedals, handlebars, you ride on them, they don't use fuel, etc.

There are two pages. At the top of each is listed the name of one item. You'll have a minute and a half to write down all of the attributes you can think of. But don't write words in free association: for example, if "bicycles" just happen to remind you of your father, don't write down "father".

Measurement of family resemblances

To derive the basic measure of family resemblance for each category, all attributes mentioned by subjects were listed and each item for which an attribute had been given, was credited with that attribute. Each attribute received a score, ranging from 1 to 12, representing the number of items in the category that had been credited with that attribute.

By this means, each attribute was weighed in accordance with the number of items in the category possessing it.

The basic measure of degree of family resemblance for an item was the sum of the weighed scores of each of the attributes that had been listed for that item.

Results and discussion

The purpose of this experiment was both to provide a portrait of the structure of the categories and to test the correlation between family resemblance and prototypicality of items.

We could see that only some of attributes were true of all 12 members of the category.

Most of the attributes listed for items in the two categories demonstrated a family resemblance relationship: that is, they were common to only some of the category members. (List 4A)

I dissociated between 3 series of attributes: those specific to each category, those common to both better and middle ranked members of each category, and those listed to the rest of items taken into account, including the most marginal ones. (Tables 4).

These series of relative frequency of attributes confirm the hypothesis that the more an item has attributes in common with the other members of the category, the more it will be considered a good representative member of the category.

The less prototypical the items, the fewer other items in the category tend to share each attribute.

If the more prototypical members are those that have the most attributes common to other members of the category, it is probable that they are most likely to have attributes in common with each other (see the first 3 members) of each category). While category members as a whole may not have items in common, the 3-4 most typical items of each category tend to have many items in common, degree of family resemblances predicting the centrality of items in the semantic space generated by the scaling of similarity ratings between items in the category.

In defining the position of a category member in its category, we are thus justified in considering any sensible attribute proposed for this item (e.g. "red bird" is a bird not only because it has feathers and lays eggs, like the "sparrow", but also because it has a long neck (like a "stork") and decorative feathers (like a "parrot").

1.3. EXPERIMENT 3

Hypothesis

Natural languages themselves contain various devices which acknowledge and point to graded structure such as hedge words.

The highest degrees of category membership is marked by a hedge such as "par excellence", while "technically speaking" implies that at least one primary criterion is below the threshold value for simple category membership; "strictly speaking" depends on both value of definition and primary criteria, "loosely speaking" implies that threshold values for definitional and primary criteria are insufficient to confer category membership, whereas "sort of" takes values that are true or close to true and makes them false while uniformly raising values in the low to mid range of the scale, leaving the very low range of scale constant.

Procedure:

Subjects: 35 students of the English Department, 19-24.

Stimuli: the stimuli used in this Experiment, consist of the first 3 better examples, the middle ones and the last 3 marginal items of each category.

I used frames such as: ... is par excellence ..., ... is technically speaking ..., ... is strictly speaking ..., ... is loosely speaking ..., ... is sort of

Results and discussion

In all the 10 categories (for ex. Tables 6A 1, 2, 3, 4) the first ranked items were characterized by the hedge "par excellence", while all the other hedges, which require not the highest degree of membership, were scored as "false" or "Close to False", whereas raising values in the low range of the scale. "Sort of" took values that are false for the prototypical and the most marginal items, raising them in the middle of each category. Therefore, "sort of" affected only the absolute values of the category.

The agreement was general: 95% to 97% rating True or Close to True; 87% to 92.5% rating for Close to False; 86% to 91.5% for Close to False.

In addition to this, the reaction time was much shorter when hedging the first ranked items as ... is par excellence ..., while the time reaction increased from "technically speaking" to "loosely speaking" and "sort of".

The conclusion is clear: different people may have different category rankings depending on their experience or knowledge, but the fact of hierarchical ranking is indisputable.

Although the distinctions are subtle, they can be thrown into clear relief by hedges,

classifying items either by taking into account the primary properties or the secondary properties, while the best exemplar is always labelled by “par excellence” hedge.

Conclusions

Starting from the assumption the “categorization is a universal concept”. At the beginning of this paper we had several questions to be answered by experimental studies, such as:

- 1) Do categories have an internal structure in all languages?
- 2) Are categories anchored in conceptually salient prototypes in Romanian as well?
- 3) Are the boundaries rigid or fuzzy for Romanian categories as in English?
- 4) As regards Romanian, is there a typicality scale ranging from good to bad examples?
- 5) Do categories represent arbitrary divisions of the phenomena of the world, or are they based on the cognitive capacities of the human mind in all languages?
- 6) Are attributes essential for distinguishing the one category from the other? And are there different kinds of attributes ranging from those specific to the whole category to those defining only some of the category members?

According to our experimental data, we could answer all these questions by emphasizing both the similarities between English and Romanian (hence, the universal coordinate) and the differences between the two languages, underlying the specificity of Romanian when categorizing the world around us.

= Categorization is a universal concept, present both in English and Romanian.

= Categories represent divisions of the world based on the cognitive capacities of the human mind.

= Categories do have an internal structure: as regards natural species and artifacts, there was a general agreement in naming prototypes, less good examples and marginal items emphasizing once more, the degree of category membership.

= The internal structure of categories reflects the social-cultural dimensions of that community performing the categorization, hence, differences were scored between English and Romanian, especially regarding the middle-ranked items, where the Romanian subjects took out those English words that had no correspondence to colloquial Romanian, whereas they added new items specific to the Romanian real world.

Therefore, we could conclude that categorization is a universal concept, while reflecting differences in mentality and culture by displaying a specific internal structure that changes from language to language and even within one and the same language.

= Categories are anchored in conceptually salient prototypes both in English and Romanian. In both languages prototypes were named first, in the shortest reaction time proved great stability.

It is interesting to point out the fact that there was agreement in naming the prototype not only on colours, but also on natural species and artefacts between all the subjects involved: either all the 100 subjects, or 50% taken at random or when taking into account the place they came from (Bucharest or other parts of Romania).

= The priming technique can only facilitate a response if it contains some of the information needed to make the response, activating the names of the prototype and deactivating the name of the marginal members. Thus, there is a correlation between degree of category membership and the effect of priming.

= The priming technique represented one of the best ways of checking our experimental findings regarding the internal structure of a category, especially in naming the prototype vs. the peripheral items of that category.

Moreover, prototype members were, in 40% of the case, that same in Romanian as in English.

We could conclude that prototypes display a flexibility across languages, anchoring the categories and giving them stability.

= Even marginal members displayed a similar behaviour, being, in 45% of the cases, the same in English and Romanian, while for the remaining series new marginal members were included without necessarily causing any fundamental restructuring of the category system.

= The middle-ranked items brought the most interesting information on how categorization varies from language to language, or within the same community, and I think that this is the place where we could focus when interpreting categorization not only as a universal concept, but also as a very interesting phenomenon which is language dependent, by emphasizing the cross-cultural differences between different communities and even within the frame of one community.

= Categories have fuzzy boundaries both in Romanian and English:

- as regards natural species and artefacts, new members are added, becoming peripheral or middle-ranked, belonging to two or three categories at the same time, occupying each time a different place (a better one or a marginal one), without disturbing the structure of any categories. (e.g. "pickle" - VEGETABLE / FRUIT; "books" - SPORT / TOYS; "car" - VEHICLE / TOYS)

= A study of the attributes characterizing the category members is very important in pointing out the validity of the family resemblance concept as well as the fact that members of a category can be viewed as prototypical of the category to the extent to which they bear a family resemblance to (have attributes which overlap those of) other members of the category. Consequently, items viewed as most prototypical of one category will be those with least family resemblances to or membership in other categories.

= Categories should be viewed as networks of overlapping attributes.

= There is a correlation between the degree to which an item bears a family resemblance to other members of the category and the prototypicality ratings of the category members.

= The attributes named by the Romanian subjects lead to a subcategorization of attributes into 3 series:

- series **1** - criterial attributes, salient of all category members (or most of them, both prototypical and marginal);

- series **2** - attributes characterizing the middle ranked items and, thus, enriching the family resemblance concept;

- series **3** - attributes specific of the peripheral members only.

Therefore, in defining the position of a category member in its category we are thus justified in considering any sensible attribute proposed for that item.

= There is a basic level of abstraction that differs qualitatively from other levels in taxonomies of objects and of living things and presents an explanation for why so many measures converge at that level. Our experiments emphasized that while at the superordinate level attributes are tested at a general level ("things to eat", "to sit on", "that fly", etc.) at the basic level part terms proliferate in subjects' listing of the attributes.

= Natural languages themselves contain devices which acknowledge the graded structure of categories - hedge-words.

Different people may have different category rankings depending on their experience or knowledge, but the fact of hierarchical ranking is indisputable. Although the distinctions are subtle, they can be thrown into light by hedges which classify items by taking into account either the primary or the secondary criteria, while the best exemplar is always labelled by "par excellence" hedge.

It is obvious now, at the end of all these experimental findings, that categorization is not only a universal concept, but, above all, language dependent; it is only to be expected

that different languages will encode different categorizations depending on the cross-cultural differences between them.

NOTES

1. The Spearman rank-order correlation coefficient has the advantage that it can be used in cases of asymmetries as well as for a restricted number of items. It starts from the hypothesis that there is a correlation between the 2 sets of ranks, according to the formula:

$$r = 1 - \frac{6\sum d^2}{n(n^2 - 1)}$$

where d = difference between pair ranks
n = number of subjects

Pearson reciprocal correlation coefficient is used in the qualitative aspects research where distributors involve more than 2 groups, according to the formula:

$$c = \sqrt{s-1}$$

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1A1. FRUCTE

Nr.	Membru	n=100		n=50		n=38	
		Rang	Nota medie	Rang	Nota medie	Rang	Nota medie
1	MAR	1	1.02	1	1	1	1
2	PARA	2	1.07	2	1.02	2	1.03
3	CAISA	3.5	1.12	3.5	1.06	3	1.05
4	PIERSICA	3.5	1.12	3.5	1.06	4	1.11
5	STRUGURI	5.5	1.46	5	1.1	5.5	1.18
6	CIREASA	5.5	1.46	6	1.14	5.5	1.18
7	NUCA	7	1.64	10	1.88	8	1.37
8	VISINA	8	1.68	7	1.3	7	1.34
9	GUTUIE	9	1.79	8	1.38	11.5	1.53
10	LAMAIE	10	1.82	9	1.78	9	1.39
11	CAPSUNI	11	2.04	11	2.04	10	1.47
12	PEPENE VERDE	13	2.09	13	2.12	14	1.66
13	PEPENE GALBEN	13	2.09	13	2.12	14	1.66
14	CANTALUP	13	2.09	13	2.12	14	1.66
15	PORTOCALA	15.5	2.21	16.5	2.22	16.5	1.68
16	MANDARINA	15.5	2.21	16.5	2.22	16.5	1.68
17	BANANA	17	2.27	15	2.14	11.5	1.53
18	ZMEURA	18	2.37	18	2.5	22.5	2.37
19	PRUNA	19	2.55	22	2.82	18	2
20	ALUNA	20	2.76	28	3.2	22.5	2.37
21	MAR PADURET	21	2.79	24	2.9	19	2.29
22	MURA	23	2.83	20	2.6	22.5	2.37
23	AFINA	23	2.83	20	2.6	22.5	2.37
24	COACAZA	23	2.83	20	2.6	22.5	2.37
25	NECTARINA	25	2.84	23	2.88	22.5	2.37

26	MANGO	26	3.13	29.5	3.24	29.5	3.66
27	ANANAS	27	3.32	29.5	3.24	29.5	3.66
28	GRAPEFRUIT	28	3.58	25	2.94	26	3.24
29	RODIE	29	3.73	31	3.28	32.5	3.79
30	DOVLEAC	30.5	3.79	32	3.34	31	3.76
31	PRUNE USCATE	30.5	3.79	37	4.18	32.5	3.79
32	CURMALE	33	4.1	26.5	3.18	27.5	3.42
33	SMOCHINE	33	4.1	26.5	3.18	27.5	3.42
34	CHITRA	33	4.1	34	3.96	34.5	3.84
35	FRUCTE CONFIA TE	35	4.13	35	3.98	34.5	3.84
36	NUCA DE COCOS	36	4.19	33	3.64	38	5.03
37	ALUNE JIR	37	4.45	36	4.04	37	4.97
38	GUAVA	38	4.62	38	4.56	36	4.34
39	AVOCADO	39	6.32	39	6.36	39	6.39
40	TARTACUTA	40.5	6.7	40.5	6.74	41	6.92
41	DOVLECEL	40.5	6.7	40.5	6.74	41	6.92
42	ROSIE	42	6.82	42.5	7	41	6.92
43	MELASA	43	6.93	42.5	7	43	7

1A2. JUCARII

Nr.	Member	n=100		n=50		n=38	
		Rang	Nota medie	Rang	Nota medie	Rang	Nota medie
1	PAPUSA	1	1.01	1	1.02	1	1
2	MINGE	2	1.02	2	1.04	2	1.03
3	MASINUTA	3	1.04	3	1.08	3	1.05
4	URSULET DE PLUS	4	1.06	4	1.1	4	1.08
5	ANIMAL PLUSAT	5	1.09	5	1.18	5.5	1.16
6	PISTOL CU APA	6.5	1.13	6.5	1.26	5.5	1.16
7	SET DE CONSTRUCTII	6.5	1.13	6.5	1.26	8.5	1.21
8	JOC	8	1.15	8	1.3	8.5	1.21
9	CREIOANE COLORATE	9.5	1.18	9	1.36	8.5	1.21
10	CARTE DE COLORAT	9.5	1.18	10	1.6	8.5	1.21
11	JOC PUZZLE	11	1.51	14	1.78	11.5	1.39
12	AVION	12	1.63	13	1.72	13.5	1.55
13	TRACTOR	13.5	1.66	11.5	1.68	16.5	1.84
14	CAMIION	13.5	1.66	11.5	1.68	16.5	1.84
15	TOBA	15	1.68	16	1.96	15	1.58
16	COARDA	16	1.77	15	1.9	11.5	1.39
17	MASINA DE POMPIERI	17	2.01	17	2.12	13.5	1.55
18	SOLDATEI	18	2.03	20	2.26	20	2.05
19	CASA PAPUSII	19	2.08	18.5	2.14	21	2.11
20	SUNATOARE/MORISCA	20	2.09	21	2.28	18	1.89
21	PAPUSA DIN HARTIE	21	2.1	18.5	2.14	19	1.95
22	CALUT DE LEMN	22	2.3	22	2.32	24	2.37
23	PLASTELINA	23	2.35	23	2.34	22	2.16
24	CARTI DE JOC	24	2.36	24	2.54	23	2.32
25	PUSCA/PISTOL	25	2.62	26	2.68	26.5	2.63
26	PATINE	26	2.73	25	2.64	25	2.53
27	ZMEU	27	2.87	27	3.08	26.5	2.63
28	DAME	28	3.36	29.5	3.52	29	3.18
29	MONOPOLY	29	3.51	28	3.3	33	3.53
30	BALON	30	3.54	29.5	3.52	28	3.03
31	LEAGAN	31.5	3.75	32	3.66	33	3.53

32	SANIE	31.5	3.75	38	4.46	33	3.53
33	TITIREZ	33	3.77	31	3.58	33	3.53
34	TINTAR	34	3.83	33	3.78	33	3.53
35	RACHETA DE TENIS	35	3.84	35	4.06	30	3.39
36	ARC CU SAGETI	36	3.96	36	4.1	37	3.87
37	BICICLETA	37	4.04	34	4.02	36	3.82
38	CARTI DE JOC	38	4.17	37	4.28	38	3.92
39	CALUT DE LEMN	39	5.47	39	5.46	39	4.92
40	FARFURII	40	5.75	40.5	5.64	40	5.34
41	HOPA MITICA	41	5.96	40.5	5.64	41.5	6.05
42	CERC	42	6.52	42	6.3	44	6.37
43	JUCARIE PE SFOARA	43	6.55	43	6.38	45.5	6.87
44	CUTIE CU NISIP	44	6.8	44	6.7	43	6.21
45	BILE DE STICLA	45	6.85	45	6.8	41.5	6.05
46	PICIOROANGE	46	6.9	46	6.9	47	7
47	PALETA	47	6.95	47	7	45.5	6.87

1A3. LEGUME

Nr.	Membru	<i>n=100</i>		<i>n=50</i>		<i>n=38</i>	
		Rang	Nota medie	Rang	Nota medie	Rang	Nota medie
1	ROSIE	1	1.03	1	1	1	1
2	CARTOF	2	1.06	2	1.02	2	1.05
3	MORCOV	3	1.12	3	1.1	3.5	1.11
4	ARDEI GRAS	4	1.19	4	1.14	3.5	1.11
5	CEAPA	5	1.25	5	1.24	5	1.18
6	CEAPA VERDE	6	1.34	6	1.34	6	1.24
7	USTUROI	7	1.41	7	1.44	7.5	1.39
8	FASOLE	8	1.44	8	1.46	9.5	1.55
9	MAZARE	9	1.51	9	1.48	9.5	1.55
10	SALATA	10	1.65	11	1.7	7.5	1.39
11	CASTRAVETE	11	1.66	10	1.52	14.5	1.76
12	CONOPIDA	12	1.82	12	1.88	11	1.66
13	STEVIE	13.5	1.97	14.5	2.08	17.5	2.08
14	LOBODA	13.5	1.97	14.5	2.08	17.5	2.08
15	EGG PLANT	15	2.01	13	2.02	12	1.74
16	SPANAC	16	2.04	18	2.18	19	2.16
17	FASOLE VERDE	17.5	2.08	16	2.16	14.5	1.76
18	PASTARNAC	17.5	2.08	20	2.34	28	2.68
19	PATRUNJEL	19.5	2.13	18	2.18	14.5	1.76
20	MARAR	19.5	2.13	18	2.18	14.5	1.76
21	HREAN	21	2.26	23	2.52	25	2.58
22	CIUPERCI	22	2.37	25.5	2.64	21.5	2.5
23	MURATURI	23	2.38	28	2.72	27	2.66
24	SFECLA ROSIE	24	2.54	32	3.04	29	2.82
25	TELINA	25	2.55	27	2.68	21.5	2.5
26	RIDICHE	26.5	2.58	21.5	2.46	23.5	2.53
27	PRAZ	26.5	2.58	21.5	2.46	23.5	2.53
28	OREZ	28	2.68	30.5	2.9	33	3.95
29	ARDEI IUTE	29	2.7	24	2.6	20	2.47
30	DOVLECEL	30	2.74	29	2.78	26	2.61
31	PORUMB	31	2.84	25.5	2.64	30	3.47
32	ANDIVA	32	2.92	30.5	2.9	32	3.82
33	SPARANGHEL	33	3.36	34	3.8	35	4.82

34	VARZA ACRA	34	3.55	35	3.88	36	5.21
35	IERBURI	35	3.87	33	3.78	31	3.58
36	AVOCADO	36	3.94	37	5.22	37	5.32
37	VARZA DE BRUXELLES	37	4.25	38	5.34	38	6.5
38	NAP	38	4.96	36	4.62	34	4.29
39	ANGHINARE	39	5.97	40	6.28	41.5	6.87
40	BROCCOLI	40	6.09	39	6.24	41.5	6.87
41	PAPADIE	41.5	6.71	41.5	6.78	39.5	6.68
42	BOBALNIC	41.5	6.71	41.5	6.78	39.5	6.68
43	ALUNE	43	6.79	43	6.9	43	7

1A4. ARME

Nr.	Membru	n=100		n=50		n=38	
		Rang	Nota medie	Rang	Nota medie	Rang	Nota medie
1	PISTOL	1.5	1.02	1.5	1	1.5	1
2	REVOLVER	1.5	1.02	1.5	1	1.5	1
3	PUSCA	3	1.06	3	1.08	3	1.03
4	PUSCA MITRALIERA	4	1.08	4	1.12	4	1.08
5	CUTIT	5	1.13	5	1.14	5	1.11
6	PUSCA DE VANATOARE	6	1.15	6	1.18	6	1.13
7	SIS	7	1.45	7	1.22	7	1.18
8	PUMNAL	8	1.64	8	1.32	10	1.53
9	SABIE	9	1.66	12	1.48	11	1.58
10	BOMBA	10	1.68	9	1.36	8	1.34
11	TUN	11	1.78	10	1.38	9	1.42
12	TANC	12	2	14	1.58	21	2.24
13	PROIECTIL	13	2.08	15	1.68	18.5	2.18
14	GRENADA DE MANA	14	2.09	11	1.46	12	1.76
15	BOMBA ATOMICA	15.5	2.1	16	1.7	13	1.82
16	GAZ LACRIMOGEN	15.5	2.1	17	1.88	18.5	2.18
17	BAIONETA	17	2.11	13	1.56	14	1.84
18	ARC CU SAGETI	18.5	2.24	18.8	1.96	21	2.24
19	SAGEATA	18.5	2.24	18.5	1.96	21	2.24
20	TOMAHAWK	20	2.37	23	2.26	23	2.53
21	PUSCA CU BUTOI	21	2.57	20	2.08	29	2.95
22	GLONT	22	2.77	30	2.84	31	3.16
23	BALTAG	24	2.83	28	2.68	15	1.92
24	TOPOR	24	2.83	21.5	2.1	26.5	2.71
25	CIOCAN	24	2.83	21.5	2.1	26.5	2.71
26	CUTIT DE GHEATA	26	2.86	27	2.66	30	2.97
27	LANCE	27	3.34	26	2.48	25	2.66
28	STANCA	28.5	3.41	31.5	2.96	32.5	3.37
29	CARAMIZI	28.5	3.41	31.5	2.96	32.5	3.37
30	BAT	30.5	3.54	24.5	2.4	16.5	2.08
31	CIOMAG/BATA	30.5	3.54	24.5	2.4	16.5	2.08
32	SULITA	32	3.57	29	2.74	28	2.87
33	OTRAVA	33	3.62	33	3.14	37	4.5
34	PRASTIE	34	3.84	34	3.32	34	4
35	FOARFECA	35	3.99	39	3.98	35	4.05
36	JUDO	36	4.02	38	3.94	36	4.32
37	PIATRA	37	4.27	35	3.64	24	2.63
38	LAMA DE RAS	38	4.3	36	3.7	38.5	4.58
39	FUNIE	39	4.46	37	3.76	38.5	4.58

40	LANT	40	4.72	40	4.46	40	5.18
41	GAZ	41	5.05	41	4.94	44	6.13
42	PUMNI	42.5	5.93	42.5	5.56	42	5.34
43	MANA	42.5	5.93	42.5	5.56	42	5.34
44	PICIOR	44.5	6.43	44.5	6.44	42	5.34
45	PANTOFI	44.5	6.43	44.5	6.44	45	6.34
46	CUVINTE	46	6.87	46	6.96	46	6.97

TABLE 4.

Membru	Atribute															Frecventa relativa			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	seria 1	seria 2	seria 3	
VRABIE	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15					15		1,000	0.900	0.667	
RANDUNICA	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15		7			15		1,000	0.900	0.698	
CIOARA	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	10			2		15		1,000	0.867	0.653	
PORUMBEL	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	10	11	5	10	4	8	14	3	1,000	0.873	0.756	
GAINA	15	15	15	15	15	15	9	8	8	10	15	3		15		1,000	0.833	0.702	
PUI	15	15	15	15			15	7	15	10	15			15		0.667	0.713	0.609	
LEBADA	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	2	2		1	11	10	5	5	1,000	0.660	0.582	
CIOCANITOARE	15	15	15	15	11	15	7	2	9			1	6	4	4	0.956	0.693	0.529	
PAPAGAL	15	15	15	15	15	15	7	2	10	13		2	12	2	3	1,000	0.813	0.627	
STRUT	15	15	15	15	4	15	2			3		12	9	1	5	0.878	0.560	0.493	
PASARECARDINAL	15	15	15	15	14	15	13	1	7					13	1	15	0.989	0.733	0.618
LILIANI	15	15			14									1	1	0.489	0.293	0.204	

LIST 4A. BIRDS

ATTRIBUTES	
1.	has a beak
2.	has 2 wings
3.	has 2 legs
4.	has feathers
5.	can fly
6.	lays eggs
7.	small
8.	chirps/sings
9.	has short legs
10.	it is kept in a cage
11.	it is reared for meat/eggs/feathers
12.	has long neck
13.	has decorative feathers
14.	it is common
15.	it is exotic

TABLE 6A1. VEGETABLES

Member	Par excellence	Technically speaking	Strictly speaking	Loosely speaking	Sort of
ROSIE	T	F	F	F	F
CARTOF	T	F	F	F	F
MORCOV	T	F	F	F	F
FASOLE VERDE	Cl. to T	Cl. to F	F	F	F
MARAR	Cl. to T	Cl. to F	Cl. to F	Cl. to F	T
HREAN	Cl. to T	Cl. to T	Cl. to F	Cl. to F	T
SPARANGHEL	Cl. to F	Cl. to T	Cl. to T	Cl. to T	T
VARZA DE BRUXELLES	Cl. to F	Cl. to T	Cl. to T	Cl. to T	Cl. to T
NAP	Cl. to F	Cl. to T	Cl. to T	Cl. to T	Cl. to T

PAPADIE	F	Cl. to F	Cl. to F	Cl. to T	F
BOBALNIC	F	Cl. to F	Cl. to F	Cl. to T	F
ALUNE	F	F	F	Cl. to T	F

TABLE 6A2. BIRDS

Member	Par excellence	Technically speaking	Strictly speaking	Loosely speaking	Sort of
VRABIE	T	F	F	F	F
RANDUNICA	T	F	F	F	F
CIOARA	T	F	F	F	F
PORUMBEL	Cl to T	Cl to F	Cl to F	F	T
GAINA	Cl to T	Cl to F	Cl to F	Cl to F	T
PUI	Cl to T	Cl to F	Cl to T	Cl to F	T
LEBADA	Cl to T	Cl to F	Cl to T	Cl to F	T
CIOCANITOARE	Cl to T	Cl to F	Cl to T	Cl to F	T
PAPAGAL	Cl to T	Cl to T	Cl to T	Cl to F	Cl to T
STRUT	Cl to F	Cl to T	Cl to T	Cl to T	Cl to T
TUCAN	Cl to F	Cl to F	Cl to T	Cl to T	Cl to T
LILIAN	F	F	F	Cl to T	F

TABLE 1 B

	Pearson coefficient		Spearman coefficient	
	All/Random	All/ In the country	All/Random	All/ In the country
WEAPONS	0.980	0.943	0.969	0.882
VEHICLES	0.990	0.983	0.994	0.978
VEGETABLES	0.986	0.950	0.971	0.944
TOYS	0.996	0.993	0.990	0.982
TOOLS	0.992	0.980	0.972	0.981
SPORTS	0.995	0.977	0.982	0.969
FURNITURE	0.980	0.937	0.957	0.884
FRUITS	0.984	0.984	0.967	0.979
CLOTHING	0.997	0.965	0.997	0.965
BIRDS	0.992	0.979	0.979	0.967

TABLE 3

Category	Pairs	Time response
1. MOBILA	SCAUN - SCAUN	1 sec.
2. PASARE	VRABIE - VRABIE	1 sec.
3. ARMA	PISTOL - PISTOL	1 sec.
1. MOBILA	LAMPA - SOBA	6 sec.
2. PASARE	EGRETE - STRUT	6.5 sec
3. ARMA	BAT - PIATRA	8 sec.
1. MOBILA	TELEFON - COS DE GUNOI	14 sec.
2. PASARE	EMU - LILIAN	16.5 sec
3. ARMA	PANTOFI - CUVINTE	19 sec.

TABLE 2.

Pasari	Fructe	Legume	Mobila	Arme	Unelte	Imbracaminte	Jucarii	Sporturi	Vehicule
VRABIE	MAR	ROSIE	PAT	PISTOL REVOLVER	CIOCAN	HAINA	PAPUSA	FOTBAL	MASINA
RANDUNICA	PARA	CARTOF	SCAUN	CUTIT	FIERASTRAU	PANTALON	MASINUTA	HANDBAL	CAMION
CIOARA	CAISA PIERSICA	FASOLE	MASA	PUSCA	SURUBELNITA	COSTUM	MINGE	BASCHET	AUTOBUZ
PORUMBEL		MORCOV			BURGHIU	ROCHIE	URSULET DIN PLUS	TENIS	BICICLETA

SOME REMARKS CONCERNING THE SEMANTICS OF COLLOCATIONS¹

Introduction

Language, whether in its written or spoken form, is the ever-evolving means by which people can communicate their thoughts, feelings, and attitudes, whether considering inter- or intra-cultural communication. Nevertheless, language is also a major source of difficulties in both these types of communication.

Specialists agree that language is often ambiguous which means that speakers can sometimes be uncertain as regards what their interlocutors mean – whether in speaking or in writing. To put it differently, in spite of its complexity, language cannot always fully express the **meanings** intended by speakers.

Although closely related to semantics, **meaning** is traceable at different linguistic levels. When referring to **fixed lexical patterns** in general, and to **collocations** in particular, the general assumption is that the formal and semantic independence of a **word** is affected, to a certain extent in such patterns.

Some specialists consider that "in a lexical analysis it is the lexical restriction that is under focus, i.e. the extent to which an item is specified by its collocational environment" [1], but recent studies on **collocations** stress the idea that it is more useful to analyze and explain the degree to which **meaning** conditions the fixed co-occurrences of words ¹. The specialists sharing this idea suggest that in studying **collocations** the lexical analysis must always be doubled by a rather extensive analysis of the semantic aspects involved in the creation and appropriate functioning of such patterns. The individual meanings of the lexical items making up **collocations** and the semantic changes resulting from the interaction between them are essential elements which may explain certain lexical choices and constraints. Hence, the necessity to enlarge on some relevant cases in which the words making up collocations preserve or not their individual meanings.

1. On the semantics of words

The interaction of lexicology and semantics in the study of **words** and lexical patterns has been suggested and demonstrated by many specialists, but their views with respect to the way in which the two branches condition each other are quite different.

Some suggest that the **meaning of words** can be deduced strictly by identifying and analyzing their basic semantic features, whereas others consider that, since human speech is greatly influenced by non-linguistic factors, the **semantic** analysis of words requires a multiple-sided approach, rather than a unilateral one.

Many individual **words** are semantically ambiguous or indeterminate in isolation. The factors conditioning the ambiguity of words are generally agreed to be either linguistic,

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or extralinguistic, and, depending on the nature of the aspects hindering the semantic transparency of words, different solutions have been suggested.

As regards the linguistic factors conditioning the semantic ambiguity of a word, they hardly ever trouble speakers in practice, because most often the words in the immediately surrounding text help speakers discriminate between the different senses that the respective word might have. For example, the meaning of the noun *surgery* which is ambiguous in isolation becomes accessible if one of the words *plastic/ cosmetic/ extensive /major/ successful surgery, to undergo/ to carry out/ to respond to, patients need* can be found in its surrounding text. In other words, the meaning 'a medical procedure involving cutting a patient's body open' will be identified as appropriate for the noun *surgery* and differentiated from its other possible meanings if the surrounding text is provided.

Moreover, multiple ambiguities at **word** level usually dissolve in context. This is best illustrated by combinations of words in phrases which are, in Stubbs' [2] words, "a good candidate for the basic semantic unit of language in use". This means that instead of trying to decode the **meaning** carried by **individual words**, speakers should start their semantic interpretation from the assumption that lexical phrases reveal the meaning of the individual words in it. The word Stubbs (2002) chooses to support this idea is the noun *bank*, which may be used to denote both 'the place where one keeps money' and 'an area of sloping, raised ground around a stretch of water or under shallow water'. Since the appropriate meaning of this word cannot be grasped in isolation, speakers should consider the possibility of identifying patterns such as *bank account, bank balance, bank robbery, piggy bank* or *canal bank, river bank*, which will reveal the correct semantic interpretation of the noun under discussion. Another explanation provided in such cases is that since the **meaning of a word** is not independent of its environment, including the **co-text** in which it occurs, that word will predict other related words likely to occur round about it, just as the co-text will predict the word, or one very likely to it.

Besides linguistically-ambiguous situations such as the ones mentioned above, the meanings of words may be less accessible to speakers due to extralinguistic factors, both social and cultural. In such situations, the semantic interpretation of **words** can only be made if there is a balance between inference and convention.

2. Words on the axes of meaning

Among the possible approaches to the study of collocations, an important position is occupied by those studies which analyze **collocations**, and other (fixed) lexical patterns from the perspective of the two **axes of meaning**. Although some of these studies restrict their analysis to the category of **word**, they are nevertheless important and useful for the better understanding of the way in which **word meaning** is affected in the **lexical strings** created on the **syntagmatic** and **paradigmatic** axes.

One of the specialists approaching the meaning of **isolated words** on the two axes is Lyons (1995). In his analysis, Lyons identifies two types of sense relations that exist between words, namely **substitutional** (syntagmatic) and **combinatorial** (paradigmatic) relations. He considers that the former are "those relations which hold between intersubstitutable members of the same grammatical category", whereas the latter "hold typically, though not necessarily, between expressions of different grammatical categories which can be put together in grammatically well-formed combinations" [3].

In considering **combinatorial relations**, mention should be made that they are conditioned by collocational restrictions. In the case of highly restricted lexemes, their combinatorial relations are impossible to predict if they occur separately. Nevertheless, any lexeme, irrespective of its restrictions as regards collocational acceptability, includes both substitutional and combinatorial relations. For example, the combinatorial relations of the

adjective *stale* are difficult to predict if it is separated by the nouns *bread* (denotative meaning) and *news* (connotative meaning). Although its use is conditioned by obvious collocational restrictions, the adjective *stale* enters both in **substitutional** and **combinatorial** relations with other words. The replacement of the adjective *stale* by *fresh* is an illustration of the **substitutional** relation, whereas the replacement of the noun *bread* by *news* exemplifies the **combinatorial** relation existing between the two words.

A different approach is suggested by Howard and Zé Amvela (2000) who explore the two axes of meaning from the perspective of the lexical field theory. Starting from the generally shared idea that the vocabulary of a language is essentially a dynamic and well-integrated system of lexemes structured by relationships of meaning, they point out that this system is changing continuously by the interaction of various forces. In addition, they suggest that the vocabulary of a language “is mainly characterized by the general-particular and part-whole relationships which hold not only between individual lexemes and the lexical fields within which they are best interpreted, but also between specific lexical fields and the vocabulary as a whole” [4].

When any word selected from a given context can be easily related with other words which resemble in form, meaning or in both, the relationship established between the respective words will be called **paradigmatic** or *in absentia*. Moreover, when a certain relationship will be established between words simultaneously used in a sequence, reference will be made to **syntagmatic** relations, or *in presentia*.

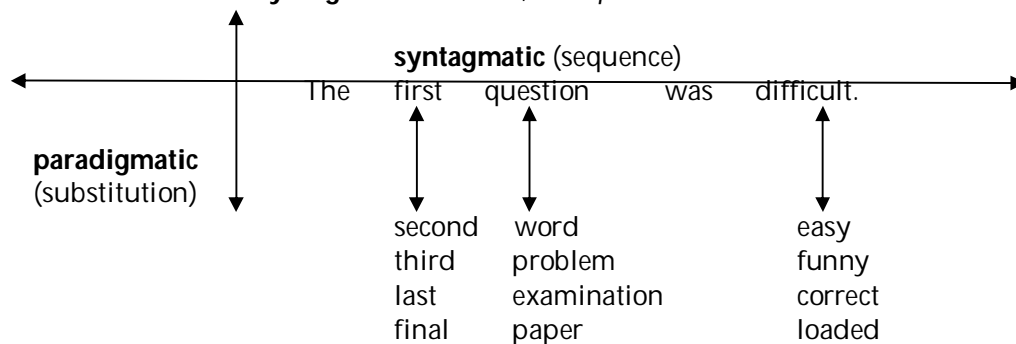


Fig. 1- Words on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes [4]

The same distinction is made by Palmer (1981) who states that “the paradigmatic relations are those into which a linguistic unit enters through being contrasted or substitutable, in a particular environment, with other similar units” whereas “the syntagmatic relations are those that a unit contacts by virtue of its co-occurrence with similar units” [5]

Furthermore, Geeraerts (1995) refers to the interaction of words on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes from the perspectives of **idioms**. He suggests that “the syntagmatic and paradigmatic dimensions of **idioms** are both twofold in the sense that both can be considered with regard to the original, literal meaning, and with regard to the derived, figurative meaning” [6]. Referring to the **paradigmatic dimension** of idioms, Geeraerts states that this dimension primarily involves the relationship between the original meaning of the idiomatic expression as a whole and its derived meaning. Moreover, he suggests that this dimension also involves the relationship between the original, literal meaning of the elements making up the idiomatic expression, and the interpretation given to those parts within the derived reading of the expression as a whole. As regards the **syntagmatic dimension** of idiomatic expressions, Geeraerts (1995) believes that it involves the relationship between the interpretation of the constituent parts of the expression, on the one

hand, and the interpretation of the expression as a whole, on the other. From this perspective, the conclusion can be drawn that syntagmatic meaning may be envisaged both with regard to the original meaning and with regard to the derived meaning of idioms.

Last, but not least, reference should be made to Sinclair's approach to **collocations** from the perspective of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes of meaning. Starting from the idea that the **paradigmatic** axis specifies the possible choices at a particular position on the syntagmatic axis, and the **syntagmatic** axis controls the structure which is being elaborated, Sinclair observes that **text** is **syntagmatic** and the **paradigms** are those elements which might have been chosen instead [7].

Moreover, considering the levels of grammar and lexis, Sinclair states that the syntagmatic axis of meaning corresponds to grammar, whereas the paradigmatic one corresponds to lexis. Such a perspective gives rise to the so-called **slot-and-filler model** according to which the syntactic structures forming a series of slots are filled with choices from the dictionary.

As regards the interaction between the syntagmatic patterns of language, Sinclair (2004) believes that they are not given meaning in a paradigm grammar, nor are they given meaning in a dictionary type of lexis. This is due to the fact that the **syntagmatic patterns of grammar** are either given as related through a node, or they are simply declared, whereas **the syntagmatic patterns of lexis** only appear in the byway of idiomatic phrases where they are offered as joint realizations of a single meaningful unit, indicating that they have no meaning in themselves.

Corpus linguistics studies seem to have found a solution to this problem with their general assumption that meaning is created on both axes. The specialists adopting this approach believe that there is a balance between the '**phraseological tendency**' and the '**terminological tendency**' of words. If the former tendency is attested by the fact that speakers are inclined to choose several words at a time, the latter refers to the fact that language users tend to protect the meaning of a word or phrase, so that its meaning remains known every time it is used.

The simultaneous observation of **pattern** and **meaning** is possible if both syntagmatic and paradigmatic aspects are taken into consideration. Moreover, the same interrelation has to be preserved in the case of **meaning** and **context**, because the interaction between these two involves at least partial co-selection. The absence of one of the two perspectives will hinder appropriate semantic interpretation. As Sinclair puts it, "the knock-on effect of a paradigmatic choice will be felt on the syntagmatic axis. If we start from the other axis, then any existing or proposed pattern of choice on the syntagmatic axis provides a framework for the interpretation of any choice made on the paradigmatic axis" [8].

3. Sense relations between words

Since **collocations** are fixed patterns formed on the basis of lexically- and semantically- conditioned **co-occurrences**, the members of a **collocation** are closely interrelated to each other, and any replacement in the structure of a collocation is most often semantically conditioned. In other words, neither of the collocation members can be replaced unless certain semantic criteria are fulfilled.

Moreover, replacements in the structure of a collocation will only be possible if the excluded member and the word taking its place are in some **sense relationship**, i.e. they are either **synonymous** or **antonymous**, or one of the two words is a **hyperonym** of the other. This explains why these **sense relations** are particularly useful not only for correct use of collocations, but also for the appropriate semantic interpretation of the words making up such fixed lexical patterns.

3.1. On the relevance of sense relations in discussing collocations

The approaches to **synonymy**, **antonymy** and **hyponymy** and the way in which these sense relations are relevant for the better understanding of **collocations** are as numerous as various.

3.1.1. As regards **synonymy**, Lyons (1995) argues the **collocational range** of an expression is very important because it clarifies the difference between **synonymy** and **near-synonymy**. This is due to the fact that two **synonyms** must have the same collocational range:

“It might be thought that the collocational range of an expression is wholly determined by its meaning, so that synonyms must have the same collocational range. But it does not seem to be so... there must be some subtle difference of lexical meanings which accounts for the collocational differences such that it is not synonymy, but near-synonymy that is involved” [9].

Therefore, two words may have quite similar senses, but their **collocability**, i.e. **co-occurrence restriction**, may not always be the same. For example, the adjective *spectacular* can modify the nouns *waterfall* or *landscape*, but not the nouns *disaster* or *crash* which collocate with *terrible*. This is an argument to be set forth in favour of the dependence of meaning on context. The meaning of words can be regarded as “a pattern of affinities and disaffinities with all the other words in the language” [10]. Thus, meaning is closely connected with the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations between items within the same linguistic system, and the context for the definition of meaning is internal to language.

3.1.2. Furthermore, an interesting perspective on **antonyms**² is suggested by Stubbs (2002: 38). Starting from the idea that **antonyms** are words opposite in meaning, Stubbs points out that every word has a **core meaning** and a prototypical antonym. Moreover, he suggests that although antonymy has traditionally been regarded as a paradigmatic opposition permanently available in the lexicon of a language, this sense relation is better seen as a syntagmatic relation, which is realized in **co-text** (e.g. *dry socks* ≠ *wet socks*, *dry season* ≠ *wet/rainy season*, *dry wine* ≠ *sweet wine*, *dry skin* ≠ *moist skin*; *white coffee* ≠ *black coffee*, *white wine* ≠ *red wine*, *white collar* ≠ *blue collar*).

3.1.3. Last but not least, **hyponymy** is an inclusive sense relation that exists between specific and general lexical items, the meaning of the specific item being included in the meaning of the more general item [11]. This sense relation is obvious both in the case of individual **words** and of **collocations**. In addition, hyponymic relations are identifiable in general, but also in specialized (con)texts. (see the hyponymic trees below)

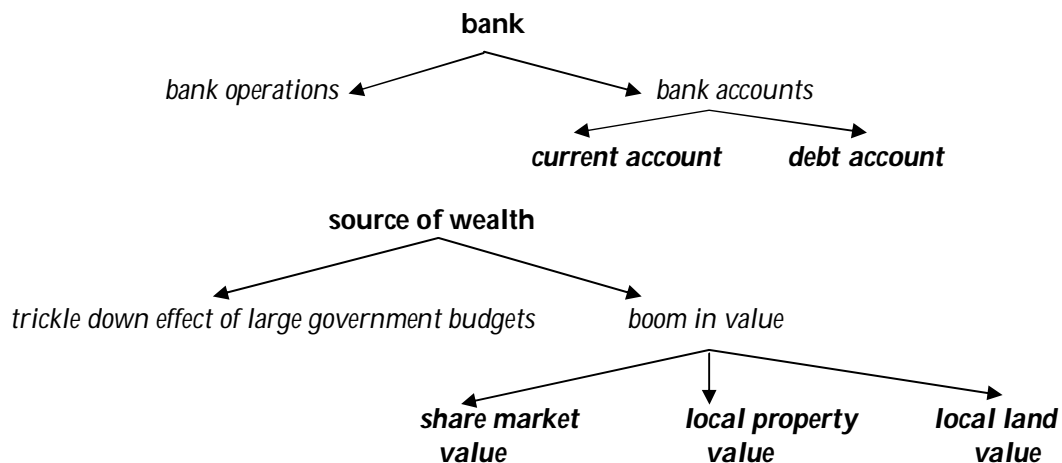


Fig. 2 - The hyponymic trees of the noun *bank* and of the collocation *source of wealth*

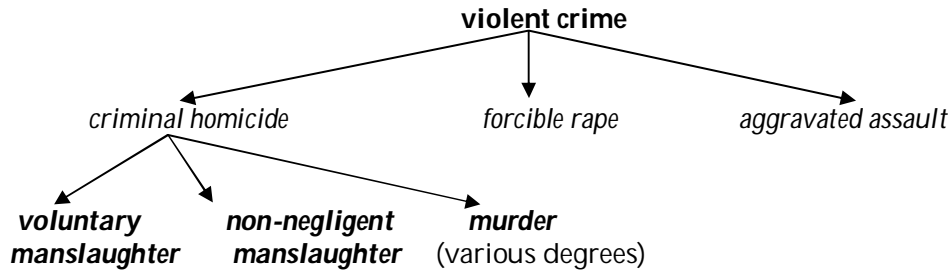


Fig. 3 - The hyponymic tree of the collocation *violent crime* [12]

Referring to **hyponymy** from the perspective of synonymy, Widdowson [13] states that “each superordinate necessarily possesses a semantic feature common to all its hyponyms to the extent that each co-hyponym has a distinct semantic specification, which serves as a superordinate to the next level of classification down, until all distinctive features are exhausted”. The conclusion he draws is that **synonymy** will always be present where two lexical items occur in the same position on the tree as **hyponyms**. Discussed from this perspective, **synonymy** is a *semantic* relation, but the extent to which synonyms have a different range of functions when they are actually put to use in contexts of communication is a matter of pragmatics, or meaning in context.

4. On some semantic classifications of (words and) collocations

As illustrated in the sections above, **meaning** is an important aspect when analyzing **words**, both in isolation and in combination with other words. However, a semantic approach to the words making up **collocations** cannot be complete if no reference is made to the relation between such fixed lexical patterns and **meaning**.

Although extensively defined and classified in specific lexico-semantic studies, **collocations** are not very well represented in what regards the **semantic classifications**. Moreover, some of these classifications are rather restrictive as they devote special attention to specific types of collocations (e.g. nominal collocations) rather than to collocations in general.

A valuable, indirect semantic classification of **collocations** worth mentioning is suggested by Pustejovsky in his *Qualia Structure Theory* [14]. Starting from the assumption that **the meaning of a word** is essential for the compositional interpretation of **collocations**, he explains that lexical items are associated with ‘atoms of meaning’ which can be accessed by other lexical items, and speakers can derive appropriate **meanings of collocations** compositionally by using his so-called ‘*qualia*’ i.e. a specific kind of semantic feature.

Pustejovsky [15] refers to the existence of four ‘*qualia*’, which may be interpreted as follows:

1. **Constitutive** - the relation between an object and its constituents or proper parts (material, weight, parts and component elements)
2. **Formal** – that which distinguishes the object within a larger domain (orientation, magnitude, shape, dimensionality, colour, position)
3. **Telic** – purpose and function of the object (purpose that the agent has in performing an act, build-in function or aim which specifies certain activities)
4. **Agentive** - factors involved in the origin or “bringing about” of an object (creator, artifact, natural kind, causal claim).

An appropriate formal representation of the 'qualia' features will provide a formal way of deriving the semantic interpretation of **collocations** by accessing semantic features of their constituent parts and by combining them compositionally.

Moreover, considering specific semantic features of words used in collocation, Martin (1992, qtd. in Carter 1998) [16] suggests a semantic grouping of **collocations** into four classes, namely:

1. **Componential** (e.g. *tall buildings, high mountains*)
2. **Modificational** (e.g. *bright sun, hot sun*)
3. **Resultative** (e.g. *bomb explosion, gas fire*)
4. **Utilitarian** (e.g. *framing hammer*).

A somehow different semantic classification of **collocations** is suggested by Sinclair (2004) [17]. Focussing on **shared meaning** and **co-selection restrictions**, he identifies the following types of **fixed lexical patterns**:

- **Phrasal verbs**: verb combinations in which each word contributes something, semantically recognizable, to the meaning of the whole. In some cases, it is mainly the verb, and in other cases it is mainly the particle that is prevailing in stating the meaning of the whole combination (e.g. *get / come along + with*);
- **Adj. + N.**: a) co-selection and **shared meaning** with the N; b) overlap of selections; c) partial emphasis of the meaning by the adjective (e.g. *scientific assessment / analysis / study / experiment*);
- **"Fixed phrases"**: variable phrases built round a slightly specialized meaning of a word that goes with a specific grammatical environment and in regular collocations; they show co-selection and shared meaning (e.g. *a piece / item of information, a word of advice, the prospect of an agreement, a breath / draught / gulp / sniff / whiff of air, the erosion of confidence, a collapse/ slump in demand, a stand against the enemy, limitations on expenditure, a fall in the output, the rate of unemployment, a (high) incidence of unemployment*);
- **Idioms**: there is no interpretation based on the "core" meanings of the two words; interpretation is based on metaphorical extension (e.g. *the naked eye*).

Last, but not least, a more restrictive semantic classification of collocations is made by Kavić [18] who refers to three types of **nominal collocations**, namely:

1. **Quantificational collocations** (N-of-N) used with an implied semantic component that determines and restricts the use of a particular collocation; the meaning is: a large number of, a large quantity of (e.g. *a shoal of fish, a herd of whales – a large number of fish / whales, a draught of fish – a large number of fish taken in one drawing of the net*);
2. **Quantificational plus** used with an additional, implied meaning which does restrict the use of collocation; their meaning refers to motion, manner of motion, behaviour, because they express a distinctive quality (e.g. *a hover of trout – the ability of trout to jump over steep rapids in a river*);
3. **Meaning relations** between N₁ and N₂, the preposition being different even with the same target noun (e.g. *a breach of agreement, a puff / rush of + (adj.) air, lack of confidence, a boom in demand, a boost to the economy, a stand against the enemy, an increase in expenditure, the outlook for the future, a rise in the output, the fight against unemployment, a drop / fall in unemployment*).

Such a classification considers all the possible meanings of the N₁ component of N₁-of-N₂ collocations, all the possible meanings of the N₂ component as well as the logical relations between possible meanings of the N₁ component and the characteristics of what is designated by the N₂ component (i.e. *a living being, a lifeless object, a mass noun*, etc.).

Conclusions

Far from having covered all the semantic aspects related to **words** and **collocations**, the present paper has hopefully given a glimpse of the ways in which **the meanings of words** may be altered, not only when words are used in **isolation**, but also when they combine with other words in **collocations**.

Moreover, enlarging on specific sense relations such as **synonymy**, **antonymy** and **hyponymy**, the paper attempted to prove that a semantic analysis of **collocations** in terms of these sense relations is useful in raising awareness as regards both **semantic** and **collocability restrictions**.

Finally, the semantic classifications of collocations included in this paper were considered as a means of proving that the **meanings of individual words** may be very relevant when assigning specific semantic features to the collocations in which they are used.

NOTES

1. J. R. Firth (1957) considers that the study of **meaning** should be viewed in terms of **function** in **context**. In other words, "the meaning of an utterance has to do with what the respective utterance is intended to achieve, rather than the meanings of individual words" [19].
2. Referring to **antonymy** in Italian, Marrinucci [20] states that "due lessemi sono **antonimi** quando i loro significati sono opposti ma ammettono al loro interno una gradazione di valori, nel senso che l'asserzione del primo non implica affatto una negazione dell'altro.

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ON A POSSIBLE STYLISTIC EVALUATION OF WORDS AND LEXICAL PATTERNS USED IN LITERARY TEXTS¹

Introduction

Words, whether used in isolation, or in combination with other words, have been approached from different perspectives and classified according to various criteria. The lexical and semantic approaches are the dominant ones, but the approach to **words** and **patterns** from the perspective of **stylistics** is also very useful and it brings to the fore a series of interesting aspects.

Such an approach is generally agreed to imply special attention not only to the ways in which the **patterns** of vocabulary and grammar are chosen according to the various functions they have, but also to the aspects identifiable at the interface between lexicogrammar and discourse and to the semantics of both **individual words** and **lexical patterns**.

If **individual words** give rise to a textual stylistic effect on their own, **lexical patterns** obviously increase the stylistic complexity of the texts they are part of. This results from the fact that **words** have countless possibilities to combine on the two axes of meaning, i.e. on the **syntagmatic** and **paradigmatic** axes.

Word combinations on the syntagmatic axis contribute to the creation of **context**, whereas paradigmatic combinations highlight various sense relations established between words, of which synonymy may be of greater importance to the study of stylistics. "Whether words are regarded as having a stylistic value of their own, or obtaining it from and through context, the following two situations are created:

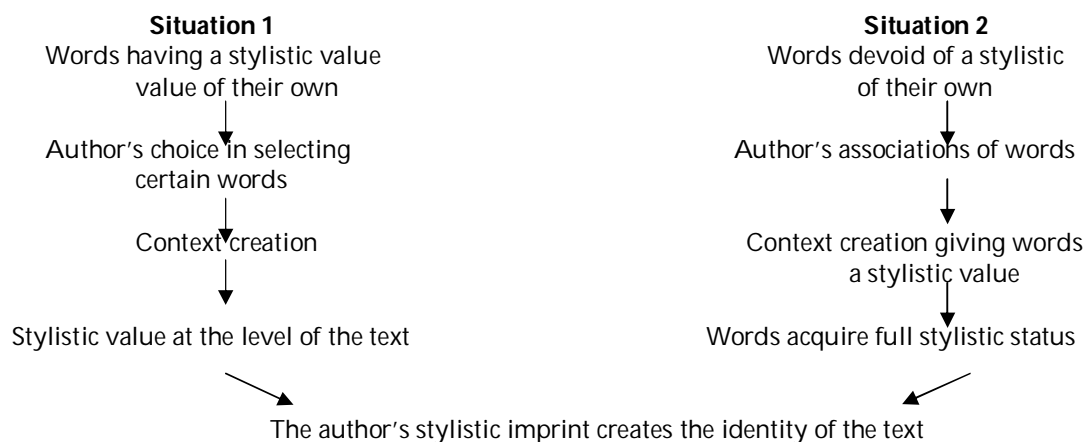


Fig. 1 - Sources of stylistic imprint and text identity [1]

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"[T]hese two perspectives of research may either be applied to different texts, which are part of the same type of discourse or of several types of discourse, or be used to distinguish among various stylistic effects within the same text" [2]. Nevertheless, the identity of the text will always bear the author's imprint, and a text built in this way will allow for a stylistic analysis of **words** and **word combinations** irrespective of the typology it fits in. **Literary texts** will most probably be stylistically analyzed according to the former model, whereas specialized texts are likely to fit in the latter model of analysis.

As regards the evaluation of texts, **patterns** and **words** according to the **functional styles**, mention should be made that, depending on the expressive language means used and on the purpose of communication such an evaluation is suitable at the level of **texts**, but is hardly effective at the level of **words** and **patterns**.

Assigning words and patterns to a **functional style** of language is a rather difficult task to fulfil, due to various factors. On the one hand, as suggested by Galperin,

the coinage of new lexical units, the development of meaning, the differentiation of words according to their stylistic evaluation and the spheres of usage, the correlation between meaning and concept and other problems connected with the vocabulary are so varied, that it is difficult to grasp the systematic character of the word-stock of a language. [3]

In addition, the fact that **words** may combine in more or less complex **lexical patterns**, that such patterns may alternate between conventionality and creativity and that the same word or pattern may be used with different meanings or in different text types, makes it very difficult to separate words and patterns according to a text typology. Last, but not least, many of the texts assumed to belong to a specific functional style are far from being the representatives of that style, due to their almost unconscious hybridization.

1. Some possible stylistic evaluations of words and patterns

A **stylistic evaluation** of **words** is possible if reference is made to their categorization according to the three generally agreed layers of vocabulary: the **literary** layer, the **neutral** layer, and the **colloquial** layer. Each of these three layers is represented by specific words, and these words, in their turn, may combine forming patterns which should, most often, preserve the specificity of the layer those words belong to. Thus, the **literary** vocabulary consists of common literary words, terms and learned words, poetic words, archaic words, barbarisms, and foreign words, literary coinages; the **colloquial** vocabulary falls into the groups of common colloquial words, slang, jargonisms, professional words, dialectal words, vulgar words, colloquial coinages; and the **standard vocabulary** is made up of the common literary and common colloquial words.

Some members of the **literary** and **colloquial** layers, such as words with emotive meaning only (interjections), words which have both referential and emotive meaning (**epithets**), or which retain a twofold meaning, i.e. **denotative** and **connotative** (love, hate, sympathy), words belonging to the layers of **slang** and **vulgar**, or to the **poetic** or **archaic** layers have an expressive power which cannot be doubted, especially if they are compared with members of the **neutral** vocabulary layer.

As regards **patterns**, more precisely **collocational patterns**, mention should be made that while grammatical collocations have very high frequencies in corpus data, the more colourful, **stylistically** marked expressions, apart from occurring infrequently, are often lexically or structurally manipulated in the contexts in which they appear.

Considering an approach to **collocations** from the perspective of **stylistics**, McIntosh [4] offers a framework for the determination of **style** in language. He states that "there is the

possibility of four obviously distinct **stylistic modes**: normal collocations and normal grammar, unusual collocations and normal grammar, normal collocations and unusual grammar and unusual collocations and unusual grammar". Thus, in his opinion, the speaker produces either language which is too familiar (*normal collocations and normal grammar*), or language which is unfamiliar and difficult to decode (*unusual collocations and unusual grammar*). The mixture of **normal** and **unusual collocations** will lead to **creative effects**. When lexical associations are too individual, i.e. they do not meet the condition of generality, it is more difficult to determine the acceptability of collocations than to decide over their grammaticality.

Sinclair's view is also worth mentioning. In his opinion, "words enter into meaningful relations with other words around them, and yet all our current descriptions marginalize the massive contribution to meaning. The main reason for this marginalization is that grammars are always given priority and grammars barricade themselves against individual patterns of words" [5].

Collocational and **colligational patterns** are meaning-creating and there are obvious interdependencies between grammar, lexis and semantics. Moreover, there are two points to be made: "firstly, that all words can be described in terms of patterns; secondly that words which share patterns, share meanings" [6].

Most (fixed) phraseological units are generally agreed to be **expressive**. **Set phrases**, **catch words**, **proverbs** and **sayings** have numerous elements which make them emphatic, mainly from the emotional point of view, and their use in every-day speech is remarkable for the subjective emotional colouring they produce. Moreover, **idiomatic collocational patterns** are also **colligational**, because their component elements belong to different morphological categories, i.e. adjectives, nouns and verbs (the case of **epithets**, of **similes**, e.g. *as merry as a lark, as strong as a horse, drink like a fish*, or the case of **metaphors**, e.g. *red herring, golden handshake, a bad patch, a cash cow*), or they have different syntactic functions, i.e. predicate and object (the case of certain metaphors e.g. *spill the beans, guild the lily*).

Since language is assumed to be emotional, set expressions are naturally used in every-day speech. Nevertheless, when such expressions occur in **written texts**, it is either a matter of observing their logical meaning or a deliberate attempt to introduce an expressive element in the utterance. From this perspective, "the set expression is a time-honoured device to enliven speech, but it is more sparingly used in written texts" [7].

1.1. Out of the various stylistic devices used in expressive literary texts, the **epithet** is the most "subtle and delicate in character". The idea is shared that **epithets** can create an atmosphere of objective evaluation, whereas it actually conveys the subjective attitude of the writer, showing that he is partial in one way or another.

Formally and semantically speaking, "the **epithet** is a stylistic device based on the interplay of emotive and logical meaning in an attributive word, phrase or even sentence used to characterize an object and pointing out to the reader, and frequently imposing on him, some of the properties or features of the object with the aim of giving an individual perception and evaluation of these features or properties" [8]. Different from the logical attribute, which is purely objective and non-evaluating, the epithet is markedly subjective and evaluative. Moreover, the epithet makes a strong impact on the reader so that he unwittingly begins to see and evaluate things as the writer wants him to (e.g. *destructive charms, glorious sight, encouraging smile*).

Although **epithets** are lexical patterns in which words combine rather freely, I believe that they are important for our approach to **collocations**, because this specific type of pattern is illustrative for the way in which words may be creatively combined in literary texts.

1.2. Euphemisms are **words** or **phrases** used to replace a word or expression by a conventionally more acceptable one. In other words, **euphemisms** are synonyms which aim at producing deliberately a mild effect [9]. For example, the euphemistic word *to die* may be replaced by the milder variants *to pass away*, *to expire*, *to be no more*, *to depart*, *to join the majority*, *to be gone*, or by the more informal variants *to kick the bucket*, *to give up the ghost*, *to go west*.

Similarly to epithets, **euphemisms** are creative lexical patterns, but they are not limited to literary use. Moreover, **euphemisms** are illustrative of the way in which synonymy may be exploited in order to achieve a special communicative effect intended by the speaker or by the writer. Such an effect will be brought to the fore only by approaching **euphemisms** and other lexical patterns from a stylistic perspective [10].

1.3. Similes represent a valuable **stylistic resource** of expressive patterns most often regarded as inventive and original expressions which give information about behaviour, reactions or opinions, and may be easily understood by speakers without long explanations. However, the most common **similes** are familiar enough to be **clichés**.

As regards their constitutive elements, a large number of **similes** are made up of adjectives and nouns, their purpose being to compare a quality, condition, action: *as easy as pie* → foarte ușor, *as dead as a door nail* → mort de-a binelea.

The standard structure of similes is: **as + Adj. + as + N/NP** (e.g. *as ugly as sin* → urât ca dracul), or **like ...** (e.g. *like water off a duck's back* → ca găscă prin apă). Quite often **like** is omitted e.g. *(like) a red rag to a bull* → motiv de enervare/ iritare.

Sometimes, the structure of such similes may be modified. For example, *as thick as two short planks* can be shortened to *as thick as two planks*. Semantically and stylistically, this simile makes use of a pun on *thick*, which means 'stupid', as well as the opposite of *thin*. Certain verbal patterns, such as *work like a horse* → a munci din greu, function in a way similar to adjectival similes.

The preposition **as** expressing comparison comes before a noun phrase e.g. *as good as gold* → bun ca pâinea caldă, *as deaf as a post* → surd de-a binelea, *as drunk as a lord/newt* → mort de beat, beat crișă. In such comparisons, the first **as**, may be omitted: *quiet as a mouse* → foarte tăcut.

Similes are easily mistaken with mere comparisons, but while **similes** compare notions essentially dissimilar, making use of some features which make the parallel possible, **comparisons** establish a similarity between two or more nouns that are essentially alike: e.g. *as drunk as my friend* vs. *as drunk as a lord*.

Metaphors can also compare two or more dissimilar nouns, but they treat one as if it were the other. Thus, metaphors can be extended to and implied in a **simile** e.g. *as sweet as honey* → dulce ca mierea, *as thin as a rake* → slab ca o scândură, *as white as snow/a sheet* → alb ca zăpada/laptele/varul, depending on the pragmatic dimension of the context.

Similes are used not only in **literary** contexts, but also in **general** and **informal** situations. This is because **similes** are expressive and colourful lexical patterns, which give communication an amusing dimension.

1.4. Although resembling similes up to a point, **metaphors** are semantically more complex. They induce the hearer (or reader) to view a person, a thing, a state of affairs, a notion, etc. as being like something else, by applying to them linguistic expressions which are normally employed with reference to the latter. The metaphorical strategy of interpretation is most likely to be triggered off by a perception of incongruity or inappropriateness in the sentence when interpreted literally. If a **metaphor** is used sufficiently frequently with a particular meaning, it loses its characteristic flavour, or piquancy, its capacity to surprise and hearers encode the metaphorical meaning as one of the standard senses of expression.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1982), **metaphor** can be considered “a mere packaging device – a fancy linguistic wrapping, at best for otherwise plain ideas, at worse for nothing at all”. He also points out that **metaphor** as such “has often been praised by some for its decorative value and decried by others for hiding plain truths, but, almost always, it has been dismissed as irrelevant to matters of serious knowledge, truth and reality” [11].

As a frequently used stylistic device, **metaphor** may be differentiated from other expressive lexical patterns by its specific functions and constitutive elements.

1.4.1. Considering the former aspect, i.e. **the functions of metaphor**, Newmark [12] underlines the fact that “the general purpose of metaphor is to liven up other types of texts, to decorate imaginative literature, or to make them more colourful, dramatic and witty, notoriously in journalism”. In his opinion, “the main and one serious purpose of metaphor is to describe entities (objects or people), events, qualities, concepts or states of mind more comprehensively, concisely, vividly, and in a more complex way, than is possible by using literal language” [13].

Furthermore, Newmark underlines two other important **functions** of metaphor. On the one hand, he refers to the metaphor’s purpose of pleasing, sometimes aesthetically, of entertaining, amusing, often of drawing attention to a technical and physical subject, therefore of conceptually clarifying things, and to its purpose of indicating a resemblance between two more or less disparate objects, on the other.

1.4.2. As far as the **constituent elements of metaphor** are concerned, these are the **topic/tenor/ object**, which is the item described by the metaphor, the **vehicle / image**, which is the item in terms of which the object is described, and the **ground/sense**, which is the point of similarity that shows in what particular way the object and the image are similar.

1.4.3. Metaphors may be classified according to different criteria. If the type of discourse in which metaphors are used is under focus, reference can be made to three **types of metaphors**, i.e. **genuine, degraded** and **absolute**. **Genuine metaphors** are most often found in poetry and emotive prose, whereas **degraded metaphors** are largely used in the journalistic discourse as clichés, rendering a better rhythm to the sentence. In the case of **absolute metaphors** there is no clear-cut distinction between the idea and the image: e.g. *We have eyes in the back of our head* - ‘to know what is going on around one even when one cannot see it’.

Reference can also be made to **complex metaphors** which help to intensify the meaning of the collocational pattern, e.g. *That throws some light on the question*, and **compound metaphors** which have several points of similarity, e.g.: *He has the wild stag’s foot*.

Furthermore, depending of their freshness in language, metaphors can be divided in two classes, namely **active** and **dead metaphors**.

An **active metaphor** is relatively new and has not become part of every day language usage e.g. *You are my sun*, whereas in the case of **dead metaphors** their interpretation is not wholly predictable on first acquaintance: e.g. *to kick the bucket*.

A similar classification is provided by Galperin in his stylistic approach to language. He refers to two types of **metaphors**: i.e. **genuine metaphors**, which are absolutely unexpected and **dead/ trite metaphors**, which are commonly used in speech and sometimes fixed in dictionaries as expressive means of language. As regards the former class, Galperin [14] explains that they are regarded as belonging to language-in-action, whereas **trite metaphors** belong to the language-as-a-system, i.e. to the language proper, and are usually fixed in dictionaries as units of language. Consequently, **genuine metaphors** are most often found in poetry and emotive prose, different from **trite metaphors** which are generally used as expressive means in newspaper articles, in oratorical style and even in scientific language.

As suggested by Lombardo et. al. [15], sometimes **metaphors** turn into technical language, in which case they are **dead metaphors** for the members of that **discourse community**.

Mention is also made about the constant interaction between **genuine** and **trite metaphors**. This is obvious in the fact that good **genuine metaphors** may become trite through frequent repetition and consequently easily predictable, whereas **trite metaphors** may regain their freshness through the process of prolongation of the metaphor.

As regards the relationship of **metaphors** with **idiomatic collocational patterns**, Cruse [16] states that they have certain characteristics in common. On the one hand, their constituent elements do not yield a recurrent semantic contrast, which explains their not being semantically transparent. In addition, the effect of synonymous substitution and the continuous relevance of their literal meanings make the term 'opaque', used to denote such patterns, unsatisfactory. In Cruse's opinion, the term 'translucent' would be more appropriate. Finally, they are syntactically rigid. From a stylistic point of view, both **metaphors** and **idiomatic collocational patterns** are expressive means of language which are frequently used in the informal register. Moreover, considering the classes of **dead/trite** and **genuine** metaphors, reference should be made that they occur in texts specific to different discourse types, the former often occur in business-related newspaper articles, sometimes in an altered form, whereas the latter are traceable in literary texts.

1.5. Clichés are expressions which, due to their having become trite as a result of losing their aesthetic generating power, strive after originality (e.g. *rosy dreams of youth, deceptively simple*).

The term **cliché** was wrongly used to denote all stable word combinations, whereas it was coined to denote word combinations which have long lost their novelty and become trite, but which are used as if they were fresh and original and so have become irritating to people who are sensitive to the language they hear and read. All word combinations that do not surprise are labeled as clichés. [17]

1.6. Proverbs and sayings are facts of language characterized by rhythm, sometimes rhyme and/or alliteration, by brevity and by a specific content-form of the utterance.

A very important aspect specific to **proverbs** is the fact that the actual wording becomes a pattern which needs no new wording to suggest extensions of meaning which are contextual. In other words, a **proverb** presupposes a simultaneous application of two meanings: on the one hand, a primary meaning, and an extended meaning, drawn from the context, on the other.

As Galperin [18] puts it, "the proverb itself becomes a vessel into which new content is poured. The actual wording of a proverb, its primary meaning, narrows the field of possible extensions of meaning, i.e. the filling up of the form. That is why we may regard the proverb as a pattern of thought". Such patterns of thought are traceable in other lexical patterns (see **metaphors, euphemisms**), as well, and they prove very prolific due to the fact that abstract formulas offer a wider range of possible applications to practical purposes than concrete words though they may have the same purpose.

Proverbs are also important for their cultural markedness. These brief statements show in condensed form the accumulated life experience of the community and serve as conventional practical symbols for abstract ideas. In addition, they are usually didactic and image bearing and most of them have become polished and wrought into verse-like shape through frequent repetition: "*Early to bed and early to rise, /Makes a man healthy, wealthy and*

wise". Brevity in proverbs manifest in the omission of connectives: *First come, first served; Out of sight, out of mind.*

Nevertheless, the main feature distinguishing **proverbs** and **sayings** from ordinary utterances remains their **semantic** specificity, i.e. the fact that the literal meaning is suppressed by what may be termed their transferred meaning. The stylistic effect produced by such uses of proverbs and sayings is the result of a twofold application of language means. The modified form of the proverb is perceived against the background of the fixed form, thus enlivening the latter. Sometimes, as suggested by Galperin [19], "this injection of new vigour into the proverb causes a slight semantic re-evaluation of its generally accepted meaning. When a **proverb** is used in its unaltered form it can be qualified as an expressive means of the language; when used in a modified variant it assumes the one of the features of a stylistic device, **it acquires stylistic meaning**, though not becoming a stylistic device".

If used appropriately, **proverbs** and **sayings** are agreed to preserve their freshness and vigour. Besides, they may be used not only in their fixed form, (the traditional model), but also with modifications. However significant, these modifications will never break away from the invariants to such a degree that the correlation between the invariant model of a word combination and its variant ceases to be perceived by the reader. Since the predictability of a variant of a word combination is lower in comparison with its invariant, the use of such a unit in a modified form will always arrest our attention causing a much closer examination of the wording of the utterance in order to get the idea. [20]

Conclusions

Irrespective of the stylistically marked lexical patterns taken into account, their constant use in language leads, in one way or another, to the breaking up of their primary word meaning(s). Metaphors are a good illustrations of the ways in which the words making up such creative and stylistically marked lexical patterns are semantically enriched, in the sense that fresh connotations or shades of meaning are added to the dictionary meanings of these words. Nevertheless, however strong, this influence will never reach the degree where dictionary meanings entirely disappear. "It is a law of stylistics that in a stylistic device the stability of the dictionary meaning is always retained no matter how great the influence of the contextual meaning may be [21].

Last, but not least, "[T]he stylistic potential of the 'phrasicon' in any language is unchallengeable. Since phraseological units may be relevant stylistic devices, they are strong evidence of the existence of 'phraseo-stylistics' [22] which combines the systemic and communicative aspects of linguo-stylistic analysis [23].

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NOTES ON BRANCHING DEVELOPMENTS¹

Background information

When teaching language, it is natural to co-opt cultural studies towards an improved account of how lexical items become loaded with different types of information, after which they are effective tools in communication on multiple levels. While further down making use of a number of metaphors for vocabulary acquisition and syntactic expansion, we illustrate how one domain, containing the literal handling of 'branch' (botany), 'net' (fabrics), 'nest' (zoology), 'bond' (repair work, masonry), 'prime' (painting), comes to an offer of terms for operations in another domain, the textual composition. Similarly, medicine may be operative in the domain of casual conversation; or law can become operative in one domain belonging to the media. Therefore, such processes are best studied through specialist corpora for all the fine shades of semantic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic interpretations. In the discussion below, we will strive to emphasize the importance of both 'context of encounter' and 'genre' in establishing, activating and enlarging vocabulary and glossaries needed in translation work.

The Council of Europe, recognizing in 1971 the purport of establishing smaller sections or stages in the huge task of learning a foreign language, built a framework that comprises six main levels¹. From lowest to highest, they are known under the labels Breakthrough level (codified as A1), Waystage level (A2), Threshold (B1), Vantage (B2), Certificate in Advanced English (C1) and Certificate of Proficiency (C2). They all contain activities contextualized within domains. The domains are broadly and generically classified as personal, public, occupational and educational. The activities are subclassified as productive, receptive, interactive and mediating. Mediating activities subclassify and include translation, interpretation, summarizing and paraphrasing in order to facilitate communication. For top-level typical abilities, with the accumulated vocabulary along all stages, users of the foreign language can cope with casual conversation on a fairly wide range of familiar, predictable topics related to cultural issues. They can understand a great deal of what is available on TV, the radio and the press. They will write essays with only an occasional error in grammar or vocabulary. All in all, mastery of a subject can be shown if there is mastery of the behaviour of words in collocations, colligations, and semantic associations, practically all of a number of skilful ways of dealing with text production and interpretation.

Thus, we come to the main issue of this article: branching and debranching in linguistic activity metaphorically, after working out literal applications. For the former concept, we will think of answering the following queries: what can shoot a branch? How can we describe the act or process of branching out (or dividing into branches)? If we branch for development, are we praiseworthy? If we experience branching developments, do we need careful planning, not to freeze development? Can we think of branching **versus** merging, or branching **and** merging, or perhaps **debranching** and merging? For the latter

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concept, for debranching, we need to respond to the meaning of the prefix and envisage destruction of something, but at the same time we know we build something new. Thus, debranching makes us think of contextual encounters with: medicine (for example, vascular surgery and grafting), chemistry (for example, debranching enzymes from leaf extracts), forestry (for example, chopping branches or limbing, and harvesting operations).

As to what happens in textual linguistics, we approach the question in the following subsections of the article. Briefly, we shall say here that there is left-hand and also right-hand branching [1]. These terms (cf. Stephens & Waterhouse, 1990) point to the position of a verb relative to the qualifying phrases or clauses. We are inside a main clause: if its bulk is before the verb, we invoke left branching, whereas most words occurring after the verb indicate right branching. We are thus involved with a visual type of analysis. Moreover, formal characteristics of texts are given first-hand importance whenever linguists, translators and teaching staff work on fictional pieces. We are going to tackle literature (one poem and one essay) and its translation, as well as a few non-literary examples.

1. Syntactic and lexical issues

Texts cohere lexically within nets, and nets in their turn can be seen as a number of bonds, whereas bonds are primarily created on a linkage between words or between sentences. The mentioned linkage becomes analyzable as 'density of repetition', according to Hoey's approach [2]. The analyst can perform on a weak claim or on a strong claim. The former points to a pair of words related in a manner which is not entirely accounted for in terms of shared semes. The latter points to occurrences that compel the reading of certain pairs as intelligible in their context. Let us illustrate with the following caption for a few pieces of clothing in a fashion magazine²:

Snuggle up to this cozy trend: skiwear-inspired clothes that are comfy enough to lounge around in, yet chic enough to unleash on Saturday night. (*Oferiți-vă răsfățul acestei mode: haine inspirate de mersul la schi, destul de comode in interior, dar și cu șic pentru o petrecere de sâmbătă seara în oraș.*)

The parallel examination can start the discussion of cultural differences that inspire other lexical options in the translated version. Briefly, the net in English is *trend – clothes – chic*, while going forward in the text; the bonds, from final position backwards, are *unleash – lounge around in*, on the one hand, *chic and comfy* in opposition, *comfy and cozy* plus *cozy and snuggle up* in semantic reinforcement, on the other hand. Comfy-cozy-snuggle make a weak claim, whereas unleash and lounge make a stronger claim. Let us examine the Romanian transposition we offered. The net is *răsfăț – haine – petrecere* ('modă' gets grammatically backgrounded because of being cast in the possessive case, the role of the possessor). The created bonds are *oraș – interior*, *mers la schi – mers la petrecere*, *șic – modă, răsfăț – comod(itate)*. Thus, English culture foregrounds, as a cultural gain, what to put on, whereas Romanian culture foregrounds the occasion for the sake of which you put on certain items being advertised.

It is worth noting that the discussion of nets, bonds and the claims they make upon readers or language learners (all of them in fact being consumers of culture and cultured consumers) provides some mobility back and forth along the word strings. In contrast, the approach known as priming, to be explained and illustrated further down in our article, starts with a left-to-right linearity required by the need of the student to be 'primed', like a painter expected to prepare his surface first, before putting paint or colours down in his artistic act of creation.

Here are two sentences for us to see how an idea branches off; they are excerpted from a *Dilema veche* column (An VII, # 355/ 2010, p.3), part of the translation by Radu

Paraschivescu of the volume "Mincinosul" by Stephen Fry, published by Humanitas, 2008: *"Biffen inventase un joc al cărților în care fiecare trebuia să recunoască sincer ce cărți nu citise. Lady Helen rostea titluri de romane și piese clasice, iar dacă nu le citiseși, trebuia să ridici mâna."*

A progression from the textually-present 'fiecare' (making a weak claim to the idea of the whole group of people) to the textually-missing singular pronoun 'tu' (in the second sentence) is, in all probability, a non-deictic subject turned into a deictic subject which is no longer a second-person participant by necessity. The first-person storyteller is felt to be one in the group. In backward reading, the matter of raising one hand ('ridicatul mâinii') is in a bond with confessing ('a recunoaște'). The text actually makes explicit one of several possibilities existing for the expected act of admitting facts. The adverb of manner ('sincer') is superfluous, as long as there are only two open ways of responding. You did it or you didn't do it. But British culture is reputed for reliance upon 'sincerity' as a virtue, despite the felt trap of invoked sincerity much too often in discourse – a practice easily embraced by many Romanian youngsters. They developed this annoying speech habit which is the personal statement of trustworthiness initiating a statement (for example, 'sincer, mi-a plăcut foarte mult') only to give rise to suspicions. In this minute cultural problem, therefore, Romanian make-believe in English fashion seems to be home as a manifestation of the present-day mimetic drives. Thematically, the core or the 'trunk' is created by one notion: 'game'. Two domains are being merged: study (reading or not reading) and behavioural rules (putting up a hand or not, equivalent to admitting versus not admitting). The branches grow as follows: books and titles of books (out of the former domain) and sincerity and raised hands (out of the latter domain).

Syntactic branches take us to the problem of generating unbalanced or asymmetrical texts or, on the contrary, symmetrical constructions, in either case recipients of texts being offered an association with an aesthetic object (cf. Fabb, 2002) [3]. Nigel Fabb is ready to argue that an asymmetry, which can be of many kinds, often holds between elements which are in a paradoxical symmetrical relationship. In his views, symmetry begins to exist in sets of words preceding the message, whereas asymmetry starts via combinatorial operations. In our selected passages for analysis, we are going to point out forms as 'structure' (symmetrical manifestations) and forms as 'relation between' (asymmetrical manifestations).

We must conclude this subsection of the article with a statement about the peremptory translator's respect for syntactic hierarchies, which means reproducing both the parataxis and the relationship between main and subordinate clauses, like in the original.

2. Priming hypotheses

When a language user encounters words, he will turn to good account each such encounter so as to cumulate cultural, not only linguistic, effects: in other words, he has primed words for further use³. Initial priming is itself the object of further priming – this is the working hypothesis for Michael Hoey, the principal of a project team active in Great Britain (Liverpool). He and his co-investigators attempt to explain positive primings of relevant English lexis. They are set to investigate how many and what types of lexical items are primed to appear in text-initial (paragraph-initial) position. They identify lexical and grammatical patterns in their functional importance. They preferentially analyze corpus facts and news stories and show how primings "nest". Primings are tied to contexts, called by Hoey [4] "contexts of encounter". Later, when language users read, write, hear and speak, they subconsciously expect and replicate those very contexts of former experience. In sum, drawing evidence and data from language corpora, Hoey (ibidem) argues that learners acquire vocabulary which is always loaded with contexts of a rich variety, essentially linguistic, social and cultural.

Let us examine a poetic piece⁴ that we have tried on our students as a challenge which is surmountable to most of them in its aspects of mere linguistic competence and performance.

Foreigners are all the same, / exotic creatures/ keen on noise.// Doughnuts
complexions,/ and fiery tempers/ when not dipped in saccharine./ They prefer flesh
to fish./ Filled to capacity// with selfishness,/ they look after their own/ first. They
do not think it wrong.// There is a distinct smell of old milk./ Their sugar levels are
uncertain,/ liable to explode.// And most of them possess/ a careless flair/ for
turning the neatest room/ into dishevelment.// They cannot gauge politeness,/ their
talents do not extend/ to delicate matters.// Their women are loud,/ noses mostly
irresistible/ and faces enviably unflat/ (although they wrinkle early).// They cannot
sit still/ and have a tendency to wriggle./ A foreigner is always big./ You never see a
small one.// (*La fel, străinii toți,/ sunt ființe exotice/ îndrăgostite de zgomote.// Tenul de
gogoasă,/ temperamentul de foc,/ când nu e înmuiat în zaharină./ Preferă cărnuri, nu pește./
Cu stomacul plin// totul se li-pește de ei/ căutându-se pe sine/ mai-ntâi. Nu consideră că e
greșit.// Miroase inconfundabil a lapte vechi./ Nivelul zahărului e fluctuant,/ gata să
explodeze.// Și ei, mai toți, au o zestre/ de porniri slobode/ să facă din cea mai ordonată cameră/
o debandadă.// Nu pot găsi măsura politeții,/ talentele lor nu acoperă/ și chestiunile delicate.//
Femeile lor fac gură,/ au nasuri irezistibile, cele mai multe,/ și chipuri cu reliefuri de invidiat/
(deși se ridează de timpuriu).// Nu pot sta liniștiți/ și tind să se zoârcolească. Un străin e
totdeauna uriaș./ N-ai să vezi unul mărunț.)*

We can begin with the question whether the language used above is poetical or ordinary. Since there is no rhyme, one particular type of symmetry is given up. Another type of symmetry is present, namely what exists prior to this text as a systemic characteristic of the language. We have been careful to see that structures do not differ in *prime* and *target* sentences while translating. In this textual and also poetic development seen as morphological achievement, the trunk is compounded by the title-word, "foreigners", reinforced by the first grammatical subject through repetition and a number of pronominal items – "they"(four times)/"their" (four times)/"them" (once) – through pronoun substitution. These are the branches. A fifth, ambiguous "they" raises gender-reading problems to a translator, in the last sentence, being consequential upon the feminine or masculine option for the Romanian adjective ("*liniștiți*" or "*liniștite*"?) The determiner "their" and the oblique pronoun are univocal in reference.

In a syntactic perspective, left-hand branching, though outnumbered by right-hand branching, has two remarkable occurrences as soon as the second and third stanzas have been covered (one of the two occurrences actually creating an enjambment). It is discursively the insistent and balanced construct of the author trying to impact his reader better with what is achieved already in his referential area: the 'texture', the 'fabric' that constitutes foreignness, not only people known to be 'foreigners'. In a picture which makes foreigners prevail through two strong claims, body (related to mobility and physiognomy) and sound (level of noise production), there are a few weak claims which startle us through priming our dietary views on humans, instantly shifting perspectivity on them from an outsider's to an insider's cognoscibility. The most eccentric decision we found useful while translating has been fish-selfishness vs. *pește-lipește*, half copying the meaningful side and half deviating the grammar and the message for the sake of the pun, taking into consideration untranslatability in the process.

3. Branching and de-branching, Romanian fashion

Andrei Pleșu's⁵ text, partially reproduced below, is an all-round bitter and sarcastic reproach since its targeted endpoint is a manifestation of debunking. It deflates the myth of everlasting youth. It makes the demonstration about how being the branch of a solid structure can turn into a vain wish and ridiculous pretence too. To get disconnected by cutting off the branch can only be culturally processed in its implications by a Romanian native (the suggestive literal operations called "debranșare", which in late years have been caused by a differing context: saving money on the heating system at home). 'De-branching', in all probability, does not signify a thing to foreign eyes or ears. Botany is being primed for a medical issue and the subdomain of gerontology.

Sloganul, tipic modern, al senectuții 'branșate', 'angajate', 'sportive', recomandată ca sursă garantată a longevității, nu e decât o utopie medicală printre altele. Bătrînii care nu se pot opri, care se obligă la 'activitate', care concurează vesel tînăra generație sfîrșesc în penibil. Priviți cohorte de turiștilor de vîrsta a treia care împînzesc mapamondul: în pantaloni scurți, ceea ce exhibă triste colecții de mușchi delabrați și oase strîmbe, cu șepci zglobii, cu aparate de fotografiat pe piept și cu ranițe cochete în spate, lacomi fără vlagă, curioși fără perspective, tonici cu un soi de disperare, bine-dispuși în mod iresponsabil. "Foarte frumos!" - se grăbesc să spună apologetii îmbătrînirii igienice, falnice, 'verzi'. Ca și cum sănătatea sau înțelepciunea sînt speciile ale agitației. Firește, nu pledez pentru anchiloză și somnolență. Pledez pentru adecvare. Senectuții îi șade bine contemplativitatea. Contemplativitatea aceea, mereu amînată, de urgențele vîrstei de mijloc. Bătrînului i se potrivește plimbarea senină, forajul în adîncime, relectura, recapitularea. El iriază exemplar în ipostază statică. Un moș care țopăie e la fel de caraghios ca un hemiplegic care își ciupește de fund infirmiera. Trebuie să știi să te retragi la timp într-o experiență a intensității, într-o bună obsesivitate. În acest sens, trebuie spus că o doză convenabilă de 'bătrînețe' face parte din înzestrarea tuturor vîrstelor care se vor productive. "La nici o vîrstă nu trebuie să te intereseze totul." E esențial să triezi, să pui bine accentele, să temperezi impulsul cogniției gratuite, oricît de ispititor și de 'nobil' s-ar prezenta acest impuls. Curiozitatea trebuie să fie orientată, să aibă un 'sens' (adică o direcție), să fie însoțită mereu de un discernămint drastic. Altfel spus, e de dorit să îmbătrînești din vreme. În materie de cunoaștere, 'tinerețea fără bătrînețe' e o formă de imaturitate. (The typically modern catchword about 'being branched off', 'engaged', 'sportive', as a recommendation of warranted source for longevity, is nothing but medical utopia, among others. Our elders who cannot help themselves, who place themselves under an obligation toward 'activities', who merrily try to outrace the younger generation, end up in ridicule. Watch the crowds of third-age tourists who are thronging the planet: wearing shorts and sporting sad bundles of weakened muscles and crooked bones, sporting also jolly caps, breast-hanging cameras and coquettish sacks on their shoulders, greedy yet sapless, eager yet short-sighted, airs of tonicity in despair, irresponsible high mood. "Very nice" – the advocates of a hygienic 'green' strut towards seniority are in a hurry to proclaim. It's as if health and sanity are variants of nimbleness. Certainly my plea is not for stiffness and drowsiness. My plea is for appropriateness. Contemplation does become senescence. It is that contemplative look which middle age keeps postponing, owing to urgent jobs. The elderly gentleman looks fine in serene walks, in-depth probes, re-readings, surveys. He sets an inspirational model when statically radiating. A jumpy old man is as funny as a hemiplegic pinching the back of his nurse. You must know the timing for your retreat into an experience of intensities, of positive obsession. In this respect, one must say that a suitable dose of 'old age' is part of the endowment for all man's ages that mean to be productive. "There's no age for you to be necessarily interested in everything". The essential job for you is to sort out, to duly emphasize, to quench the drive towards gratuitous cognition, however tempting and 'noble' in spirit.

Curiosity must be steered, must be given a 'sense' (that is, a direction), always accompanied by drastic discerning power. In other words, it is desirable that you age in time. Related to cognition, 'everlasting youth' is a form of immaturity.)

Let us examine the effects achieved by Pleșu's essay in matters of priming. The main semantic associations promoted by his compositional clues are *longevitate-branșare* and *branșare-penibilitate*. The collocates that are priming arguments in this discourse can be extremely selectively listed as *senectute sportivă, sursă garantată, lacomi fără vlagă, îmbătrânire igienică, specii ale agitației, ipostază statică, discernământ drastic*. If we logically trace the direction of argumentation only by looking beyond these collocates, we can pin down (a) facts from life, (b) main goal, (c) description and classification of facts, (d) recommendation or pragmatic solution to the problem. Also, the following lexical items are being primed for grammatical roles: *cohortele turiștilor, împinzesc mapamondul, mușchi delabrați, bună obsesivitate*. The attitude of the rhetor is pointedly contained in the phrase "altfel spus"/ *in other words* opening the last statement: willingness to become explicit through paraphrase or reformulation. In contradistinction to the treatment given to the translation of poetry, in prose writing we found profitable to apply differences in syntactic structure between the texts, for example: Pleșu's thought *La nici o vîrstă nu trebuie să te intereseze totul*, which occurs as quotation (quoting who? an anonymous voice perhaps?) and priming the previously mentioned *vîrsta a treia* and *vîrste care se vor productive*. Our translation is a target oblivious of (rather, indifferent to) the prime: "There's no age for you to be necessarily interested in everything" at least for the fact that the grammatical active has become a passive voice construction. It is interesting to notice the application at this point of the 'rule' that speakers/writers are more likely to use a syntactic structure when *the same* syntactic structure was used in a previous sentence (*a te vrea & a te interesa; to be productive & to be interested*, as branches of the respective neighbouring encodings).

Covering the text with the purposeful idea of discussing the manner the antagonistic notions of *branșare-debranșare* actually send forth textual branches or developments, we observe the following: (1) a first section of the Romanian discourse & its translated version is insistent on the left-hand enrichment; (2) a median section is made up of particularly short subsections in need of no additions, right or left, whatever; (3) the final section, moderately concerned with the right-hand branching, also contains the words suggestive for the entire endeavour of the essayist expounding on his topic.

4. An application on conversational rituals

For youngsters with a vengeance, online texting is both oral improvisation and one particular mode of being 'branșat', while making use not only of images, but also of a secondary type of orality. Communication becomes anonymous and attractively free because each person and any person is accessible (in Romanian, both 'accesibil' and 'accesabil').

Moreover, we can attend debranching outside cyberspace, in more terrestrial developments. In life, the ordinary everyday atmosphere in which individuals are caught is an interaction dominated by spontaneity; Goffmanian concepts such as social actor, face, interpersonal ritual, face-work "operate" at this level. Let us exemplify with cases (they are frequent, indeed) when branching is a bother.

The one-word interrogation "*coboară?*" cannot make us talk about spontaneity in the full sense of the word. It is impossible for the driver to adopt for interlocutors each of the others present. Possibly, to all of them, simultaneously, again is an impossibility if the vehicle is crowded; if not so, a plural of politeness plus plurality "*coborâți?*" would satisfy and be conversationally acceptable. The presence of the third person in the verb has an appearance of exclusion of the audience, in the long run.

But the passengers, in their turn, often contribute to the novelty in the communicative situation. They may subconsciously show group solidarity in the cliché “*și la următoarea*” (the name of the stop optionally follows). Our attention is arrested this time not by a lexical compression of the very long “*există cineva sau careva dintre dumneavoastră care coboară la stația următoare?*”, instead we critically consider the superfluous presence of ‘și’ with adverbial role; it is a linguistic expression of the wish of the passengers to be classed with those who preceded them. Actually, the unnecessary initial item (even hilarious, if not in immediate performance after someone else’s audible request) has become an uncontrolled or uncontrollable utterance (the untranslatable Romanian “*tic*”, “*tic verbal*”), comparable to the irritating repetition of “*deci*” in an outlived bad habit.

Personal experience on the maxi-taxi as illustrated above supplies me with illustrations for concepts that represent the framework for a sociolinguistic analysis: *interpersonal vs. social; informal vs. formal; spontaneity vs. norm*. The problem is that, when trying to analyze the interpersonal rituals, these three pairs cannot be treated separately.

When we teach vocabulary and syntactic manifestness, we are culturally committed to explaining that there is a difference between the *community rites* (the subject of anthropology) and the *micro-rituals/interpersonal rituals* (socially and culturally integrated; the subject of communication sciences). The dichotomy is based on our taking into account the elements of a ritual: frame, participants, audience, roles, script, artifacts. The interpersonal rituals displayed above lack the high degree of solemnity, the sacred dimension and the elaborate structures envisaged by scholars such as Goffman [5]. Taking place in the everyday ritualistic space, they become performances within the limits and under the form of small or minor ceremonials.

We are, however, interested in words composing ceremonial speech acts that are part of unwritten scripts of behavioural routine and are meant to grant the individual a place among the others in a group (community), helping them create, maintain and re-create identities.

The representatives of micro-sociology and interactionism refer to an “apparent” informal frame of the interpersonal ritual. This characteristic is determined by the obligation for individuals of knowing and adapting themselves to a certain code of attitudes and behaviour, determined, in their turn, by the social and cultural norms of society. This is the frame within which the respect and self-disclosure contained by micro-social rituals can be identified.

Conclusions

Firstly, when communicators speak or write, listen or read, they subconsciously enter dialogue with the contexts of their own and others’ previous experience. Secondly, according to a modular view, a proficient bilingual will process languages independently of each other. Thirdly, according to an interactive view, the representations of both languages will strongly interact with each other during processing [6]. Fourthly, investigations either look at the lexical-level information or at the syntactic information that, in processing details, is closely tied to the respective lexemes. Fifthly, in relative clause attachments, branches function while being unrelated to the lexical entries. Lastly, when it is a matter of verbal art and not of ordinary language, a translated text splits from its elder original twin, and each will play its irrepeatable lexical and syntactic music.

NOTES

1. Internet sources will brief internet users on those levels set up by J. A. van Ek in 1975, and updated in 1991 by J. A. van Ek and J. L. M. Trim.
2. *Cosmopolitan*, Sept. 2010, p. 88.

3. One word – practically every word – is primed to occur with other words, that is, these are collocates. In colligations, every word is primed to occur with certain grammatical functions or to avoid certain grammatical positions. Every word is primed to join certain semantic sets, that is, it has semantic associations. Every word is primed for use in one or more grammatical roles, that is, it displays grammatical categories. Ossifications in language use are primarily expected from colligations. Collocations are more open to variation in time. Thus, if usage is to be kept under restrictions, the phenomenon of priming becomes essential and is worth studying.

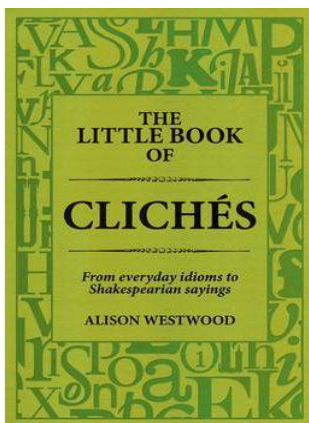
4. The poem “Foreigners” has been written by Judy Kendall, published in *Joy Change* (Cinnamon Press, 2010), and reprinted in *The European English Messenger*, vol. 19.1 Spring 2010, p. 39.

5. Our excerpt in quotation (for which we propose an English version) comes from *Dilema veche* (#246, 02 Nov./2008, p. 3). Like a sociologist, Andrei Pleșu documents the phenomenon of branching people (Romanian fashion).

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BOOK REVIEW



Alison Westwood, *The Little Book of Clichés*, Eastbourne: Omnipress, 2010, 160 p., ISBN 978-0-9559425-4-9

This volume continues the tradition established by other publishing houses which have shown a special interest in the popularization of clichés. The book falls within the same category of books i.e. that of explaining a special group of idioms, the clichés, but at the same time it has its particular features, which make it different from what has been made prior to its publication. Its graphic elements, illustrations or photos, page layout and the entry architecture provide the volume its user-friendly basic feature. Each cliché is dedicated a whole page and each entry consists of four

structural divisions, i.e. what it means..., where it comes from... how to use it... and Gordon Bennett! The final section whose heading is this exclamation of surprise refers to other language-related aspects, linguistic-pattern coincidences. Thus, to the proverb *a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush*, the Gordon Bennett! heading introduces the name of a small town in Lancaster County, USA, Bird-in-Hand, which was "named after an inn that had catered for passing travellers since the early 18th century" (p. 38).

Within its 160 pages the book presents a selection of clichés whose range, as its subtitle emphasizes it, covers examples 'from everyday idioms to Shakespearean sayings'. The book opens with a brief introduction followed by seven more or less balanced chapters so devised as to join together those word combinations which share a topic-related feature.

Westwood's presentation of English clichés groups them into 7 chapters. Chapter 1 is devoted to animal inanities, chapter 2 brings forward the Biblical biddings, and chapter 3 refers to patterns of Roman extraction. Chapter 4 focuses on Shakespearean sayings and chapter 5 displays 'nautical nuggets'; chapter 6 refers the 'Great Scott' while the final chapter deals with miscellaneous maxims.

The introduction to this book of clichés refers to this linguistic pattern in terms of its definition and evolution through the centuries. It also considers the attitude of some famous artists such as Salvador Dali or famous writers such as Shakespeare or Wilde with regard to these word associations and it alludes to their stylistic force. When used by "a clever writer", clichés may be "a source of original humour", or they may "make the remarks used more memorable and entertaining" (p. II).

The first of the chapters, *Animal Inanities* is preceded by a preamble and by the list of clichés discussed herein. The 16 selected clichés include a wide range of structures which start from the most reduced of them, i.e. two-member patterns as *crocodile tears* to continue with more elaborate noun phrase structures, such as *the best laid schemes of mice and men*, go

on through infinitival idiomatic structures of the *to-play-ducks-and-drakes* type or imperatives such as *don't look a gift horse in the mouth*, to finally reach the form of compound sentences, as is the case with *you can lead a horse to water, but you can't make it drink*.

The second chapter, **Biblical Biddings**, also opens with a preamble and approaches 14 clichés, which display nearly the same structural patterns, although most of them are nominal structures: *sour grapes*, *a fly in the ointment* or even *a man after my own heart*. There is also a compound sentence in this chapter, *the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak*.

The third chapter, **Roman Remarks**, is completely different from the others in that it consists of ten Latin quotations and only just one English pattern, the *wrong end of the stick*. The Latin examples also illustrate nominal structures (*mea culpa*, *quid pro quo*), verbless sentences (*ars longa vita brevis*), or even elaborate structures (*Quidquid Latine dictum sit, altum videtur* = everything said in Latin sounds profound).

The next chapter, **Shakespearean sayings**, is richer than the other chapters: it brings 16 clichés to the foreground. These are actually quotations from his literary creation and they are structurally as different as those in the preceding chapters but they also include a conditional sentence: *if music be the food of love, play on*.

The fifth chapter, **Nautical nuggets**, focuses on structures which have a seafaring theme and which "go back to the time of sailing ships" (p. 97). What is structurally noteworthy with some of these clichés is their symmetric patterning, or their imperative form. Thus, four of these clichés are made up according to the formula word + and + word (*cut and run*, *high and dry*, *hard and fast*), and four of them are imperative constructions (*fathom out*, *push the boat out*, *shake a leg*, *shiver me timbers*).

The sixth chapter, **Great Scott**, is a tribute paid to Sir Walter Scott, who "was widely read" during his lifetime (p. 121). Besides, he contributed to the making or the bringing to light of frequently quoted clichés, such as *blood is thicker than water*, *to show a cold shoulder* or even the French-borrowed *savoir faire*.

The preamble to the final chapter, **Miscellaneous Maxims**, could work for the concluding lines to the description of the clichés in this volume. The author summarizes the entries to amount to "... more than 100 clichés, adages, aphorisms, idioms, maxims, proverbs and pithy sayings..." (p. 141). Nevertheless, this chapter brings its own contribution with the 12 diversely-structured clichés. Compound sentences (*ask a silly question and you'll get a silly answer*) accompany infinitival constructions (*play it by the ear*) and imperatives (*don't try to teach your grandma to suck eggs*) and complete the selection of maxims with nominal constructions (*in the nick of time*, *once in a blue moon*, *storm in a teacup*).

To approach the book critically would mean to compare it to other publications of a similar content and usage and to refer to Westwood's accordingly. Thus, Partridge's first dictionary published in 1940, and then subsequently, in 1941, 1947, 1950, and 1978 and in an e-version in 2005 has already created a sort of tradition with this sort of lexicographic literature. The introduction to this dictionary classifies clichés "very roughly and [...] unsatisfactorily" into: idioms that have become clichés, hackneyed phrases, stock phrases and familiar quotations from foreign languages and quotations from English literature (p. xii). Secondly, Terry & David Freedman's dictionary has enjoyed wide popularity since its publication in 1996.

Unlike the above-mentioned, Westwood's dictionary brings in new elements: it comes with a helpful classification of English clichés into thematic chapters, with comprehensive information, with contextual exemplifications and with illustrations which make the book nicer, more amusing to explore and more practical to use with its spaces for annotations or personal observations, book marks, etc. If the number of entries is considered, then things change: the two above-mentioned are more consistent, Partridge's introduction is more scholarly; it is also abundant in examples to support the introductory theoretical statements. Both his and Terry & David Freedman's dictionaries present no proverb-like structure, as

the ones mentioned in the foregoing. All in all, Westwood's book of clichés opens new perspectives on this challenging topic and provides a new lexicographic format useful for those studying English as a foreign language.

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Floriana POPESCU

ABSTRACTS

Mădălina CERBAN, University of Craiova, ROMANIA
***Lexical Cohesion: Aspects of Collocation using
Halliday and Hasan's Systemic model of cohesion***

Lexical cohesion has been studied within several frameworks in the past few decades. In this paper we are concerned with the systemic functional approach of cohesion set out by Halliday and Hasan 1976 who defined it as a relationship established at the level of lexis, hence at a lexico - grammatical level. In order to emphasize the differences between this model and other models, we considered useful to mention some approaches: Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, Cruse 1986, Firth 1957, Sinclair 2004, Martin 1992.

Lexical cohesion is expressed by a set of lexico-grammatical systems that use specific resources in order to pass across the boundaries of the clause. At the level of reference, lexical cohesion is represented by reiterations, and at the level of wording, by reiterations and collocations. Reiterations can be expressed by the same word (having the same reference), by synonyms or near-synonyms (having an inclusive reference), superordinates (having an exclusive reference) and general words (having unrelated reference). At the level of wording there have been identified three types of collocations within systemic functional framework: ordered sets, activity-related collocations and elaborative collocations. The ordered set collocation is the clearest of the three categories and the closest to a more systematic reiteration. The activity-related collocation is nonsystematic, based only on an association between items and, as a result, it can neither be defined precisely nor classified systematically. The elaborative collocation is a category of collocations which consists of pairs whose relation is impossible to define more specifically than stating that the items which can expand on the same topic.

However, the relation is created in a frame in which structures are evoked by lexical items. In this paper we are going to discuss each type, pointing out the differences among them and exemplifying them with texts.

Key words: grammatical resources, reference, trigger, associate items

Sofia DIMA, University of Galati, ROMANIA
Grammaire contrastive et traduction

The present paper aims at commenting upon a series of contrastive elements (French – English) which play an important role especially in literary translation proving at the same time the close connection existing between these two contrasting linguistic systems and the fact that this activity is far from being a mere transposition.

Key words: linguistic systems, contrastive elements, transcoding errors, syntactic structures, semantic relations

Monica EFTIMIE, University of Galați, ROMANIA
“4 luni, 3 săptămâni, 2 zile”. The Challenges of Subtitling

The importance of the media in contemporary society is undeniable. All media, television and cinema in particular, have the potential for expanding people's understanding of how local, national, and international events affect individual lives, but in actual practice they usually fall short of fulfilling this function. Along with the development of the film industry, the problem of translation began taking shape. In order to make the audiovisual programmes accessible to audiences unfamiliar with the original language, different types of language transfer on the screen have emerged, the most important being dubbing and subtitling.

The present paper focuses on the analysis of the main constraints the subtitler had to cope with while translating *4 Luni, 3 Saptamani si 2 Zile*, a Romanian film directed by Cristian Mungiu.

Key words: mass media, film translation modes, subtitling, technical constraints.

Veneranda HARJULLA and Marsela HARIZAJ, University of Vlora, ALBANIA
The Construction of Cultural Meaning as Action

Meaning is never achieved once and for all. It must be conquered anew in every utterance through the verbal actions and interactions of speakers and hearers, writers and readers. Language users bring to any verbal encounter blueprints for action that have developed through their socialization or acculturation in a given society.

In the construction of meaning, the interpretation of events is grounded in each person's experience and field of perception. *The context of situation* and *the context of culture* in which verbal actions take place are constitutive of these actions; they imbue them with the necessary pragmatic coherence. As they talk, language users draw on frames of expectations they have in common with other members of the group who share the same life history and the same larger context of culture. Based on these expectations, speakers *then position themselves vis-à-vis the situational context of a given exchange* by means of contextualization cues. *These contextualization cues* are evidence of situated inferences that speakers make, based on their culturally shared *frames of expectations* and applied to the local situation of the exchange. However the meanings of words are different if they are conveyed face-to-face in the close proximity of another fellow human being, or over a distance, through the technologized medium of writing and print. Through this issue we consider the way in which meanings and cultural meanings are conveyed through actions and interactions of speakers in social contexts. Individuals of different social and ethnic backgrounds communicate with one another.

Key words: context of situation, context of culture, contextualization cues, pragma-linguistic failure

Diana IONIȚĂ, University of Bucharest, ROMANIA
An Experimental Study on Categorization and Prototypicality in Romanian:
Natural Species and Artefacts

The aim of this paper is to answer a few questions such as: Do categories have an internal structure in all languages?/ Are categories anchored in conceptually salient prototypes in Romanian as well?/ Are the boundaries rigid or fuzzy for Romanian categories as in English?/ As regards Romanian, is there a typicality scale ranging from good to bad examples?/ Do categories represent arbitrary divisions of the phenomena of the world, or are they based on the cognitive capacities of the human mind in all languages?/ Are attributes essential for distinguishing the one category from the other? And are there different kinds of attributes ranging from those specific to the whole category to those defining only some of the category members?

We are going to show the experimental data which could answer all these questions by emphasizing both the similarities between English and Romanian (hence, the universal coordinate) and the differences between the two languages, underlying the specificity of Romanian when categorizing the world around us.

Our hypothesis is that the internal structure of categories reflects the social-cultural dimensions of that community performing the categorization, hence, differences were scored between English and Romanian.

Key words: cognitive categories, family resemblance.

Antoanela Marta MARDAR, University of Galați, ROMANIA
Some Remarks Concerning the Semantics of Collocations

Starting from the presentation of some relevant aspects regarding the meaning of words used in isolation and the ways in which their meaning is altered in collocations, the paper aims at demonstrating that collocations foreground the significance of co-occurrence relations in establishing recurrent lexical patterns.

Key words: co-occurrence relations, meaning, types of collocations, fixed lexical patterns

Antoanela Marta MARDAR, University of Galați, ROMANIA
On A Possible Stylistic Evaluation of Words and Lexical Patterns Used in Literary Texts

Starting from the view that a stylistic evaluation of words is possible if reference is made to their categorization according to the three generally-agreed layers of vocabulary, i.e. literary, neutral, and colloquial, the present paper aims at enlarging on some stylistically marked lexical patterns (i.e. epithets, metaphors, similes, clichés, proverbs, euphemisms) which are predominantly used in written texts.

Key words: words, lexical patterns, stylistics, stylistic evaluation.

Daniela ȚUCHEL, University of Galați, ROMANIA
Notes on Branching Developments

This article starts from the metaphorical perspective contained in the title, with special focus on active vocabulary which, in a syntactic evolution that occasionally provides examples of branching parts, may spiral out of apparent control. If language branches for development, the process is praiseworthy. Upbraiding language is a current attitude that need not be. Like in nature, no development ends up by being frozen; it generates fresh sprigs. A contrastive look at Romanian vocabulary and syntax transposed into English will thematically deal with 'branșare'/branching versus 'debranșare'/debranching experienced culturally (linguistically, with a priority), and not only in real-life terms, which practically has only been an incentive, a starting point for the present methodological vantage ground.

Key words: debranching, merging, weak and strong claims, priming, (a)symmetries

RESUMES

Mădălina CERBAN, Université de Craiova, ROUMANIE

***Lexical Cohesion: Aspects of Collocation using
Halliday and Hasan's Systemic model of cohesion***

Dans les dernières décennies, la cohésion lexicale a été étudiée à plusieurs niveaux. Dans cet article nous nous intéressons à l'approche fonctionnelle systémique de la cohésion présentée par Halliday et Hasan (1976) qui l'ont définie comme le rapport établi au niveau du lexique et, implicitement au niveau lexico-grammatical. Afin de souligner les différences entre ce modèle et d'autres modèles, nous avons jugé utile de mentionner quelques approches : Halliday et Matthiessen 2004, Cruse 1986, Firth 1957, Sinclair 2004, Martin 1992. La cohésion lexicale est exprimée par un ensemble de systèmes lexico-grammaticaux qui emploient les ressources spécifiques afin de passer à travers les frontières de la phrase. Au niveau de la référence, la cohésion lexicale est représentée par des répétitions, et au niveau des mots, par des répétitions et des collocations. Les répétitions peuvent être exprimées par le même mot (ayant la même référence), par des synonymes ou des proches synonymes (ayant une référence incluse), des hyperonymes (ayant une référence exclusive) et des mots généraux (ayant la référence indépendante).

Au niveau de la phraséologie on a identifié trois types de collocations dans le cadre du modèle systémique fonctionnel: ensemble ordonné, collocation activité connexe et collocation élaboratrice. La collocation ensemble ordonné est la plus claire des trois catégories et la plus proche d'une répétition systématique. La collocation activité connexe est non-systématique, basée seulement sur une association entre les unités. En conséquence, elle ne peut ni être définie avec précision ni classifiée systématiquement. La collocation élaboratrice est une catégorie qui se compose de couples dont la relation ne peut être définie plus spécifiquement qu'en indiquant les unités capables de s'appliquer au même sujet. Cependant, la relation existe au niveau des structures évoquées par les items lexicaux. Dans cet article nous allons analyser chaque type de relation et, par le biais des exemples textuels, en saisir les différences.

Mots clés: ressources grammaticales, référence, déclenchement, items associatifs

Sofia DIMA, Université «Dunarea de Jos» de Galati, ROUMANIE

Grammaire contrastive et traduction

Le présent article essaie de commenter certains éléments contrastifs (domaine français-anglais) qui jouent un rôle important dans la traduction et surtout dans la traduction littéraire, démontrant en même temps l'étroite liaison qui existe entre ces contrastes des deux systèmes linguistiques et cette activité qui reste loin de la simple transposition.

Mots clés: systèmes linguistiques, éléments contrastifs, référence, erreurs de transcodage, structures syntaxiques, réalisations sémantiques

Monica EFTIMIE, Université «Dunarea de Jos» de Galati, ROUMANIE

“4 luni, 3 săptămâni, 2 zile”. The Challenges of Subtitling

L'importance des médias dans la société contemporaine est indéniable. Tous les médias, la télévision et le cinéma en particulier, sont capables de faire les gens comprendre à quelle mesure les événements locaux, nationaux ou internationaux influencent leur existence. Cependant, dans la pratique réelle, habituellement ils font défaut à accomplir cette tâche.

Avec le développement de l'industrie cinématographique, ressort le problème de la traduction. Afin de rendre les programmes audiovisuels accessibles à l'assistance peu familière avec la langue originale, de différents types de transfert de langue sur l'écran ont émergé, tels que le doublage et le sous-titrage.

Notre article se focalise sur l'analyse des contraintes principales rencontrées au sous-titrage du film roumain *4 Luni, 3 Saptamani si 2 Zile*, réalisé par Cristian Mungiu.

Mots clés: mass media, modes de traduction de film, sous-titrage, contraintes techniques.

Veneranda HARJULLA et Marsela HARIZAJ, Université de Vlora, ALBANIE

The Construction of Cultural Meaning as Action

La signification n'est jamais une fois pour toutes réalisée. Elle doit être conquise et reconquise, avec chaque expression, par le biais des actions et des interactions verbales des locuteurs et leurs interlocuteurs, des auteurs et leurs lecteurs.

Les utilisateurs de langue contribuent à chaque rencontre verbale avec des modèles d'action qui se sont développés au cours de leur socialisation ou acculturation dans une société donnée.

Dans la construction de la signification, l'interprétation des événements se fonde dans l'expérience et le degré de perception de chaque personne. *Le contexte situationnel* et *le contexte culturel*, où les actions verbales ont lieu, sont leurs éléments constitutifs ; ils leur fournissent la cohérence pragmatique nécessaire. En parlant, les utilisateurs de langue envisagent les attentes qu'ils ont en commun avec les autres membres du groupe qui partagent une même histoire de vie et un même contexte culturel. Basés sur ces attentes, les locuteurs *se placent alors vis-à-vis du contexte situationnel d'une interaction donnée* aux moyens offerts par la contextualisation. *Ces séquences de contextualisation* mettent en évidence les inférences du locuteur, basées sur ses attentes partagées culturellement et appliquées aux circonstances de l'échange. Cependant, les significations des mots sont différentes si elles se situent face à face avec un autre être humain ou bien à distance, par le biais des moyens technologiques nouveaux de l'écriture et de la copie. C'est la manière dont la signification et les significations culturelles sont délivrées par les actions et les interactions des locuteurs dans des contextes sociaux. Les individus appartenant à des milieux sociaux et ethniques différents communiquent entre eux.

Mots clés: contexte situationnel, contexte culturel, séquences de contextualisation, échec pragma-linguistique.

Diana IONIȚĂ, Université de Bucarest, ROUMANIE

An Experimental Study on Categorization and Prototypicality in Romanian:

Natural Species and Artefacts

Le but de cet article est de répondre à quelques questions comme : Les catégories ont-elles une structure interne dans toutes les langues ? Les catégories sont-elles ancrées dans des prototypes conceptuellement saillants en roumain aussi ? / Les frontières sont-elles tout aussi rigides ou floues pour des catégories roumaines comme en anglais ? / En ce qui concerne le roumain, y a-t-il une balance typique allant du bon au mauvais exemples? / Les catégories représentent-elles des divisions arbitraires des phénomènes du monde, ou sont-elles basées sur les capacités cognitives de l'esprit humain dans toutes les langues ? Les

attributs sont-ils essentiels pour distinguer une catégorie de l'autre ? Y a-t-il des attributs différents, allant de la catégorie entière jusqu'à ceux qui définissent seulement certains des membres de la catégorie?

Nous allons montrer les données expérimentales qui pourraient répondre à toutes ces questions, en soulignant les similitudes entre l'anglais et le roumain (la coordination universelle), les différences entre les deux langues et la spécificité du roumain au sujet de la catégorisation du monde autour de nous.

Notre hypothèse porte sur la structure interne des catégories qui reflète les dimensions socioculturelles de cette communauté performant la catégorisation, d'où les différences entre l'anglais et le roumain.

Mots clés: catégories cognitives, ressemblance de famille.

Antoanela Marta MARDAR, Université «Dunarea de Jos» de Galati, ROUMANIE
Some Remarks Concerning the Semantics of Collocations

En partant de la présentation de quelques aspects appropriés qui regardent la signification des mots utilisés en isolation et la manière dont leur signification est changée dans les collocations, notre article vise à démontrer que le premier plan des collocations est la signification des relations de cooccurrence dans l'établissement des modèles lexicologiques récurrents.

Mots clés: relations de cooccurrence, signification, types de collocations, modèles lexicologiques fixes

Antoanela Marta MARDAR, Université «Dunarea de Jos» de Galati, ROUMANIE
On A Possible Stylistic Evaluation of Words and Lexical Patterns Used in Literary Texts

À partir du point de vue qu'une évaluation stylistique de mots est possible si la référence est faite à leur catégorisation, en accord avec les trois couches généralement acceptées par le vocabulaire, c'est-à-dire littéraire, neutre, et familier, cette étude vise à approfondir quelques modèles lexicologiques stylistiquement marqués (notamment épithètes, métaphores, comparaisons, clichés, proverbes, euphémismes) et qui sont principalement utilisés dans les textes écrits.

Mots clés: mots, modèles lexicologiques, stylistique, évaluation stylistique.

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Notes on Branching Developments

Cet article commence de la perspective métaphorique contenue dans le titre, avec une focalisation spéciale sur le vocabulaire actif qui, au cours de son évolution syntaxique, fournit de temps en temps des exemples de parties embranchées et développées en spirales hors de la commande apparente. Si la langue s'embranché pour le développement, le processus est digne d'éloges. La réprimande de la langue est une attitude actuelle qui n'a pas besoin d'être. Tout comme dans la nature, aucun développement ne finit par être gelé ; il produit des brins frais. Une approche contrastive au vocabulaire roumain et la syntaxe transposée en anglais traiteront du point de vue thématique 'branșare'/branching versus 'debranșare'/debranching experienced culturally / linguistically (*embranchement* versus *desembranchement* expérimenté culturellement (linguistiquement, prioritairement), et non seulement en termes réels, qui ont pratiquement seulement été une motivation, un point de départ pour la position stratégique méthodologique présente.

Mots clés: désesbranchement, fusion, réclamations faibles et fortes, amorçage, symétries