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A Correlational Study of Language Learning Motivation and Language Learning Strategies of Turkish Preparatory School Students

**Fatma Aksoy¹
Özlem Şivetoğlu²**

Abstract: This study aimed at exploring the relationship between Turkish EFL learners' motivation types and their preferred language learning strategies. The needed data were gathered through the questionnaire, containing three parts; namely, personal data, Motivational Questionnaire (MQ), and Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL). To ascertain whether there exists a relationship between motivation and strategy use, Pearson Correlation Coefficients were run as well as descriptive statistics. The analyses of the results revealed that the participants of the study were found to be more integratively oriented. They also reported to employ meta-cognitive, compensation, and social strategies more frequently than memory, cognitive and affective strategies. Additionally, a strong positive relationship was found between motivation and strategy use. That is, motivation significantly correlates with language learning strategies.

Keywords: *language-learning motivation, language-learning strategies, correlation, preparatory school.*

Introduction

*“Where there is a will, there is a way”
Anonymous*

For the last twenty years, studies in the field of second/foreign language learning and teaching have shifted from instructional methods to learner characteristics. In this respect, the importance of these learner characteristics cannot be neglected. As Dörnyei put forward (2002: 170):

When students embark on the study of an L2, they are not merely ‘empty vessels’ that will need to be filled by the wise words of the teacher; instead, they carry a considerable ‘personal baggage’ to the language course that will have a significant bearing on how learning proceeds.

¹ Anadolu University (f.aksoy@anadolu.edu.tr)

² Kastamonu University (osivetoglu@kastamonu.edu.tr)

Of the key components of this ‘personal baggage’, learning motivation and language learning strategies have stood out as they determine how fast and how well one is likely to master a second/foreign language, and more importantly they are not beyond the teacher’s control, which indicates that the teacher can increase the effectiveness of language learning and teaching by enhancing motivation and raising awareness of learning strategies among learners. (Brown, 2007) That is to say, such other components of language learning and teaching as age, gender, educational/social/economical background are beyond the teacher’s control. When compared to them, motivation and learning strategies are more flexible, manipulable and manageable. This provides ESL/EFL teachers with great opportunities to make language learning journey, from which most suffer unfortunately, more endurable, efficacious and enjoyable. However, we are confronted with the truth that not enough emphasis is put on motivation and learning strategies, so to say the “rescue team” of language learning.

Numerous studies on the relationship between learning motivation and language learning strategies have been carried out, overwhelmingly in Asian context; however, no such a study has been recorded in Turkey despite the existence of separate investigations on motivation and language learning strategies. Having realized the poverty in studies on the relationship between motivation and strategy use, we aim to contribute to filling the gap in this research area. Therefore, the present study will ascertain motivation types and preferred learning strategies of Turkish EFL learners as well as determining whether there exists a relationship between motivation and strategy use, and to what extent they correlate with one another, if any. With this purpose in mind, this paper seeks answers to the following questions:

1. What are Turkish EFL learners’ language learning motivation types?
2. What are Turkish EFL learners’ language learning strategy types?
3. What is the correlation of Language Learning Motivation with Language Learning Strategies?

Review of Literature

On Language Learning Motivation

Motivation can be simply identified as a combination of desire and action. As Gardner (1985; Tremblay and Gardner, 1995) indicated, a learner cannot be described as truly motivated unless he not only desires learning L2 but also makes an effort to do so. According to Forman (2005), motivation enables individuals to increase their action or performance either

internally or externally. As explained by Dörnyei (2001), motivation is related to behavior itself, not to achievement directly. He further states that motivation counts why people behave as they do rather than how successful they will be.

In addition to aforementioned definitions of motivation, regarding what motivation is and what it means to say that someone is motivated, main schools of thought have proposed three motivation theories. From a *behavioristic* point of view, a learner is motivated by anticipation of reward and desire to receive positive reinforcement. Additionally, external, individual forces control the behavior. In *cognitive* terms, the way a person behaves relies heavily on basic human needs, which means that behavior is driven by internal, individual forces. That is to say, individuals' decisions play a crucial role in why they perform certain actions. According to *constructivist* view, on the other hand, each person is motivated in a unique way, which is determined by social context and community. This point of view places greater emphasis on social status and being a part of a social group. Furthermore, internal, interactive forces control behavior (Brown, 2007).

There is no doubt that the greatest contribution to motivation in second/foreign language learning was made by Robert Gardner and Wallace Lambert (1972). As a result of their 12-year extensive study in Canada, several parts of the United States, and the Philippines, two basic types of attitudes, namely instrumental and integrative orientations to motivation, have appeared. As the name indicates, integrative orientation is associated with a desire to interact with the target culture and to become a member of the target group as well as being closely related to positive attitudes towards the L2 community. On the other hand, instrumental motivation presents reasons for L2 learning which are associated with pragmatic gains such as academic achievement and getting a good job.

Another issue concerning motivation is whether a learner is motivated intrinsically or extrinsically, which were distinguished in Deci and Ryan's (1985) Self-determination Theory as two underlying distinctions based on what triggers an action. Deci (1975) defined intrinsically motivated activities as the ones whose award is the activity itself. In other words, the reason for doing an action results from the fact that the action is inherently enjoyable and stimulating. Extrinsically motivated activities, however, are executed by external powers rather than genuine interest in the activity. It is worth mentioning that this extrinsic-intrinsic motivation model complements the model of integrative-intrinsic distinction rather than substituting for it. Brown (2007:174) illustrates this distinction as follows:

One could for highly developed intrinsic purposes wish to learn a second language in order to advance in a career or to succeed in an academic program. Likewise, one could have a positive effect toward the speakers of a second language for extrinsic reasons, such as parental reinforcements or a teacher's encouragements.

It is well worth studying motivation from language learning perspective on the grounds that learning a language requires identification with its speakers and adoption of their speech patterns and styles as well as acquiring knowledge of the target language. Consequently, motivation is of vital importance considering that it yields to a better learning/teaching environment and contributes to language learning success, though not directly as stated above. In the following part, language-learning strategies, which play a leading role in foreign language learning, will be dealt with.

On Language Learning Strategies

Of the main factors that determine how and how well students learn a second/foreign language, learning strategies are defined as “the special thoughts or behaviors that individuals use to help them comprehend, learn, or retain new information” (O'Malley and Chamot, 1990, p.1). In Oxford's (1990) view, strategies are actions that the learner adopts “to aid the acquisition, storage, retrieval, and use of information” (p.4). He maintains that this adoption can be carried out in two ways, with the first being *direct strategies* that “require mental processing of the language” and thus “directly involve the target language”(1990: 37); and the second being *indirect strategies* that “provide indirect support for language learning through focusing, planning, evaluating, seeking opportunities, controlling anxiety, increasing cooperation and empathy and other means” (1990:151). Direct strategies involve cognitive, memory, and compensation strategies, whereas indirect strategies consist of meta-cognitive, affective, and social strategies.

As Murcia (2001) indicates, what makes a given strategy either positive or negative is the context of its use. He further claims that a strategy is useful as long as it complies with certain criteria, which can be portrayed as relating to the L2 task, fitting the learner's style and being used effectively by being linked to other relevant strategies. However, despite the countless benefits that the language learning strategies provide, the main problem lies in the fact that learners are not aware of their magical power unfortunately.

Research into the Correlation of Language Learning Motivation with Language Learning Strategies

A good number of studies have been carried out to examine the relationship between language learning motivation and language learning strategies in second/foreign language environment. (Prokop, 1989; Ehrman and Oxford, 1989; Oxford and Nyikos, 1989; Ely, 1989; Oxford, 1993; McIntyre and Noels, 1996; Okada, Oxford and Abo, 1996; Schmidt, 1996) Below we prefer to report more recent investigations, which have been remarkably inspired by the aforementioned ones.

Schmidt and Watanabe (2001) carried out an investigation on motivation and strategy use among learners of five different foreign languages. One major finding is that strategy use is not affected by all aspects of motivation equally, and motivational factors are not affected by all strategies equally. This study further demonstrated that motivation was reported to be the strongest predictor of the use of language learning strategies.

Sadighi and Zarafshan (2006) explored the effects of attitude, motivation, and years of study on the use of language learning strategies by Iranian EFL university students by administering Strategy Questionnaire and Background Questionnaire. Analysis of the results presented that highly motivated students showed greater use of language learning strategies, indicating that there exists a positive correlation between motivation and strategy use.

Moriam (2008) examined the relationship between motivation and strategy use of university students by administering Motivational Questionnaire (MQ) and Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL). Based on the results of the study, the relationship between motivation factors and strategy use was not very significant and strong. The most striking result is that the motivational factor *determination to learn* showed a higher relationship with *Meta-cognitive and processing* and *Coping Strategies*.

Feng (2010) conducted a correlational study using a motivation scale and (SILL) and found out that there is a significant correlation between three types of motivations (instrumental, situational and cultural) and six categories of strategies, indicating that the more motivated learners report using strategies more frequently.

Another research assessing motivation and language learning strategies was carried out by Stoffa, Kush and Heo (2011) on Korean immigrant students. The instruments used were Motivated Strategies for

Learning Questionnaire (MSLQ) and SILL. As a result, no correlation was found between motivation and direct learning strategies, while a significant relationship was evidenced between motivation and indirect language learning strategies.

Matsumoto (2011), in his study on the effect of motivation and proficiency on strategy use of Japanese university students, came up with that frequency of strategy use is affected by motivation level, which reveals that students with a higher level of motivation tend to use learning strategies more often than those with low motivation.

Xu (2011) conducted a study on the relationship between language learning motivation and the choice of language learning strategies among Chinese graduates of non-English majors. The findings obtained from two sets of questionnaires, namely MQ and SILL indicated that the motivation of Chinese students was found significantly correlated with their learning strategy use, showing that the more motivated students proved to employ more strategies.

Another recent article on motivation and learning strategies is from Greece, by Togia, Stella and Malliari (2012), in which the data were collected with the Science Motivation Questionnaire (SMQ) and MSLQ. Motivation was reported to be closely related to use of cognitive strategies and self-regulation and to have positive and significant correlation with use of learning strategies. The findings further indicated that the more motivated learners were more cognitively engaged and more likely to control their learning and effort.

Nikoopor, Farsani, Salimian and Salimian (2012), investigated the relationship between motivation and strategy use among Iranian EFL learners and found different levels of positive and negative correlation of motivation types (intrinsic, integrated, identified, introjected and external) with six subcategories of direct and indirect learning strategies.

Although various studies have been carried out on motivation and learning strategies separately, no correlation study has been performed in Turkish context yet. Karadeniz, Büyüköztürk, Akgün, Çakmak and Demirel (2002) adapted MSLQ to Turkish to administer on primary and high school students for a variety of subjects such as Turkish language, science, mathematics and social science. Kırkgöz (2005) identified Turkish students' main sources of motivation to study at an English medium university and the possible difficulties that they are likely to encounter. König (2006) aimed to identify orientation, motivation and attitudes of Turkish university students learning a second foreign language. Another related study conducted by Karahan (2007) explored the relationship between language

attitudes towards the English language and its use in Turkey. Sariçoban and Sarıcaoğlu (2008) attempted to recognize the learning strategies used by students and teachers, including such variables as gender, age and department, and examined the effect of language learning strategies on academic achievement. Considering the scarcity of studies on the correlation of language motivation with language learning strategies, the present study has been embarked on to reduce this gap in Turkish context.

Method

Participants

A total of 100 students, 50 males and 50 females, who were learning English at Schools of Foreign Languages of Anadolu University and Kastamonu University during the implementation of the experiment, participated in the present study. The participants were intermediate (n: 56) and upper-intermediate (n: 44) level students with the ages ranging from 17 to 23.

Instruments

The instrument in the present study consists of three main sections: 1) Personal data, 2) Motivation Questionnaire (MQ), 3) Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL). It is worth mentioning that MQ was in English, while a Turkish version of SILL was utilized. Regarding the reason why MQ was applied in English was that not a standard Turkish translation was present. The first section covers age and gender only. The second and the third sections are explained in detail below.

To explore students' motivation, the Modified Questionnaire adapted from Gardner's (1985) Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) and Li's (2005) research work "Chinese Students' Motivation to Learn English", by Degang (2010), was administered. This questionnaire consists of two main parts: a) instrumental motivation, b) integrative motivation; each of which involves 10 items. It is a five-point Likert Scale ranging from 5= Strongly Agree to 1= Strongly Disagree. Degang noted that the questionnaire was revised by language specialists and experts and adjusted based on their suggestions for the purpose of ensuring its validity. As a consequence of these comments and advice as well as the implications taken from its pilot study, the final version of the questionnaire was developed as a valid instrument.

To investigate language learning strategy use of learners, Oxford's (1989) *Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL)* was utilized in the current research. The questionnaire was translated into Turkish by Cesur and Fer (2007), and administered to 768 preparatory school students from a variety of universities in Turkey. Pearson's correlations between Turkish and English versions of the survey proved acceptable reliability, significant at the .00 and .01 level. The findings obtained from factor analysis indicated total internal reliability of the scale with .92 reliability coefficients. Additionally, subscales were also found to be internally and externally reliable.

The items of SILL are rated on a 5-point scale (1: Never or almost true of me. 2: Usually not true of me. 3: Somewhat true of me. 4: Usually true of me. 5: Almost or almost always true of me). The questionnaire consisting of 50 items is divided into six categories:

1. Memory strategies are used for the storage of information (nine items: 1-9)
2. Cognitive strategies are mental strategies that learners use to make sense of learning (fourteen items: 10-23)
3. Compensation strategies help the learner make up for missing knowledge (six items: 24-29)
4. Meta-cognitive strategies are employed for managing the learning process (nine items: 30-38)
5. Affective strategies are concerned with the learner's emotional needs such as identifying one's mood and anxiety level, talking about feelings (six items: 39-44)
6. Social strategies help the learner work with others and understand the target culture (six items: 45-50)

Data Collection and Analysis

The questionnaire including three sections; namely personal data, Motivation Questionnaire, and Strategy Inventory for Language Learning, was piloted with ten students sharing similar features with the participants. The purpose of the pilot study was to identify any potential ambiguities and measure how many minutes on average it takes. After the pilot study, some parts in section II were simplified and the questionnaire was administered to 100 intermediate and upper-intermediate EFL students studying at preparatory schools. The participants were provided with necessary

instructions and sufficient time to complete the questionnaire, and were encouraged to choose an option which truly reflects their thoughts and feelings to each item. The researchers were present while the students were filling out the questionnaires, which took approximately 20 minutes. The data obtained were fed into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), and the mean and standard deviation were calculated through descriptive statistics. Subsequent to this stage, Pearson Correlation Coefficient was conducted to recognize the relationship between learning motivation and language learning strategies.

Results

Motivation Types

R.Q.1: What are Turkish EFL learners' language learning motivation types?

As table 1 indicates, integrative motivation of Turkish EFL learners towards learning English language (M=3.79) was slightly higher than their instrumental motivation (M=3.44) although the mean scores of two motivation types were statistically close.

TABLE 1: Descriptive Statistic for Language Motivation Types

Motivation Types	Mean	Standard Deviation
Instrumental	3.44	.547
Integrative	3.79	.743

Regarding instrumental motivation, the minimum mean was reported to be 2.1, while the maximum mean was 4.4. Integrative motivation was recorded 1.8 and 5.0 at minimum and maximum levels respectively.

Strategy Use

R.Q.2: What are Turkish EFL learners' language learning strategy types?

In order to answer the first question, descriptive statistics were calculated to investigate language-learning strategies that Turkish EFL learners employ. The comparison of the means, shown in Table 2, reveals that the most frequently used strategy was meta-cognitive strategies (M=3.27), followed by social strategies (M=3.04), compensation strategies

(M=3.04), memory strategies (M=2.91), cognitive strategies (M=2.78), and affective strategies (M=2.61), which were found to be the least frequently used.

On the basis of Oxford's (1990) key to compare the mean scores on language learning questionnaire: high use=4.5 to 5.0 (always or almost always used) and 3.5 to 4.4 (usually used), medium use= 2.5 to 3.4 (sometimes used), low use=1.5 to 2.4 (usually not used) or 1.0 to 1.4 (never or almost never used), Turkish EFL learners were at the medium level in terms of overall strategy use (M=2.94). Considering the mean scores of meta-cognitive, social, compensation, memory, cognitive, and affective strategies separately, Turkish learners were found to be medium users of each strategy type.

TABLE 2: Descriptive Statistic for Language Learning Strategy Types

Learning Strategy types	Mean	SD
Memory strategies	2.91	.649
Cognitive strategies	2.78	.672
Compensation strategies	3.04	.706
Meta-cognitive strategies	3.27	.781
Affective strategies	2.61	.726
Social strategies	3.04	.692
Overall strategy use	2.94	.543

Correlation of Language Learning Motivation with Language Learning Strategies

R.Q.3: What is the correlation of Language Learning Motivation with Language Learning Strategies?

So as to identify the relationship between motivation types and language learning strategies, Pearson Correlation Coefficient was run. Below, Table 3 shows the correlation of overall motivation (instrumental and integrative together) with the overall language learning strategy use. Additionally, Table 4 summarizes the detailed results of the test, correlation of each motivation type, namely instrumental and integrative, with each strategy type, memory, cognitive, compensation, meta-cognitive, affective and social.

TABLE 3: Correlation between Overall Motivation and Overall Strategy Use

	Overall Motivation	Overall Strategy Use
Overall Motivation	1	.300**
Overall Strategy	.300**	1

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

TABLE 4: Correlation between Motivation Types and Language Learning Strategies

	Memory	Cognitive	Compensation	Meta cognitive	Affective	Social
Instrumental	.038	.089	-.012	.020	.026	.108
Integrative	.277**	.346**	.118	.389**	.227*	.205*

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

As Table 3 above also displays, the correlation of overall motivation with the overall strategy use was significant at the 0.01 level ($r=.300^{**}$). Table 4 indicates that no statistically significant correlation was found between instrumental motivation and strategy types at all. Another non-significant correlation was recorded between integrative motivation and compensation strategy. Integrative motivation was reported to positively correlate with affective and social strategies at the 0.05 level ($r=.227^*$ and $r=.205^*$ respectively). Higher significance, significant at the 0.01 level, was found between integrative motivation and cognitive strategy ($r=.346^{**}$), whereas the highest significance was recorded between integrative motivation and meta-cognitive strategy. It is worth mentioning that the only negative correlation was noted between instrumental motivation and compensation strategy though it was not statistically significant ($r= -.012$).

Discussion

The purpose of the present study is to identify motivation types and preferred strategy use among Turkish EFL learners of English. With this purpose in mind, three research questions were addressed attempting to find

out motivation types, learning strategy types and the correlation between these two components of language learning process respectively. Data analysis results revealed similar results to the previous research, to be discussed later, and motivation seemed to positively and significantly correlate with language learning strategies.

As far as the descriptive statistics of Motivation Questionnaire are concerned, Turkish preparatory school students have integrative and instrumental motivation almost equally despite the fact that the former slightly tops the latter. This indicates that Turkish learners of English (n: 47) focus on English for class assignments and the exams to some extent and regard learning English as a means to an end. They hope to earn an English-medium university degree, find a good job, travel abroad, be a knowledgeable, skillful and educated person; be respected and obtain more success and achievements in life in the wake of learning English. As a higher number of the participants (n: 53) indicated, Turkish preparatory school students are also personally willing to be a part of the target community and learn the language in itself. They hope to understand English books, movies and music; better understand and appreciate the lives of others, and appreciate English arts and literature.

Mean scores of the participants from Strategy Inventory for Language Learning ascertain that Turkish EFL preparatory students sometimes use language-learning strategies according to Oxford's (1990) key to compare the mean scores on language learning questionnaire (medium use= 2.5 to 3.4 - sometimes used). Similarly, Turkish preparatory school students seem to use each subcategory of language learning strategies moderately despite minor differences. Taking these minor differences into account, Turkish EFL preparatory school students can be said to prefer to apply meta-cognitive strategies, social and compensation strategies more, though at a medium level, than the others. This fact that meta-cognitive strategies top the others means that Turkish EFL preparatory school students are able to think about the learning process and evaluate how well they have learned though not at a desirable level. They are conscious about their L2 development, even a little, and they try to have control over the learning process. Social and compensation strategies come next in rank, with the mean difference being only 0.003. This signifies that Turkish EFL preparatory school students sometimes ask each other for help with English and try to compensate for their possible inefficacies by applying such ways as guessing the meanings of unknown words, resorting body language to keep the conversation going, and making up new words when they fail to recall a word, yet not at a desirable level. The results also figure out that affective strategies are the least preferred ones by Turkish

EFL preparatory school students, indicating that they are not often aware if they are anxious or not while studying or using English. They do not talk or write about their feelings while studying English frequently, nor do they award themselves when they achieve something related to learning English.

The third and the final question posed by the researchers sought answers to the correlation between language learning and language learning strategies, if any. It came to the light that overall motivation positively and significantly correlates with strategy use, which implies that the more motivated learners are tend to apply language-learning strategies more frequently.

The outcome that Turkish EFL learners of English are slightly more integratively motivated is in the same line with Engin's (2009) investigation, which demonstrated that students' integrative motivation was higher than their instrumental motivation in spite of the fact that they show both integrative and instrumental motivation level. Also, Engin found that integrative motivation and success in the language learning seem to be correlated. These two similar results illustrated that students have personal willingness and desire to learn a foreign language, and integrative motivation appears to be more effective than instrumental motivation in Turkish context. Nevertheless, this finding is inconsistent with the conclusion of Feng's (2010) study, illustrating that Chinese students had relatively more instrumental motivation, and instrumental motivation was more relevant to learning a foreign language in Chinese context.

The other significant result reached at the end of the study also indicated that Turkish EFL learners at the preparatory class reported to be medium user of strategy with an overall mean of 2.94 and standard deviation .543. This outcome shows congruency with those of Alhaisoni's (2012) study, which found that Saudi EFL learners were found to use language-learning strategies on average. The conclusion of the present research is also in line with Feng's (2010) finding, which revealed that Chinese college students were moderate users of six categories of language learning strategies. However, this average of the current study was much lower than those obtained in Sadighi and Zarafshan's (2006) study, which indicated that the participants were high strategy users regarding the total use of strategies. On the basis of the current outcome, the Turkish students turned out to be less sophisticated strategy users, using all six different categories of strategies at medium levels. Additionally, Turkish EFL students were found to use meta-cognitive strategies the most frequently, which is consistent with Sadighia and Zarafshan's (2002) finding this time, showing that Iranian EFL students reported to employ meta-cognitive strategies the most. Differently, Togia, Korobili, and Malliari (2012) revealed that meta-cognitive strategies proved to be the least frequently used strategies by Greek students. Turkish EFL

learners, on the other hand, were also found to apply affective strategies the least, which reached the same outcome with that of Alhaisoni's (2012) study, indicating that affective strategies were noted to be the least frequently used strategy by Saudi EFL learners.

The positive and significant correlation of motivation with language learning strategies, suggesting that more motivated students tend to apply more strategies, is congruent with Schmitt and Watanebe's (2001) finding, demonstrating that motivation was reported to be the strongest predictor of the use of language learning strategies, and positively and significantly correlated with use of learning strategies. By the same token, Xu (2011) arrived at the result that the motivation of Chinese students was found significantly related to their learning strategy use, presenting that the more motivated students proved to employ more strategies. The outcome of the present research supports Matsumato's (2011) study, which came up with that frequency of strategy use is affected by motivation level.

Teaching Implications for Motivation

The current study came up with that motivation level of Turkish EFL preparatory school students is less than desired. It is a crystal-clear fact that motivation affects learning enthusiasm. For this reason, teachers should pay more attention to promoting motivation so that it could be possible to reach a better learning/teaching environment. Internal interest is one of the factors that can promote and intensify motivation. Therefore, teachers should try to foster students' interest in the target language. In Turkey, regarding language learning, especially in preparatory schools, students focus more on written assignments and the exams. The teachers should not feed this fallacy; in other words, exams should not be an end in itself to be motivated to learn a language.

Teaching Implications for Strategy Use

As a result of the present study, Turkish EFL preparatory school students were found to be medium users of language learning strategies, indicating that they are not well aware of use and variety of language learning strategies. This puts a responsibility on teachers' shoulders to familiarize students with strategy use and raise awareness. To that end, strategy training should be incorporated into the curriculum, which can enable learners to have an idea of when and how to use the strategies. Concerning the least frequently preferred strategy, namely affective strategy, students should be guided to learn how to deal with anxiety on

their own. Teachers can manage this by providing a friendly and supportive classroom atmosphere to make students feel free to express their anxiousness, share with their peers and the teacher or write about it.

Limitations and Further Research

Having realized the gap in the research area regarding the correlation of learning motivation with language learning strategies, we endeavored to reduce this gap. However, the current study is not free from drawbacks. First of all, it is worth reminding that the Motivation Questionnaire (MQ) was in English, whereas the Turkish version of Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL) was utilized. The participants were proficient enough to comprehend the items in MQ; nevertheless, the use of Turkish translation of the questionnaire would have been better to avoid language barriers and to ensure more accurate results. As for why English version of MQ was employed, the Turkish translation of the questionnaire was not available. Second, the participants consisted of a mixture of intermediate and upper intermediate level learners. Although no regard was paid to such variables as gender, proficiency level, etc., including different level participants may have given rise to variation on the learning motivation and language learning strategies. Finally, a larger size of participants could have generated more generable results.

Given the weaknesses above, further research can be suggested to reach more valid and reliable outcomes, and to open new doors in the research area. To start with, effects of gender, age, proficiency level and years of study on motivation and use of language learning strategies can be measured by considering them as independent variables. Additionally, different levels of proficiency can be incorporated to represent a larger population. Furthermore, a third component, namely achievement, can be added to the present study. The logic behind this is to find out if existence or absence of motivation and strategy use and to what extent they are employed has impact on language achievement, metaphorically the desirable score of the match.

Conclusion

To sum up, the present study attempted to identify motivation types of the Turkish EFL learners, studying at preparatory schools, as well as their preferred language learning strategies. In terms of motivation types, mean scores of instrumental and integrative motivation were found to be considerably close to each other, with the integrative motivation being

slightly higher than the instrumental motivation, which indicates that the students at the scope of this study were more integratively oriented. That is to say, Turkish learners of English learn English to integrate themselves with the target culture. On the other hand, concerning the fact that the mean scores for instrumental motivation were slightly less than those of integrative motivation, we can also note that English is also regarded as a tool for Turkish learners. As to language learning strategies, the study shows that Turkish learners are medium strategy users. Regarding the choice of learning strategies, learners use meta-cognitive, compensation and social more often than memory, cognitive and affective strategies.

The results of the present study also indicate that motivation significantly correlates with language learning strategies ($r=.300^{**}$). It is well worth to mention that the means of strategy use were reported to be 2.94, less than means of motivation, indicating that Turkish learners of English are not aware of strategy use at a desirable level although they seem to be motivated moderately.

In conclusion, the outcomes of the current study lead us to understand the essential role of motivation associated with the use of language learning strategies. This study provides insights into motivation types/level and strategy use of Turkish EFL preparatory school students and offers fruitful suggestions and implications for teachers, learners and researchers. Besides, as the correlation between the two is complex, further research is required.

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Rezumat: Acest articol explorează relația dintre tipurile de motivație ale studenților turci și strategiile lor de învățare preferate. Datele necesare au fost colectate cu ajutorul unui chestionar alcătuit din trei părți: datele personale, chestionarul motivational (MQ) și inventarul strategiilor de învățare (SILL). Pentru a demonstra dacă există o relație

între motivație și strategie, am folosit coeficienții de corelare Pearson, precum și statistica descriptivă. Analiza rezultatelor a demonstrat că participanții la studiu aveau o orientare integrativă mai accentuată. Strategiile metacongnitive, de compensare și sociale au fost folosite mai mult decât cele de memorare, cognitive și afective. În plus, s-a observat o corelație strânsă între motivații și strategiile de învățare.

Details that Matter in the Translation of Legal Terms

Simina Badea¹

Abstract: If details seem to add centripetal strength to a work of art, they definitely bring accuracy to a piece of translation. Extra-linguistic details of a juridical nature are essential in the process of translating legal texts. Such details should be considered when making the distinction, for instance, between the Romanian terms “decizie” and “hotărâre” before translating them into English. The paper also aims to analyze the options for the translation of certain Romanian legal expressions, notions and institutions which seem to have no equivalent in English.

Keywords: *translation, legal texts, juridical biculturalism*

1. Introduction

If details seem to add centripetal strength to a work of art, they definitely bring accuracy when “forging” a piece of translation. Extra-linguistic details of a juridical nature are essential in the process of translating legal texts.

In order to emphasize this idea, it seems appropriate to introduce the notion of “biculturalism” or more precisely “juridical/ legal biculturalism” meaning the knowledge of another juridical culture, or opportunity (implying the translator’s wish, availability) to know better, to discover this culture, and why not his own legal environment. This does not necessarily mean that translators have to complete a degree in law. But the use of monolingual law dictionaries and bilingual law dictionaries, as well as good command of English from a grammatical standpoint, is not enough. This leads to the following question: what kind of juridical culture should a good translator acquire?

One possible answer is that the Romanian translator who mainly deals with legal translations should become familiar – besides the basic notions of the law of his own “land”, the national law - with the key terms outlining the legal systems of English-speaking countries, common law

¹ University of Craiova (siminabadea@yahoo.com)

countries, and especially in the present social, political and economic context, considering the fact that Romania is a Member State of the European Union, the Romanian translator should first of all be able to operate with the fundamental notions of EU documents and legislation.

2. The biculturalism of the translator – practical issues

2.1. European legal and administrative context

A translator must work in the context of the extremely dynamic legislative activity of the European Union, more and more supranational norms tending to be incorporated into the national legal systems. But the two systems, European and national, have different purposes: the former focuses on the community objectives, whereas the latter aims at a thorough domestic legislation which should concurrently ensure the proper functioning of the micro-system within the European macro-system.

A problem arises with regard to the interpretation of norms, no matter whether they are juridical, grammatical, logical or historical. This process requires the compliance of national norms with European norms, but by the use of the law interpretation methods, the same norm may acquire various meanings in different legal systems, due to the fact that community law must be in conformity with the provisions of national laws, which are essentially different.

As expected, the linguistic diversity, as well as the dissonance of legal cultures and systems, stands as real obstacles in the way of harmonization and unification of norms from both juridical and linguistic perspectives.

The need for harmonization of norms triggers the need for standardization of legal terminology. Therefore, the translation of legal terms in the languages of the Member States cannot lead to genuine results without research and comparative studies which the legislative unification should rely on. There are even voices claiming that translators of legal norms should also be jurists.

Strive for terminological unification and standardization at the European Union level is dictated by several factors, one of them being the need for recognition of judgments.

The first grounds arising out of Regulation (EC) no. 44/2001 of the Council of 22 December 2000 on jurisdiction and the recognition and enforcement of judgments in civil and commercial matters, subsequently amended by several regulations, are essential for the understanding of EU objectives and the importance of levelling off the differences between

national rules: “The Community has set itself the objective of maintaining and developing an area of freedom, security and justice, in which the free movement of persons is ensured. In order to establish progressively such an area, the Community should adopt, amongst other things, the measures relating to judicial cooperation in civil matters which are necessary for the sound operation of the internal market. Certain differences between national rules governing jurisdiction and recognition of judgments hamper the sound operation of the internal market. Provisions to unify the rules of conflict of jurisdiction in civil and commercial matters and to simplify the formalities with a view to rapid and simple recognition and enforcement of judgments from Member States bound by this Regulation are essential.”

This process is partly accomplished by the creation of a common legal terminology, since the recognition of judgments and, as a general rule, the enforcement of the European Union’s norms generate terminological problems. In this context, the role of the Court of Justice of the European Union is capital, due to the fact that the law of the European Union is mainly drafted without any explanation or definition of the notions that it contains. Thus, in the Treaty on the functioning of the European Union there are no definitions of “original goods” of the Members States, of “market”, “customs duty”, “charges having equivalent effect”, “measures having equivalent effect”, “quantitative restrictions” etc. No reports or comprehensive explanations on certain notions accompany treaties or secondary legislation, therefore the creative jurisprudence of the Court acquired in time a quasi-normative function, with a view to interpreting the community measures.

2.2. The problem of purpose in translation

Against the background of the European Union as a supranational legal order, the linguistic perspective should consider an important issue, the purpose of legal translation.

Ardelean (2009:101) states that “the main purpose of any translation is to make it easier for people to come into contact with the achievements of other people from different cultural spaces”, therefore the main purpose of translation is to foster communication, to build cultural bridges and, if we extend this perspective to professional domains, the practical purpose of translation is “to make it easier” for professionals “to come into contact with the achievements” of other professionals from various legal, medical, economic, military environments and not only.

Just as teaching methods and techniques take into account and are developed in accordance with the students' needs and aims, translation studies partly rely on the analysis of the issue of purpose, which can be understood from several standpoints (Ardelean, 2009:101):

- the *purpose of the author* of the source text when writing it (whom it is addressed to; which, if any, is its relevance in the general cultural field; whether it has a moral value or it is meant to act as a model for the readers etc.)
- the purpose largely differs in weight in the case of *specialty texts* – such texts are usually meant to describe precise events, mechanisms, data that must be understood from the perspective of a *formative* or *instructive* purpose
- the purpose takes a completely different meaning from the point of view of theoretical debates – it focuses mainly on the *relevance of the translated text*, the purpose being essential from the standpoint of the *target culture*.

As previously mentioned, the purpose of specialty/specialized texts, and in particular of legal texts, since they are subject to the present analysis, “largely differs in weight”. Such texts have an informative purpose, in a neutral, but often imperative tone (characterizing legislation), focused on the object of the text, on its content and on the symbolic function of the communication act.

A detail that matters in the translation of legal texts involves a translation strategy which starts from a general evaluation of the text and its decoding. The translator should know to whom the legal text is addressed, the implications it has, the impact on the readers, its relevance in the context of the target legal culture.

Many of the translated legal texts are addressed to academics or students who are the recipients of the research work of other professionals in the law field trying to disseminate the results of their research. The target readers can also be lawyers, magistrates and whoever is concerned with this kind of information and experience from other legal environments.

In the case of community legislation, the addressees are the institutions and persons who are in charge of enforcing the norms established at European level and any person (natural or legal) who has a specific interest in legal issues going beyond the national law system, such as those performing commercial activities.

Translated documents are also used in courts, either national or international. The European Court of Justice is venue for claims commonly lodged with the court as translations.

The stage of the general evaluation of the legal text, which includes establishing the purpose of the text, the target readers, the specific source language structures etc, is followed by the de-codification stage. This latter

component of the translation strategy is concerned with the identification of specific legal terms and structures, auxiliary means and actual translation procedures, such as functional, dynamic, formal equivalence, contextual translation, footnotes, compensation and so on.

2.3. Practical issues and details in the work of legal translators

Practical issues originate in theoretical debates. On the other hand, the problems arising in practice generate questions in the theoretical area.

Dealing with practical issues, a detail that matter occurs in the case of Regulations (EC) no. 44/2001 on jurisdiction and the recognition and enforcement of judgments in civil and commercial matters and no. 805/2004 of the European Parliament and of the Council creating a European Enforcement Order for uncontested claims, the first obvious problem being reflected in the use of juridical notions, due to the fact that there are differences in the meaning and content of the notions used and accepted in different Member States, and those created within and accepted by the Community.

Thus, for instance, the notion of “ordinary appeal” (in Romanian “cale de atac ordinară”). This phrase is contained in Regulation (EC) 44/2001 in art. 37 : “(1) A court of a Member State in which recognition is sought of a judgment given in another Member State may stay the proceedings if an ordinary appeal against the judgment has been lodged”, and in art. 46: “(1) The court with which an appeal is lodged under Article 43 or Article 44 may, on the application of the party against whom enforcement is sought, stay the proceedings if an ordinary appeal has been lodged against the judgment in the Member State of origin or if the time for such an appeal has not yet expired; in the latter case, the court may specify the time within which such an appeal is to be lodged”.

The notion of “ordinary appeal” has different meanings in different legal systems and in the community law system. In Romania, the ordinary appeal may be, as a principle, lodged by either party, in any matter and on any factual and legal grounds, whereas the extraordinary appeal may be used only by meeting strict requirements, provided by the law.

In their turn, the EU syntagms “review procedure” and “to challenge a decision by a review procedure” can cause confusion when paralleled with the language of domestic law. The former is commonly rendered into Romanian as “cale de atac” or “cale de atac ordinară” (also the Romanian equivalent of the aforesaid “ordinary appeal”), and the latter as “a exercita o cale de atac împotriva unei hotărâri”. Then, how is the translator supposed to translate, this time from Romanian into English, the term “revizuire”, a

notion typical of our law system? Could it be “review of a lawsuit”, “review/revision of a judgment”? “Revizuire”, meaning “review”, is only one type of “review procedures” in our country, one type of “cale de atac”.

The Romanian “recurs”, meaning “last appeal”, is most times translated as “review” in the phrase “recurs în interesul legii” – “review in the interest of the law”, a special procedure which can only be initiated by the prosecutor within the High Court of Cassation and Justice or by the boards of the Courts of Appeal.

So three Romanian terms: “cale de atac”, “revizuire” and “recurs” seem to have one English equivalent, namely “review” in different contexts. A solution in order to avoid confusion and ambiguity would be to render “cale de atac” as “appeal procedure” (and only in certain unambiguous contexts as “review procedure” with this meaning), “revizuire” as “review”, and “recurs” as “last appeal” - or “review” only in the expression “recurs în interesul legii” – “review in the interest of the law” (a functional translation).

The concept of juridical biculturalism that I have previously mentioned may be of great help under such circumstances.

A translator should keep in mind that in Romania, the appeal procedures involve several levels: a) căi de atac ordinare (ordinary appeal procedures) – apelul (the appeal), and b) căi extraordinare de atac (extraordinary appeal procedures) – recursul (the last appeal), contestația în anulare (the contestation for annulment/ appeal for annulment), revizuirea (the review) and recursul în interesul legii (the review in the interest of the law).

One can also notice a chaotic use of the terms “enforcement order” (in Romanian “titlu executoriu”), “enforcement act” (in Romanian “act executoriu”) and “European enforcement order” (in Romanian “titlu executoriu European”). The Regulation (EC) 805/2004 of the European Parliament and of the Council creating a European Enforcement Order for uncontested claims eliminates the exequatur procedure concerning the uncontested claims, thus establishing a new institution for this purpose, which results from the title itself or from Article 1 (*Subject matter*: “The purpose of this Regulation is to create a European Enforcement Order for uncontested claims to permit, by laying down minimum standards, the free circulation of judgments, court settlements and authentic instruments throughout all Member States without any intermediate proceedings needing to be brought in the Member State of enforcement prior to recognition and enforcement”) and Article 3 (*Enforcement titles to be certified as a European Enforcement Order* (...)) (2) This Regulation shall also apply to decisions delivered following challenges to judgments, court settlements or authentic instruments certified as European Enforcement Orders).

The problem occurring in the case of these terms – enforcement order, enforcement act, European enforcement order – is whether most of the variants in other foreign languages, including Romanian, of Regulation 805/2004 use the expression “European enforcement order”. The expression “European enforcement order” seems more appropriate than “European enforcement act” as far as the notion it refers to is concerned, hence the importance of juridical biculturalism, because a translation as such can generate major confusion with regard to the institutions envisaged by European law, and to the actual application in internal law.

Details of a juridical nature should also be considered when making the distinction, for instance, between the Romanian terms “decizie” and “hotărâre”, to be translated into English.

Romanian-English dictionaries (C. Nedelcu et al., 2000; O. Grecu, 2008; R. Lister and K. Veth, 2010) provide the following English equivalents for the two juridical terms:

- for “decizie”: decision, decree, resolution, judg(e)ment, order, verdict, sentence, adjudication, notification, ruling;
- for “hotărâre”: decision (of a public authority), order, decree, ordinance, (passing of a) resolution, judg(e)ment, verdict, ruling, adjudication, injunction, notification, act, ~ **judecătorească** decision, court order, judg(e)ment, verdict, judicial decision/ decree/ ruling/ verdict, court decision, legal decision/ finding, judicial ruling, award

It seems hard to select a term, but along the same line of juridical biculturalism, it is helpful for a translator to know that the classification of judgments in our country (Ioan Leș, 2010:653), according to the object of the judgment, involves: a) sentințe E. sentences (art. 255 par. (1) C.c. pr.) – judgments of first instance courts, b) decizii E. decisions – judgments of appellate courts and c) încheieri (art. 255 par. (2) C.c. pr.) – judgments in the course of the trial, interlocutory judgments.

The appropriate English equivalent of the Romanian “hotărâre judecătorească”, or just “hotărâre” in the legal sense, is “judgment”. The Romanian “hotărâre”, commonly and rightly translated into English as “judgment”, is the generic term used for what a court, whether ordinary or appellate, decides with regard to a case. In the Romanian legal system, a decision (R. “decizie”) is actually a subcategory under the wider category of judgments (R. “hotărâri”), strictly referring to the judgments provided by superior courts such as a tribunal, a court of appeal, the High Court of Cassation and Justice. Therefore, any decision is also a judgment, but not any judgment is a decision as well. A sentence is a first instance court

judgment, but it is not a decision in the specific, narrower sense regarding the classification of judgments in our country.

Another point in this analysis deals with the term “hotărâre” in the syntagm “hotărâre arbitrală”. It represents the translation of the English “award”, denoting the decision of an arbitral court.

The term “hotărâre” is sometimes part of an expression standing for the Romanian equivalent of the ECJ-related phrase “preliminary ruling” (R. “hotărâre preliminară”), which occurs in “reference for a preliminary ruling”, indicating “a procedure exercised before the Court of Justice of the European Union. This procedure enables national courts to question the Court of Justice on the interpretation or validity of European law”. (<http://europa.eu>)

In terms of legal translation, the pair “rezoluție” and “rezoluțiune” presents certain terminological difficulties. Thus, “rezoluție” is “1. the decision made after a debate or 2. the retroactive cancellation of a contract for failure to perform the contractual terms and duties” (V. Hanga, 1999:165)². But the tendency, guided by juridical doctrine and practice, is to use “rezoluție” with the former meaning, whereas “rezoluțiune” is associated with the latter. As far as the translation into English is concerned, there are several terms corresponding to these meanings – “decision” and “resolution” to “rezoluție” and “rescission” to “rezoluțiune”.

Let us analyze another group of nouns: politics, policy and polity.

Politics – s. intrigi politice, manevre politice. (O. Grecu, 2008: 305)

Policy – s. politică. ~ of industrialisation and economic development politică de industrializare și de dezvoltare economică. (...) (O. Grecu, 2008:305) and, s. 1. politică; 2. poliță de asigurare. (M.-L. Pucleanu, 1999: 128).

The term “polity” has no entries in legal dictionaries, but its meaning is explained in *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, where one can finally understand what “polity” stands for:

Polity (*pl. -ies*) (*technical*) **1** [C] a society as a politically organized state **2** [U] the form or process of government.

It thus acquires a legal interpretation, that of “organizare politică, sistem/ formă de guvernare/guvernământ”.

Another detail that matters is the existence of parallel structures denoting the same legal notion, one of the forms being obsolete. Such obsolete forms have been banned from courts and have been replaced by new usages, a process often dictated by the need for reform in the language

² Our translation from Romanian.

of the law, the need for accessibility, disambiguation, plain language that even ordinary people can understand.

e.g. *subpoena* (old usage) – *witness summons* (new usage)

in camera – *in private*

minor – *child*

interrogatory – *request for information*

plaintiff – *claimant*

ex parte – *without notice*

writ of summons – *claim form*

The most important distinction is related to the pair “claim form” and “writ of summons”.

writ of summons R. “citație în instanță”, now called **claim form** (O. Greco, 2008:397)

Claim Form Court form used to commence legal proceedings in court. (McKay & Charlton, 2005:159) R. “cerere de chemare în judecată”

2. Conclusions

Considering that “legal translation is often more difficult than other types of technical translation because of the system-bound nature of legal terminology” (Zaharia, 2010:217), the translator has the mission to recreate a text in a different legal background, he has to understand a legal situation and find a similar situation in the source language, or, in case there is no similarity or equivalence of juridical notions and institutions, he has to describe them as accurately as possible using the appropriate legal vocabulary in a wide range of contexts. That is why a good translator is a translator who constantly improves his juridical biculturalism, who is able to make the distinction between separate areas of law requiring distinct translation techniques and methods, who consults monolingual, bilingual dictionaries, as well treatises and specialized literature on the respective legal subject matters in both source language and target language, all these without altering the communicative purpose of translation. A ‘detail’ which should not be overlooked is the fact that the architecture of a legal text, its interpretation for the purpose of translation often relies on a minute linguistic and juridical analysis of such details which might appear insignificant at first sight, but which have important semantic and functional, even legal implications.

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Rezumat: Dacă detaliile par să imprime forță unei opere de artă, cu siguranță ele oferă precizie unei traduceri. Detaliile extralingvistice de natură juridică sunt esențiale în procesul traducerii de texte juridice. Astfel de detalii ar trebui luate în considerare când se face distincția, de exemplu, între termenii juridici românești "decizie" și "hotărâre" înainte de a-i traduce în limba engleză. Articolul analizează și opțiunile traducătorului în privința traducerii unor expresii, noțiuni și instituții juridice care par să nu aibă un echivalent în limba engleză.

Corpus Representativeness

Nadina Cehan¹

Abstract: The paper deals with the limits and pitfalls of compiling and using corpora for language study. It discusses corpus representativeness, balance, design, size and make-up in general, and it considers certain famous cases. A more recent approach, involving the use of the Web as a corpus or as a text archive for further study is debated as well. The role of technology and that of the context (i.e. where and when a corpus is put together) cannot be emphasized enough, as the degree of representativeness of a corpus is a matter of perspective, the compilers' and users' alike.

Keywords: *Corpus Linguistics, representativeness, Web*

Introduction

Representativeness is a thorny issue of utmost importance in Corpus Linguistics. It concerns corpus compilers and corpus analysts to the same degree, as it weighs heavily on whether the resulting data are relevant. The question 'What is the corpus for?' pilots the endeavour of corpus compilers. In other words, the envisaged use of the resulting corpus is a guiding principle in its design. Thus, decisions need to be made as to how large the corpus will be, what kind of texts it will include, and how the corpus will be analysed. In more practical terms, the sample size, target population (*i.e.* language) and the sampling method are determined before the actual compiling starts. Nevertheless, regardless of the amount of care invested in the creation of a corpus, representativeness remains elusive in most cases. It is a goal to be pursued, but, similar to Sisyphus' task, full representativeness seems impossible to achieve.

Collections of texts are compiled to serve many different purposes. They are used in various linguistic studies dealing with a wide range of issues, such as language history, variation across registers, learner language, and lexis. Corpora have also been used for extensive descriptive work on grammars of particular languages and for dictionary entries. Working with a corpus at hand is not a recent development in linguistics. Some identify the

¹ "Babeş-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca (cehan_nadina@yahoo.co.uk)

roots of Corpus Linguistics in the works of American linguist Charles C. Fries (1887-1967) (*cf.* Fries 2010). In writing *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*, whose last volume was published in 1949, Otto Jespersen used canonical literary texts in order to illustrate various constructions. Nowadays, many dictionaries, such as the *Collins COBUILD English Dictionary*, base the definition of an entry and some of the observations regarding its usage on corpus analyses.

Corpora come in all sizes. When used for very narrow, special purposes, they tend to be small and can even be said to be fully representative. For instance, a collection of all the essays written in English by a particular number of students during a given term may be used to identify recurrent mistakes. Such a corpus has clearly defined boundaries, which makes it ideal for the teacher who wishes to identify which language areas need to be focused on during lessons with that particular set of students. Yet, whether those findings could be extrapolated to a different context is highly debatable and unlikely.

Corpora which are compiled with more ambitious targets in mind, such as the analysis of present-day English language, or its diachronic study, need to be large enough to allow for reliable research to be done. Yet, just how large is large? The Brown Corpus, compiled in the 1960s, the first computer-readable corpus, is approximately 1 million words in size. It was regarded as representative for the standard American English of the time. The British National Corpus (BNC), put together between 1991 and 1994, contains 100 million words. The BNC aimed to represent modern, naturally occurring English language. Unlike the Brown Corpus, it contains spoken material as well. The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), released in 2008 and comprising texts from 1990 onwards, has over 400 million words. It is defined as a monitor corpus (unlike the BNC, for instance, which is a sample, or closed, corpus) as it is continually expanding. Twenty million words are added every year to COCA.

The above details illustrate two points. First, augmentation in corpus size has gone hand in hand with technical developments and enhancements, especially in terms of computer hardware, software, and computing and data storage capacities. As a possible landmark, consider the fact that *Microsoft Windows 95* was released a year after the BNC was completed. Second, one cannot but notice the trend in expanding the size of corpora which try to exemplify language on the whole. One could conclude that the larger the corpus, the more representative it is of the population in general. However, sheer size cannot account for full representativeness. Several other factors are involved, some of which are addressed below.

Perspectives on representativeness

In a frequently quoted article, *Representativeness in Corpus Design*, 1993, Biber indicates that the extent to which a corpus is representative depends on whether it includes enough material to evince the variety of genres, registers and text types and that of linguistic structures in a language (Biber 243). Therefore, one important aspect of corpus compiling has to do with the amount of texts therein and their length (*i.e.* number of words). Using statistical analyses, Biber convincingly demonstrates that the frequency of linguistic features directly concerns the size and number of the text samples which are to be included in a corpus. Thus, an analysis of conditional clauses, for instance, would require a greater number of texts, each containing a larger number of words than an analysis of nouns would. In his words: "Rare linguistic features [...] require longer text samples for reliable representations" (Biber, 1993: 252). Moreover, he emphasizes throughout that "[...] more diversity among the texts included in a corpus will translate into a broader representation of linguistic feature types" (*ibidem*).

Corpus design may take into account three text dimensions: text production, text reception and texts as products. Each of these will be considered in turn.

First, corpora can be compiled according to the amount of written vs. spoken material decided upon. Scripted language, such as that of television shows, holds a dubious position. Spoken language is produced on a much larger, everyday scale, than written language will ever be. One need only think of how many times one found oneself in interactive situations over the day and how long they lasted: while at the bank, meeting a neighbour on one's way out, greeting one's child back from school, talking in front of a whole class of students, chatting to one's mother on the mobile, and so on. Arguably, then, spoken language should be allotted at least 90% of corpus space. However, there are many counter-arguments to such a view. First, spoken language is highly repetitive. It shows little variation of structures and lexis over a length of text in comparison with the same length of written language. Second, speech is ephemeral and very difficult to record and then transcribe. There are technical problems such as surrounding noises and training issues such as getting all the hired transcribers to keep to an identical transcription and annotation system. Third, there is always the question of representing everybody's speech, if the corpus is intended to be representative of a language on the whole. Decisions pertaining to the background, age and gender of each recorded speaker may skew the results. Thus, spoken language is characteristically limited in, or altogether absent

from large corpora with the exception, of course, of smaller, specialised, speech-focused collections.

A second perspective is that of the language user as receiver, that is considering individuals as readers and listeners. For instance, a presidential speech may be watched by millions of people and it should arguably, somehow, be given more weight in the corpus, in comparison, for instance, with legal texts which, although important in their own right, are nonetheless hardly read by the general population. The greatest disadvantage in considering text reception is the impossibility to make precise measurements. For example, in some cases it may be possible to estimate how many people have read a certain book by finding out the number of copies which have been sold. However, publishing houses and book stores do not make this information publicly available. Moreover, it is not certain that once a book has been bought it has also been read. Nevertheless, Leech (2007: 138) argues that language reception should be factored in, even if linguists would need to resort to their intuition in such cases.

The first two approaches to corpus design are demographically driven. Thus, a corpus based exclusively on text production will consider the language produced by individuals of a certain age, gender, who belong to a particular social class, geographical area and so on. In the same way, a corpus created on the basis of text reception will focus on people first. For instance, one could conceive a collection of all the texts read by teenagers aged between 15 and 18, who go to a certain school. However, the third approach to corpus compiling, i.e. considering texts as products, bypasses these concerns for the users of a language. It is this methodology that Biber prefers and advocates for, since it ensures that register and text type diversity is well represented. This, in turn, would guarantee that most, if not all, linguistic structures of a language were represented. Moreover, it is practically and technically preferable to work with already written or recorded texts. Nevertheless, Leech proposes a combination of the three perspectives and argues for “an initiator-text-receiver nexus” (2007: 138), which, although mostly impractical and imprecise, would contribute more to the representativeness of a corpus.

When discussing representativeness, scholars focus on different issues, defining it in different terms, although the core issues do not change. For instance, Guy Ashton’s stance is that “[by] definition, any corpus is only perfectly representative of itself” (2011: 3). In this expert’s view, it is a matter of clearly defining the population and of assessing the sampling method when trying to establish the degree to which a corpus is representative. While endorsing this view, Ken Hyland goes further in

observing that corpora are created at a certain historical moment and with certain aims, and these factors play a heavy part in the results of the research done by later users. In his words: “[the] concept of representativeness is clearly context-bound in that it depends on the date a corpus was compiled and the purpose it was intended to serve” (2011: 102). As no two corpora were compiled in similar contexts, results will differ, sometimes greatly, for the same query. In considering very large corpora which aim to deal with a natural language on the whole, Stig Johansson notes that in such cases “it is virtually impossible to define the population from which a sample is drawn” (2011: 118), which means that they are highly unlikely to be representative. Instead, smaller, better-defined corpora, built with a very narrow end in mind, have a much better chance of being representative.

As a final observation, it appears that it has become customary to discuss representativeness in terms of degrees or scalarity, given the many issues involved. Because in the case of corpora dealing with natural languages on the whole full representativeness cannot be achieved, Leech prefers to use the term ‘representativity’ (*cf.* Leech 2001 and 2007). Such a term would better suit the ideas of incompleteness, gradualness and uncertainty which inevitably accompany the issue of representativeness in Corpus Linguistics.

Case studies: the BNC and the Web

Representativeness is important to understand and take into account not only for corpus compilers, but also for corpus users, especially for researchers who analyze the ready-made corpora in their own interests. It is important to know as much as possible about the corpus and the tools one is using in order to be able to interpret the results adequately. In other words, the analyst needs to know to what extent the research may be skewed and whether any generalisations can in fact be made. The following discussion of some available resources for corpus studies is meant to reveal some of the advantages and pitfalls of their use, with special reference to how and of what they are representative.

According to whether the collection of data has finished or continues, corpora can be classified as sample (or closed) or monitor. The Web (*i.e.* the World Wide Web) is a special case which needs to be considered separately. One largely used example of a sample corpus is the BNC (the British National Corpus), a project which was completed in the 1990s. It was probably the most advanced corpus of its time due to its size (100 million words) and several other features. Many decisions had to be

made beforehand regarding what the corpus was to contain. There was to be more written than spoken material collected: the BNC contains 90% written and 10% spoken texts. Samples were to be up to 40,000 words long. The spoken sub-corpus was controlled for age and gender. General balance was sought, notwithstanding the technical difficulties. For example, although it was initially decided to interview 100 individuals, 124 people were recorded so as to maintain proportions. The BNC was also fully annotated. The overall makeup of the BNC can be seen in the tables below (*apud* Meyer, 2002: 31):

TABLE 1. THE MAKE-UP OF THE BNC, WITH EMPHASIS ON THE SPOKEN AND WRITTEN PARTS.

<i>Speech</i>			
Type	Number of texts	Number of words	% of spoken corpus
Demographically sampled	153	4,211,216	41%
Educational	144	1,265,318	12%
Business	136	1,321,844	13%
Institutional	241	1,345,694	13%
Leisure	187	1,459,419	14%
Unclassified	54	761,973	7%
Total	915	10,365,464	100%
<i>Writing</i>			
Type			% of written corpus
Imaginative	625	19,664,309	22%
Natural science	144	3,752,659	4%
Applied science	364	7,369,290	8%
Social science	510	13,290,441	15%
World affairs	453	16,507,399	18%
Commerce	284	7,118,321	8%
Arts	259	7,253,846	8%
Belief & thought	146	3,053,672	3%
Leisure	374	9,990,080	11%
Unclassified	50	1,740,527	2%
Total	3,209	89,740,544	99%

The BNC may evince a high degree of representativeness of the British English language and that was certainly its original purpose. However, it has been criticized on many accounts. First, although it contained the largest spoken collection of the time, it was felt that it was not enough. Indeed, spoken English is under-represented in the BNC. This has several consequences, one of which being that non-standard features are still very rare. Because of the amount of published material therein, the BNC cannot be said to exemplify much of the variation in the language of the

British Isles, but it is rather representative of publishing norms. Second, the BNC was released in 1994, before the Internet explosion, which unfortunately makes it obsolete and even useless for certain types of analyses. For instance, references to ‘web’ in the BNC have to do with spiders, not computers (*also cf.* Bergh, 2005: 26-7 on the word *Taliban*). Third, the amount of scientific texts seems too large: 27% in total. Nevertheless, the BNC remains one of the best sources of information about British English to this day.

While sample corpora like the BNC are built to enable the study of a language on the whole, other sample corpora are created for comparison purposes, either between geographical regions, or between different points in time. Such comparable (or matching) corpora are conceived as similarly as possible, except for one dimension of the sampling methodology. One famous example is that of the Brown, LOB, Frown and FLOB quartet which together allow for dialectal and diachronic analyses to be made, due to their designs:

TABLE 2. MATCHING CORPORA: THE LOB, F-LOB, BROWN, FROWN QUARTET.

Publishing year(s) of the sampled texts	Variety	
	British English	American English
1961	The Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus (LOB Corpus)	The Standard Corpus of Present-Day Edited American English (the Brown Corpus)
1991 / 1992	The Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English (F-LOB)	The Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English (Frown)

In some cases, as comparability was the most important desideratum, synchronic representativeness had to be sacrificed in certain respects (*cf.* Leech, 2007: 141-4).

More recently, the Web² has become a growing concern for corpus linguists. As it constitutes the largest available body of texts in existence, the Web inevitably attracts a large amount of attention. Questions around and about this relatively new medium of communication relate to whether there have been any changes in the way we use language; how identity is constructed and expressed; what new language items have been coined and

² There is a need to distinguish between the Internet and the Web and the kinds of language production that are enabled by each. In principle, whatever is produced on the Web or via the Web should be subsumed to the Internet. Moreover, a discussion of what is public and openly available and what is not and the consequences thereof can also be relevant. While there is no space to fully develop these issues here, they should be present in the researcher’s mind when dealing with language on the Web.

what their life-span is; what textual varieties are specific to the new medium, what properties these distinctive genres have and how they relate to extant text types, and many more. The Web has proven especially useful in the analysis of very new or very rare language.

On the one hand, the Web can function as a corpus in itself, in which case, by using search engines (also called ‘commercial crawlers’; for instance: Google, AltaVista, etc.), queries are made of the entire available textual population. On the other hand, the Web can be treated as an archive out of which samples are selected according to previously established criteria so as to create a smaller, specialised corpus. An essential feature is that data on the Web is a highly chaotic, unclassified, unordered mixture. It is also repetitive and in a never-ending flux of change. Moreover, its often uncontrolled nature makes it difficult to know who and when wrote a certain Web-text. Thus, demographic sampling is virtually impossible.

The reliability of data retrieved from the Web may be further skewed by the internal architecture of the search engine used. Even Google, probably the most advanced search engine at the moment, presents several problems. For instance, in order to ensure high retrieval speed, Google pre-indexes web pages and links. Yet, new webpages are created every second and others are deleted, which means that at any one time the full scope of the Web is not accessible to the end-user. In other words, the Web is never fully available or visible. Moreover, Google has an integrated ranking system which orders search results in a certain fashion. Thus, if a linguistic analysis were to be based on just part of the search results, a certain bias may be present (*cf.* Bergh, 2005: 31-3). Search engine biases are inevitably transferred when special tools for dealing with Web language such as WebCorp are used. However, reliable frequency information can be gained when analysing slices of the Web, by restricting the search domains.

Conclusions

A corpus is representative if what is found therein also holds for the entire selected population. In the light of the previous discussion, we might conclude that no corpus is ever representative. As it has been shown, several issues affect a corpus’ reliability: the difficulties in defining the population and agreeing on a sampling method, the initial decisions on corpus design and the changes that take place during the compilation process, the corpus’ limitations due to the technical developments available, its relatively brief period of validity in certain respects. All this may amount to the conclusion

that a corpus is only representative of itself, and it would follow that it is impossible to make any kind of generalizations or predictions about language.

Of course, this is not the case. Users of corpora need only be careful when carrying out their research and manipulating the tools. They should be aware of the makeup of the corpus, what its initial purpose was, what the guiding principles in its design were and what the general context of its compilation was. Unfortunately, such information is not always easy to come by, but it is essential in deciding whether the results obtained can be generalised or not.

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Websites

Corpora by Mark Davies, Professor of Linguistics at the Brigham Young University: <http://corpus.byu.edu/>

ICAME Journal: <http://icame.uib.no/journal.html>

Varieng Corpus Resource Database (CoRD):
<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/index.html>

Rezumat: Articolul descrie limitele creării și folosirii corpurilor în cercetarea lingvistică. Sunt discutate reprezentativitatea, echilibrul, conceperea, mărimea și conținutul corpurilor în general, însa sunt date și exemplele unor cazuri bine cunoscute. Este pusă în discuție și o abordare mai recentă, anume folosirea Web-ului ca arhivă de texte sau corpus în sine. Se subliniază rolul tehnologiei și al contextului general în care un corpus este creat. Gradul în care un corpus este reprezentativ depinde de punctul de vedere al creatorilor și al utilizatorilor lui.

The Representation of Speech in Factual and Fictional Discourses

Mădălina Cerban¹

Abstract: In this article we are going to discuss one important issue that can appear when examining speech representation in factual texts: the means and the implication of inserting one text into another. The first part of this paper is concerned of the differences between factual and fictional texts, pointing out one important aspect of these texts: the question of truthfulness expressed in factual and fictional discourses. The second part of the paper analyses the differences between reporting and reported speech. In all written texts, reported speech is, to a larger or lesser extent, a form of quotation. Quotation represents the deep layer in narrative layers because of the fact that introduces one text into another. We will briefly discuss the characteristics of reporting and the reported texts.

Keywords: *factual, fictional, speech representation*

Introduction

The report of what people said is a major feature of different types of written texts: courts proceedings, news in the press, police statements, fictional narratives, etc. The most extreme case of the representation of speech in written texts is the dramatic texts due to the fact that the story unfolds through talk. In all these types of texts, the teller either improvises a conversation in the case of fictional texts or reports what someone else has said in the case of factual reports. The content of what is said can be either attributed to the speakers in a direct way or presented indirectly. In the second case the speaker can choose what information to present and how to present it. For example, the same information can be interpreted and retold differently according to the personal interpretation, to different social roles or different points of view. If someone says:

e.g. *The manager **pretended** that they had the bigger sales.*

instead of

e.g. *The manager **said** that they had the bigger sales.*

¹ University of Craiova (madalina.cerban@yahoo.co.uk)

It means that in the first example he/she detaches himself/herself from the responsibility of what he/she reports by choosing the verb *to pretend* (the manager is the one that pretends something; I do not have any responsibility or I do not necessarily agree with this statement). In the second example, the speaker tries to remain neutral in relation to the statement; semantically this neutrality is emphasized by using the verb *to say*. These grammatical strategies can carry non-explicit meaning and it is important that readers become aware of them.

In this article we are going to discuss two important issues that can appear when examining speech representation in factual texts: the question of truthfulness, pointing out the characteristics of factual and fictional discourses and the implication of inserting one text into another.

I. Characteristics of factual and fictional discourses

Sinclair (1986) proposes two contrasting terms and one relationship for handling the distinction between *fact* and *fiction*. He defines as *fact* states of affairs that do not require verbalization. The verbal assertion represents what it is said on a certain occasion. The correspondence is the relationship between the fact and the verbal utterance. If there is no correspondence between the fact and the verbal utterance, “the speaker or the writer is seen to be either *misleading* or *misled*” (Sinclair, 1986: 48). A speaker can mislead in a discourse when he/she thinks that there is no correspondence between the terms and still makes the utterance. In the same time, a speaker can be misled when he/she becomes a listener and thinks that there is a correspondence between the terms.

According to Sinclair, the status of fiction can appear only with utterances of speaker that is aware of the correspondences and when this correspondence is acknowledged by all the other participants who expect this correspondence to be irrelevant. Sinclair (1986:11) considers that

this status is brought about by an author detaching himself from the responsibility of averring (verbal assertion) each successive utterance, but not attributing them to any other author in the real world – either no one at all, or a fictional narrator. The utterances, therefore, lose their status as being identified with a participant in any real situation.

Factual status entails authorial utterances. In real conversations there are speaker who utter what they assert. But, when they report someone else’s words, they choose to utter only that they other speaker utter

something and not to report the truth (factuality) of he/she uttered. As a result, they detach themselves from the propositions expressed in the reporting texts. For example, in the following example:

e.g. *The woman noticed that her boss considered he was not appreciated. Or that's what she said he said.*

The last part of the utterance shows clearly that the speaker is saying: "Don't consider that I'm telling the truth of what he said. I'm only saying that the woman said what I say she said about her boss".

One point in common between a factual and fictional representation of interaction is that the content of saying is reported by people who make it significant. Taking this into account, there are no differences between these two types of texts. There are people that interpret facts according to their perceptions and feelings, ideology and situation as human beings living in a social context in a particular moment of time. As a result, there is no text in which the context wasn't "filtered" by the author's interpretation (Fowler, 1986).

However, in reality, many people still think that factual reporting is objective, fair, impartial, balanced and reflects reality and true representation. This fact is possible due to the idea that factual reporting is based on real facts.

Sinclair also points out two important aspects regarding a simultaneous evolution of factual and fictional in an utterance:

(a) Fiction and fact are not in contrast with each other due to the fact that if they were they would be reciprocally exclusive. When writing fiction, an author has to avoid relating what he/she knows to be a fact.

(b) Fictional is preferred to factual in the case that both of them are relevant. The evaluation of an utterance as simultaneously factual and fictional does not confer the status of a factual verbal assertion.

As we can notice from the considerations above, factual discourses can be distinguished from the fictional ones by applying the criterion that Sinclair entitled "accusation of truth". This situation can be easily observed in newspaper and political discourses. A journalist or a politician can face the "accusation of truth" and the answer is very important for both of them. Nevertheless, the question is irrelevant for a fictional writer. In some cases the identification is not very clear and, as a result, in some cases, there is difficult to decide what is true and what it isn't in a particular text.

If a journalist describes events that did not happen, and a writer describes in detail events that happen, the readers will evaluate them in different ways. Generally, it is believed that facts from a newspaper are true, and facts from a novel are fictional because the environment determines for

the reader what text he/she is exposed to. Newspaper articles, autobiographies, sport reports are believed to be 'true'. The same case happens with quotations. If we hear someone quoting someone else's words we suppose that those words had already been said.

The fundamental difference between factual and fictional reports of speech is that in a factual report, the reader's averral (i.e. verbal utterance) depends on words produced elsewhere; in other words, there are two averrals, on depending on the other. In fiction, by contrast, a simulated conversations created by only one averral, that of the author. Fictional writers, however, can base their report on factual reality while factual reporters, although having a previous referent, can distort what was said in the first place and, in this case, the distinction between a factual and a fictional can be blurred. (Caldas Coulhard, 2001: 302)

In order to be sure that the facts are real, they should be observed directly, at first-hand. Nevertheless, this thing does not happen. For example, in a news report, the facts described are almost never observed by the readers of the newspaper article. However, they are considered to be factual, especially because they are printed in a newspaper. Although the primary source of these articles is an eye-witness, a participant that notices what happened in that particular place, or a secondary source, someone who narrates the facts heard from the primary source, the final article is filtered by many people before being printed in a newspaper. The information is filtered, re-interpreted, evaluate and quoted by many people such as: reporters, editors, copywriters and so on.

There are some differences regarding the people that are quoted. People that have official jobs tend to be more reliable than others, so a lot of what is reported is associated with power structures. Anyway, in all cases everything that comes from these people is considered to come directly from the source. Van Dijk (1988:88) considers that introducing participants as speakers conveys the dramatic and the human dimensions of the events.

II. Inserting one text into another

In all written texts, reported speech is, to a larger or lesser extent, a form of quotation. Quotation represents the deep layer in narrative layers because of the fact that introduces one text into another. According to Halliday (2004: 440), speech representation is realized by the logicosemantic system of projection which includes direct and indirect speech and thought. Halliday (2004: 441) identifies three types of types of

projection: reports, ideas and facts. These systems are involved in the differentiation of three different kinds of projection: (i) the level of projection (idea vs. locution), (ii) the mode of projection (hypotactic reporting vs. paratactic quoting), and (iii) the speech function (projection proposition vs. projected proposal). Within functional framework there are two sub-types of projection:

(i). *Paratactic projection*

When we are dealing with verbal processes, the projecting clause has the form of “Somebody says” followed by one or more projected clauses which represent the words spoken as paratactic projection has the form of direct speech. If we analyse this clause in experiential terms, we label the projecting clause as Sayer and the projected clause as Quoted:

e.g. *He said “I met your brother”.*

(ii). *Hypotactic projection*

Unlike the paratactic projection, the relation between the two clauses forming the hypotactic projection is one of dependency; the clause containing the Sayer (the projecting clause) is the dominant clause and the Reported one (the projected clause) is the dependent clause.

e.g. *The manager stated that his team was the best in the company.*

According to Halliday (2004: 441), “when something has the status of wording it lies not at one but at two removes from experience. When something is projected as a meaning, we are not representing the very words because there are no words”. Quoting and reporting are different both in form and in meaning. Distinctions are not always very clear. This happens especially because there are cases in which a reporting verb can express an idea or can report a saying:

e.g. *At the summit it was thought that Canada **claimed** that the North Pole is part of its territory, but the Canadian prime-minister **denied** the speculations.*

Most grammarians (Halliday, Mathiensen) consider that all speech representations can be divided into two sub-types of projection, but some other grammarians (Fairclough, Voloshinov) consider that there is a dynamic relationship between the reporting and the reported discourse in the sense that the way the reported discourse is interpreted can depend on the way the reporting discourse is contextualized. Caldas Coulhard (2001: 297) considers that

There are therefore degrees of author's interference in 'quoting' and 'reporting' and the interesting aspect to be considered is how they are used to reproduce interaction, since the possible choices determine different meanings.

Written texts, when transcribe oral dialogues, assume what types of oral interactive strategies were used in order to create their intertextual interactions. A reported text always represents a reduction of the initial discourse especially because the final text has a different purpose from the original oral communication.

Another important characteristic of the reported text is the fact that the reported text is more linear than the original communicative discourse. According to Caldas Coulhard (2001: 297),

The representation of speech is a simplification and a reduction of the organizational characteristics of real interaction. There is no place, for example, for the interpersonal features to be reported.

The most important elements that will not be met in written texts are the greeting formulas, the closing formulas, as well as the intonation which cannot be rendered in secondary texts. However, when reading a text, we use our interactional competence and imagine the opening and the closing formulas of the dialogue that is reported.

Regarding the structure of the secondary texts, the secondary text has a simpler structure than the reported text. In reported texts the structure is generally made up of: initiation, response and sometimes follow-up. Fictional exchanges generally have two moves: initiation and response:

e.g. *What sort of childhood did the two of you have in Rye, N.Y.?*

There's a way to understand our background, which is pretty simple.

(Interview with Eugene Jareki, The New York Times magazine)

Did you have to leave the country?

Yes, due to political conditions of those times.

Have you known each other long?

No, we have recently met.

In factual texts, exchanges are reduced and most of them are made up of only one move, generally a move that gives information, being a response to the first line, having the function of informing in the discourse.

Conclusions

Taking into account all the arguments, we can conclude that the role and function of speech representation in the overall structure of factual and fictional texts are re-interpreted by other people in the case of factual texts or re-created in the case of fictional texts. In all cases, represented speech is a mediated and indirect text, but factual texts pretend to be something they are not, being considered true even if they are not; meanwhile, in fictional texts the authors detach themselves from the responsibility of the text content.

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Rezumat: În acest articol vom discuta un aspect important care poate fi întâlnit în cazul analizării reprezentării verbale în textele cu conținut real: mijloacele și implicațiile pe care le are introducerea unui text în alt text. Prima parte prezintă diferențele dintre textele cu conținut real și ficțiunile, subliniind un aspect important al acestora: cât de mult adevăr este în aceste texte. Cea de-a doua parte analizează diferențele de conținut dintre textele care sunt 'reportate' și conținutul a ceea ce este 'reportat'.

Possible Worlds Semantics and the Answering Machine Paradox

Raluca – Elena Colțoiu¹

Abstract: The various ways in which an utterance can be analyzed will always represent a dilemma. A relevant example for this issue could be the answering machine paradox, *I am not here now*, which has raised a debate regarding its truth value. This recorded message has been studied by theoreticians belonging to different fields such as logics, linguistics or philosophy. However, the aim of this research is to analyze the semantic and pragmatic meaning of the recording. I will be interested mainly in the indexicals used and I will also try to identify the circumstances under which this proposition is true.

Keywords: *pragmatics, semantics, truth value*

How does natural language untie us from the actual here and now? One degree of freedom is given by the ability to name entities and refer to them even if they are not where we are when we speak.

(Irene Heim, Kai von Fintel, 2010: 2)

In this paper I will discuss about the answering machine paradox *I am not here now* and I will try to link this issue to the field of possible worlds semantics.

The answering machine paradox has interested theoreticians from different fields (logics, linguistics or philosophy) and has been studied and analyzed from various perspectives. I think that it would be interesting to give a semantic interpretation to the answering machine recording *I am not here now*. This analysis will be focused on the indexicals used, on the context in which the recording is uttered and on its purpose.

David Lewis' study, entitled *On the plurality of worlds* raises a very interesting perspective on the *modal realism*, which refers to "the thesis that the world we are part of is but one of a plurality of worlds." (Lewis, 1986: vii). He sustains the idea by saying that:

¹ Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca (raluca_988@yahoo.com)

The way things are, at its most inclusive, means the way this entire world is. But things might have been different, in ever so many ways. This book of mine might have been finished on schedule. Or, had I not been such a commonsensical chap, I might be defending not only a plurality of possible worlds, but also a plurality of impossible worlds, whereof you speak truly by contradicting yourself. Or I might not have existed at all - neither I myself, nor any counterpart of me. Or there might never have been any people. Or the physical constants might have had somewhat different values, incompatible with the emergence of life. Or there might have been altogether different laws of nature; and instead of electrons and quarks, there might have been alien particles, without charge or mass or spin but with alien physical properties that nothing in this world shares. There are ever so many ways that a world might be; and one of these many ways is the way that this world is. (Lewis, 1986: 1)

David Lewis pinpoints the fact that we need to understand that we can never be sure in what world a sentence or a situation is being evaluated. The idea that there is only one world is wrong. There are many other possible worlds which allow new interpretations and which create new ways of analysis. Actuality cannot be proved or verified, it is an interesting matter showing us that the human existence and language are not restricted to a present discourse or situation:

I ought to say not that there are many possible worlds, and that ours is actual and the rest are unactualised. Instead I ought to say that actuality is much bigger and much more fragmented than we ordinarily think. For it is a trivial matter of meaning that whatever there is, is actual. The word “actual” is a blanket term, like “entity” or “exists”: it applies to everything. Not just everything hereabouts, or everything suitably related to us, as I would have it ; but “everything” without restriction. [...] Since everything is actual, the other worlds, if such there be, actually exist. There it is not merely possible that they exist. They are not unactualised possibilities. In fact they have nothing to do with possibility. For possibility concerns not the far reaches of actuality – not even the reaches of actuality that are spatiotemporally isolated from us, if such there be – but rather it concerns “alternatives” to actuality. Actuality – all of it, no matter how much of it there is – might have been different, and that is what modality is all about. More of actuality is no substitute for unactualised possibility. (Lewis, 1986: 97-98)

Even if the recording *I am not here now* has been interpreted mainly from a pragmatic point of view, it could also represent a relevant subject for the field of possible worlds semantics. The first semantic issue raised by this

utterance is the indexical *I*, followed by the time and location constituents. We should start the analysis with a possible definition for the term indexical.

Umberto Eco, for instance included in his book, *Semiotics and the philosophy of language*, a chapter about reference process and indexical. The definition that he proposes is the following one:

The reference process represents the contact between a sentence and a circumstance. This action takes place through the use of the indexicals. An indexical could be illustrated by a finger pointing in a certain direction or by a verbal comment. They are apparently characterized by the fact that their significance stands in the object to which they are physically connected. Any indexical has a content, a trace of recognition which is different from the real recognition of the object.² (Eco, 1982: 214).

David Lewis proposes an indexical analysis trying to find a definition for the actual world:

I suggest that 'actual' and its cognates should be analyzed as indexical terms: terms whose reference varies, depending on relevant features of the context of utterance. The relevant feature of context, for the term 'actual', is the world at which a given utterance occurs. According to the indexical analysis I propose, 'actual' (in its primary sense) refers at any world *w* to the world *w*. 'Actual' is analogous to 'present', an indexical term whose reference varies depending on a different feature of context: 'present' refers at any time *t* to the time *t*. 'Actual' is analogous also to 'here', 'I', 'you', and 'aforementioned' - indexical terms depending for their reference respectively on the place, the speaker, the intended audience, the speaker's acts of pointing, and the foregoing discourse. (Lewis, 1986: 93)

These definitions clearly highlight the idea that the contribution of indexicals to propositional content is very important. Their meaning could determine what contribution to content they make.

I, *here* and *now* are normally used to express an action taking place in the moment of speech, being a synonym for *I exist*. However, the answering machine recording *I am not here now* refers to a future situation. In English, a verb used in the present tense, can express a future action, but this is not applicable in our case. The time and location constituents, *here*

1. Actul de referire pune ENUNȚUL (sau PROPOZIȚIA corespunzătoare) în contact cu o CIRCUMSTANȚĂ, cu ajutorul unui artificiu DE INDICARE. Am putea denumi aceste artificii de indicare INDICATORI. Un deget ațintit, o privire cu o anume direcție, un indice verbal ca acesta sunt indicatori. Ei sunt aparent caracterizați de faptul că semnificația lor este dată de obiectul de care sunt legați fizic. Orice indicator are în primul rând un conținut, o marcă de apropiere care este independentă de apropierea reală a obiectului.

and *now*, deny the reference to a possible situation that will take place in the future. Thus a new question arises: Under what circumstances could this recorded message have a truth value? There is a strong connection between indexicals and the truth function of a sentence because they are markers of the intentional and extensional meaning.

Semantics has established an interesting relation between the reference conditions and the truth value conditions, in other words, between the intentional semantics and extensional semantics. If the intentional semantics studies the coding theory, reference and truth value belong to the extensional semantics.

We cannot claim that a sentence completely lacks of its truth value. The truth value can be tested through comparison with other real events. What is more, the addressees connect the messages they receive to actions and events that they have already experienced.

If we try to analyze the message *I am not here now* we will identify various interpretations and, consequently, these interpretations will lead to different possible worlds. For instance, it could suggest that I am not available right now or that I am not at home. On the other hand, it could be used as a lie. Maybe I am home but I do not want to pick up the phone. Umberto Eco developed a theory about lying and reference: "When talking about lying, there will also be a reference. If we are dealing with reference, there will always be the possibility to use it for lying."³ (Eco, 1982: 78). But, still, these interpretations are rather pragmatic and this study tries to highlight the semantic function of the utterance.

The semantic analysis of the recording *I am not here now* will take into consideration the context in which it was uttered and the time and space reference.

The semantic analysis will start with the classification of the components: the speaker *I* and the adverbs associated with the values of time and space: *here*, *now*.

$w@$ is the actual world in which the speaker *I* is, in fact, present where he claims he is not; t is the present time, $loc.$ is the space and wI is a different world in which the speaker is not present. We can also add the negation *not*, which is the reason why this message is ambiguous. Thus, this recording can fulfil the truth value if and only if the addressee will manage to understand its meaning: if you are listening to this message it means that I will not be here.

³ De câte ori există minciună există semnificare. De câte ori există semnificare, apare posibilitatea de a o folosi pentru a minți.

The ambiguity of the utterance is provided by the two adverbs *here* and *now*, mainly by the time adverb *now*. For this sentence to express a true message the speaker should have said *I will not be here*. However the adverb *now* can only be used with a verb in the present tense. Changing the message *I am not here now* into *I will not be here* may seem a good solution but, we must keep in mind that this message is supposed to express a present action not a future one.

Alan Sidelle wrote a book in which he tries to solve the puzzle of the answering machine paradox. He begins his study clarifying the fact that “utterances of *I am here now* are always true at the time they are uttered, and consequently: Utterances of *I am not here now* are always false at the time when they are uttered.” (Sidelle, 1991: 527). He continues by dividing his statement in several explanations:

(1) *An utterance of T refers to whoever utters it.*

(2) *An utterance of here refers to the location of the utterance.*

(3) *An utterance of now refers to the time of the utterance.*

From these it follows that:

(4) *An utterance of 'I am here now' is true (when uttered) if and only if the speaker is located at the place of the utterance at the time of the utterance.*

But it seems obvious that:

(5) *At the time of an utterance, a speaker is always located at the place he is making the utterance.*

Therefore:

(6) *Utterances of 'I am here now' are always true at the time they are uttered, and consequently:*

(7) *Utterances of 'I am not here now' are always false at the time when they are uttered.*

But this contradicts the answering machine phenomenon:

(8) *Some utterances of 'I am not here now' are true at the time of utterance, e.g. those presented by answering machines (in their non-screening use). (Sidelle, 1991, 526-528).*

Sidelle also presents the solutions he has identified for the paradox. The first one is rejection. He claims that the adverb *here* does not indicate necessarily the location of the utterance: “the semantic rule for here is given by the area indicated by the speaker, and not by the location of his utterance.” (Sidelle, 1991: 528). Alan Sidelle continues his idea adding another argument:

The focus should not be on whether or not there has been an utterance, but on whether “I’m not here now” is true at the time it is uttered/inscribed. Unfortunately, while it is true that it is false at the time of the recording and true at the time of the call, the problem is that if we take there to be a single inscription/utterance, and this is the one which takes place during the recording, then the referents of “here” and “now” should be the place and time of the recording, and so no matter when someone is listening to it, the “I am not here now” preserved on tape should just be false – false at the time of the recording, and false later.[...] Suppose someone with an answering machine is home when someone calls, but decides to let the machine do the work. It plays its “I’m not here now”, and after leaving this message, the caller hangs up. Question: hasn’t this person lied to the caller? It’s not a federal case, but so long as one doesn’t require a lie to be a serious offense this seems to be a fairly straightforward case of someone lying. But if it is clear that he was lying, then we seem committed to saying that he told the caller that he wasn’t there, i.e. he uttered “I’m not here now”. He did it through the machine certainly but it wasn’t the machine that was lying. But if when one is home and doesn’t answer, he utters “I’m not here now” (and so lies), then when one isn’t home, it seems one must also be making this utterance. If you lie when you are there, you must be telling the truth when you’re not. It can’t be because one is home at the time of a call that one can use the machine to utter “I’m not here now”. One’s being home at the time of a call simply provides one with the opportunity to use the utterance to lie. Thus, one tells the truth when one’s answering machine plays “I’m not here now”, and one is not at home, and to tell the truth is to make a true assertion. (Sidelle, 1991: 531-533)

Another solution would be to use *there* instead of *here*. In my opinion this would lead to a non sense. If someone hears the recorded message *I am not here now*, he/she will understand that the speaker is not at home, office, etc. If *here* is replaced by *there* the meaning will become ambiguous and the location reference will not be clear. The explanation given by Alan Sidelle is the following one:

Here always picks out an indicated location. There can be substituted when the location does not include that in which the utterance occurs; when the

utterance area is included, one must use here. Here, in its standard use, picks out some location in which the speaker's utterance is located. However, there is another use in which here refers to some location indicated by the speaker. This latter use is really a special case of there: there is the fundamental term for referring to a contextually indicated or intended location. (Sidelle, 1991: 529).

Another interesting idea pointed by Alan Sidelle is the fact that *I* could refer to two different speakers: the machine and its owner. In the first case, the utterance would be false since the reference is the machine itself. If we consider the second case, the truth value is not fulfilled if we think at the moment the message has been recorded. This utterance is true only when the caller hears the message:

The simple way of rejecting is to deny that what the caller hears when he gets the answering machine "I am not here now" is true. Unless this can be motivated, it is not a solution to the puzzle, but a simple denial of it. And prima facie, this response is just wrong. The "I am not here now's" in question seem to be flat-out true.

However, one might try another tack. Is what the caller hears an utterance? This may seem silly, but it can be motivated by asking who the speaker is. There are only two candidates: the machine or its owner (or whoever recorded the message). If it were the machine, then "I am not here now" would be false, since "I" would refer to the machine. And if we take the machine to be the speaker, we would also have to take a scrap of paper left on the door saying "I'm not here now. (Leave the package)." So that leaves the message-leaver. But surely he isn't talking over the phone. He's somewhere else – that's the whole point. Thus, one might claim, neither of the only two candidates for speaker can be the speaker, and without a speaker, there is no utterance. Thus, we do not have a true utterance of "I am not here now". (Sidelle, 1991: 531).

Sidelle's study, dealing with the answering machine paradox, is very useful. He offers clear definitions and he also explains each example in a detailed manner. This paper enables us to understand that there are other possible worlds in which this message could be uttered and this would also signify that the context changes the message.

All in all, the various ways in which an utterance can be analyzed will always represent a dilemma. The semantic meaning will always raise questions concerning the truth value and the circumstances under which a certain sentence is uttered. The answering machine paradox constitutes a powerful and challenging view for indexicality. It could trigger various

ways of interpretation and this could be an important addition to the semantic or pragmatic analysis.

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Rezumat: Numeroasele interpretări pe care le poate primi o sintagmă ridică, deseori, semne de întrebare. Un bun exemplu pe această situație este reprezentat de mesajul de pe robotul telefonic: *Nu sunt aici acum*, care a iscat controverse privind valoarea sa de adevăr. Acest mesaj înregistrat a fost studiat de teoreticieni aparținând unor domenii de cercetare precum logica, lingvistica sau filosofia. Cu toate acestea, studiul de față își propune să analizeze semnificația mesajului din punct de vedere semantic și pragmatic. Voi avea în vedere în primul rând adverbele folosite și voi încerca, de asemenea, să identific circumstanțele sub care această sintagmă ar putea deveni adevărată.

Challenges and Opportunities for Freelance Translators in Romania

Oana-Adriana Duță¹

Abstract: The hereby paper aims at providing an insight on some of the challenges faced by freelance translators in today's Romania, from linguistically focused issues to other distinct types of requirements, such as meta-linguistic, technical, administrative, communication and marketing-related competences. Besides being excellent language professionals and ensuring outstanding quality, freelance translators should also be able to manage their own finance, properly plan their time and efforts, promote their activity, maintain existing clients and attract new clients, as well as keep up to date with technological progress.

Keywords: *translation, terminology, polyvalent competences*

Introduction

When beginning their career as a freelance translator in Romania, recent graduates of language and literature studies on the one hand and translation studies on the other hand face more or less complex situations, that challenge not only their translation and/or language-related skills, but also their creativity, their capacity of organisation, their technical and interpersonal communication skills, etc. Recent graduates find themselves in a market where it is up to them to convince customers that their services are really worthy and reliable, where they have to learn price setting strategies and promotion mechanisms, at the same time never forgetting how to actually translate. The hereby paper aims at providing an insight on some of the challenges faced by freelance translators in today's Romania, from linguistically focused issues to other distinct types of requirements.

1. Case Study: the Romanian Lexicalisation of Some English Nominal Groups in Financial Terminology

One of the realities recent graduates of philological studies have to face when beginning their freelance activity as translators is that most of

¹ University of Craiova (Oana.duță@yahoo.com)

their workload will come from specialised fields (economics, law, technology, IT, medicine, etc.), not from the literary field they have grown so accustomed with during the university. On the one hand, publishing houses have their well-established list of translators and it is quite difficult to enter this world. At least it is more difficult than approaching translation agencies and receiving jobs in specialised translation. On the other hand, the general opinion found among professionals (expressed in personal discussions and in internet forums) is that literary translations are highly underpaid, and the field becomes less attractive for someone who is trying to make a living as a translator.

Is this for better or for worse? At first sight, many language professionals could be tempted to say that specialised translation is simpler than literary translation, for instance, because all figurative and implicit meaning is left out. Legal, business, medical or technical jargon only has a literal meaning, which is easier to transfer to a foreign language. In specialised or internationalised fields, calques (a phrase borrowed from another language and literally translated, word-for-word) are a very common translation device. However, this is not always the case and translation problems arise especially in the case of nominal groups.

We shall now present the way how a couple of English nominal groups which refer to financial management theories (in the field of capital structure) have been translated and transposed into Romanian. They do not figure as such (as a whole nominal group) in English to Romanian financial or business dictionaries, and they are not to be found in general press articles, so the source of the Romanian versions have been academic journals devoted to finance. In our opinion, these nominal groups may pose some issues for translators, since, as it has been said, they do not figure as such in dictionaries and translators have to resort to corpora in order to find the actual Romanian equivalents.

The phrase *trade-off theory* arose in English language in order to explain how a decision maker running a company evaluates the various costs and benefits of funding alternatives and, finally, reaches a balance between marginal costs and benefits. The meaning of *trade-off* in English is that of balance, compromise and compensation. However, this theory is known in Romanian by the name of *teoria arbitrajului* or *teoria arbitrajului static*. The first term is due to the French influence. It was not borrowed into Romanian from English, but from French, which, in turn, borrowed it from English (*théorie de l'arbitrage*). In this context, *arbitraj* refers to the idea of balancing and compensating two opposed elements, in order to obtain an optimal benefit (in the case of capital structure, equity and loans must be

balanced). This is consistent with the meaning of the noun *arbitraj*, as given by the Dictionary of the Romanian Academy, i.e. the idea of a conflict or a controversy being solved by a generally impartial person (mostly applied in sports and legal practice). The second Romanian nominal group is *teoria arbitrajului static*. The same adjective appears in the Spanish version of the name of this financial management theory (*teoría del equilibrio estático*). Why add the adjective *static*? The Romanian term first appeared in the book *Diagnostic economico-financiar* (Bucharest, 1994), a collective volume of papers. The author, finance professor Dumitru Mărgulescu, considered that trade-off activities are by excellence static, they only imply a certain moment in time, a certain situation, a momentary effect and individual conclusions. The evolution of Romanian financial literature has proved that other academics have agreed to this proposal and the term has begun to be widely used. In the more recent times, authors have started to take stand against this notion and have supported the removal of the adjective. Their argument is that trade-off theories are not by excellence static, but they can also be dynamic, factors may change in time and, therefore, decisions should also change.

Another nominal phrase denoting a financial management theory is *pecking order theory*, which describes the classification, the priority a company should comply with when establishing its funding sources. This nominal group was taken over in economics from the field of animal behaviour. Pecking order or just peck order is the colloquial term for a hierarchical system of social organization in animals. The original usage of peck order referred to expression of dominance of birds. Used in the financial context, *pecking order* implies just the same idea, that of dominance of a funding source on another and its graphical representation usually takes the shape of a pyramid, whose base consists of the preferred financing resource and the other resources are then used in descending order of preference. The term coined in Romanian for this specific theory is *teoria ierarhizării surselor de finanțare*. In this case, we no longer deal with a major influence of French language (the French term is *théorie du financement hiérarchique*), but with the Romanian version trying to explain in detail what the theory is about. Whereas the English term is quite opaque for a person not familiar to the background of the bird dominance theory or for an ignorant in the field of finance, the Romanian term is more transparent and explicit.

A third technique of financial management refers to the *capital asset pricing model* (CAPM), used to determine a theoretically appropriate required rate of return of an asset. Romanian literature generally takes the

abbreviation over as such, as the theory is widely known and used and it could not raise problems of understanding. However, major academic texts and schoolbooks refer to it as *teoria evaluării activelor financiare*. From our point of view, we are confronted to a quite problematic equivalence here. A capital asset is, according to the Longman Dictionary, all tangible property which cannot easily be converted into cash and which is usually held for a long period, including real estate, equipment. This would correspond to the Romanian term *active immobilizate*. Of course, securities and other types of financial assets (*imobilizări financiare*) are included in the category of long-term assets, but they are not the only ones. Moreover, financial assets are the long-term assets which are most easily convertible to cash, and this would represent quite a contradiction with the definition of the English term. Hence, the Romanian equivalent of the name of this theory restricts its application to financial assets, whereas the English language original is more complex and includes all types of long-term assets. One might argue that this is not very much of a problem, because the CAPM abbreviation is so renowned among economic scholars that it has long become tradition and few people would even try to think of its origin. However, our opinion is that a full-range compliant translation should be ensured and established and such a translation would be *teoria evaluării activelor immobilizate*.

These are only some of the linguistic issues a translator may encounter when approaching the activity of professional translation. In such cases, dictionaries cannot be relied upon and extensive documentation is needed. This is why it is recommended to focus on a determined field of specialisation in the long term, in order to achieve excellence and provide high quality results.

2. Additional Requirements

We have outlined from the very beginning of the hereby article that, besides the indispensable linguistic and cross-linguistic competences and skills, other qualities are required for surviving in today's translation market. Generally speaking, such qualities do not fall within the scope of higher education in translation studies and recent graduates only discover they need them when they actually begin to work. Therefore, it is our belief that translators' training, no matter how scarce it is², should include at least

² By "scarce" we mainly refer to the translation training provided to foreign language students in Romania. When they graduate from the university, they have the same opportunity as translation graduates, i.e. automatically receiving (with no further examination) the sworn translator certificate from the Romanian Ministry of Justice.

a short presentation of the additional requirements a translator must meet if s/he wants to be successful.

2.1 Metalinguistic Competences

Being a good translator does not only mean to properly understand the source language and master the target language, but also being able to adjust oneself to different types of texts, both in terms of horizontal variation and vertical variation. First of all, a translator who specialises in four or five fields, at most, will always seem more reliable than one who states s/he perfectly masters a dozen of specialised fields. Even though the idea of attracting jobs from all possible fields (medicine, law, economics, constructions, psychology, agriculture, environment, geography, etc.) may seem exciting, customers may have doubts regarding the reliability of that translator's competence. Moreover, when specialising in a limited number of fields, translators may adjust their discourse in a more accurate manner. Vertical variation (quantified in terms of terminological density and structural opacity) may also pose several types of issues; translators should adjust the target text not only to the specialised field involved, but also to its pragmatic intentions and the audience. A certain topic may be approached in a distinct manner according to the context, according to the author and according to the audience it is directed to, which is why the translation should be adjusted. A text on the functions of blood, for instance, has a distinct structure and terminology if it is included in a specialised journal for medical researchers, in a manual for 1st year students or in a general magazine.

Another aspect of meta-linguistic competences appears when a translator should adjust to the explicit requirements of a customer, even though, sometimes, this may affect the translation itself. In some cases, in order to ensure the consistency of their materials, customers require that the translator should observe a certain glossary, that uses certain terminology or structures, which are not necessarily the most adequate for the translation project at stake. This kind of problems may be due to the perpetuation of a wrong previous translation or to the polysemy of certain words. However, it is highly likely that the idea of maintaining the same terminology is prevalent for the end customer, so that the translator has to adjust to such requirements.

However, the syllabus of foreign language studies only includes 5 subjects relevant for translation (of an approximate total of 60 subjects during the 3 years of higher education).

2.2 Technical Competences

The times when only a pen and a sheet of paper or, more recently, a typewriter were needed for translation are long gone. Today's translators must be able at least to use word processing software. However, other technical competences represent a great advantage when competing in a highly volatile market, with many participants. For instance, in order to translate leaflets, posters, tourist guides or magazines, translation companies prefer to work with translators who are able to work in the very format of the document, who have the technical competences and resources required to edit PDF files, to convert PDF files to/from editable files, keeping the layout.

The wide range of available computer-assisted translation ("CAT") tools also represents both a challenge and an opportunity for translators, since only those who can use such software are able to accept projects they need such tools for. Moreover, the competence to use at least a CAT tool is an unexpected help for a translator since, in the short term, s/he will notice that his/her work capacity has increased, especially in the case of high-repetition projects. The capacity to use online glossaries, databases and other terminological sources is another advantage of "IT-skilled" translators: they easily learn which is the best resource for each translation field, how to look for what they need in order to get optimal results, how to use the wide network of possibilities that is internet in order to ensure high output and good ergonomics.

2.3 Management Competences

One of the most difficult tasks translators must face is that of managing their own time. Translators should be able to organise their work and accept projects so that they may always meet deadlines. From this point of view, it is a genuine art to be able to ensure a balance between inevitable idle periods and those weeks when days would really have to be more than 24 hours long. One has to know to resist the temptation of accepting any project that may arise: it is possible that a translator does not manage to successfully complete any of the projects s/he has committed to performing, which, in the end, will affect his/her image more than it would have in case s/he had rejected such job from the beginning. Moreover, one should not be scared in the months when activity is somewhat lower (generally January, February and August), but take advantage of them for tasks they do not have time for during the rest of the year, such as documentation, training courses, learning a new language, translating more extended projects, with more

distant deadlines (books, manuals), personal projects, etc. A good management of the workflow and proper priority setting also favour ergonomics and reduce stress.

On the other hand, freelance translators should have financial and administrative skills, since they have to fill in their own registers, reports and statements for tax authorities. Many translators do not resort to the specialised service of an accountant and, hence, they have to fill their own financial reports. From this point of view, a translator should also be acquainted with tax laws (which expenses are deductible and which are not, what is the required format of invoices, up to what date should annual reports be presented, what is the payment quota for social insurance and health insurance, etc.) and professional laws, in order to avoid any types of issues.

In the end, a freelance translator should establish the prices s/he will collect for his/her services, taking into account multiple criteria, such as: monthly revenues (or actually annual revenues since, as we have explained, there are “idle” months in translation) s/he wants, the prices offered to potential customers, average market prices, his/her experience and the objectively assessed quality of his/her services, etc. Of course, it is always better to estimate the annual volume of the translation activity (in terms of pages or hours) in order to have at least an idea of what one will earn during that year and, thus, be able to plan other activities.

2.4 Communication and Marketing Competences

Since a translator, as a service provider, always is connected to the surrounding environment, communication skills are indispensable. Translators communicate with direct customers (actual clients, in order to maintain a good relationship or potential clients, who still have to be attracted), project managers (who assign translation projects), fellow translators or translation communities, where they share ideas and opinions. Every established relation, every word published in a virtual forum, every sent message and even phone call represent a translator’s opportunity to affirm himself/herself. A translator must take care of his/her own image, since any negative opinion on the internet can be very harmful nowadays.

The purpose of translation is to obtain suitable revenues, that shall allow a translator achieve a desired lifestyle. This is why promotion must be an adequate priority. A curriculum vitae, a website, a presence on social networks and visual identity are elements that every freelance translator should take into account. Methods of finding new customers should also be paid suitable attention: translators may subscribe to job offer lists, they may

send messages to the translation companies or publishing houses they are interested in, etc.

Finally, price, besides being one of the goals of the financial management process, can also represent an effective marketing tool. On the one hand, a very high price can scare potential customers. On the other hand, a very low price may suggest low quality work which, in turn, may alienate customers.

Conclusion

On balance, young people who become freelance translators have to face a wide array of situations, that do not involve only good terminological knowledge and competences (that are taught in the university), but also capacities of management, organisation, use of technology and communication. A freelance translator is, thus, some sort of *homo universalis*, who must constantly adjust to the novelties in his/her field, from multiple perspectives, if s/he wants to successfully survive in today's translation market.

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Rezumat: Lucrarea de față își propune să descrie câteva dintre provocările cu care se confruntă traducătorii independenți din România, de la probleme de natură lingvistică la

alte tipuri de cerințe, precum cele de ordin metalingvistic, tehnic, administrativ, de comunicare sau de marketing. Pe lângă faptul că trebuie să aibă cunoștințe lingvistice excelente și să asigure o calitate deosebită a textului-țintă, traducătorii independenți trebuie să își poată administra propriile finanțe, să își planifice în mod adecvat timpul și eforturile, să își promoveze activitatea, să își păstreze clienții existenți și să atragă noi clienți, dar și să fie în permanență la curent cu progresul tehnologic.

Teaching Grammar Using Literary Texts

Elena Mărăscu¹

Abstract: Knowledge of grammar forms and how to use them in different situations has got great value. Grammar being of the language aspects is believed to be central to the affective teaching and learning of the English language. A major problem of language teaching is the creations of authentic situations for language. Thus, English teachers are expected to bring different materials which can offer to the students, authentic situations.

Different scholars perceive literature as an example of language teaching use and a context for language use. This implies that literature can be used as a tool for teaching and learning of language aspects.

Keywords: *literature, structure context, authentic materials, teaching, form, function, deduction & induction approach*

Many views on how to teach grammar have been developed by various researchers and have been implemented in language classes.

In the early days of grammar teaching, grammar translation methods asked the students to translate literary texts from the second/ foreign language to their native language based on grammar rules they have learnt. In this approach, grammar is viewed as a system of rules of syntax that describes the orders and patterns in which words are arranged in correct sentences. However, because this method gives wide room to the mastery of grammar rules and does not enable students to use the language, different criticism have been raised.

Brown (1994) states that in the 1940's and 1950's, the teaching of grammar was simply making students learn language habits through drills and pattern practices. This method was Audio lingual which was popularized by psychologists. Because there was no focus or emphasis on the intention thinking and internal problems, this method failed to be used. Then this method, due to the collective works of Krashen, Halliday and Hymes was replaced by another approach called communicative language teaching in the 1970's and 1980's. Next years, the focus turns to meaning rather than forms or grammar rules, as it is believed that it is derives

¹ University of Craiova (eu1979@yahoo.com)

language acquisition and developments. Though it is not easily adapted in practical teaching situations, in schools, which are test- oriented and teacher- centered, communicative language teaching is largely treated as the most effective approach for to its ability to support teaching for communicative ability. The aim of the communicative language is to make communicative competence. The goal of language teaching is also to develop procedures for the teaching the form language skills that acknowledge the interdependence of language and communication. In the communicative competence model, the purpose of learning grammar is to learn the language of which grammar is a part of. According to Harmer (1991) the main goal of teaching grammar should be to ensure that the students are communicatively efficient with the grammar they have at their level.

The author also stated that without knowledge of grammar, we would not be able to string words together in any meaningful way and relationship between the words would be impenetrable. Grammar knowledge includes knowing how to recognize structures when spoken, how to identify when written, how to understand in context and how to produce meaningful sentences.

Noticing the close interrelationship between form and meaning Nunan (1989) says “we use different grammatical forms to signal difference of meanings”.

He claims, “Good oral grammar should be both meaningful and communicative”. He added that at present, language is learnt primarily for communication features of communicative language teaching base as well. One of the most characteristic features of communicative language teaching is that it pays attention to functional as well as to structural aspects of language, combining these into more fully communicative view. The supporters of communicative approach say that effective grammar tasks in communicative approach to second language teaching and learning need to have natural feature such as integration of language skills, authenticity and variety of contexts, information gap and creative use of language.

There are lots of scholar who take literature as a powerful tool to the teaching and learning of language aspects.

For instance, Salih (1986) states that teaching language through literature enables students develop all language skills: “In literature courses students exercise or practice all of the skills, they are required to listen to what an instructor is saying, they must write down notes, they often ask or answer questions and they are frequently required to read passages relevant to the deal under consideration.”

Some famous scholars as Widdowson (1975) Collie and Slater (1987) and Lazar (1993) stated that the use of literature encouraged language acquisition and expanded students' language awareness for the following reasons:

- a) Literature stimulates language acquisition by providing contexts or processing and interpreting new language.
- b) Literature supplements the restricted input of the classroom.
- c) Listening to recorded literary texts exposes students to new language.
- d) Rich in multiple levels of meaning, literature provides students with a frame work for sharing their feelings and opinions.
- e) Literature could promote an elementary grasp of English to internalize vocabulary and grammar pattern.

It is clear that literature plays a pivotal role in the teaching and learning of language.

The following are some of the benefits of using literary texts in language teaching and learning as suggested by different scholars.

1. It enables students to be highly motivated. It is known that motivation in language teaching is a main component. Wilhelm and Humboldt (1984) state "We cannot teach language, we can only create condition under which it can be learned". Thus literature is one that provides pleasure by engaging the emotion of students. According to Lazar (1993), if the materials are carefully chosen students will be motivated thinking that what they do in the classroom is relevant and meaningful to their own lives.

2. It enables students to internalize the new language item and reinforce points previously learned. It is to mean that according to Brumfit and Carter (1986), when people learn their native language they are not taught the grammar rules of their language but they simply dig out how language works from what they frequently hear.

Thus for foreign learners to internalize the grammar of the language from different context, they must be given sufficient authentic and understandable materials what Krashen (1985) calls comprehensible input.

Lazar (1993) also states that literature provides appropriate way in order to stimulate learners to acquire a new language since it provides meaningful and memorable contexts for processing and interpreting new language.

3. Literature can be used as a genuine context. As Hill (1986) asserts, teaching particular language points by using isolated sentences prevents the learners from making any analysis on the basis of content. For students to be able to remember structures and words, they need a meaningful context to work from and to which they can related what they learn. In relation to this,

Collie and Slater (1987) confirm that literature in authentic material in that works of literature are not prepared or written for the purpose of language teaching. Hence, when incorporating literature in teaching language, learners can be exposed to language that is genuine and will be able to cope with language intended for native speakers. They will also be familiar with different linguistic rules and forms.

4. Literature can provide students with the access to the culture of the people whose language they are studying. According to Lazar (1993), literature provides students to contextualize how a member of a particular society behaves or reacts in specific situation. Further more, reading literature, according to Carter and Long (1991), make learners understand, appreciate and respect different cultures.

5. Literature provides language enrichment. Collie and Slater (1987) state that literature provides a rich context in which individual lexical and syntactical items are made more memorable. Reading a substantial and contextualized body of text, students gain familiarity with many features of the written language- the functions and formations of sentences, the variety of possible structures, the different ways of connecting ideas which broaden and enrich their own writing skills. Students reading literary texts will be able to understand from linguistic clues and deduce the meaning from context. Literature also expands the students' language awareness in that being exposed to forms somehow different from the normal discourse; they will become aware of the overall features of English.

The most common literary texts for teaching grammar could be poems, short stories and drama.

Cass (1984) affirms a poem with an interesting theme as well as emphasis on the vital areas of stress, rhythm and similarities of sound can serve not only as language learning, but also as a source of enjoyment for both teacher and students. Using poetry in teaching grammar has got several benefits, one of them being the fact that poems are the reflection of cultural value and moral beliefs of the society.

Some poems have the nature of repeating particular items and this repetition makes easy to internalize the structure.

Celce-Murcia and Hill claim that poetry is a tool for practicing a particular grammatical structure that depends on how much it is spoken, repeated and written it becomes more internalized. Poems have enormous linguistic values as they provide authenticity and cultural views.

Beside the benefits to teaching grammar, some difficulties might be created because of the selection of the appropriate poems which are syntactically and thematically appropriate to the level of age and interests of

the students. These linguistic difficulties are caused by the syntax or the lexicon of the poem, cultural difficulties like tone, allusion and intellectual level. However, poetry can be used as appropriate authentic context for foreign language.

Short stories are loved by students who listen to the same story over and over again, and they can provide the basis for effective communicative activities in a language class as they are remembered long after the lesson is over. Short stories can be used both for eliciting and consolidating grammar rules; inductive reasoning and deductive thoughts are implied. Thus, students first will be given a certain kind of generalization. However, for deductive thought, first, students are given the rules and then they will be asked to apply those rules to the story given by the teacher as an example.

If stories are told with energy and involve students, grammar points can contextualize and can get the students' attention in a way that no other technique can do it.

Drama is one of the literary forms which can be used as a communicative activity in language classroom. The value of drama as educational tool consists of fostering the social, intellectual and linguistic development of the students. Students have the opportunity to use the language in operation which is absent in a conventional language class. Thus, students are encouraged to use grammatical points in isolated sentence but in a meaning context.

As a result, second language acquisition becomes internalized as a direct result of placing the learners in situation that seem real.

Drama encourages them to practice the rules they haven't learned in a relaxed way and provides for teachers to understand the thoughts and feelings of the students as they express themselves in their activities. And from the constant feedback provided by the activities, the teachers can plan better strategies for more effective learning teaching.

Success in using literature depends upon a selection of texts which will not be too difficult on either a linguistic or conceptual level. The literary texts that teachers need to read with their students should be selected taking account of their students' age, level, needs, cultural background, language level and the goals of the course into consideration.

Hill states "if students have to struggle with extremely difficult vocabulary, sentences and structures, they will neither understand the text, nor enjoy it". If the literary texts cannot stimulate the students' interest, students would not be able to discuss and relate they have learnt to their experience.

In teaching grammar using literary texts can be applied more approaches but there are two main ones: deductive and inductive approaches.

The deductive approach maintains that a teacher explains grammatical rules directly using describing in details, when a new structure appears; it is explained what are the components and what type of context can be used. Students can understand the rules and they are told to apply the rules given to various examples of sentences. It is expected that students might learn the rules by heart.

This form of grammar teaching offers a real and clear image of the rules, which makes the learning easier and is time effective, leaving more time for practicing the new structures. This approach goes straight forwardly to the point and it can be time saving and a number of rules can be explained. Some critics of the deductive approach argue that it tends to emphasize form at the expense of meaning and that it does not comprehendible, meaning bearing input.

The other problem with this approach is that grammar explanations encourage a teacher- fronted transmission style classroom, asking for involvement and interaction (Paesani, 2005). In grammar translation the method is the deductive method, which is over emphasized in language teaching.

In contrast to the deductive approach, the inductive approach tries to point out grammatical rules in which the learners are encouraged to conclude rules from the different examples given by the teacher. The examples should be from the literary texts, in order to offer to the students the possibility to become more interested in finding out the grammar rules applied to the literary texts, which can be more attractive, too.

The approach focuses mainly on meaning than on form, in a sense that the teacher first presents the form in a meaningful context such as paragraph or story, and then encourages the students to recognize patterns in the language sample presented. This approach is termed as implicit, rule discovery or bottom-up approach. Inductive grammar teaching involves students' participating actively in their own instruction and thus fosters students centered approach.

Once students have attained the function of meaning of the form, the teacher then provides an explanation followed by meaningful practice.

Thus, students are beneficiaries as acquisition begins with input as it encourages them to induce meaning. It also provides learners with the opportunity to reflect upon the language they are learning to use. Students are more active in the learning process rather than being simply passive recipients. The inductive method may leave the student at a loss and cause frustration when the learner is not sure whether she/ he is correct in her/ his findings and conclusions about the new structures she/ he is discovering them.

It may be difficult to discover form- function relationships without explicit clue and in some cases it may be better to avoid ambiguity and misunderstanding using explicit approach.

Applying inductive method is the main, but not the only means of presenting grammar instruction.

In contrast to induction approach, the deductive approach enables learners to be aware of what they are doing, how they are doing it and which possibilities are available to them and with these, it helps them improve their learning.

Once their attention is drawn to expressing meaning is a particular way and they are sensitized to the possibilities they will be able to understand and acquire the necessary grammar of the language in an easier manner which is unattainable for these who rely on what clearly resembles deductive method of grammar teaching.

In many cases, when it is difficult to use inductive approach and it is believed that using deductive approach contributes to a better understanding of the rules and if implemented in appropriate context it could be used, and facilitates the learning process.

As Brown (1994) points out most evidence show that inductive teaching is superior to deductive teaching communicative language learning.

In inductive approach, authentic materials are valuable source of input for the purpose of grammar instructions. It serves as comprehensible input during the presentation and is a resource for the identification of specific forms, and used as the basis for meaningful language use.

When presenting a new grammar approach a teacher may use either deduction or inductive approach. When practicing an inductive approach, students should be presented the language sample, for example, some kind of an advertisement and then they would be encouraged to make their own observation about the example. On the other hand, when practicing a deductive approach according to Celce-Murcia it is the teacher who presents the generalization and then asks students to apply it to the language sample.

Presenting and explaining a foreign language grammatical structure to a class of learners is difficult. The most frequent reasons are: to understand what is involved in knowing the structure and how to present examples and formulate explanations that will clearly convey the necessary information. The techniques that be can used depend on the teacher's strength, students' preference and the structure's nature.

As a conclusion, teachers should select literary texts in order to succeed in teaching grammar and making it understandable and more

attractive to the students or anyone who wants to learn the English grammar by using literature.

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Rezumat: Cunoașterea formelor gramaticale și cum să le folosim în diferite situații reprezintă o mare valoare. Gramatica ca aspect al unei limbi este considerată principală în predarea și învățarea limbii engleze.

O problemă majoră în predarea limbii este crearea de situații autentice ale limbii. De aceea, profesorii de limbă engleză sunt așteptați să aducă diferite materiale care pot oferi clasei situații autentice.

Diferiți cercetători consideră literatura ca un exemplu de a preda gramatica și un context pentru folosirea ei. Aceasta implică faptul că literatura poate fi folosită ca instrument de predare și învățare a aspectelor unei limbi.

Contract Language: A Socio-Linguistic Reality Between Intended and Unintended Ambiguities. A Lexical Approach to Interlingual Nominal Ambiguities

Diana Oțăt¹

Abstract: The paper is premised by the idea that the ambiguities that are to be encountered in legal texts, and, more specifically, in contracts, have a double meaning. Aiming at investigating the linguistic ambiguities that are likely to occur in contract language, first, we have to distinguish between intended and unintended ambiguities. By adapting and implementing both qualitative and quantitative methods, we further propose an applied analysis of linguistic ambiguities that are likely to occur in English-Romanian bilingual contracts. In this respect, the present paper underpins a systematic investigation regarding the occurrence of interlingual nominal ambiguities, which may arise during the translation process. Thus, we shall focus on aspects of legal synonymy and polysemy, being mainly interested in the analysis of those particular instances of lexical ambiguity characterizing legal terminology, i.e. archaic words, loans, technical terms and common words with uncommon meanings, highlighting the controlling factors. A systematic assessment of our findings will reveal a contrastive approach to the occurrence of lexical interlingual ambiguities in terms of translation procedures.

Keywords: *legal language, nominal structures, lexical ambiguity, inter-lingual ambiguities, translation procedures*

1. Introduction

Considering that the primary functions of law are the ordering of human relations and the restoration of social order, we would then question how far nowadays official drafted or translated documents contain linguistic ambiguities, which could consequently lead to different social and legal inconsistencies and misinterpretations. Without claiming comprehensiveness, our scientific motivation regards the paradoxical emergence of ambiguities in legal documents and, more specifically, in contracts, for in such texts we have to distinguish first and foremost between intended and unintended

¹ University of Craiova (dianaotat@yahoo.com)

ambiguities. Accordingly, Mellinkoff (1994: 26) describes the language of the law as being characterized by an “extraordinary precision” and “ambiguity”.

Under the circumstance, the socio-linguistic dimension of contract language frames a twofold reality, rendering two parallel facets of the term *ambiguity*, which, albeit their polarized perspectives, may be regarded as two overlapping spheres. Thus, *Oxford Dictionary of Law* describes *ambiguity* as “uncertainty in meaning” and distinguishes between *patent* and *latent* ambiguity (Martin 2003: 24). While a patent ambiguity refers mainly to structural features of a document, for example, when a blank space is left for a name, a latent ambiguity occurs mainly as a functional device of the legal discourse, an unambiguous statement at first, but which becomes ambiguous in the light of knowledge gained other than from the document.

Beyond this specialised legal meaning *ambiguity* acquires within the legal praxis, i.e. a procedural device in drafting documents, legal documents exhibit typical ambiguous linguistic occurrences characterised mainly by their distinctive lexical features particular to expressing the concepts of law. Admittedly, Cao (2007: 23) endorses that “the English legal language is full of imprecise and ambiguous expressions which are not necessarily intended”. This approach to unintended ambiguities also represents the aim of the present research paper. Within the following sections we will embark ourselves to a linguistic investigation of lexical ambiguities typically encountered in contract documents aiming to frame and further investigate nominal *interlingual* lexical ambiguities from a translation-based perspective. In this respect we shall further use the term *unintended ambiguities* and not *latent* or *patent ambiguities*, for our investigation refers to linguistic ambiguous situations rather than legal ambiguous interpretations.

2. Framing inter-lingual lexical ambiguities in contract documents

Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English defines *ambiguity* as something difficult to understand; the term *ambiguous*, functioning as an adjective, refers to a notion which reveals more than one meaning, so that it is not clear which is instead and establishes further categories of ambiguities, namely grammatical ambiguity, encountered at the sentence level, and lexical ambiguity, which can refer either to a word that can have several meanings, i.e. a polyseme or to two or more words which can sound the same but have different meanings i.e. homonyms (Summers et al, 2005: 39). A more detailed approach to this term is provided by Bussmann (2006) in *Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*. The author makes a primary distinction between

ambiguity that is to be encountered in natural languages, thus a property of expressions that can be interpreted in several ways, and a more specific definition of the term ambiguity, particular to linguistics, a phenomenon which can be solved by means of disambiguation (Bussmann 50). Accordingly, the author distinguishes between lexical *ambiguity* i.e. *polysemy* or *homonymy* and *syntactic ambiguity*. In the same climate of opinion, Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet (2000: 38) claim that “ambiguity arises when a single word or string of words is associated in the language system with more than one meaning”. This approach is also adopted by Yule (2006: 88) who endorses that both phrases and sentences may reveal two distinct underlining interpretations which “are represented differently in deep structure”.

Under the circumstance, prominent linguist sought to assign linguistic ambiguities to particular classifications according their functionality. Thus, Leech (1980: 7-16) distinguishes between *lexical* and *structural* ambiguities, seeing lexical ambiguities as closely related to the semantic meanings of words, while structural ambiguities as deriving from grammatical and syntactical forms. Also, Cruse (2006: 17) classifies ambiguous structures into *lexical* and *grammatical ambiguities*.

Following the same theoretical approach to linguistic ambiguities, Cao (2007) and Tiersma (2008) refer to legal ambiguities which are to be encountered both at lexical and syntactic level, revealing certain linguistic manifestations specific to specialized languages such as legal English. Moving further towards an in-depth lexical analysis of ambiguous instances, Cao (2007: 19) establishes two main types of legal lexical ambiguities triggered by *intra-lingual uncertainty*, i.e. linguistic ambiguities occurring in native texts, and *inter-lingual uncertainty*, i.e. linguistic ambiguities subsequent to the process of translation.

3. Analysing nominal ambiguities: corpus analysis of bilingual contracts

Having adopted Cao’s (2007) typology of linguistic ambiguities, we have tackled a systematic analysis of inter-lingual nominal ambiguities which arise during the translation process from the source language into the target language.

Although acknowledging the complex multi-layered dimension of inter-lingual ambiguities exhibited by bilingual contracts and the importance of the cultural variable in legal translations highly influenced by the cultural awareness of the translator as the mediator between the linguistic barriers of

the two languages, within the present paper, we shall focus particularly on the specific linguistic and ESP translation constrains of nominal ambiguities at lexical level, motivated in part by space-saving considerations, however, we sought to put forward further research propositions from a cultural context-sensitive point of view. Accordingly, we have selected and analysed a series of nominal ambiguous occurrences prone to translation errors due to particular morpho-lexical particularities. In this respect we have designed a specialised corpus, which in Lüdeling and Kytö's terms (2008: 154) is meant to answer more specific research questions, comprising 4 bilingual constructions contracts. In terms of sampling techniques, we favoured internal criteria as we intend to investigate specific linguistic aspects of nominal ambiguities. Moreover, we have limited our corpus design in terms of research constrains to nominal ambiguities encountered in constructions contracts, while in terms of text availability and copyright permission we have selected 4 electronic versions English-Romanian bilingual constructions contact drafts provided by several inland entrepreneurs, who authorised us to use the contracts as research materials, as long as we do not disclose confidential data such as sums, addresses, tax identification numbers etc.

In what follows we shall describe several translation-based ambiguous occurrences identified at the lexical level of the 4 construction contracts, according to our corpus-based analysis: *offer* – *ofertă*

The noun *offer* – *ofertă* was recorded as one of the most frequently encountered technical terms throughout our bilingual corpus, assigned by Tiersma (2008) and Cao (2007: 67) as a *common word* which in legal language acquires a *technical meaning*. Admittedly DuVivier (1999) postulates that in English contract language the term refers to a promise which when accepted constitutes an agreement. Our lexical analysis of the Romanian equivalent term provided a dual interpretation of the noun *ofertă*. According to *DEX* “OFERTĂ, *oferte* s. f. is 1. Propunere făcută de o persoană altei personae pentru vânzarea-cumpărarea unor mărfuri, participarea la o acțiune” (Coteanu et al 2012: 736) however, a second definition proposed by the same dictionary explains the use of this term in legal use, i. “2. *jur.* act prin care se legalizează o astfel de propunere”, i.e. the document by means of which an offer when accepted constitutes an agreement.

According to the examples encountered within our bilingual corpus, the term *offer* – *ofertă* and further compound nouns or noun phrases like the *Subcontractor's offer* – *Oferta Subcontractorului* indicate that they were properly understood and translated. Most of the translated variants in our corpus did not refer to the term *offer* as “a statement that you are willing to give

someone something or do something for them” (Summers et al 2005: 981), but as a promise, which when accepted constitutes an agreement.

However, several examples have been encountered where such noun phrases can be ambiguously interpreted, as the translated versions seemed to refer more to the intention of offering rather than to the promise that would stand as agreement between the two parties of the contract. Thus, in example (1) below a kind of ambiguous meaning of the noun phrase *the offer* seems to have arisen during the translation process. Even though the Romanian variant makes use of the term *ofertă* which would stand for agreement between parties, according to Martin, in the English legal language, it is the term *tender* that refers to “an offer of performance, acceptance of which requires the concurrence of the other party, e.g. the tender of the price of goods by a buyer to a seller.” (Martin 2003: 494).

Though, ambiguity seems to occur only in the Romanian texts, as the term *offer*– *ofertă* acquires in Romanian a third interpretation, i.e. “OFÉRTĂ, *oferte*, s. f. (concr.) act, document scris prin care se face o astfel de propunere” (Coteanu et al 2012: 736). This means the equivalent term for the English word *tender*, namely “an offer of performance, acceptance of which requires the concurrence of the other party” (Martin 2003: 494).

In example (1) the noun phrase *local offers* – *oferte locale* implies an ambiguous meaning in both English and Romanian texts, due to the use of the English term *local offers* which would mean not an established agreement, but ‘*tender documents*’. Thus, it does not specifically refer to a promise which when accepted constitutes an agreement, but rather to something put forward to be considered and accepted or refused:

(1) 2.5 [...] The Branch Bucharest will provide local offers for the civil part and for the electro-mechanical equipment. The evaluation of the offers will be done jointly by both branches.

2.5 [...] Sucursala Bucuresti va pune la dispozitie oferte locale pentru partea de constructii civile si pentru echipamentul electro-mecanic. Evaluarea ofertelor se va face in comun de catre cele doua sucursale.

(Ctr.No276/2009 HTC Internal Agreement: 2)

remedy – remediere

Ambiguity may also arise in word structures, i.e. compound nouns or noun phrases containing the head noun *remedy*. Even though most of the encountered examples do not regard this term as “a medicine to cure an illness or pain that is not very serious” (Summers et al 2005: 1197), within the translated variants we have encountered ambiguous situations in which *remedy* could also refer to “a way of dealing with a problem or making an

unsatisfactory situation better”(Ibidem), and not necessarily to “a legal means whereby breach of a right is prevented or redress is given” (Cao 2007: 68). The term *remedy* has been defined in specialized Romanian dictionaries as “I. remediu II. despăgubire, compensație, indemnizație, mijloc legal de a recupera un drept sau de a repara o nedreptate” (Năstăsescu 2009: 333). By analysing such nominal constructions containing the term *remedy* – *remediere* we have reached the conclusion that lexical ambiguities related to such constructions or other noun phrases like *specific remedy* – *remedierea respectivă* can reveal two distinct interpretations. Besides the technical interpretation of the term *remedy* as ‘a legal means whereby breach of a right is prevented or redress is given’, such expressions could also be understood as the improvement or the resolving of *specific remedy*.

A reversed interpretation can be applied in the case of the English compound noun *remedy costs*, example (2), which besides the legal interpretation, namely *the costs* necessary for “any of the methods available at law for the enforcement, protection, or recovery of rights or for obtaining redress for their infringement” (Ibidem), it is also likely to be interpreted as the costs of a repairing, however, the Romanian variant reveals the appropriate sense specific to contract documents, i.e. *costurile de remediere*. Ambiguity seems to persist if we consider that the Romanian equivalent of the compound noun *remedy costs* do not necessarily refer to the costs for “any of the methods available at law for the enforcement, protection, or recovery of rights or for obtaining redress for their infringement” (Ibidem), meaning *costurile necesare pentru* “un mijloc legal de a recupera un drept sau de a repara o nedreptate” (Năstăsescu 2009: 333), but the costs for a treatment, i.e. *remediu* (Ibidem).

- (2) 6.4 [...]the GENERAL CONTRACTOR, after notifying the SUBCONTRACTOR in writing and allowing a reasonable remedy period [...] The value of the remedy costs shall not exceed 15% of the contract value.
6.4 [...]ANTREPRENORUL GENERAL, după înștiințarea SUBANTREPRENORULUI prin notificare scrisă și acordarea unui termen rezonabil de remediere [...] Valoarea costurilor de remediere nu va depăși 15% din valoarea contractului.

(Ctr. No.236/2010 HTC & Autohton TM: 4)

rule – normă, regulă

A kind of ambiguous interpretation occurs in example (3) as the noun *rule – normă, regulă* may refer both in English and Romanian either to the law which regulates a society or the functioning norms of an organization or institution. However, the most appropriate meaning of the

example below refers rather to the functioning norms of an organization or institution than to the law which regulates a society, though ambiguity may arise.

(3) 3.1 These reports will be drawn up whenever the CLIENT so requires and will, *as rule*, respond to specific and concrete requests

3.1 Rapoartele vor fi redactate la cererea CLIENTULUI și vor raspunde, *ca regulă*, unor solicitări concrete și specifice.

(Ctr. No. 22/2009 HTC & Nestor: 1)

A special situation which is worth mentioning is the use of the term *rule* along with the noun *law*. Even though apparently the two terms are synonyms the meaning of the noun phrase containing both nouns implies the idea of law supremacy, “rule of law” (Martin 2003: 441); such occurrences may be possibly ambiguous interpreted especially during the translation process, as the term *rule of law* refers to the legal system in the United Kingdom

terms and conditions – termene și condiții

Throughout the undertaken analysis of the bilingual corpus we have encountered a specific situation concerning ambiguous interpretations produced by legal synonyms that act similarly both in source and target texts, i.e. the case of the legal synonyms *conditions* and *terms*. Applying the definition provided by Cao in respect of the two legal terms, we understand that *terms*, as in “the terms of contract” refer to every clause in the document, thus the word “term” is a synonym for “stipulation”, “clause” or “provision”, while *condition* may refer either to *terms* generally or to the *important terms* of the contract (Cao 2007: 71). Martin (2003: 103) also distinguishes between *condition* “*n.* a major term of a contract. It is frequently described as a term that goes to the root of a contract or is of the essence of a contract” and *term* “*n.* 2. Any provision forming part of a contract. A *term* may be a *condition*, a *warranty*, or an *innominate term*, depending on its importance, and either an express term or an implied term, depending on its form (Ibid: 494). In Romanian we also distinguish between the equivalents of the two words, *condition* – “*s. condiție*” (Năstăsescu 2009: 73) and *term* – “*s. condiții, termini contractuali*” (Ibid: 410). Consequently, ambiguous interpretations may occur while dealing with the two nouns *terms* and *condition* and other noun phrases and compound nouns containing these words. On the one hand we may speak of *intra-lingual ambiguity*, i.e. ambiguous interpretations denoted by the use of the two terms interchangeably. On the other hand, *inter-lingual ambiguity* may be

caused or simply transferred into the TT due to an uncertain understanding regarding the two uses of the words, especially if one tends to consider the two terms as legal equivalents.

Under example (4) ambiguity may arise due to the double meaning of the noun *term* – *termen*: both English and Romanian specialized dictionaries, offer a second definition of the word *term* – *termen*, on the one hand *term* “*n. Originally, any of four periods of the year during which judicial business had to be transacted. The duration of a leasehold interest in land*” (Martin 2003: 494) and, on the other hand, *term-* “*s. termen, dată limită*” (Năstăsescu 2009: 410). It seems that the meaning in (4) does not refer to a specific condition of the contract but rather to a time span, i.e. a due time within which certain conditions have to be accomplished, for example the noun phrase *the date foreseen in the contract* has been translated as *termenul prevăzut în contract*, thus implying a double interpretation of the noun *termen* i.e. a condition and the due time.

(4) 2.17 2.17 [...] the SUBCONTRACTOR will present a revised schedule of works, which will be made in such a way that the works will be finished at the date foreseen in the contract

2.17 [...] SUBANTREPRENORUL va prezenta un grafic revizuit, în vederea terminării Lucrărilor la termenul prevăzut în contract.

(Ctr. No 279/2010 HTC & Richter Intercom: 4)

Conclusions, findings and interpretation

Following our corpus-based analysis of a sample set of 4 electronic versions of English – Romanian construction contracts we have reached the conclusion that in terms of translating procedures, the most frequently encountered procedures involved in ambiguous interpretations of nominal structures are *word for word translation*, *equivalent forms* and *shift*. *Borrowings* and *modulation* indicated rare ambiguous inferences within our analysis of nominal ambiguities, emphasizing once again the strict and formal legal style.

Even though *borrowings* have been encountered in our analysis, most of the loan nominal items were instances of *Latin borrowings*, such as *quantum* – *cuantum* or *procès-verbal* – *process verbal*, which were clearly understood and used both by the drafters and the translators of the analysed texts. Some other examples of borrowings used in Romanian target texts, which regard more contemporary contracting and business lexical items, i.e. nouns, compound nouns and noun phrases such as *leasing*, *broker*, *joint*

venture, the format (of the document) have also been properly transferred and used in the TT documents.

The most frequently encountered translation procedures involving unintended ambiguous meanings were *word for word translation* and *equivalent terms*, as the translators attempted to remain as close as possible to the English variant. Accordingly, we encountered various examples of *word for word translation* that may lead to a kind of lexical ambiguity, for example word forms such as: *offer – ofertă, remedy – remediere, action – acțiune*.

Ambiguity may also occur due to the use of *equivalent terms*, for example the translation of the terms *guarantee* vs. *warranty* into a single equivalent *garanție*, as well as the translation of noun phrases like *performance guarantee* as *garanție de bună execuție* indicate the occurrence of lexical ambiguity caused by *equivalent terms*. A further situation that led to a kind of ambiguity was the use of *pseudo legal synonyms* as *equivalent terms*. A clarifying example in this sense is the use of noun phrases or compound nouns containing words such as *law – lege; regulation – regulament, dispoziții; provision – măsură de precauție, prevedere; rule – normă, regulă*, which sometimes have been ambiguously interpreted and thus used interchangeably.

Due to such attempts of “faithfulness” ambiguity seemed to occur quite frequently, as sometimes translators either misunderstood or misused the English terms. Nevertheless these two procedures caused various ambiguous nominal instances some of them being also regarded as *false friends*, for example *effective costs – costuri efective*.

Shift is the third most frequently encountered translation procedure applied to nominal ambiguities in our analysed corpus. Most of the ambiguous instances determined by this procedure occurred due to borderline cases of lexical word class membership. Thus, we have encountered situations where *-ing words* may function either as constituent elements of a compound word or as premodifiers of a noun phrase. Ambiguous interpretations in such situations may even increase, as the above mentioned *-ing words* may function either as nouns or as participial adjectives, for example *working program – program de lucru* or *functioning authorizations – autorizații de funcționare*.

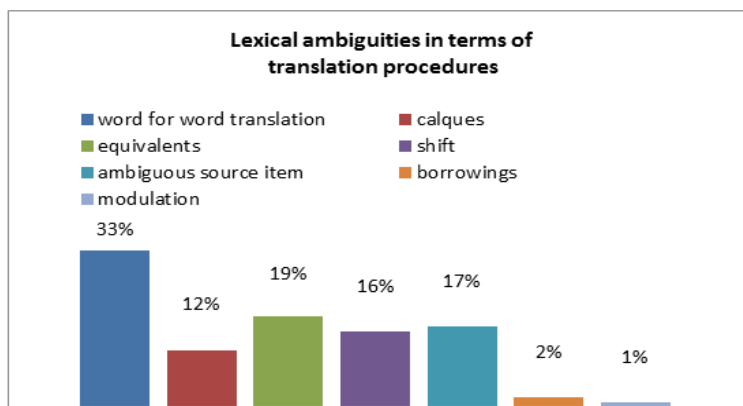


Fig. 1 Translation procedures frequency rate in terms of lexical ambiguity

Figure 1 above illustrates the frequency rate of translation procedures involved in *nominal lexical ambiguities* encountered within the target text. To put it in a nutshell, a qualitative contrastive analysis applied to the proposed research corpus revealed the frequency rate of the previously theoretically established translation procedures which are likely to occur in *nominal ambiguities* at lexical level.

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Bilingual Corpus

Ctr. No. 22/2009 HTC & Nestor - Legal Assistance Agreement

Ctr. No. 236/2010 HTC & Autohton TM - Works Contract

Ctr. No 279/2010 HTC & Richter Intercom - Works Subcontracting

Ctr.No276/2009 HTC Internal Agreement - salesWorks Subcontracting

Rezumat: Lucrarea are la bază ideea că ambiguitățile care se întâlnesc în textele juridice și, în special, în contracte, capătă o dublă accepțiune. Pentru a investiga ambiguitățile lingvistice ce pot apărea în limbajul contractual, trebuie mai întâi să distingem între ambiguitățile voluntare și cele involuntare. Prin adaptarea și aplicarea unei serii de metode de analiză calitativă și cantitativă, ne propunem să elaborăm un model de analiză aplicativă a ambiguităților lingvistice care pot apărea în contractele bilingve în engleză și română. În acest sens, lucrarea de față este consolidată și de o investigație sistematică a ocurențelor ambiguităților nominale interlingve, rezultate în urma procesului de traducere. Astfel, ne vom concentra atenția asupra unor aspecte ale sinonimiei și polisemiei specifice termenilor juridici, fiind în special interesați de analiza unor cazuri particulare de ambiguitate lexicală specifică terminologiei juridice, respectiv arhaisme, împrumuturi lexicale, termeni tehnici, precum și lexeme din limbajul comun cu semnificații specializate, cu evidențierea factorilor de control. O evaluare sistematică a rezultatelor cercetării noastre relevă o abordare contrastivă privind apariția ambiguităților lexicale interlingve din perspectiva procedeelelor de traducere.

Linguistic Devices of Expressing *Doubt* in Tennessee Williams' "A Streetcar Named Desire"

Claudia Pisoschi¹

Motto: Doubt is the only creative and solid attitude in the world. (Cioran)

Abstract: Whether viewed from a general and somehow vague standpoint as meaning lack of certainty or integrated within a more complex system presupposing gradability and subjectivity, the concept of *doubt* remains basic for the domain of epistemic modality.

The various linguistic devices of expressing doubt, be they lexical, morphological, syntactic or pragmatic, instantiate communicative strategies specific to contemporary English. Considering this general level as a starting point, we performed an analysis of T. Williams' play "A Streetcar Named Desire" to highlight the role of semantic and pragmatic factors (frequency, connotations, contextualization) in interpreting the linguistic devices expressing doubt as markers of the psychological profile of an individual or social group.

Keywords: *modality, epistemic, communicative strategies, contextualization, doubt, subjectivity*

I. Purpose and method of analysis

The paper aims to provide an interpretation of the linguistic markers of doubt in T. Williams' *A Streetcar Named Desire* in order to evince the characters' psychological profile as it is apparent from their linguistic behaviour.

The instruments of such a text analysis, subsumed to discourse analysis, since the excerpts selected from the text are adjacency pairs, relevant for the verbal exchange they are part of, are those specific to semantics, pragmatics and linguistic stylistics.

Linguistic means of expressing doubt, like any type of linguistic means, can be divided into two broad categories, lexical and grammatical (the latter including morphological devices – modals, tense and aspect – and syntactic devices (preference for certain types of sentence types – questions,

¹ University of Craiova (claudiagabrielapisoschi@yahoo.com)

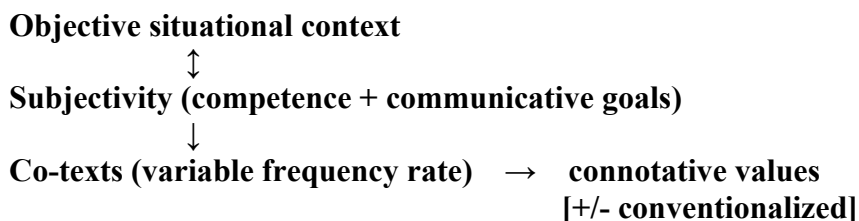
exclamations – or types of subordinates). More often than not, grammatical and lexical devices are associated within an utterance, forming either harmonic or non-harmonic combinations. Irrespective of their nature, all these devices instantiate various communicative strategies, whose cumulated power of suggestion turn the play *A Streetcar...* into a coherent pragmatic-stylistic unit. In the light of the declared purpose, a qualitative analysis of the selected excerpts is the more appropriate, the quantitative analysis ranking the second in importance and becoming relevant solely if we consider the feature /conventionalized pragmatic meaning/.

II. Introduction. Doubt as a concept

Strictly from a semantic point of view, the concept of doubt is basic in defining epistemic modality (Palmer, 1986). Even if the feature [-certainty] constitutes the semantic core of the lexeme *doubt*, this standpoint proves to be too general and somehow vague, and it needs to be corroborated by other features depending on the co-text and context, resulting in a complex system of linguistic and paralinguistic devices meant to convey the message.

Doubt as a concept subsumed to propositional modality revolves around the point of reference represented by subjectivity, i.e. the speaker's identity, which brings *doubt* under the scope of pragmatics. Palmer (1986) acknowledges that propositional modality should be defined as the speaker's attitude towards the utterance status (the proposition expressed). A functional perspective includes subjectivity as an essential element, Halliday (1970) referring to the speaker's attitude towards his speech role as a 'declarer'. Jespersen himself, as early as 1924, defined modality according to the presence or absence of the feature /will/. Linguistic contexts (co-texts), situational contexts (objective by nature, but influenced by the speaker, frequency rate and connotations implied), are all, ultimately, the result of the speaker's choice.

Even among the above-mentioned elements there is an intricate relationship. The situational context, objective in itself, triggers the activation of certain types of competences and communicative goals of the speaker, which, in their turn, determine the linguistic choices to be made in order to convey the types of associative meanings (Leech, 1983) intended (be they connotative, social or affective). On the other hand, the speaker can play an active role in creating a situation.



Referring strictly to *doubt*, the association of certain linguistic devices to rather conventional communicative goals determines the frequency rate of the former. Frequency is neither the major, nor the direct concern of our analysis, since dealing with just one literary text, it cannot be relevant in point of the quantitative analysis. However, indirectly, the use of certain linguistic structures in a literary text to express the idiolect of a character can be, at least partly, the reflection of the tendencies of a real social group, and that aspect cannot be neglected.

Subjectivity is the hyper-ordinate term of a taxonomy including all the factors involved in defining doubt, since the speaking subject is the active factor. Doubt reflects a fundamental skepticism, people doubting themselves, questioning themselves, consequently reaching a level beyond physical reality. Interpersonal and social interactions can re-configure the very core semantic structure of doubt markers. In a literary text, even if sometimes it is difficult to be observed, the first ‘screen’ reflecting the text world is the narrator’s subjectivity. This concept was lexicalized in the form of the terms *écran* (Fisher, 1999) and modal distance of the narrator (Laurent, 2002).

III. The role of the lexical devices as doubt markers

We should start our analysis by discussing the occurrences of the lexical devices used in isolation, i.e. not part of a harmonic combination including grammatical means at the level of the same syntactic unit. Nevertheless, several lexical means can be cumulated within a complex or compound sentence to obtain an enhanced effect.

All the elements to be found in the excerpts below are epistemic quantifiers; morphologically, most of them are verbs (*think* – 5 occurrences, *know* – 3 occurrences, *believe* -1 occurrence, *suppose* -1 occurrence, *seem* – 2 occurrences, *guess* – 2 occurrences. There are only two adjectives, of which one is a strong epistemic quantifier (EQ), *sure*, occurring in two basic syntactic structures: a declarative comment clause (used in the affirmative or in the negative) or an elliptical question) and one is a weak EQ appearing

as part of a PP (Prepositional Phrase): *about her **uncertain** manner*; there is only one adverb belonging to the referential area of concern – *apparently*-; referring to nouns, there is only one noun having the same [-certainty] also used as part of a Prepositional Phrase: *shocked disbelief*.

Lexical devices

1. Adjectives and nouns

- part of nominal phrases:

- Her expression is one of *shocked disbelief*. [...] There is something about her **uncertain manner**, as well as her white clothes, that suggests a moth. (scene one, p. 471)

Both structures share the features [-certainty], moreover, they are in a causal relationship: utter disbelief causes reluctance to act, a tendency towards passivity and isolation, hence the character's *uncertain manner* as a way of life. Her inner self is reflected by her appearance: her white clothes make the narrator compare her to a moth. This image means the readers' defamiliarization with the symbolism typically associated to the white color. Vulnerability and the perception of Blanche as an almost non-human being are the key concepts in interpreting all her forms of behavior. The original and suggestive collocation *shocked disbelief* points out the overwhelming intensity of her attitude; such a mystery-creating uncertainty defines the character, making it intriguing, and it also represents the screen set by the narrator so that all the actions and replies of the character (and, implicitly, of all the other characters, since they form a social network) will be interpreted via it. The structure *there is something...* helps creating the intended effect on the reader.

- adjectives which are part of (elliptical) comment clauses

The only adjective found in the text is *sure*, but its values cover a wide range: from a neutral one, in an elliptical interrogation typical to the informal register, as in the first example below, to a casual style occurrence, of the type *be+ not +sure*, partly synonymous to the more frequent *I don't think*, as in the second example, or to the strong emphatic value, as in the last example.

- Stella: Won't you have another [drink]?
Blanche: No, one is my limit.
Stella: **Sure?** (scene one, p. 475)

The core semantic feature of the lexical item is [-certainty] but pragmatically, the utterance expresses an offer. There is an implicit [+ will] modality component, overtly expressing Stella's identity, both in point of

her inner self and as a declarer: the common semes are [+facilitator] and [+desire to please]. Interpreting Stella's utterance from the perspective of her identity as Blanche's sister, the connotative semes inferred pragmatically are: [+acceptance], [+trust-provider].

- Eunice: You noticed that bowling alley around the corner?

Blanche: **I'm not sure** I did. (scene one, p. 471)

The 'screen' concerns the relation Blanche-reality, the matrix clause of her reply expresses [+modal distance]: she blocks reality, implicitly creating an alternative one in which the undesired elements are missing. The attitude of the speaker towards the proposition expressed determines its status, according to Palmer (1986). Consequently, Blanche's attitude might disrupt (at least for the moment) the readers' capacity to make judgments about reality, up to the point where they might question the very existence of the alley. At the same time, we could interpret that Blanche creates her own écran to separate her from the stranger talking to her, in the form of a cold, polite reply, denoting not only absent-mindedness, but also the refusal to notice a world she has nothing in common with. Therefore, the reply might read 'I'm not sure I did because there isn't really anything worth noticing, not by me/ by my standards'.

- Blanche: Oh, that's for me, **I'm sure**.

Stanley: **I'm not sure**. Keep your seat. (scene eight, p. 539)

The relationship between the two characters illustrates each one's need to assert their authority (because of their alleged superiority from a point of view or another), which causes tension. The opposition of social and psychological identity is bluntly reflected at linguistic level. Stanley's purpose is to reject Blanche's way of living and thinking, and he does that by negating her assertion. Her comment clause becomes an independent sentence. It is a power game and at linguistic level, the emphatic negation operator is intentionally raised to refer to the verbal structure *am sure*, but the meaning is not that of doubt, but of certainty, since the right place of the negation is together with the missing clause: *I'm sure it is not for you*.

2. Notional verbs in comment clauses (parenthetical clauses and matrix clauses)

The verbs selected from the text can be arranged according to their intensity: *believe*, *think*₁ = *believe*, *know*, *think*₂ = *not know if*, *suppose*, *seem* = to be supposed, *guess* = *seem* [-formal]. *I suppose* is synonymous to *I guess*, they are differentiated only in terms of register, their intensity and

perspective are similar. *Seem* is synonymous to suppose, only that the evidential component is involved.

Most examples are speaking-subject centered, which is quite natural considering that we are dealing with cognitive verbs. Fewer examples are interlocutor-centered (only 4) and there is just only one example of an impersonal structure: *it seems*. This is a direct consequence of the fact that such a structure focuses on objectivity, and the text is concerned with the subjective attitudes and beliefs of the characters.

By means of this linguistic pattern, the characters in the play tend to ‘echo’ (literally, by using echo-structures, and figuratively) Blanche’s propensity to express her fears by means which are covering all registers.

- Eunice: **I think so** [...]. **I think** she said you taught school. (scene one, p. 472)
- Stella: Blanche, you sit down and let me pour the drinks. **I don’t know** what we’ve got to mix with. Maybe a coke’s in the icebox. (scene one, p. 474)
- Blanche: What are you doing in a place like this? [...] Only Mr. Edgar Alan Poe! – could do it justice! Out there **I suppose** is the ghoulish-woodland of Weir! (ibidem)
- Blanche: Well – if you’ll forgive me – he’s common!
Stella: Why, yes, **I suppose** he is.
Blanche: **Suppose!** You can’t have forgotten that much of our bringing up, Stella, that you just **suppose** that any part of a gentleman’s in his nature! (scene four, p. 510)
- Blanche: **I guess** you’re hoping I’ll say I’ll put up at a hotel, but I’m not going to put up at a hotel. [...]
Stella: **You seem** a little bit nervous or overwrought or something. (scene one, p. 477)
- Stella: I’m going to try to keep Blanche out till the party breaks up because **I don’t know** how she would take it. (scene two, p. 483)
- Stella: **It seems** that it [the property/house] wasn’t sold. (scene two, p. 484) [+subject-mentioning avoidance]
- Mitch: **Guess** how much I weigh, Blanche?
Blanche: Oh, I’d say in the vicinity of – one hundred and eighty? (scene six, p. 524)
- Blanche: **I don’t think** I’ve ever tried so hard to be gay and made such a dismal mess of it. (scene 6, p. 521)
- Stella: **I don’t believe** all of those stories and **I think** your supply-man was mean and rotten to tell them. (scene 7, p. 533)

- Stanley: **I didn't think** you liked my stories, Blanche. [...] **I don't know** any refined enough for your taste. (scene 8, p. 536)

3. Adverbs

The only adverb used in the text is *apparently*, but its meaning in context is intricate, combining conventional features, such as [+certainty] (Quirk, 1985), and contextual features reflecting the relationship between the speaker and the subject of the sentence: [+modal distance], [+vexation], [+scorn], resulting from the reference to the interlocutor in the third person and by using polite referential expressions. The force of the adverb as a modality marker is also given by its front position:

- Blanche: **Apparently** Mr Kowalsky was not amused.

Grammatical devices

Morphological

Strictly morphological means are very few, in the form of modal verbs used to express speech acts: deontic *should* to express a mild suggestion (the collocation with *some night* decreases its intensity), and epistemic *would* in the negative form. The context influences the intensity degree of the verb: *No, that wouldn't be a good plan* has a rather tentative value, even if the authority implied is just partly hidden under an appearance of politeness; *I wouldn't know about that* seems stronger, it functions as a unit and is frequent in everyday communication as such. It means 'I have no idea whatsoever about that'.

- Mitch: We **should** all **go** together some night.
Blanche: No, that **wouldn't be a good plan**. (scene six, p. 524)
- Blanche: Having great wealth sometimes makes people lonely!
Stanley: I **wouldn't know** about that. (scene ten, p. 551)

Syntactic

Two basic types of syntactic devices are to be found in the text: subordinate clauses expressing irrealis actions by subjunctive forms and appropriate conjunctions, and false interrogative sentences, question tags included. The latter category prevails over the former, since it is more frequent in speech and has the advantage of expressing the need for confirmation. The speaking subject expresses his/her authority indirectly but

unmistakably. The last example, *What do you know?* functions as a speech act expressing strong disbelief and scornful irony.

- She is daintily dressed in a white suite with a fluffy bodice, necklace and earrings of pearl, white gloves and hat, looking **as if she were arriving at a summer tea or cocktail party in the garden district.** (scene one, p. 471)
- Stella: **As if you were able to stop them.** (scene one, p. 479)
- Stella: I thought you would volunteer that information – **if you wanted to tell me** [how Blanche happened to get away from her job as a teacher before the spring holiday] [...] I – thought you might have – resigned... (scene one, p. 475)
- Mitch: I showed you the inscription, **didn't I?** (scene two, p. 503)
- Stella: You're making much too much fuss about this
Blanche: **Am I?** (scene four, p. 505)
- Blanche: **Are you deliberately shaking that thing [the broom] in my face?** (scene four, p. 506)
- Mitch: I told my mother how nice you were, and I liked you.
Blanche: **Were you sincere about that?** (scene six, p. 526)
- Stanley: And wasn't we happy together, wasn't it all okay till she showed here? And wasn't we happy together/ Wasn't it all okay? (scene 8, p. 541)
- Blanche: I received a telegram from an old admirer of mine.
Stanley: Well, well. **What do you know?** (scene ten, p. 549)

Morpho-syntactic

Morpho-syntactic devices include the pattern represented by the modalised interrogative sentences. They connote a variety of associative meanings expressing the psychology of the characters and also function as pragmatic devices meant to express a certain illocutionary value. The illocutionary values are the reflection of the characters' psychological profiles, their thoughts, beliefs and fears turned into actions. We mentioned the features specific for each example:

- Blanche: This – **can** this **be** – her home? (scene one, p. 471)
[+rejection],
[+scornful amazement]
- Blanche: How **could** I – **do** that [make myself at home]? (scene one, p. 472)
[+alienation], [+rejection of the socially inferior environment]

- Blanche: **I know you must have** some liquor on the place! Where **could it be, I wonder?** (scene one, p. 474)
[+emphatic], [+diverting] (know≠ wonder)
- Blanche: **Do you suppose** I wanted any breakfast? You're so matter of fact about it, Stella!
[+certainty], [+ironical reproach] [+modal distance]
Stella: What other **can I be?** (ibidem) [+implicit rejection of Blanche's imaginary universe], [+implicit acceptance and integration in the real world]
- Blanche: But how **could I stay** here with him, after last night, [...]?
(scene four, p. 508)
[+revolt], [+fear], [+implicit rejection of the unbearable reality]
- Mitch: You need somebody. And I need somebody, too. **Could it be – you and me, Blanche?** (scene six, p. 528)
[+insecurity], [+self-assumed social inferiority], [+implicit request]

The great majority of the examples illustrates Blanche's idiolect and are motivated by her fear of the whole milieu she is forced to live in and of the people populating it: her reaction is either passive, taking the form of alienation, causing her to take distance (modal distance at the level of her linguistic behaviour), or reaches the level of a complete rejection, ranging from scornful amazement to ironical reproaches. One reply is particularly interesting, because, even if it is singular regarding the connotations among the other replies, it implies a repetitive psychological pattern: *I know you must have some liquor on the place! Where could it be, I wonder?* (scene one, p. 474). The mixture of non-harmonic combinations at the level of the whole reply, and a harmonic combination at the level of the utterance mark the opposition between the certainty of a fact and the doubt regarding the circumstances: the modalised interrogation is in fact self-addressed, in an attempt to find the source of feeding the vice meant to compensate for her fears.

For the other two characters (Stella and Mitch) the cause of exhibiting a linguistic behaviour similar to that of Blanche, i.e. a mixture of morpho-syntactic devices, is also fear (more precisely, its mild form, insecurity) with its social and psychological roots.

The conclusion is that fears are behind the scorn and rejection typically expressed in most examples above.

Combinations of lexical items, grammatical and pragmatic devices

The most frequent combination is that among lexical elements, a modal and an interrogative sentence. Their various degrees of intensity (most of the combinations are non-harmonic) account for the range of illocutionary values and perlocutionary effects.

- Stella: **I – thought you might have – resigned...** (scene one, p. 475)
- Blanche: He is a wolf?
Stella: Why, Blanche! **I don't think he would be.** (scene two, p. 495)
- Mitch: **I bet** you teach art or music? Of course I **could be wrong.** You **might teach** arithmetic. (scene two, p. 500)
- Blanche: I understand how it happened – a little. You saw him in uniform, an officer, not here, but –
Stella: **I'm not sure it would have made any difference** where I saw him. (scene four, p. 509)
- Blanche: And **who knows, perhaps I shall take** a sudden notion to swoop down on Dallas! (scene five, p. 512)
- Stanley: Well., this somebody named Shaw **is under the impression** he met you in Laurel, but I **figure he must have got you mixed up** with some other party because this other party is someone he met at a hotel called the Flamingo. (scene 5, p. 514)
- Blanche: **You haven't heard any unkind gossip about me? I don't know** how much longer I can turn the trick. It isn't enough to be soft. You've got to be soft and attractive. (scene five, p. 515)
- Blanche: **Do I seem intoxicated? I sure hope not** because I'm expecting a caller bye and bye. (scene five, p. 519)
- Mitch: **I don't know whether you want me or not** [to kiss you].
Blanche: **Why should you be so doubtful?** (scene six, p. 522)
- Blanche: You are not too heavy.
Mitch: **You don't think I am** [too heavy]? (scene six, p. 523)
- Blanche: Has he [Stanley] talked to you about me?
Mitch: Oh, not very much.
Blanche: **The way you say that, I suspect** that he has. [...] He is insufferably rude. Goes out of his way to offend me.[...]
Mitch: **I'm surprised** to hear that.
Blanche: **Are you?**

Mitch: Well, **I don't see** how anyone **could be rude to you**. (scene six, p. 525)

- Blanche: **I don't know** what's the matter, we're all so solemn. **Is it because I've been stood up by my beau?** [...] **I don't know** how to take it ... (scene 8, p. 536)
- Blanche: **I shouldn't have called him?** (scene 8, p. 538)
- Blanche: Yes, that's what it is, a liqueur! **I'm afraid** you **won't like** it, but try it, and **maybe** you **will**. (scene nine, p. 544)
- Stella: **I don't know** if I did the right thing. [...] **I couldn't believe** her story and go on living with Stanley. (scene eleven, p. 556)

Blanche covers the whole scale of formality when using combinations of lexical and/or morpho-syntactic markers of modality, on the one hand, and pragmatic modality devices, on the other: she wants to single herself out, but she also yearns for social acceptance and for affection: *I'm not sure it would have made any difference where I saw him, Why should you be so doubtful? [+formal] ≠ Do I seem intoxicated? I sure hope not because I'm expecting a caller bye and bye, I don't know what's the matter, we're all so solemn. Is it because I've been stood up by my beau? [...] I don't know how to take it* The cumulation of several modality markers is a feature of her idiolect: a modal can be meant to express her authority and determination, while the other markers denote her insecurity regarding the circumstances which might, thus weakening the force of the first device: *And who knows, perhaps I shall take a sudden notion to swoop down on Dallas! Yes, that's what it is, a liqueur! I'm afraid you won't like it, but try it, and maybe you will.* (the focus is implicitly on Blanche's authority: she can't be wrong, weak epistemic quantifiers *maybe, be afraid* just hide her self-confidence in the matter.

Stella and Mitch echo Blanche's linguistic behaviour in point of formality, the former out of pity and need for compromise, the latter out of social inferiority and need of being accepted by Blanche. Stanley is quite at the extreme: informality is his pride and label: *Well., this somebody named Shaw is under the impression he met you in Laurel, but I figure he must have got you mixed up with some other party because this other party is someone he met at a hotel called the Flamingo.*

Non-harmonic combinations serve them to express their own insecurity, politeness and interest. Their feelings and states of minds are as mixed-up as the linguistic devices they use to express or hide them.

For instance, in Mitch's reply, *I bet you teach art or music? Of course I could be wrong. You might teach arithmetic,* the verb *bet* diminishes its intensity as a modality marker because it is used in an

interrogation. The reply continues in the same line, with an utterance opposing different modality markers: *of course* and *could*, the former being just a marker of politeness, and the latter referring to a theoretical possibility, and ends by stating something possible under the circumstances.

Conclusions

Modality markers in the text reflect the psychological profile of the characters and their belonging to a larger or smaller average or elite discourse community, characterized by some prototypical structures. In point of frequency, the 'pure' lexical, morphological or syntactic devices used are rather scarce; nevertheless, this proves to be an asset, since their value in context is, thus, enhanced. Morphological and syntactic devices, taken separately, may be few, but their combination creates linguistic patterns which have doubt as a constant component. This component is a marker of what we consider to be the dominant psychological feature of each main character, i.e. fear, triggering mixed-up feelings and states of mind, and being counterbalanced by pride, interest or love.

Beyond their prototypicality, their position within the sentence, their collocation to a certain type of grammatical subject, their inclusion within the matrix or comment clause, with effects on the focus, are linguistic features which help the reader to construct a coherent and accurate text interpretation.

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Rezumat: Fie privit dintr-o perspectivă generală și oarecum vagă, ca însemnând lipsa certitudinii, fie integrat într-un sistem mai complex ce presupune gradabilitate și subiectivitate, conceptul de *îndoială* rămâne fundamental pentru domeniul modalității epistemice. Variatele modalități lingvistice de exprimare a îndoielii (lexicale, morfologice, sintactice sau pragmatice) concretizează strategii comunicative specifice englezei contemporane. Având aceste considerații ca punct de pornire, am realizat o analiză a piesei lui T. Williams „Un tramvai numit Dorință” pentru a evidenția rolul factorilor semantici și pragmatici (frecvență, conotații, contextualizare) în interpretarea mijloacelor lingvistice de exprimare a îndoielii ca mărci ale profilului psihologic al unui individ sau grup social.

The Syllable as a Minimal Vocal Emission

Vlad Preda¹
Ovidiu Drăghici²

Abstract: In the terms of the complex relationship between the substance constraints and latitudes where a sonorous significant is articulated, vocal emission shows a hierarchical structure of functional units. These units consist in the energy resulting from exhaling which is assigned according to the rule of the intensity contrast. The minimal level in producing a perceivable vocal emission, be it homogenous or parasitic, is the syllable. Thus, any phoneme may be realised as either the nucleus or a peripheral, while an isolated utterance (preceded and followed by silence) can only be a syllable or a sequence of syllables.

Keywords: *constraint, latitude, syllable, vowel, “syllabic” consonant, isolated consonant*

1. Our approach deals with the concept of syllable as an autonomous and minimal unit of speech, while we are less interested in the various ways it is defined from the point of view of it being delimited into a string of phonemes. In the traditional view, the syllable is perceived as an alternative clipping of utterances, which does not perfectly overlap the morphemic, lexical or syntactic segmentation, especially when it envisages written language and splitting words at the end of a line. As it will be shown, the very segmentation of phonemes, as well as the invariant reduction, faces difficulty and creates controversy in its description when the syllabic structure of certain minimal pairs is ignored.

We will address several aspects in the existence, functioning and interpretation of this phonetic reality within a model which, by report to the usual perspective, may seem “reversed”: we consider that the spoken realization of any sonorous signifier is hierarchically achievable as a syllable or a string of syllables, that is an accentuated unit, or a rhythmical unit, or a series of rhythmical units grouped into a complex vocal emission, and we do not assume the pre-existence of the spoken realization of an utterance as a string of phonemes which we subsequently split into

¹ University of Craiova (vladpreda@hotmail.com)

² University of Craiova (ovdraghici@yahoo.com)

syllables. Both perspectives are justified: spelling utterances into syllables is a result of the overwhelming image of the alphabetic writing over speech, while that regarding the syllable as a minimal vocal emission, which can be articulated into superior phonological units, brings to the foreground the constraints and latitudes of the sonorous substance, which is independent of the syntactic structure visible in the graphic code.

2. In other words, speech as semiotically-formed sonorous substance, that is within which distinct signs or utterances may be produced, imposes two fundamental constraints on any phonological system.

a) The first concerns the fact that the acoustic events produced by the vocal tract compulsorily imply breathing air out, or an egressive airstream. We will neglect the fact that there are acoustic stimuli produced while breathing in, as they are of a peripheral character within linguistic communication, or go beyond the verbal condition of the report between breathing and phonation. An egressive airstream is, in this case, the essential constraint on the substance within which a spoken sign may take shape. With respect to the form, i.e. to language as a system, we may talk about a constituting function updated by a compulsory constituent – the vowel, or the consonants which do not imply a total obstruction of the air. From this point of view, it is of no relevance whether the air breathed out entails vibrations of the larynx or not, if there is nasal or oral resonance, or if any other kind of noises appear due to the speech organs on its trajectory. The egressive airstream is the source of the acoustic events and the medium which spreads them. It is what we have designated through *emission*, as used in the definition of the syllable.

b) The egressive air stream is then a condition of the existence of what we have called sonorous “substance”, but, in order to speak about signal, the “air movement” has to be an acoustic *stimulus*, it needs to be of a perceivable sonorous intensity. We speak to be heard, meaning that, first of all, we draw the interlocutors’ attention, “opening a channel”, and, second of all, we help them access the message by maintaining audibility. The fact that the egressive airstream, as a verbal act, needs to be in this way is the second constraint on speech. Structurally, this aspect may be interpreted as the necessity for a *signalling function*. The term *vowel*, employed in the definition of the syllable, implies, on the one hand, the idea of sonority and audibility, meaning that vowels are real sounds, of a high sonorous intensity, and, on the other hand, it encompasses all the types of acoustic events produced by the speech organs, without a distinction between sound and noise.

3. From the two constraints on the sonorous substance derives a characteristic of the syllable for the designation of which we have adopted the term *minimal*. The syllable is the initial level in articulating the sonorous significant in complex phonological units. It can be produced in isolation, contrasting only the “silence” wherein it appears. Within a segmental representation, we may say it is “preceded and followed by a pause”. Articulated, and thus no longer in isolation, it is no longer a mere syllable, but a tonic or an atonic one. The syllable, at the same time, is the minimal autonomous unit, since any segment we may identify within its structure cannot be produced in isolation. It cannot be a vocal emission. We are not referring, for instance, to the segment /a/ in /#but#/, as that which we call a vowel is a syllable, the syllable being “something more”. The acoustic event /#à#/ is a syllable. In /but/, as opposed to /bet/ or /bit/, the “same” entity is a phoneme. Thus, by separating them, for demonstration, we will notice that phonemes such as /p/, /t/, /k/, /č/ cannot be realized as vocal emissions. They can only be realized through syllabic adjoining. Such acoustic events originating from the vocal tract are “sounds” of speech only in an utterance. They are nothing but “parasites” within a minimal vocal emission, otherwise homogenous: [#à#], but [#psàlm#]. Syllabic adjoining is the main way to display the constraint on the sonorous substance which makes any sonorous significant be a syllable or a combination of syllables. In considering the vowel a constituent, the rest of the minimal segmental units may be realized only through syllabic adjoining.

4. The linguistic *latitude* mentioned earlier may be seen as the possibility of the sonorous substance to produce distinct signifiers. In languages with a free stress system, the form of the stress pattern works as a distinctive unit and can be met in the rare cases where it is the only distinctive unit. For instance, in the Romanian *mobilă – mobilă – mobilă*. At the level of the syllable, the obvious expression of this possibility is the consonantal sub-system, and, in Romanian, the vowels in an asyllabical context (semivowels); they accomplish this distinctive function and constitute the *peripheral* segment in report to the vowel *nucleus*. The vowel is compulsorily uttered in real speech, while its tone is an accessory and, for this reason, it has a distinctive function. Having a weak intensity, most of the consonants seem to indeed have but a differentiating, purely relative, oppositive existence. Isolated and reproduced through experiment, the **k** in *kar* has a fulgurant “existence” and it can hardly be said to be heard. It rather exists in our mind, and it only does so for it is neither of the initial segments in the following: *dar, var, zar, har*, etc. Phonological descriptions first and foremost focus on the latitudes and distinctive behaviours with

respect to utterances, sometimes leaving aside certain aspects concerning the constraints on the acoustic-auditory field; it is what has determined us to reconsider certain speech-related aspects surrounding the concept of syllable.

5. The above-mentioned assertions explain, word for word, our way of designating and defining a syllable: *a minimal vocal emission*. Within this model, we can formulate and provide reasons for the following observations:

i) *Consonants cannot be uttered in isolation*. Usually, during teaching and for methodological reasons, and especially by report to letters, we may pretend to be able to isolate and utter a consonant. In fact, what we utter are syllables. If we were to utter a certain consonant, for instance, the Romanian /p/, such as it appears in words, and we did not produce any other noise, then it could not be the syllable pî. The consonant /#p#/ does not exist preceded and followed by a pause. This [î] is not a “post-consonantal implicit vowel” (Ivănescu, 1983: 91) or a “vocalic colouring” (Tătaru, 1997: 55), but a *true vowel*. Experiments have shown that /#pî#/ coincides with the first syllable in /#pî-ră#. If we were able to “utter” /p/ in true isolation (that is, without the whispered [î] which strengthens out the misleading impression that it is an isolated consonant, when it actually is a syllable), the sound we would make would resemble the one made by pulling a cork out of a bottle, by breaking a bubble or by water gurgling.

Such acoustic events originating from the vocal tract are speech “sounds” only *during an utterance*; they can only appear as the “parasites” of a minimal vocal emission. And it is not only the plosives that find themselves in this situation. Neither the fricatives nor the nasals can be uttered in isolation, that is without the syllabic nucleus /î/. The reason for this is that, when they are part of a word, they are interrupted and realized only through syllabic adjoining. [M], for example, does not have a continuous character in spoken words, in a similar way to the acoustic event called a moan. Should we isolate it, it becomes an *interruption* (the occlusion becoming a bilabial pseudo-explosion accompanied by vibrations in the larynx with a nasal resonance): /#mî#, as in /#mâr#. /#M# (spelt *Mmmm!*) is not a linguistic event.

It is the same case with oral sonorants. It is not always the case that L is interrupted. Despite the acoustic impression of a “flow” originating in the term *liquid*, should we try to utter it continuously and independently, homogeneously (without î), the result would be a strange *vowel*, modulated in the oral cavity by the tip of the tongue touching the upper ridge. Should we pretend to utter a continuous [r], as a homogenous vocal emission, and leave aside the vibrations in the larynx, or the sonority, which, as it has been

seen, is a condition for audibility, the result would be similar to the sound resulting from the contact between a stick and the arms of a bicycle wheel in motion. For this reason, when we refer to the respective phoneme, we actually utter the syllable /rî/, a typically open syllable /C+V/. A fricative such as /s/ uttered independently would sound similar to the noise produced when deflating a ball; yet when we produce this phoneme, we actually utter /sî/, the third syllable in the regionalism /anasîna/ (“force”, in *cu anasîna* “by force”).

ii) *Syllabic consonants do not exist*. As we have seen, an egressive airstream is a condition for the existence of a minimal vocal emission. Consonants that may be uttered for a prolonged time, such as, for instance, [m], [r], [z], [s], [ʃ] seem to fulfil this function, if we were to take into consideration a few interjections and onomatopoeias: the Romanian (*pssst!*, *hm!*, *brrr!*, *șșșt!*, *fssss!*, *bzzz!*) or the English: (*brr!*, *grr!*, *mmm!*, *prrr!*, *sss!*)

The phonetic segments mentioned above are of a sufficient intensity to be heard. Otherwise they would not have appeared in verbal communication. And still, be it by experiment or oral articulation, a difference may be noted in terms of the acoustic intensity in between [#pòst#], [#hàm#], [#bîr#], [#șùt#], [#bîz#]). It is to be noted that certain cases have appeared and are employed in a whispered voice: *pssst!*, *șșșt!*, *ssst!*, *ssss!*, *șșșș!*. In keeping into account that an egressive airstream of a reduced intensity is used to produce them, we come to understand why they have remained at the status of peripheral signals in relation to the system of linguistic signs. Being able to stretch out these consonants for stylistic reasons in the case of certain words is of no importance, since they stay peripheral within the structure of the same syllable: *rrrră-u-ta-te*, respectively *ră-u-ta-te*. It is important to note that they are always doubled by forms with an apparent epenthesis of /î/ and a shortening of their length, which actually is a return to the normal state of the phonetic structure, a common, necessary stage in attaining the status of a true lexical unit: *bâz*, *fâs*; *bâzâi*, *fâsâi*, etc.

A special place in the Romanian language phonological description is taken by the nasals preceded by the vowel /î/. One of the phonological interpretations of this sequence consists in denying its existence as a phoneme and considering the nasal a syllabic consonant, either in all cases³

³ Andrei Avram, *Probleme de fonologie a limbii române*, București, EA, p. 193: “împărat se rostește, de fapt, *mpărat*, iar nazala este un sunet silabic.” Also see Sextil Pușcariu, 1976, *Limba română*, vol. I, „Privire generală”, București, Editura Minerva, p. 56.

or in the case of fast speech tempo only⁴ (*mpăștiat mai ești!* [m̥pəʃtiat maj jeʃtʰ], *ndreapt-o* [ndr̥ ɛpto]); *mpărat*). We maintain that /m/ and /n/ can never be syllabic, but they are part of a complex *peripheral* (indeed, this only happens rarely and accidentally) similar to the one in [*mrșană*], [*mlădios*], a place where dental fricatives frequently occur [*a-spră*], etc. We agree that the vowel may be eliminated, but it is because of the fast speech that we have one less syllable: [m̥prăș-ti-iat]. Should [m] be syllabic, what would its syllable be? [m̥-prăș-ti-iat]? In experimenting with this supposedly syllabic structure, we feel no transition, or syllabic pause, between /m/ and /p/. The nasal is not and may never become a syllabic nucleus in such contexts. What we have here are nasal vibrations that accompany the bilabial behaviour, [mp+], or the dental one [nd+]. Even if it is not the most common way to utter them, the sequence missing the vowel /i/ may be phonologically split into nasal + consonant(s) + vowel. But, although the term may sound forced in talking about consonants, the sequence may rather be interpreted as nasal consonant + vowel. If the respective words with initial *in* or *im* + consonant have a normal syllable count, then the nucleus of the first syllable is the vowel /i/; but if they have one less syllable, then the nucleus will be the following vowel, while the nasal is not a syllabic one, but a peripheral or marginal one.

Assigning the status of syllabic nucleus to certain consonants, such as /l/ or /r/ is also generated by certain spellings that do not note the vowels, although there is a genuine vocal production, other than the pretended syllabic consonants. This can be noted in Romanian in borrowings from Serbian, such as /kird/ or, especially, /sîrb/ and /tîrg/ (spelt as *krd*, *srb*, *trg*). Because they are direct borrowings, and lack the influence of western languages, they are proof of a pronunciation as close as possible to the original language. The Romanian language did not innovate; therefore we are not talking of epenthesis, but of a precise reproduction of the etymon, where the supposedly syllabic consonant /r/ is preceded by the vowel /i/. The older vulgar form of the name of the country, *Sîrbia* /sîrbi̯a/, compared to the cult, French one, *Serbia*, shows the reproduction tendency of the same

⁴ For example, with Ana Tătaru, 1997, *Limba română. Specificul pronunțării în contrast cu germana și engleza*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, p. 60: „mpăștiat mai ești! [m̥pəʃtiat maj jeʃtʰ], ndreapt-o [ndr̥ ɛpto]”, who states that these sequences where “/ ɿ / inițial e eliminat în pronunțarea grăbită a unui cuvânt, nelegat de cel anterior”, but in these cases “/m/, /n/ pot deveni silabice” (*Ibid.*).

vocalic nucleus, but with approximations resulting from the specific articulation basis.

We believe that the same interpretation may comprise such words as the English *apple* or the French *autre* (two syllables), where /l/ and /r/ are not syllabic, but preceded, respectively followed, by a true vowel, /ă/.

Our collocation, *minimal vocal emission*, then includes the main point: there does not exist a certain syllable within a word unless it can be uttered in isolation. Also, the inclusion of the so-called syllabic consonants within the inventory of phonemes is an unnecessary complication in phonological descriptions.

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Rezumat: Din perspectiva raportului complex dintre constrângerile și latitudinile substanței în care se articulează un semificant sonor, emisia vocală arată/ apare ca o structură ierarhică de unități funcționale, constituite din energia expirației ce se repartizează conform unei legi a contrastului de intensitate. Nivelul minimal al producerii unei emisii vocale audibile, omogenă sau parazitată, este silaba. Astfel, realizarea materială oricărui fonem este fie nucleu, fie periferic, iar o rostire izolată (precedată și urmată de tăcere) nu poate fi decât silabă sau articulare de silabe.

Investigating *Expansion (Explicitation)* and *Reduction (Implicitation)* in the Translation of EU Legislation. A Corpus-Based Analysis

Georgiana Reiss¹

Abstract: Translation can be regarded as a combination between reality and imagination, since the translator renders the reality of the ST into the TT by often making use of her/his imagination. The translator acts as a mediator between the two texts, conveying the same message and enabling its comprehension by the TT readership.

The present paper attempts to explore the way in which the Romanian translators of EU legislation prove their linguistic imagination by using two translation procedures, expansion (including explicitation) and reduction (including implicitation), in order to comply with TL syntactic or formality constraints, as well as to avoid possible ambiguities or redundancies that might arise when rendering the message from the ST into the TT.

Keywords: *expansion, explicitation, reduction, implicitation, EU legislation*

Introduction

This paper is part of a larger bilingual corpus-oriented research study conducted with a view to identifying and analyzing the translation procedures used in the official Romanian translations of the English EU legal documents. Apart from *expansion (explicitation)* and *reduction (implicitation)*, our extended research study has taken into account other translation procedures such as: literal translation, word-for-word translation, one-to-one translation, transference (borrowing), through translation (calque), recognized translation, modulation, transposition (shift), paraphrase and componential analysis. Therefore, the quantitative analysis presented in this paper shows the frequency values of *expansion (explicitation)* and *reduction (implicitation)* among all translation procedures identified and analyzed in our larger research study.

We shall discuss the translation procedures of *expansion (including explicitation)* and *reduction (including implicitation)* on the basis of several examples selected from our bilingual corpus of EU legal documents.

¹ University of Craiova (georgiana_reiss@hotmail.com)

Expansion, also called *amplification*, represents the translation procedure which employs more words in the TT than there were used in the ST with the aim to render an idea or to highlight the sense of a ST word which cannot be expressed as concisely in the TT (Delisle et al., 1999: 116).

Explicitation, also referred to as *addition*, is defined as the translation procedure which makes explicit in the TL what is implicit in the SL, as it is obvious from either the context or the situation (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1995: 342).

We have decided to deal with *expansion* and *explicitation* at the same time, as they usually go hand in hand in the process of translation. *Explicitation* often determines an *expansion* in translation, the former concept relating to the meaning whereas the latter being concerned with the form.

We have analyzed three categories of *expansion*: *expansion triggered by explicitation* (which encompasses three cases: *addition of a word/phrase into the TT*; *explicitation by TL clauses* and *TL cohesive explicitness*), *expansion of SL one-word into TL phrase* and *expansion of SL abbreviations*.

Reduction, also called *concentration*, is the translation procedure which involves the reduction in the number of elements from the ST (Gibová, 2012: 55). **Implicitation**, also referred to as *omission*, represents the translation procedure which makes implicit in the TL what is explicit in the SL by relying on the context or the situation (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1995: 344). Just like *expansion* and *explicitation*, *reduction* and *implicitation* are combined in translation, as *implicitations* often trigger *reductions*. *Implicitation* is concerned with meaning, while *reduction* refers more to form. Our analysis focuses on two cases of reduction: *lexical contraction* and *omission of ST elements*.

For the purpose of this paper, we have used a bilingual corpus of EU legal documents, which contains the English versions along with their official Romanian translations available online (<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/index.htm>).

1. Expansion

1.1. Expansion triggered by explicitation

1.1.1. Addition of a word/phrase into the TT

We first discuss *the addition of precise information to ST words or phrases into the TT*, this type of *explicitation* leading to *expansion*.

1.	(...) to take account of the approval of the control	(...) pentru a ține seama de aprobarea programelor de control
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	programmes for <i>Salmonella</i> for all flocks of <i>Gallus gallus</i> . [1]	al <u><i>infecțiilor cu Salmonella</i></u> pentru toate efectivele din <u><i>specia Gallus gallus</i></u> . [1]
2.	By Decision 2008/721/EC the Commission has set up three Scientific Committees, on Consumer Safety (SCCS), on Health and Environmental Risks (SCHER) and on Emerging and Newly Identified Health Risks (SCENIHR) and a Pool of Scientific Advisors on Risk Assessment (hereinafter <i>the Pool</i>) (...). [2]	Prin Decizia 2008/721/CE, Comisia a instituit trei comitete științifice, <u><i>respectiv Comitetul științific</i></u> pentru siguranța consumatorilor (CSSC), <u><i>Comitetul științific</i></u> pentru riscurile asupra sănătății și mediului (CSRSM) și <u><i>Comitetul științific</i></u> pentru riscuri sanitare emergente și noi (CSRSEN), precum și un corp de consilieri științifici pentru evaluarea riscurilor (denumit în continuare " <i>corpul de consilieri</i> ") (...). [2]
3.	(...), and that the holder of the authorisation has, or has access to, a dossier satisfying the requirements of Annex II (...). [3]	(...), precum și dacă titularul autorizației deține <i>un dosar</i> sau are acces la <i>un dosar</i> care îndeplinește cerințele din anexa II (...). [3]

In example (1), we notice that the ST noun “*Salmonella*” is translated as “*infecții cu Salmonella*” and the ST noun “*Gallus gallus*” has received the specification “*specia*” in the TT. The translator has added the noun phrase “*infecții cu*” and the noun “*specia*”, feeling the need to clarify the terms “*Salmonella*” and “*Gallus gallus*” by pointing out what they designate.

The noun phrase “*Comitetul științific*”, in example (2), is added in the translation each time such an organization or group is mentioned. This designation is implicit in the ST, but it is made explicit in the TT, as in Romanian it sounds more natural to specify the type of organization before the noun of that particular organization (“*Comitetul științific pentru siguranța consumatorilor (CSSC), Comitetul științific pentru riscurile asupra sănătății și mediului (CSRSM)...*”). We also notice the addition of the adverb “*respectiv*” in the translation, which is also required for the naturalness of the TT, pointing out that the three scientific committees enumerated represent the ones set up by the Commission. In the same example we notice the translation of “*a Pool of Scientific Advisors*” as “*un corp de consilieri științifici*”, the SL noun “*pool*” referring to “*a group of people who are available to work or to do an activity when they are needed*”

(LDCE, 2003: 1478). Further on in the same sentence, the short form “the *Pool*” is rendered by the entire designation in Romanian, i.e. “corpul *de consilieri*”, not just by the noun “corpul” which would have been inappropriate, thus the addition of the prepositional phrase “de consilieri” clarifies the situation and makes the term sound natural in the TL.

In (3), the addition of the noun “un *dosar*” after the verb “deține” is not mandatory (“that the holder of the authorisation has, or has access to, a dossier” – “dacă titularul autorizației deține un *dosar* sau are acces la un *dosar*”) in the translation, since it is obvious from the context, but the Romanian translator has considered that the *explicitation* is nevertheless necessary to avoid a possible ambiguity. However, we believe that the preservation of the English structure would also have been appropriate (“dacă titularul autorizației deține [] sau are acces la un *dosar*”).

1.1.2. Explicitation by TL clauses

We have come across cases in which a *ST word/phrase, an elliptical clause or a non-finite clause is expanded into a finite TT clause* by means of *explicitation*.

4.	(...), there is no indication that consolidating Silkem’s data into MAL’s data would have made any difference . [4]	(...), nu există indicații care să confirme că includerea datelor <i>provenite de la Silkem</i> în cele <i>prezentate de MAL</i> ar fi făcut ca datele finale să fie diferite . [4]
5.	where the freight wagons are maintained by the applicant, either the applicant shall include as part of its application a valid ECM certificate, if available , or its capacity as entity in charge of maintenance (...); [5]	dacă vagoanele de marfă sunt întreținute de solicitant, fie acesta include, ca parte a cererii, un certificat ERI valabil, dacă deține un astfel de certificat , fie capacitatea solicitantului ca entitate responsabilă cu întreținerea (...); [5]
6.	In that Decision, as amended by Commission Decision 2011/238/EU [8], the programme submitted by Tunisia has been deleted (...). [1]	În decizia respectivă, asa cum a fost modificată prin Decizia 2011/238/UE a Comisiei [8], programul prezentat de Tunisia a fost înlăturat, (...). [1]

The noun phrase “*any difference*”, in (4), which is part of the verb phrase “make no difference”, is expanded into the TT object clause “*ca*

datele finale să fie diferite” by explicitation. We notice the addition of the noun phrase “datele finale” and of the verb “a fi” along with a “word-class” transposition materialized in the shift from the ST noun “difference” to the TT adjective “diferite”. This translation solution is determined by the need to express the meaning of the ST noun phrase more clearly, avoiding the possible ambiguity triggered by a literal translation (“includerea...ar fi făcut vreo diferență”). Moreover, in the same example, we also observe some other cases of explicitation, namely the addition of the relative clause “care să confirme” as well as of the phrases “provenite de la” and “prezentate de”, which are due not only to the wish to clarify the situation, but also to the compliance with the TL naturalness requirements.

In example (5), the ST elliptical conditional clause “*if available*” is translated by the very explicit conditional clause “*dacă deține un astfel de certificat*”. The elliptical clause “*if available*”, made up of the conjunction “if” and the adjective “available”, refers to the existence of “a valid ECM certificate” in a concise way, but the Romanian language does not have such a structure, so the use of an explicit conditional clause is somewhat mandatory. The TT conditional clause is clarifying by using the verb “a deține”, which emphasizes the fact that such a certificate is owned by the applicant, making it “available”. Moreover, the use of the prepositional phrase “un astfel de certificat” refers back to “un certificat ERI valabil”, thus contributing to the cohesion of the sentence. If the translator had used the shorter conditional clause “*dacă există*” (“...fie acesta include, ca parte a cererii, un certificat ERI valabil, *dacă există, fie...*”), it might have led to ambiguity, thus the choice to make the clause more explicit is welcome.

In (6), the ST past participle clause “*as amended*”, made up of the conjunction “as” and the past participle “amended”, which functions as an adverbial modifier of manner, is rendered by the TT clause of manner “*așa cum a fost modificată*”. This explicitation is triggered by the TL rules, since a shorter variant is not possible. We observe the expansion of the conjunction “as” into the conjunctive phrase “*așa cum*” and the addition of the auxiliary verb “a fi” (“*a fost*”). This is the only translation solution, which conveys the meaning of the ST past participle clause in a clear and explicit way.

1.1.3. TL cohesive explicitness

We have also encountered a case of *expansion* concerned with cohesion markers, what Blum-Kulka (1986:19) calls “*cohesive explicitness*”.

7.	The safety evaluation strategy and the corresponding testing strategy shall be described and justified with rationales for inclusion and exclusion of specific studies and/or information. [6]	Strategia de evaluarea a siguranței și strategia de testare corespunzătoare se vor descrie și se vor justifica prin intermediul argumentelor de includere și excludere a studiilor și/sau a informațiilor specifice. [6]
8.	(b) support collaboration between Member States in developing and sharing methodologies (...); [7]	(b) sprijinirii colaborării dintre statele membre în ceea ce privește dezvoltarea și comunicarea reciprocă a metodologiilor (...); [7]

In example (7), the ST preposition “with”, which has the meaning of “by means of”, is translated into the TT by the prepositional phrase “*prin intermediul*”. Other translation solutions such as the prepositions “cu” or “prin” (“se vor justifica *cu/prin* argumente”) would have been less appropriate than this translation choice, which complies with the formal requirements of the language and emphasizes the fact that “rationales for inclusion and exclusion of specific studies and/or information” represent the means by which “The safety evaluation strategy and the corresponding testing strategy shall be described and justified”.

In example (8), the preposition “in”, which triggers a gerund in the ST, is also rendered by the phrase “*în ceea ce privește*” followed by a noun in the TT. The use of this phrase in the translation is the most suitable solution, even better than the gerundive (Ro “gerunziu”) “privind”.

1.2. Expansion of SL one-word into TL phrase

The *expansion of SL one-word into TL phrase* is triggered either by a *paraphrase* or an *explicitation* in the TT.

9.	Commission Regulations (EC) No 1112/2002 [2] and (EC) No 2229/2004 [3] lay down the detailed rules for the implementation of the fourth stage of the programme of work (...). [3]	Regulamentele (CE) nr. 1112/2002 [2] și (CE) nr. 2229/2004 [3] ale Comisiei stabilesc normele de punere în aplicare a etapei a patra a programului de lucru (...). [3]
10.	Legally binding acts of the Union adopted on the basis of the provisions of the Treaties relating to (...). [8]	Actele Uniunii obligatorii din punct de vedere juridic , adoptate pe baza dispozițiilor tratatelor referitoare la (...). [8]

The one-word term “*implementation*”, in example (9), which refers to the action of “putting a decision, plan or agreement into effect” (ODT, 2007: 518), is rendered into the Romanian translation as the noun phrase “*punere în aplicare*”. The translator has chosen this phrase instead of the borrowed term “*implementare*”, which is increasingly used nowadays, and which would have been shorter, but less transparent than the phrase “*punere în aplicare*”.

The adverb “legally”, in (10), is translated by the prepositional phrase “*din punct de vedere juridic*”, here the explicitation “*din punct de vedere*” being mandatory because of the TL constraints. The use of the adverb “*juridic*” alone would have led to an unnatural construction in the TT (“*Actele Uniunii obligatorii juridic...*”).

11.	In order to ensure that the Agency carry out its tasks, the Management Board shall: (a) appoint, and if appropriate <i>dismiss</i> , the Executive Director, in accordance with Article 18. [9]	Pentru a se asigura că agenția își îndeplinește atribuțiile, consiliul de administrație: (a) numește și, dacă este cazul, <i>eliberează din funcție</i> pe directorul executiv, în conformitate cu articolul 18; [9]
12.	(...) to better deal with these temporary and exceptional circumstances without <i>prejudging</i> the ceilings under the next multiannual financial framework. [10]	(...) pentru a aborda mai bine aceste circumstanțe temporare și excepționale, fără <i>a aduce atingere</i> plafoanelor din cadrul următorului cadru financiar multianual. [10]

We have come across cases of *expansion* in which a verb in the ST is rendered as a verb phrase in the TT, not as the corresponding TL verb. Therefore, the verb “*to dismiss*”, in example (11), is rendered as the formal and elegant verb phrase “*a elibera din funcție*”, and not using the corresponding TL verbs “*a destitui*” or “*a concedia*”.

In (12), the verb “*to prejudice*” is translated by the verb phrase “*a aduce atingere*” into Romanian, and not by the corresponding TL verbs “*a dăuna*” or “*a prejudicia*”. The use of this verb phrase is more suitable in this formal and legal context.

1.3. Expansion of SL abbreviations

Another case that we have identified in our bilingual corpus of EU legal documents is represented by the *expansion of ST abbreviations (initialisms, truncations and even symbols) in the TT*.

13.	While these may be, theoretically, present in certain transactions, both international and national (e.g. in the context of joint R & D programmes), (...). [11]	În timp ce, teoretic, acestea pot fi prezente în anumite tranzacții, atât internaționale, cât și naționale (de exemplu în contextul programelor comune de cercetare și dezvoltare), (...). [11]
14.	Therefore, as indicated already in paragraphs 115 et seq. of the previous Decision [50], the Commission has verified (...). [11]	Prin urmare, astfel cum s-a menționat deja la considerentele 115 și următoarele din decizia anterioară [50], Comisia a verificat, (...). [11]
15.	Whereas several product benchmarks, such as the ammonia and soda ash benchmarks, assume that all CO2 resulting from the production processes is emitted to the atmosphere, (...). [12]	Deoarece în cazul mai multor produse de referință precum amoniac și sodă calcinată se presupune că tot dioxidul de carbon rezultat din procesele de producție este emis în atmosferă, (...). [12]

The initialism “*R&D*”, in (13), being the short form of “research and development”, is also expanded into “*cercetare și dezvoltare*” in the TT, for reasons of clarification, although the equivalent initialism “*C&D*”, which stands for “*cercetare și dezvoltare*”, is also used in Romanian.

In (14), the Latin truncation “*et seq.*”, which is the shortened form of “*et sequentes*” or “*et sequentia*” meaning “and the following”, is expanded into “*și următoarele*” in the TT. In this example, the truncation “*et seq.*” is used in order to refer to the following paragraphs that come after paragraph 115 containing certain information. This truncation is rarely used as such in Romanian, thus the translator has chosen to provide its full translation, which enables the understanding of the message.

In example (15), we notice that the chemical symbol or formula “*CO2*”, which stands for “carbon dioxide”, is not preserved as such in the translation, but replaced by its full designation “*dioxid de carbon*”. In this

case, the use of the shortened form in the TT would have sounded rather forced and it would have triggered the addition of the definite article (“se presupune că tot *CO2-(ul)* rezultat din...”). However, if the translator had chosen to preserve the chemical formula “CO2” in the translation, the adjective “tot” should have been replaced by the noun phrase “întreaga cantitate de” (“se presupune că *întreaga cantitate de CO2* rezultată din...”) in order to comply with the naturalness of the TL.

2. Reduction

2.1. Lexical contraction

The cases of *lexical contraction* that we have analyzed contain *ST phrases which are reduced to one-word TT units*.

16.	The certificate provided for in paragraph 2 shall be issued <i>free of charge</i> . [13]	Certificatul prevăzut la alineatul (2) se eliberează <i>gratuit</i> . [13]
17.	DESIRING to further strengthen Europe’s and the Contracting Party countries’ position in research in the world, and to intensify scientific cooperation <i>across disciplinary and national boundaries</i> ; [14]	DORIND să consolideze și pe viitor poziția Europei și a părților contractante la nivel mondial în materie de cercetare și să intensifice cooperarea științifică <i>transdisciplinară și transnațională</i> ; [14]
18.	Such solutions <i>shall not run counter to</i> the objectives of the decision referred to in paragraph 1 or impair its effectiveness. [8]	Acestea <i>nu pot să contravină</i> obiectivelor deciziei menționate la alineatul (1) și nu pot dăuna eficienței acesteia. [8]
19.	Delegates to the Council <i>shall be appointed and have their appointments terminated</i> by the Contracting Party. [14]	Delegații la consiliu <i>sunt revocați</i> de către partea contractantă. [14]

In example (16), the fixed phrase “*free of charge*”, made up of an adjective and a prepositional phrase, is rendered into Romanian as the one-word adverb “*gratuit*”. The adverb “*gratis*” would have been inappropriate, as it belongs to the informal style. Another possible translation choice would have been the formal phrase “cu titlu gratuit”, but the translator has

preferred the adverb “*gratuit*”, which is shorter, straightforward and more appropriate to this context.

Example (17) shows a felicitous translation solution, which combines both *reduction* and *implication*. The prepositional phrase “*across disciplinary and national boundaries*” is rendered by two compound adjectives coordinated by the conjunction “and” (“*transdisciplinară și transnațională*”) into Romanian. The Latin prefix “trans-” means “across”, “beyond” or “over”, so the compound adjective “*transdisciplinară*” stands for “*across disciplinary boundaries*” and the compound adjective “*transnațională*” stands for “*across national boundaries*”, rendering the same meaning in a concise and elegant way.

Example (18) contains the translation of the verb phrase “*run counter to*” as the one-word verb “*a contraveni*”. The verb phrase “*run counter to*” means “to be the opposite of something” (LDCE, 2003: 420), which can be rendered into Romanian by the verbs “*a se împotrivi*” or “*a se opune*”. Yet, the Romanian translator has chosen a stronger verb, “*a contraveni*”, which is frequently used in legal contexts, meaning “to break the law or rules” (MDN, 2008: 237).

In example (19) we observe that the objective participial construction “*shall have their appointments terminated*” is translated by the legal verb “*a revoca*” in the passive voice. As the Romanian language does not have such a construction, the use of the verb “*a revoca*” in the passive voice (“*sunt...revocați*”) represents an inspired choice, for which we notice the combination of *reduction* and *implication*.

2.2. Omission of ST elements

Omission of ST elements generally occurs because of the wish to avoid cases of redundancy.

20.	(i) involves <i>overnight hospital accommodation</i> of the patient in question for at least one night; [7]	(i) presupune <i>internarea în spital</i> a pacientului în cauză pentru cel puțin o noapte; [7]
21.	The Member States shall again exercise their competence to the extent that the Union has decided to cease exercising <i>its competence</i> . [8]	Statele membre își exercită din nou competența în măsura în care Uniunea a hotărât să înceteze să și- <i>o</i> mai exercite. [8]
22.	Where a liaison department or a competent official receives a	Atunci când un departament de legătură sau un funcționar

	request for cooperation requiring <i>action which falls outside the competence</i> it is assigned according to the national legislation or policy of its Member State, (...). [9]	competent primește o cerere de cooperare care necesită <i>o acțiune în afara competenței</i> care i-a fost repartizată conform legislației sau politicii naționale a statului său membru, (...). [9]
23.	This Regulation <i>respects</i> fundamental rights and <i>observes</i> the principles recognised by the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (...). [15]	Prezentul regulament <i>respectă</i> drepturile fundamentale și principiile recunoscute de Carta drepturilor fundamentale a Uniunii Europene (...). [15]

In example (20), the adjective “*overnight*” is left out in the TT, as it becomes implicit from the fact that the the patient is accommodated “for at least one night”. Its rendering into the translation would have been somewhat redundant (“presupune internarea [*peste noapte*] în spital a pacientului în cauză pentru cel puțin o noapte”), so its omission is justified.

The noun “*competence*”, in example (21), which is preceded by the possessive adjective “*its*” becomes implicit in the translation through the use of the pronoun “-o” in the accusative (“Uniunea a hotărât să înceteze să și-o mai exercite”). This is a felicitous translation choice, since the repetition of the noun “*competența*” would have been redundant.

In (22), *reduction* and *implicitation* occur simultaneously in rendering the ST unit “*action which falls outside the competence*” as the TT unit “*o acțiune în afara competenței*”. The relative clause “which falls outside the competence” is reduced to the prepositional phrase “în afara competenței” in the translation. Actually, the verb “to fall” becomes implicit in the TT, its omission entailing a concise way of expression. The Romanian translator could have chosen to preserve the ST structure and to translate it as “o acțiune care se încadrează în afara competenței”, but this would have led to a needless expansion.

In (23), the two ST verbs “to respect” and “to observe” are synonymous, both referring to the act of obeying laws or rules. In this case, the verb “to respect” collocates with the noun “rights”, whereas the verb “to observe” collocates with the noun “principles”. In the Romanian translation, they are rendered by the one-word verb “a respecta”, which collocates both with the noun “drepturile” and with the noun “principiile”, as they are coordinated by the conjunction “și”. This accounts for an implicitation in

the TT, a translation solution which can be motivated by the lack of a proper synonym of the verb “a respecta” in Romanian. The TL verb “a urma”, or the TL phrases “a ține seama de” and “a nu se abate de la” would not have been appropriate in this context, so the choice to use only the TL verb “a respecta”, which collocates with both nouns, is welcome.

Our analysis has indicated that the *archaic words* present in the English EU documents are either rendered by a *paraphrase* explaining their meaning or omitted in the Romanian translations, since the Romanian language does not have equivalent words for them.

24.	Based on the above, recitals (14) to (26) of the provisional Regulation are hereby confirmed. [16]	Pe baza elementelor sus-menționate, se confirmă considerentele (14)-(26) din regulamentul provizoriu. [16]
25.	The complaint contained prima facie evidence of dumping of the said product and of material injury resulting therefrom , which was considered sufficient to justify the initiation of a proceeding. [16]	Plângerea conținea elemente de probă prima facie care atestau existența dumpingului în ceea ce privește produsul în cauză, precum și prejudiciile materiale rezultate, care au fost considerate suficiente pentru a justifica inițierea unei proceduri. [16]

The archaic word “*Hereby*”, in example (24), means “*by means of, by the aid of, through, through the medium of*” referring to the fact that “recitals (14) to (26) of the provisional Regulation” are confirmed by means of the present EU regulation. The translator has chosen not to render its meaning in any way, as the verb “*se confirmă*” suggests the fact that they are confirmed by this regulation.

“*Therefrom*” (“material injury resulting **therefrom**”), in (25), means “*from that circumstance or source*” referring to “dumping of the said product”, but the translator has decided not to render it as “*din acesta*” (prejudiciile materiale rezultate *din acesta*”), as it is clear enough from the context that the material injury result from the “dumping of the said product”.

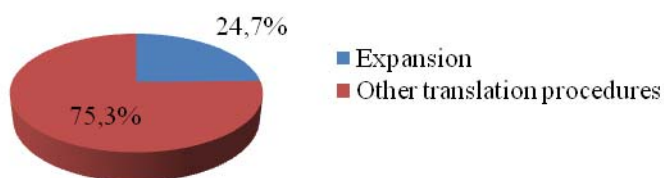
Conclusions

As *explicitations* lead to *expansions* in translation, we have dealt with cases of *explicitation* within the analysis of *expansion*.

Our quantitative analysis has revealed that the translation procedure of *expansion*, which encompasses *explicitation*, occurs extremely often, being calculated with approx. 1256 counts, which determines a frequency value of approx. 24.7% of all translation procedures investigated in our extended research study.

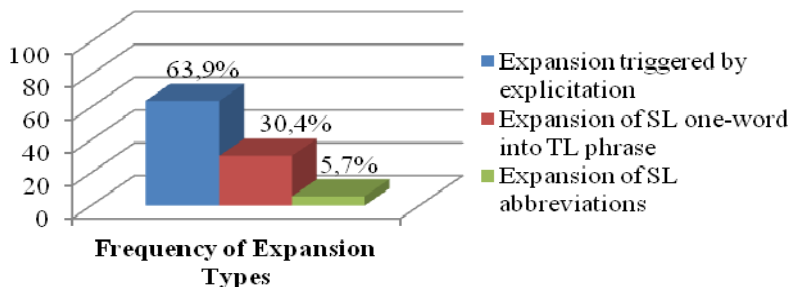
Translation procedure	Number of occurrences	Frequency (%)
Expansion	1256	24.7

Frequency of Translation Procedures in the Bilingual Corpus under Analysis

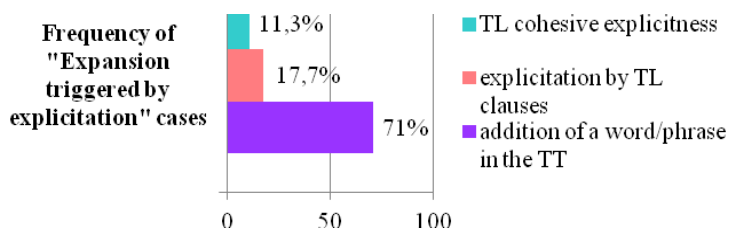


<i>Expansion</i> Types	Number of occurrences	Frequency (%)
Expansion triggered by explicitation	803	63.9
- addition of a word/phrase into the TT	570	71.0
- explicitation by TL clauses	142	17.7
- TL cohesive explicitness	91	11.3
Expansion of SL one-word into TL phrase	382	30.4
Expansion of SL abbreviations	71	5.7

“Expansion triggered by explicitation” type has turned out to be the most numerous with approx. 803 counts and a corresponding frequency of approx. 63.9% of all *expansions*. Another important type is represented by “expansion of SL one-word into TL phrase”, which has revealed a total number of approx. 382 occurrences and a frequency of approx. 30.4% of all identified *expansions*. The lowest values belong to “expansion of SL abbreviations” type, having approx. 71 counts and reaching a frequency of approx. 5.7% of all *expansions*.



The type of “expansion triggered by explicitation” comprises three cases, whose frequency values have also been calculated. Therefore, the case of “addition of a word/phrase into the TT” occupies the first position with approx. 570 counts and a frequency of approx. 71.0% of this *expansion* type. The case of “explicitation by TL clauses” has revealed approx. 142 counts, which determines a frequency of approx. 17.7% of this *expansion* type. The last position is occupied by the case of “TL cohesive explicitness” with approx. 91 counts and a corresponding frequency of 11.3% of this *expansion* type.

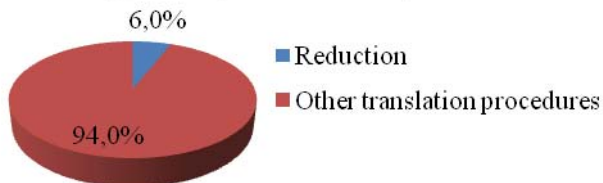


Taking into account that *implicitations* usually entail *reductions* in translation, we have discussed cases of *implicitation* within the analysis of *reduction*.

According to our statistical calculations, *reduction* has a total number of approx. 301 occurrences, which accounts for a frequency value of approx. 6.0% of all translation procedures taken into account for our extended research study.

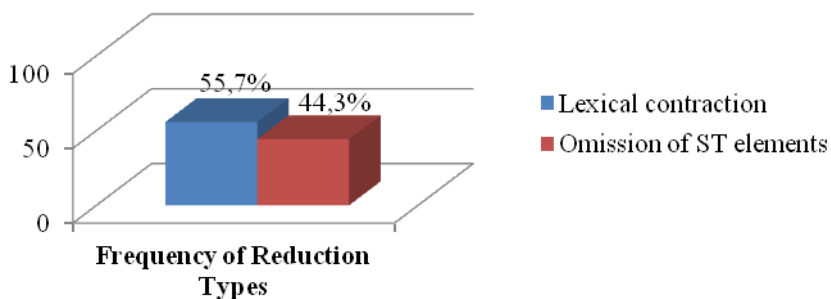
Translation procedure	Number of occurrences	Frequency (%)
Reduction	301	6.0

Frequency of Translation Procedures in the Bilingual Corpus under Analysis



<i>Reduction</i> Types	Number of occurrences	Frequency (%)
Lexical contraction	167	55.7
Omission of ST elements	134	44.3

As regards the two *reduction* types, their values exhibit fairly small differences: “lexical contraction” has shown approx. 167 counts, leading to a frequency of approx. 55.7% of all *reductions*, whereas “omission of ST elements” has revealed approx. 134 counts, reaching a frequency value of approx. 44.3% of all identified *reductions*.



Our bilingual corpus-oriented research study has indicated that, on the one hand, *expansion* is extremely frequent, being mostly influenced by *explicitation*, since the Romanian translators tend to produce translations that are more explicit than the original texts, not only because of the formal requirements and the TL syntactic constraints, but also because of the wish to avoid possible ambiguities. On the other hand, *reductions* are less encountered than expansions, being usually caused by the syntactic constraints of the TL and by formality constraints or by the wish to avoid redundancies and for reasons of concision.

Acknowledgment

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by the European Social Fund – Investing in People, within the Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development 2007 – 2013.

Bilingual Corpus (En-Ro)

- [1]. Commission Regulation (EU) No 364/2011 of 13 April 2011
Regulamentul (UE) nr. 364/2011 al Comisiei din 13 aprilie 2011
- [2]. Commission Decision of 16 May 2011 amending Decision 2009/146/EC
Decizia Comisiei din 16 mai 2011 de modificare a Deciziei 2009/146/CE
- [3]. Commission Implementing Directive 2011/48/EU of 15 April 2011
Directiva de punere în aplicare 2011/48/UE a Comisiei din 15 aprilie 2011
- [4]. Council Implementing Regulation (EU) No 464/2011 of 11 May 2011
Regulamentul de punere în aplicare (UE) nr. 464/2011 al Consiliului din 11 mai 2011
- [5]. Commission Regulation (EU) No 445/2011 of 10 May 2011
Regulamentul (UE) nr. 445/2011 al Comisiei din 10 mai 2011
- [6]. Commission Regulation (EU) No 234/2011 of 10 March 2011
Regulamentul (UE) nr. 234/2011 al Comisiei din 10 martie 2011
- [7]. Directive 2011/24/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 9 March 2011
Directiva 2011/24/UE a Parlamentului European și a Consiliului din 9 martie 2011
- [8]. Selected parts of the consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
Părți selectate din versiunile consolidate ale Tratatului privind Uniunea Europeană și a Tratatului privind funcționarea Uniunii Europene
- [9]. Council Directive 2011/16/EU of 15 February 2011
Directiva 2011/16/UE a Consiliului din 15 februarie 2011
- [10]. Decision No 1080/2011/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2011
Decizia nr. 1080/2011/UE a Parlamentului European și a Consiliului din 25 octombrie 2011
- [11]. 2011/282/EU: Commission Decision of 12 January 2011
Decizia Comisiei din 12 ianuarie 2011(2011/282/UE)
- [12]. 2011/278/EU: Commission Decision of 27 April 2011
Decizia Comisiei din 27 aprilie 2011 (2011/278/UE)
- [13]. Regulation (EU) No 211/2011 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 February 2011
Regulamentul (UE) nr. 211/2011 al Parlamentului European și al Consiliului din 16 februarie 2011
- [14]. 2011/166/EU: Commission Decision of 17 March 2011
Decizia Comisiei din 17 martie 2011 (2011/166/UE)
- [15]. Regulation (EU) No 1077/2011 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2011
Regulamentul (UE) nr. 1077/2011 al Parlamentului European și al Consiliului din 25 octombrie 2011

- [16]. Council Implementing Regulation (EU) No 451/2011 of 6 May 2011
Regulamentul de punere în aplicare (UE) nr. 451/2011 al Consiliului din 6
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Rezumat: Traducerea poate fi considerată o combinație între realitate și imaginație, dat fiind faptul că traducătorul redă realitatea textului sursă în textul țintă folosindu-și adesea imaginația. Traducătorul îndeplinește rolul de mediator între cele două texte, exprimând același mesaj și facilitându-le cititorilor textului țintă înțelegerea acestuia.

Prezenta lucrare încearcă să exploreze modul în care traducătorii români ai legislației UE își dovedesc imaginația lingvistică prin utilizarea a două procedee de traducere, expansiunea (inclusiv explicitarea) și reducerea (inclusiv implicitarea), pentru a se conforma regulilor sintactice sau cerințelor formale ale limbii țintă, precum și pentru a evita posibilele ambiguități sau redundanțe care pot apărea în momentul redării mesajului din textul sursă în textul țintă.

Reconstruction Effects in English and Romanian Restrictive Relative Clauses The Case of Idioms

Alina Reșceanu¹

Abstract: This article is aimed at describing relevant reconstruction facts regarding the interpretation of idioms that have been used to argue in favour or against the proposed analyses of relative clauses. The article is organised as follows. In section 2, we briefly discuss the analyses of relative clauses: head raising/complementation (HRA) or matching/adjunction (MA). Then, we bring into discussion the reconstruction of idioms in section 3. The interpretation of idioms is a case that provides clear evidence for the HRA: for the idiom (or the collocation) to be properly interpreted, the head noun of the relative clause has to be reconstructed into the relative clause to form a unit with the verb. Nonetheless, idiom reconstruction can also be dealt with by MA if we adopt Citko's (2001) deletion under identity approach. In section 4, we discuss the contexts that involve idioms in which the external heads of relatives must not be reconstructed or must be interpreted in more than one position. The last section concludes our discussion about the reconstruction effects with regard to idioms in English and Romanian RRCs.

Keywords: *syntax, reconstruction, restrictive relative clauses*

1. Introduction

This article is aimed at describing relevant reconstruction facts regarding the idioms that have been used to argue in favour or against the proposed analyses of relative clauses. Since the analysis of the reconstruction effects in restrictive relative clauses (RRCs) is based on data from both English and Romanian, we discuss the two languages in parallel.

We first point out that RCs represent a class of subordinate clauses where subordination is based on the fact that the matrix and the subordinate clause semantically share a nominal constituent (cf. Cornilescu 1980/1996, the coreference condition, whose overt reflex is the relative pronoun in the RC). One aspect which is particularly interesting is the fact that this nominal constituent, i.e. the relative "head", plays a double role in the entire structure.

¹ University of Craiova (aresceanu@yahoo.com)

Moreover, RCs are long-distance A-bar wh-constructions (Chomsky, 1977) and are characterized by wh-movement. Wh-movement implies a movement chain consisting of copies of the moved constituent, traces being copies which are not spelled out at PF, but which can be interpreted (i.e., reconstructed) at LF. Thus, there is reconstruction whenever the displaced copy of the moved element is pronounced and the base copy is interpreted (cf. Fox 1999). Reconstruction becomes thus a diagnostic for movement and one problem of the syntax of restrictive relative clauses is the origin of the copy.

The article is organised as follows. In section 2, we briefly discuss the analyses of relative clauses: head raising/complementation (HRA) or matching/adjunction (MA), which have been proposed and which seem not to exclude one another, but be in complementary distribution. Then, we bring into discussion the reconstruction of idioms in section 3. The interpretation of idioms is a case that provides clear evidence for the raising analysis: for the idiom (or the collocation) to be properly interpreted, the head noun of the relative clause has to be reconstructed into the relative clause to form a unit with the verb. Nonetheless, idiom reconstruction can also be dealt with by MA if we adopt Citko's (2001) deletion under identity approach. In section 4, we discuss the contexts that involve idioms in which the external heads of relatives must not be reconstructed or must be interpreted in more than one position. Section 5 concludes our discussion about the reconstruction effects in English and Romanian RRCs.

The overall aim is to show that the reconstruction behaviour of the idioms in relative clause head argues for Carlson's (1977) claim that relative clauses are ambiguous between a raising and a matching structure. In our analysis, we follow Sauerland (1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, Sauerland&Hulsey, 2006), Bianchi (1999), Bhatt (2002), Aoun & Li (2003).

2. Analyses of relative clauses

There are different ways of relative clause generation, extensively discussed in the literature², and the difference between them lies in the way in which the head noun (in externally headed relative clauses) is related to the gap inside the clausal modifier: (i) via head noun raising, and/or (ii) operator raising and head noun ellipsis of an identical copy and relative clause adjunction to the head noun.

² See the works of Brame (1968), Stockwell et al. (1973), Vergnaud (1974, 1975), Montague (1974), Carlson (1977), Chomsky and Lasnik (1977), Grosu and Landman (1998), Sauerland (1998), Kayne (1994), Bianchi (1999, 2000), Aoun and Li (2003), Bhatt (2005), Szalman (2006), Szczegielniak (2005) a.o.

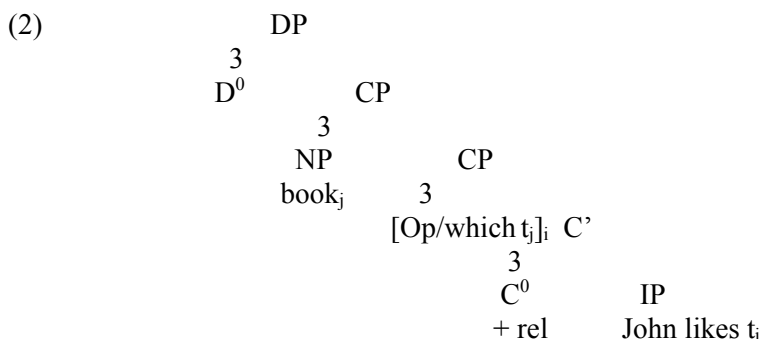
Hence, the following proposals have been suggested for the syntax of relative clauses: the Complementation/Head Raising Analysis (HRA)³ and the Adjunction/Matching Analysis (MA). These analyses will be briefly introduced below.

2.1 The Complementation/Head Raising Analysis (HRA)

This analysis was originally proposed by Schachter (1973)⁴ and Vergnaud (1974/1985)⁵ with reference to an unpublished work by Michael Brame (1968).

The central idea is that the head NP originates inside the relative clause CP and it is A'-moved to an operator position within the relative clause to become adjacent to the external determiner, which is evidenced by certain reconstruction effects. The external determiner selects the relative clause CP and thus the D° CP structure is obtained. This implies the existence of a selection relation between the determiner and the relative CP in that the presence of a relative CP entails the presence of D. Moreover, D° does not form a constituent with the head NP, which is in the Spec of CP, but with the relative CP.

(1) the [_{CP}book]_j [_{CP} [Op/which t_j]_i John likes t_i]



³ Detailed evidence for the complementation structure of relative clauses can be found in Bianchi (1999), Zwart (2000: 352), de Vries (2002) and Aoun & Li (2003: 102) for English and in David (2012:17ff) for Romanian.

⁴ This represents the first published suggestion of head raising: a relative clause is the complement of an abstract “Nom,” a syntactic position to which the head of the relative clause moves from a base-generated relative clause-internal position (Schachter, 1973).

⁵ Vergnaud (1974/1985) argues for a head-raising analysis (which differs in detail from Schachter’s proposal). After movement of the phrase containing the head noun plus a relative pronoun to the periphery of the embedded clause, the NP moves out and projects. The result corresponds to the familiar NP-S adjunction configuration.

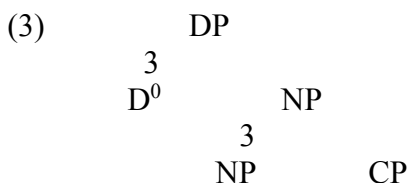
However, since the head NP originates inside the relative clause CP, it is possible to reconstruct it inside the relative clause and to interpret it in a relative clause-internal position.

The idea of raising was largely ignored until the mid-1990s, when Kayne 1994 revived it within the context of an Antisymmetric phrase structure. It has been revived recently by Aferli (1994), Bianchi (1999, 2000a/b), Bhatt (2002), Aoun & Li (2003), and de Vries (2002, 2006) among others.

2.2 The Adjunction/Matching Analysis (MA)

Another analysis proposed for the relative clauses is adjunction/matching, which was originally discussed by Lees (1960, 1961) and Chomsky (1965).⁶ Later on, it was adopted by Sauerland (1998) and Citko (2001) and stipulates that there is an external as well as internal representative of the head NP, of which only the former is pronounced.

This analysis differs from the analysis presented above in the sense that relative clauses are adjoined to the head NP and there is also a representation of the external head inside the relative clause, the internal head as in the HRA.



The internal head is generated as the complement of the relative operator/pronoun [_{DP}Op/which book] that stands in an argument position; the entire relative DP undergoes movement to Spec, CP. Subsequently, the internal head NP is phonologically deleted under identity with the external head. Importantly, external head and internal head are not part of a movement chain as in the HRA, but are related by whatever mechanism links an elided constituent in ellipsis cases (cf. Chomsky 1965, Sauerland 2003, Hulsey&Sauerland 2006). In fact, what distinguishes the MA from the HRA is the ellipsis part.

Schematically, the matching analysis can be represented as follows⁷:

⁶ In the context of his general theory of syntax, Chomsky (1965) provides an early “matching” account of restrictive relative clauses.

⁷ PF-deletion is marked by strikethrough.

(4) [DP_{the} [NP_{book}] [CP [Op/which ~~book~~]_i John likes t_i]

This analysis was clarified and extended by Munn (1994), Cresti (2000), Citko (2001), Bhatt (2002) and Sauerland (cf. Sauerland (1998), Sauerland (2002), Hulsey and Sauerland (2006)) among others.

3. Idiom interpretation

The interpretation of idioms⁸ is a case that provides clear evidence for the raising analysis (Brame 1968, Schachter 1973, Vergnaud 1974). It has been shown that part of an idiom can occur as the Head of a relative clause that contains the other part of the idiom. Consider the [V + NP_{obj}] idioms in (5-7) for English and (8-10) for Romanian, in which the NP_{obj} is the head of the relative clause and the V is the verb of the relative clause. Given that the parts of an idiom need to be generated as a unit in the postverbal position of the object, such examples argue that movement is involved:

- (5) a. *The headway that John made t was remarkable.*
 b. *The ~~headway~~ that John made headway was remarkable.*
 c. **The headway was remarkable.*
- (6) a. *The careful track that she is keeping t of her expenses pleases me.*
 b. *The ~~careful track~~ that she is keeping careful track of her expenses pleases me.*
 c. **The careful track pleases me.*
- (7) a. *I was offended by the lip service that was paid t to civil liberties at the trial.*
 b. *I was offended by the ~~lip service~~ that was paid lip service to civil liberties at the trial.*
 c. **The lip service offended me.*
- (8) a. *Omagiul pe care ti l-a adus t a fost deosebit.*
 b. *~~Omagiul~~ pe care ti l-a adus omagiu a fost deosebit.*
 c. *??Omagiul a fost deosebit.*
- (9) a. *Mă amuză aerele pe care și le dă t. (Cornilescu, 1996:143)*

⁸ In this article, we will use the term “idioms” although a more appropriate term would be “collocations”.

b. *Mă amuză ~~aerele~~ pe care și le dă aere.*

c. **Aerele mă amuză.*

(10) a. *Vorbeam despre sforile pe care le-a tras t ca să obțină slujba.*

b. *Vorbeam despre ~~sforile~~ pe care le-a tras sfori ca să obțină slujba.*

c. **Vorbeam despre sforile importante.*

As can be seen above, nouns like *headway*, *track*, *lip service* in the English examples and *omagiul*, *aerele*, *sforile* in the Romanian examples are normally selected by specific verbs and are also restricted to occurrence as objects of these verbs in the relative clauses (see 8-10b) so that to allow for the idiomatic reading (*make headway*, *keep track*, *pay lip service/a aduce omagiu*, *a-și da aere*, *a trage sfori*). In case the nouns are not in this position as in (5-10c), the idiomatic interpretation is lost and the examples are ungrammatical.

All the data given in (5)-(10) point towards the conclusion that at LF the relative head undergoes reconstruction to its pre-movement position as illustrated in (5-10b). Only after reconstruction is the right c-command configuration obtained.⁹

⁹ At this point, Aoun & Li (2003) make an interesting observation. Extending Carlson's (1977) observation that the use of *wh*-pronouns prevents the O-part of the idiom from serving as the relative head, they argue that reconstruction is prohibited if *that* is replaced by *which* in the above (English) examples:

(i) a. ??The headway which John made *t* was remarkable

b. ??The careful track which she is keeping *t* of her expenses pleases me.

c. ??I was offended by the lip service which was paid *t* to civil liberties at the trial.

By contrast, when the idiom is not inside the relative clause, the use of *which* is quite acceptable:

(i) John pulled the strings that got Bill the job.

This is just a part of their argumentation intended to demonstrate that there is a contrast between *wh*-relatives and non-*wh*-relatives in the availability of reconstruction (based on empirical data with respect to the interpretation of anaphors, bound pronominals, scope and idiom interpretations). The generalization proposed by Aoun & Li (2003:114) is that:

a. Non-*wh*-relatives exhibit reconstruction effects; that is, the head can be derived by movement from the position where it is interpreted to its surface position;

b. *wh*-relatives do not exhibit reconstruction effects; that is, the head is not derived by movement from the position where it is interpreted to its surface position. It is base-generated in its surface position.

However, the crosslinguistic validity of the difference between *wh*-relatives and non-*wh*-relatives is questioned once we take into consideration the empirical data presented in this article with reference to the reconstruction effects. Romanian is a language that mostly uses relative pronouns in RRCs and still allows for reconstruction.

We note that in all the examples above the head which is reconstructed in the direct object position is obligatorily indefinite. When it is relativized, it can be introduced by the definite article:

- (11) a. **They made the fun of me.*
b. *The fun that they made of me* (Fabb, 1990:130)

- (12) a. **A pus sufletul în redactarea cărții.*
Has put soul-the in editing the book
'She has put her soul into editing the book'.

b. *Sufletul pe care l-a pus în redactarea cărții a fost apreciat.*

Soul-the PE which CL_{3sgAccM}-has put in editing book-the was appreciated

'The soul she put in editing the book was appreciated'.

This follows from the hypothesis that the external definite determiner is not reconstructed in the complement position of the idiomatic verb within the relative clause. In fact, the case of relativizing idiomatic expressions was used as argument for supporting the claim that the structure of RRCs is [D° CP] (complementation, not adjunction). As described in the first part of this article, this implies the existence of a selection relation between the determiner and the relative CP in that the presence of a relative CP entails the presence of D. Moreover, D° does not form a constituent with the head NP, which is in the Spec of CP, but with the relative CP¹⁰.

Regarding the possibility of restrictive relativization to interact with idiomatic expressions, Bianchi (1999) analyses a sample of Italian idiom chunks and makes an interesting observation: there two types of idiomatic expressions, those that have a variable determiner and those that have a "frozen" determiner.

The examples analysed so far in this section are all idiomatic expressions with a variable determiner (nonfrozen in Bianchi's terms, i.e. which can be changed with a different determiner) allowing the restrictive relativization of the object.

- (13) a. *Some/all/The headway that John made was remarkable.*
b. *Vorbeam despre toate/niște/ sfori(le) pe care le-a tras t ca să obțină slujba.*

¹⁰ For more evidence in favour of the [D° CP] hypothesis in Romanian, see David (2012).

Talking about all/some/ strings-the PE which CL_{3pl}ACC-has pulled so to get job-the

‘I was talking about all/some/the strings she pulled to get the job.’

On the other hand, there are idioms with frozen¹¹ determiners that do not allow the relativization of the object. For example, let us take a look at the idiomatic expression in (14) and (15):

- (14) a. *to kick the bucket*
b. **to kick a bucket*

- (15) a. *a da ortul popii*
b. **a da un ort popii*

The definite article of the idiomatic object cannot be replaced by any other determiner, so it is frozen and options like (14b) and (15b) are ruled out.

Bianchi further argues that idiom chunks with a frozen determiner have a completely idiosyncratic, noncompositional interpretation and cannot be modified; this suggests that the frozen determiner lacks any semantic content, and its NP complement does not have a variable position to be bound by the determiner (Bianchi, 1999:44).

Since restrictive relativization belongs to the class of A’ dependencies, it only allows idiom chunks with nonfrozen determiners: thus the idiomatic expressions in (16), whose determiner is variable, contrast with those in (17), whose determiner is completely frozen:

- (16) a. *Timpul pe care-l am la dispoziție t nu este suficient.*
Time-the PE which-CL_{3sg}AccM have at disposal not is sufficient
‘The time that I have at my disposal is insufficient.’

- b. *Atenția pe care am acordat-o t teoriei m-a ajutat.*
Attention-the PE which have given-CL_{3sg}DATF CL_{1sg}ACC-has helped.
‘The attention I paid to the theory helped me.’

- c. *Necazurile pe care mi le-ai adus t au fost copleșitoare.*
Troubles PE which me CL-have brought were overwhelming
‘The troubles that you caused me were overwhelming.’

¹¹ According to Bianchi (1999, 44), “a determiner is said to be frozen if it is completely fixed”.

d. *Gustul amar pe care mi l-a lăsat Ț întâlnirea noastră m-a tulburat.*
Taste-the sour PE which me CL/has left meeting our CL-have troubled

‘The bad taste that our meeting left in my mouth troubled me.’

(17) a. *A bate palma* (to shake hands over a bargain)

**Palma pe care au bătut-o la sfârșitul întâlnirii nu a fost suficientă.*

Hand-the PE which have beaten-CL_{3sgAccF} at end-the meeting not has been enough

‘*The hand that they shook over a bargain at the end of the meeting was not enough.’

b. *a pune punctul pe i* (to hit the nail on the head)

**M-a impresionat punctul pe care l-a pus pe i.*

CL_{1sgAcc}-have impressed point PE which CL-have put on i

‘*I was impressed by the nail that they hit on the head’.

c. *a îngropa securea războiului* (to bury the hatchet)

**Securea pe care au îngropat-o cei doi candidați la sfârșitul discuțiilor nu a fost suficientă.*

Hatchet-the PE which have buried-CL_{3sgAccF} the two candidates at end discussions not has been sufficient

‘*The hatchet that they buried at the end of the discussions was not sufficient.’

This constraint can be recast in Kayne’s analysis by disallowing a frozen determiner to select a restrictive relative CP (cf. Bianchi, 1999:45).

Referring to the term “idiom”, de Vries (2002:78ff.) makes the distinction between transparent and opaque contexts¹² (similar to Bianchi’s

¹² O’Grady (1998: 280) explains the distinction between opaque and transparent idioms as follows:

1. With regard to the meaning, opaque idioms have a meaning that cannot be distributed over their parts (*kick the bucket*) and transparent idioms derive their meaning in a compositional way, from the meaning of the constituent parts (*pull strings*).

2. with regard to substitutability of their component parts, opaque idioms allow little or no variation in the choice of lexical items (the expressions *kick the bucket*, *shoot the bull* are of this type), whereas transparent/less opaque idioms are less fixed in their composition (e.g. *lay/place/put one’s cards on the table*) and sometimes even allow non-idiomatic modifiers in their structure:

(i) *kick the filthy habit*

idioms with non-frozen and frozen determiners; cf. O'Grady 1998) and argues that real opaque idioms such as *kick the bucket / a da ortul popii* in (14) and (15) cannot be used in relativization (and also resist other types of A'-movement such as topicalization¹³). Even though it is sometimes possible to construct relative clauses based on the idiomatic chunk, full sentences turn out to be unacceptable:

(18) a. **The bucket that she kicked t was horrible.*

b. **Ortul pe care l-a dat t popii a fost insuficient.*

Coin-the PE which CL_{masc sg}-has given priest_{DAT} has been insufficient

(lit.) 'The money that he gave to the priest was not enough'.

According to de Vries, this follows from the double role that the head noun plays in relativization: it is related both to the matrix clause as well as to the relative clause-internal position and cannot receive conflicting interpretations. In opaque idioms, the components, especially the NP, lose their literal meaning (the meaning of the expression *kick the bucket* cannot be predicted from the meaning of the parts/words making up the expression). If that NP gets an idiomatic interpretation inside the relative clause as in (18) it cannot be used literally as the subject of *be horrible/a fi insuficient*, for example.

Since the data referring to idiom reconstruction have been extensively discussed in the literature, their theoretical importance is beyond doubt and favours the HRA: for the idiom (or the collocation) to be properly interpreted, the head noun of the relative clause has to be reconstructed into the relative clause to form a unit with the verb.

pull yet more strings

leave no legal stone unturned.

¹³ In Romanian, these type of opaque idiomatic constructions cannot be passivized or used with passive reflexive SE:

(i) **Ortul a fost dat popii.*

Money-the has been given priest_{DAT}

'Lit. The money was given to the priest/The bucket was kicked.'

(ii) **Se dă ortul popii.*

SE give dă money-the priest_{DAT}

However, there are contexts in which really opaque idioms are accepted in the passive reflexive SE constructions:

(iii) *Nu deranjați! Aici se taie frunză la câini.* (www.7est.ro/exclusiv-7est/anchete/item/20934)

Interzis a se pune punctul pe i. (<http://www.romanalibera.ro/actualitate/proiecte-locale/43378>).

Nonetheless, idiom reconstruction can also be dealt with by MA if we adopt Citko's (2001) deletion under identity approach. Let us consider the example under (5) repeated here:

(5) *The headway that John made t was remarkable.*

Citko (2001) proposes the following derivation:

(19) a. [TP[DPThe headway] [CP[DPwhich headway]_i that [TP John made t_i was remarkable]]. (wh-movement)

b. [TP[DPThe headway] [CP[~~which headway~~]_i that [TP John made t was remarkable]]. (PF-deletion under identity)

c. [TP[DPThe ~~headway~~] [CP[~~which headway~~]_i that [TP John made headway was remarkable]]. (LF-copy reconstruction)

Her proposal involves base-generation of the head *the headway* in the CP external position and movement of the wh-phrase *which headway* from the relative clause internal position to Spec,CP, as shown in (19a). The next step in the derivation involves PF deletion of the entire wh-phrase¹⁴ *headway* in Spec,CP under identity with the external head (19b) so that only the highest copy is left to be pronounced (Bobaljik 2002). At LF, the restriction of the wh-phrase undergoes reconstruction. The CP external head, not being part of the same movement chain (as argued under the MA analysis) does not reconstruct. Thus, the representation at LF contains two 'copies' of the nominal *headway*, one in the external head position and the other one in the reconstructed position and either one of them can delete at LF, since the content is recoverable from the remaining copy.

In the case of idioms, Citko claims that the external head can delete at LF and thus the issue of having an unlicensed idiom chunk in the head position as in (19c) is solved.

This would lead us to the conclusion that, in principle, both analyses, the HRA and the MA, could be applied to account for the reconstruction effects discussed here.

4. Non-reconstruction of the external head

¹⁴ In *which*-relatives, what undergoes deletion is the nominal in Spec,CP under identity with the external head:

[TP[DPThe *headway*] [CP[~~which headway~~]_i [TP John *made t* was remarkable]] (PF-deletion under identity)

In this section, we discuss the cases in which the external heads of relatives must not be reconstructed or must be interpreted in more than one position in the contexts that involve idioms. While reconstruction generally favors the HRA and the MA, cases of non-reconstruction like those discussed in this section do the opposite.

It has been argued that in the examples below, the external head must not be interpreted inside the relative clause for the idiom (20) to be properly interpreted:

(20) a. *John pulled the [strings] that t got Bill the job.*

b. *Ion a tras exact sforile care trebuiau ca să-i ofere Mariei slujba mult visată.*

Ion has pulled exact strings-the which have so that to offer Mary job-the much dreamed (of).

‘John pulled the exact strings that were needed to get Mary the much wanted job.’

In the examples under (20a, b), the idiom is split between the head NP and the relative clause VP. As mentioned previously in this article, under the assumption that an idiom must be interpreted as a constituent, these examples require that the external head must not be interpreted inside the relative clause for the idiom (Hulsey&Sauerland, 2006) to be properly interpreted.

This follows in principle quite straightforwardly under a head external approach, because the external head is structurally part of the matrix clause and is also interpreted there:

(21) a. *John pulled the [strings]_i [CP [Op_i]₁ that [x_i]₁ that got Bill the job].*

b. *He_i's just got a [confident air about himself]_i [CP [Op_j]_j that I think [x_j]_j matches Leo's].*

That is why we will adopt Citko's (2001) version of the MA (based on Munn's 1994), which seems more promising in this regard. The derivation used to account for the absence of Condition C effects will work here as well: since the external head does not contain any material that is not licensed there, it is retained and the internal copy is deleted because its content is recoverable from the external head. This derives the desired result:

(22) a) *John pulled the [strings]_i [CP [Op [strings]_i]_i that [x strings]_i that got Bill the job].*

The importance of these facts should not be underestimated: as admitted by Bhatt (2002: 47, note 1), such examples show that the HRA is not sufficient to capture the entire range of reconstruction facts in English. On the other hand, it seems that Citko's version of the MA, which can handle these cases as well as those where there is reconstruction, could successfully apply.

Conclusions

Relative clauses have always been a field of debates and contradictions, and as briefly mentioned in section 2 two theoretical approaches have been proposed: the HRA and MA. Our investigation of the reconstruction for idiom interpretation in the case of headed relative clauses in English and Romanian has brought us to conclude that the specific problems of the two theoretical approaches appear largely to be complementary: the weakness of one approach being the strength of the other. Therefore, the conclusions we have reached in this article are as follows:

1. As has become clear, the reconstruction for idiom interpretation cannot be used to pinpoint so straightforwardly only one analysis for RRCs as the literature of recent years is trying to make one believe.

2. Despite the fact that reconstruction for idiom interpretation is probably the strongest argument in favour of the HRA (for the idiom or the collocation to be properly interpreted, the head noun of the relative clause has to be reconstructed into the relative clause to form a unit with the verb), we propose in this article an alternative view: MA and Citko's (2001) deletion under identity approach. This analysis could also capture the reconstruction of idioms by stipulating two 'copies' of the head, one in the external head position and the other one in the reconstructed position. To get the idiom interpreted, the external 'head' is deleted at LF and the internal 'head' is interpreted. This would lead us to the conclusion that, in principle, both analyses, the HRA and the MA, could be applied to account for the reconstruction effects discussed here.

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Rezumat: În acest articol, ne-am propus să descriem câteva aspecte relevante referitoare la fenomenul de reconstrucție sintactică a expresiilor idiomatice în propozițiile relative restrictive. Pe baza testelor de reconstrucție și a rezultatelor/interpretărilor obținute, s-a argumentat în favoarea alegerii celei mai potrivite analize sintactice a propozițiilor relative dintre cele două propuse în literatura de specialitate: analiza deplasării centrului/complementare (HRA, cf. Kayne, 1994, Bianchi, 1999) sau analiza prin adjuncție/identitate a centrului (MA, Sauerland, 2002). Datele analizate din limbile română și engleză cu privire la relativizarea expresiilor idiomatice indică HRA ca analiză corectă: pentru ca expresia idiomatică să fie interpretată în mod corect, centrul nominal al acesteia trebuie reconstruit în interiorul propoziției relative, de unde este ulterior deplasat în propoziția principală. Cu toate acestea, reconstrucția expresiilor idiomatice poate fi explicată și prin adjuncție/MA, adoptând propunerea lui Citko (2001) 'deletion under identity'. Acest tip de derivare/reconstrucție sintactică este mai economică, în spiritul programului minimalist (Chomsky, 1995) și se poate aplica cu mai puține restricții pe date din mai multe limbi.

Restrictive Focus Particles and Clause Peripheries in English, German and Romanian

Nicoleta Sava¹

Abstract: The paper analyzes the syntactic behaviour of restrictive focus particles in English, German and Romanian within the Minimalist Program framework. It discusses the specific syntactic properties of the particles in the three languages concerned particularly the type of syntactic relation between the particle and its associate and the general architecture of the clause. It argues that in all the languages analyzed the particles occupy two distinct positions in the peripheries of the phasal domains proposed in the Minimalist syntax: vP and CP/TP. The main difference between the syntactic configurations of English only and its German and Romanian counterparts *nur* and *numai* is attributed to language-specific constraints, namely strict word-order in English versus the wider use of scrambling in German and Romanian. Scrambling is also used as a diagnostic test for the phase periphery position of *nur* in German.

Keywords: *focus particle, phase, focus associate, clause periphery, scrambling*

1. Introduction and theoretical background

Focus is a complex interface phenomenon and moreover notoriously ambiguous. In this paper we will consider focus to represent prosodic prominence, which will be shown to affect not only phonology, but also the semantic, the syntactic, and the pragmatic component of a sentence. Due to its wide range effects, despite the extensive literature on this subject, there is still a lot of debate concerning its place in the analysis of a sentence as well as the mechanisms behind it and the contribution of the four components to the interpretation. The aim of this paper is to provide a unified analysis of the particles presented accounting for the similarities as well as the differences between them and to show that their particular syntactic behaviour provides evidence for phases.

In this paper we will be concerned mainly with the syntactic effects of focus. The syntactic framework adopted is the Minimalism framework (Chomsky 1995, 2001) and particularly the phase theory. We thus assume

¹ "Ovidius" University, Constanța (nicoleta.sava@gmail.com)

that sentences contain two phases – vP and TP/CP each of which have periphery positions.

Prosodic-syntactic distinction: presentational focus and contrastive focus (adopting the terminology proposed by Drubig (1994, 1997, 2000))

Presentational focus expresses non-presupposed or new material, which is present in every sentence. It is associated with neutral stress, and it is wide or sentential focus. Its domain is the category VP. Presentationally focused material is predicted to occur in situ and to be incorporated into the wider, sentential domain of nuclear scope (Zubizarreta 1998) proposes an account for focus structure in languages which mark the focus structure of a sentence by stress (such as Romanian, Spanish, English) in terms of prosodic prominence. Nuclear Stress Rule: the constituent most deeply embedded is assigned stress)

Contrastive focus operates on a closed set of entities either expressly mentioned or presupposed by the discourse context, restricting it to a subset for which the predicate holds. This type of focus is sub-sentential (or narrow) and is associated with movement to the IP or CP (overt or covert).

2. Restrictive particles in English: only

Several linguists (Rooth 1992; Drubig 1994, 2000; Beaver 2003; Buring 2000; Winkler 1996, 2000; Kiss 1998) noticed the sensitivity of particles such as *only* and *even* in English to the focus structure of the sentence.

This sensitivity is illustrated by examples (1a) and (1b) which are minimal pairs differing only in the placement of the pitch-accent²:

- 1) a. *Mary only introduced SUE to John.*
- b. *Mary only introduced Sue to JOHN.*

but their truth-conditions are different: sentence (1b) would be true in a situation where Mary introduced Sue to John and Ann to John and where no other introductions are made, but sentence (1a) would be false.

Such particles have been labelled focus particles (Drubig 1994, 2000; Winkler 1996, 2000). *Only* has been analyzed as a quantifier-like element operating over a contextually salient set of alternatives restricting it to the unique (or maximal) entity having the property ascribed to it by the remainder of the sentence.

² Throughout the paper stress is marked by capital letters.

- 2) *Sandy only feeds Nutrapup to FIDO.*

Unlike other quantifiers which select a specific type of constituent that they associate with (determiner quantifiers or adverbial quantifiers), as Bayer and Grosu (2000) notice, *only* has underspecified selectional features, which allows it to combine with virtually any type of constituent. The category of the Focus phrase is determined by the category of the focused constituent.

- 3) *[Only MARY]_F knows the truth. – NP*
 4) *I saw her [only ONCE]_F. – AdvP*
 5) *On that occasion they [only TALKED]_F. – VP*
 6) *The products in this store are [only CHEAP]_F, not good too.*

- AP

It follows therefore that, like all quantifiers, it must move to a position in the functional domain of the sentence from where it can take scope.

We will follow Drubig (2000) in assuming that (contrastively) focused phrases in English target two positions: PolP, in the COMP domain, and SigmaP, in the INFL domain.

- 7) [_{PolP} SpecPol ... [_{SigmaP} SpecSigmaP ... VP

SigmaP, is located in the Inflection domain and selects VP as its complement, the nuclear domain of presentational focus, while PolP is located in the Complementizer field and selects TP as its complement. These positions were initially proposed by Laka (1990) as hosting the negative operator (PolP) and other polarity sensitive elements and respectively the negative marker (Sigma P). This will have important consequences on the interaction between Focus and Negation.

The type of polarity morphemes that may occur in the two positions are identical and their semantic interpretations are the same, but they have different scope and the foci they are associated with have different readings: When the focused phrase occurs in Inflection, its complement has an exhaustive reading; when it occurs in Complementizer, its complement is contrastive.

Movement to the lower SigmaP position may take place overtly or covertly.

- 8) a. *She bought [only CABBAGE]_F from the market.*
 b. *She only bought [CABBAGE]_F from the market.*
 c. *[Only CABBAGE]_F did she buy from the market.*

In sentence a. the focused phrase surfaces in situ (the base position of the direct object) while in sentence b. the focus particle moves on its own to a pre-verbal position (SigmaP) stranding the focused constituent, construction which has been labeled VP *only* (Beaver and Clark 2003). In sentence c. the entire focus phrase is fronted to the left-periphery (PolP), triggering subject-auxiliary inversion. While movement to the SigmaP position involves obligatory stranding of the DO in English (9), fronting to PolP requires pied-piping of the focused constituent, that is movement of the entire focus phrase, stranding being disallowed in such a configuration (10).

- 9) **She [only CABBAGE]_F bought from the market.*
10) **Only did she buy [CABBAGE]_F from the market.*

The ungrammaticality of sentence (9) and (10) is accounted for in terms of restrictions on positions available for NP movement in English. Unlike Romance languages for example, English has rigid SVO word order. Movement of the focused constituent to SigmaP would result in SOV word order, which is disallowed in English. Such restrictions do not apply to the focus particle *only*, which enjoys a more relaxed distribution. Similar to other adverbs, it can surface between the auxiliary and the lexical verb.

- 11) *I have never known what to expect from them.*
12) *She could easily answer any question.*

Association of the particle with the focused constituent is still possible since the DO *cabbage* is an argument in the VP which the particle in SigmaP position selects as its complement. Also, no prosodic boundary is crossed. In case of fronting to the left-periphery displacement of the object is obligatory because of intervention effects of the subject. Movement of the DO is possible since PolP is a left-periphery position available for NPs/DPs in English. Notice that if the particle were to move independently of the DO, the sentence would obligatorily acquire a Subject-focus interpretation since, unlike other quantifiers, focus particles have local scope, selecting the closest constituent available. Since the subject is outside the VP domain, it would no longer be possible for the particle to associate with a constituent inside the VP.

- 13) *Only SHE bought cabbage from the market.*
14) **Only she bought CABBAGE from the market.*

As example (13) shows, in case the DO stays in situ the particle in sentence-initial position will have to associate with the subject inducing stress-prominence on the subject. Stressing the DO results in ungrammaticality. The DO can only receive secondary stress in which case the sentence receives a pair reading. With stress on both the subject and the DO, the sentence is interpreting as contrasting pairs of buyers and items bought.

15) *Only JANE bought CABBAGE, LUCY bought APPLES.*

One controversy generated by the semantic analysis of *only* as a quantifier concerns the identification of its restrictor and scope. In fact, as Partee (1998) points out, the focused constituent represents both the restrictor and the nuclear scope of the focus particle, as it limits and delimits its domain.

3. Semantic effects of syntactic positions

The positions of the particle in the syntactic structure of the clause have affect the interpretation of the clause.

- 16) a. *She bought [only CABBAGE]_F from the market.*
b. *She only bought [CABBAGE]_F from the market.*
c. *[Only CABBAGE]_F did she buy from the market.*

Only functions as a quantifier-like element operating over a set of alternatives in all the three examples. But a. and b. are interpreted as an exhaustive identification of the items bought and may occur for example as an answer to the question *What did she buy from the market?* In this case set of possible alternatives on which *only* operates is rather unrestricted and not clearly delineated, the function of *only* being that of excluding everything except cabbage. Example c., however, would be pragmatically appropriate as a contradiction to a previous assertion or belief involving, for example, other things that Mary may have bought on another occasions or things that Mary had planned to buy, in which case the interlocutor has in mind a closed set of alternatives made up of at least one other item that was expected to have been bought. The sentence containing the focused phrase can be followed by an enumeration of the excluded items as a *not* coda.

17) *[Only CABBAGE]_F did she buy, not carrots or potatoes.*

“Spontaneous examples discussed in the literature usually have a reclamatory character and suggest a background in which it has been

already claimed, or at least intimated or assumed, that an alternative value assignment might result in a true sentence” (Drubig 2000:13)

- 18) A: *Jane must have shown up at the party.*
B: *No, only MARY showed up/did.*

Only always induces a set of alternatives, but fronting has the effect of restricting its domain to a closed set of contextually specified choices. It follows that the focus associated with it has a contrastive reading when it is preposed and an exhaustive identification reading when it appears in situ or in the lower SigmaP position.

The relation between the focus and the associated contrast set has been formalized in semantic theories in terms of a background/focus relation or an open proposition containing a variable supplied by the focus constituent. A sentence with a contrastive focus is uttered felicitously if there are alternatives to the focused expressions that could have replaced the focused expression in the given context, but actually did not.

- 19) Sam talked to FRED_F. (but not to Mary, John, Tim, ...)
Background: Sam talked to x.
Focus: Fred

felicity conditions: The sentence is uttered felicitously if there are alternatives to Fred such that Sam might have talked to them.

Rooth (1996) proposes an analysis for *only* where the particle expresses exhaustification. But as Zeevat (2004) notices, the same exhaustification effect can be obtained by narrow focus alone, which would mean that the particle is redundant. Rejecting this possible interpretation, the linguist argues that the semantic effect of *only* is that of strengthening the exhaustification effect of focus introducing the implicature that the proposition is less than the speaker/hearer expected. Zeevat (2008) calls this the mirativity (surprise) effect of *only*. Thus a sentence like (20)

- 20) *I've met only seen John at the party tonight.*

implicates that the speaker (or the hearer if the sentence is uttered in response to a question such as *Whom have you seen at the party tonight?*) expected to see more people at the party. Zeevat call such sentences contrasting utterances or *contrastors*³. Thus example (20) implicates that

³ The notion of *contrastor* in Zeevat's theory is similar to that of *alternative* in Rooth's alternative semantics approach to focus. It is defined as a proposition obtained by replacing

any other contrastors such as *I have seen Steve at the party tonight* are false. Umbach (2004) notices that by exhaustively selecting one element from the set of alternatives on which the focus operates (the domain of focus) a particle like *only* induces contrast. This effect is obtained irrespective of the position of *only* in the sentence, but this type of contrast is weaker than *contrastive focus* under the theory that we have assumed.

4. Restrictive focus particles in German: nur

- 21) a. *Maria stellt nur SUE Tom und Bill vor*
Mary introduces only Sue Tom and Bill prt
'Mary only introduces Tom and Bill to SUE.'

Sentences (21a) and (21b) have the same interpretation: the only person Mary introduces Tom and Bill to is Sue. While *only* in the English sentence is realized in auxiliary position (the position of the auxiliary verb beside the main verb), *nur* in the German sentence follows the verb and directly precedes the focus constituent. "It follows that semantic association with a focus constituent must not exclusively depend on the placement of the focus particle. Put differently, a theory accounting for the interpretation of association with focus has to be purely semantic." (Kleemann 2005: 2)

- 22) a. *Maria stellt Sue nur TOM UND BILL vor*
Mary introduces Sue only Tom and Bill prt
'Mary only introduces TOM AND BILL to Sue.'
b. *weil Maria Sue Tom und Bill nur VORSTELLT*
since Mary Sue Tom and Bill only introduces
'since Mary only INTRODUCES Tom and Bill to Sue.'

"Consequently, a theory capturing association with focus must not act on the assumption that semantic association goes hand in hand with linear order." (Kleemann 2005: 3)

scalar contexts

- 23) *Maria ist nur TeilzeitF -Studentin*
Mary is only part-time-student
intended 'Mary is only a part-time, not a full-time, student.'

the focused constituent with any other element/alternative from the contrast set induced by focus.

The assertion in (23b) implies a scale for hours put in for studying, according to which part-time students are ranked lower than full-time students. The focus particle *nur* implies two things: First, *nur* implies that the property of being a part-time student is ranked lower than the property of being a full-time student. Second, *nur* implies the negation of any higher property, here the property of being a full-time student.

24) a. . . . **dass nur* [*Peter irgendwem einen Streich spielen wollte*]F

. . . *that only Peter someone-DAT a prank play wanted*
 ‘. . . *that Peter only wanted to play a prank on someone.*’

b. . . . *dass nur* [*Peter*]F *irgendwem einen Streich spielen wollte*

. . . *that only Peter someone-DAT a prank play wanted*
 ‘. . . *that only Peter wanted to play a prank on someone.*’

c. . . . *dass Peter nur* [*irgendwem einen Streich spielen wollte*]F

. . . *that Peter only someone-DAT a prank play wanted*
 ‘. . . *that Peter only wanted to play a prank on someone.*’

d. *Peter hat nur kommen*(**nur*) [*wollen*]F

Peter has only come (**only*) *wanted*

‘*Peter only wanted to come, but he didn’t make it.*’

Sentence (24d) shows that *nur* has to precede the verbal complex. Even if *nur* semantically associates with the second verb of the verbal complex, *nur* cannot occur within the verbal complex. Wagner and Jaeger (2003) convincingly show that all constituents in a verbal complex, which cannot undergo scrambling, prevent *nur* from immediately preceding the focussed verb. The question/answer sequence in (25) illustrates that for instance goal PPs cannot undergo scrambling. Sentence (25) is a possible answer for the question: Why don’t you carry the motorbike into the garage?

25) *weil man das Motorrad nur in die Garage*(**nur*) [*fahren kann*

because one the motorbike only in the garage (**only*) *drive*]F
can

intended ‘*The only way to move the motorbike into the garage is to drive it into the garage. It’s not possible to carry it into the garage.*’

In (25) the verb *fahren* ‘drive’ semantically associates with *nur*. However, *nur* cannot immediately precede the verb *fahren* ‘drive’ because the verbal complex also contains the goal PP *in die Garage* ‘into the garage’. The goal PP cannot scramble ‘out of the way’ and forces *nur* to precede the verbal complex. In some cases, *nur* cannot immediately precede the focus constituent for reasons independent of association with focus. In these cases the sentence-wide focus is not an option. (p. 17)

Nur can also follow the verb

- 26) *Why is Peter disappointed?*
a. . . .*weil der Korken nur [zischte]F*
. . . *because the cork only fizzed*
intended ‘The cork just fizzed . . . It didn’t pop.’
b. *Der Korken [zischte]F nur*
the cork fizzed only
intended ‘The cork just fizzed . . . It didn’t pop.’

Context- level *nur*

- 27) a. *Nur[in Sibirien]F schneit es*
only in Siberia snows it
intended ‘It only snows in Siberia and nowhere else.’
b. *Schön und gut, dass du dorthin willst. Nur schneit es in Sibirien.*
Nice and good, that you there want. Only snows it in Siberia.
intended: ‘Fair enough that you want to go to Siberia. The only thing is, it snows in Siberia.’

5. Restrictive particles in Romanian: *numai*

The Romanian Academy Grammar (2005: 301) labels *numai*, along with other focus particles (*doar*, *decât*) and adverbials (*tot*), semi-adverbials or clitic adverbials based on their “limited freedom” (they must always accompany the focused constituent). One of the main differences between *only* and *numai* is the ability of *only* to climb to FocusP in English, stranding the focused constituent.

- 28) *John only introduced [F Sue] to Mary.*

In example 28), although *only* precedes the verb it is interpreted as associated to the noun *Sue*, as a restriction on the set of persons that John

introduced to Mary and not as a restriction on the activities performed by John.

In the Romanian translation of sentence (28) provided below

29) *John numai* [_{Fa} prezentat-o] pe Sue lui Mary.

numai can only be interpreted as having scope over the verb and therefore as a restriction on the type of activities performed by John. This is clearly indicated by the fact that continuing the sentence by specifying any other members of the restriction set for which the proposition does not hold leads to grammaticality in English but ungrammaticality ensues in standard Romanian.

30) *John only introduced* [_FSue] to Mary, not Jane.

31) **John numai* [_{Fa} prezentat-o] pe Sue lui Mary, nu pe Jane.

Thus, the Romanian restrictive particle, just like the German particle *nur*, shows strict adjacency to the focused constituent.

Although *numai* regularly appears accompanied by the focused constituent, when appearing in the second member of a coordination pair and being preceded by the negator *nu*, the focussed constituent may be omitted, provided it is mentioned in the first member of the coordination. The structure has a cumulative interpretation (it extends the extension set), an effect of negating the restriction.

36) *Respectivii au fost internați într-un lagăr la Râmnicul Vilcea, dar nu numai;* (Rădulescu M.)

While *numai* regularly precedes the focused constituent, it may also appear post-posed.

32) *O bucată de cer am numai, dar ce bucată!* (Eminescu M.)

33) *S-a prefăcut numai că nu te observă.* (Holban A.)

34) *Cinci milioane numai!* (Papadat-Bengescu H.)

Numai always appears post-posed with imperative verbs. Assuming the analysis proposed by Isac (2001) for imperatives raising to MoodP in Romanian, the data supports the syntactic structure of the left periphery that we have proposed above, with MoodP higher than PolP.

35) *Închipuiți-vă numai: el vrea să-și bată joc de un autor care într-un mod cam greoi imitează stilul francez de foiletoane [...]* (Maiorescu T.)

While the particle may appear preposed or post-posed, as shown in example (31) above no other constituent may intervene between the particle and its associate in Romanian, preposing the associate being a very local, phrase-internal movement.

Conclusion

The three particles exhibit similar syntactic behaviours, the differences resulting from language-specific restrictions, namely strict word order in English versus a freer order of the constituents in Romanian and German correlated with a wider use of scrambling.

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Rezumat: Lucrarea analizează comportamentul sintactic al particulelor restrictive în engleză, germană și română din perspectivă minimalistă, cu accent pe relația dintre particula de focus și constituenții asociați, pe de o parte, și arhitectura generală a frazei, de pe altă parte. Ipoteza susținută este aceea că în toate limbile analizate particulele ocupă două poziții distincte la periferiile de fază ale domeniilor propuse de sintaxa minimalistă: vP and CP/TP. Principala diferență dintre configurațiile sintactice ale adverbului englez *only* și

corespondenții săi din germană și română, *nur* și *numai*, este determinată de restricțiile specifice fiecărui tip de limbă, din punctul de vedere al topicii: topică fixă în engleză, respectiv topică variabilă, ce permite scrambling-ul în germană și română. Procedul de scrambling este folosit și ca test diagnostic pentru poziția de fază periferică a germanului *nur*.

Perceptualization and Conceptualization. Image Schemas and Their Metaphorical Extensions

Ana- Maria Trantescu¹

Abstract: In cognitive linguistics, meaning is viewed as a cognitive phenomenon based on conventionalized conceptual structures. Our bodily experience of growing up, maturing and interacting in this world provides a basic conceptual framework. Thus, we form fundamental conceptual structures called image schemas which are then used to organize thought across a range of more abstract domains. Image schemas as basic patterns underlie superior cognitive structures, such as metaphors and metonymies. They provide the link between the external, concrete domains and the internal, abstract ones. Our paper focuses on the analysis of these pre-conceptual structures and their metaphorical extensions. These metaphorical extensions are relevant for the connection between perceptualization and conceptualization as main cognitive operations.

Keywords: *experience, perception, conceptual structures, image schemas, metaphorical extensions, polysemy.*

1. Introduction

In cognitive linguistics, meaning is seen as embodied, a cognitive phenomenon based on conceptual structures. Among these conceptual structures, image schemas play an essential role.

The locus classicus of image schema theory is Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) theory of conventional metaphor. Since then, image schema theory has been developed by numerous cognitive linguists: Johnson (1987, 1993), Lakoff (1987), Gibbs (1994) Mandler (1992), Lakoff and Turner (1989), Langacker (1987), Lakoff and Nuñez (2000).

An image schema is defined as a pre-linguistic structure of experience which establishes patterns of understanding and reasoning and motivates conceptual metaphorical correspondences. Image schemas are conceptual structures emerging from our everyday experience of being and acting in the environment we live in. In this process of permanent interactions, of perceiving the world around us, we form basic embodied

¹ University of Craiova (amtrantescu@yahoo.com)

conceptual structures which we further use to organize thought across a range of more abstract domains.

Peter Stockwell (2002: 16) considers image schemas as mental pictures that we use as basic patterns for understanding situations that occur commonly. These bodily, physical, material and concrete pictures of image schemas underlie conceptual metaphors, providing a link between bodily experience and superior cognitive domains such as language (Johnson, 1987).

People generate mental images all the time. In cognitive linguistics, the term image implies perception in all acts of conceptualization. A schema has been defined as a fixed template used to order specific information, while an image has been defined as a representation of specific patterns which can be rendered schematically. Being a composite notion, an image schema is neither fixed nor specific, although it manifests characteristics of each. Many image schemas have topological characteristics, as they constitute spaces sectioned into areas without specifying actual size, shape or material (Oakley, 2007: 216-217).

Image schemas provide important evidence for the claim that abstract reason is a matter of two things: (1) reason is based on bodily experience, and (2) metaphorical projections link concrete domains to abstract ones (Lakoff, 1987: 275). Detailed evidence is provided by Johnson (1987). His argument has four parts:

Image schemas structure our experience preconceptually.

Corresponding image-schematic concepts exist.

There are metaphors mapping image schemas onto abstract domains, preserving their basic logic.

The metaphors are not arbitrary but are themselves motivated by structures inhering in our everyday bodily experience.

The most important types of image schema identified by Mark Johnson (1987) are: Containment Schema, Part-Whole, Link, Center-Periphery, Source-Path-Goal, Point, Surface, Linear Scale, Up-Down, Front-Back, etc.

2. Metaphorical extensions of image schemas

2.1. Containment schema

This schema derives from the perception of our own body as a container and from the experience of being physically located in confined locations like houses, beds, and also of putting objects into containers (Johnson, 1987: 21ff).

The container schema is structurally made up of an INTERIOR, a BOUNDARY and an EXTERIOR and defines the basic distinctions

between IN and OUT (Neagu, 2005: 47). Containers are a kind of disjunction, since elements are either inside or outside the container, and containment is typically transitive: if the container is placed in another container the entity is within both (Saeed, 2011: 309).

Johnson (1987: 22) associates this schema with some entailments:
Containment implies protection against outside forces.
Containment limits forces within the container.
The contained entity is relatively fixed.
Containers may hide or display.

This basic, concrete schema of containment can be extended by a process of metaphorical extension into abstract domains of ontological metaphors.

Ontological metaphors serve the purpose of understanding our experiences in terms of objects and substances. While the basic experiences of human spatial orientations provide an extraordinarily rich basis for understanding concepts in orientational terms, so our experiences with physical objects allow us to view events, activities, emotions, states, ideas as entities, substances and containers.

This kind of metaphors enables us to see more sharply delineated structure where there is very little or none; in other words, undelineated experiences receive a more delineated status via ontological metaphors, and then the experience so conceptualized can be structured further by means of structural metaphors.

Activities are viewed as containers:

He is out of the competition.

Joan put a lot of energy into the project.

Mary is deep in thought.

Various kinds of states may also be conceptualized as containers:

He's in love.

He entered a state of euphoria.

He fell into a depression.

She is in big trouble.

The things are out of control.

The patient is in coma.

The visual field is often conceived as a container, as in examples like:

The group is coming into view.

He is out of my sight now.

The metaphorical extension of the containment schema can be applied in the case of conceptual motivation of body parts idioms. Further

we will present some examples of English head and heart idioms motivated by this cognitive mechanism.

THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER

Probably the most frequent conceptual metaphor which motivates many head idioms is THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER. It has to do with the size and shape of the human head which resembles a container such as a can or a box. Since we know that the head is the seat of intellect and thought, we can say that THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS or THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR IDEAS. A container is used to store things. In the same way, the head is perceived as a container for “depositing” ideas and thoughts of various kinds.

This metaphor is the cognitive vehicle which links the literal meaning with the idiomatic one of the following idioms:

get it into/through somebody's head that ‘to make someone accept your ideas’:

*The doctors **couldn't get it into his head** that he had to keep taking his medicine.*

*How can I **get it through your head** that she's not coming back - ever?*
(LID: 160)

somebody gets it into his/her head that (used in order to say that someone has an idea that is not true):

*Gordon **got it into his head** that Jenny was expecting us to visit her, but I'm sure she wasn't.*

*I **had** somehow **got it into my head** that the exam was next week, and I was in a total panic.* (LID: 160)

to stuff one's head with something:

*They **stuffed his head with** all kinds of stupid ideas.*

to come out of someone's head/mind:

*It simply **came out of my mind**.*

to sort something out in one's head meaning ‘to be able to comprehend something logically’:

*I have **to sort these out in my head**.*

HEART IS A CONTAINER

This conventional metaphor is essential for the conceptualization of heart. Since heart is seen as a seat of emotions, people imagine it as a container storing human positive and negative feelings. Next, we will analyse a few heart idioms motivated by this metaphor.

Straight from the heart is used to show that something was said or done sincerely.

The same explanation is also valid for *from the bottom of one's heart*:

*She welcomed us with friendship and warmth that came **straight from the heart**.*

*I haven't prepared a speech. I want to speak **from the bottom of my heart** and tell you what this town means to me.* (LID: 164)

These phrases are also based on Up-Down image schema and imply a dynamic vision, since movement and direction are involved.

The idiom *in your heart of hearts* refers to someone's deepest and most hidden thoughts and feelings. Here we have a double metaphorical process: the heart is the essence, the core of the entity, but in this case, the entity is the heart itself (Neagu, 2006: 171).

*David encouraged Lucy to apply for a new job, but **in his heart of hearts** he hoped that she would not get it.*

*Why do we keep trying to make more money, when we know **in our heart of hearts** that what we need is something quite different* (LID: 164).

The source domain a very deep container is metaphorically mapped onto the target domain heart.

In English heart is a container in which not only feelings are stored, but also memories:

*He learnt **by heart** all the poems.*

Another relevant example is: *be engraved on/in your heart* 'to remember something that impresses you deeply':

*Although he was very young at the time, the date of his father's funeral **was engraved on his heart**.*

*The image of their son holding up the championship trophy **would be engraved on their memories** forever.* (OID: 102)

In a static view the container may be perceived as open or closed. When it is open we have freely access to someone's feelings. This conceptualization motivates the idioms:

pour out your heart to somebody or open your heart to somebody and unlock one's heart with the idiomatic meaning 'to tell everything you feel or think':

*He **poured out his heart to her** that night, saying that he had no hope for the future.*

*She wept as she **opened her heart** in interviews, admitting the unhappiness of her twenty-year marriage.*

Another idiom motivated by the metaphor THE HEART IS A CONTAINER is *take something to heart* 'to consider something very seriously':

*When you read their comments, don't take them to heart!
Ellen had obviously taken her mother's warning to heart, and was extremely polite to the visitors.*

2.2. The Source-Path-Goal Schema

Bodily experience is essential for understanding this image schema. This schema reflects, according to Johnson (1987), our everyday experience of moving around the world and perceiving the movements of other entities. Our journeys typically have a beginning and an end, a sequence of places on the way and a certain direction. Consequently, the path schema contains a starting point, an end one, i.e. a destination, and a sequence of contiguous locations connecting them.

Saeed (2011: 310) states that this schema has a number of associated implications:

Since A and B are connected by a series of contiguous locations, getting from A and B implies passing through some intermediate points.

Paths are associated with directional movement along them.

There is also a temporal association. People traversing a path take time to do so, points on the path are readily associated with temporal sequence. In conclusion, the further along the path an entity is, the more time has elapsed.

This schema can be metaphorically mapped onto an abstract domain. Purposes are understood in terms of destinations, and achieving a goal is understood as passing along a path from a starting point to an endpoint. Complex events in general are understood in terms of this schema: complex events and activities have initial states (source), a sequence of intermediate stages (path), and a final state (destination) (Lakoff, 1987: 275).

The following examples are relevant:

*I would have liked to finish the project last month, but I got side-tracked.
He intended to make a revolutionary discovery in this field, but he never got there.*

Structural metaphors LIFE IS A JOURNEY and LOVE IS A JOURNEY also derive from this schema.

Lakoff and Turner (1989: 3-4) consider that metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY pervades our ordinary way of thinking and speaking. The two authors also identify systematicity in the mapping between the two domains: LIFE IS A JOURNEY

The person leading a life is a traveller.

His purposes are destinations.

The means used for achieving purposes are routes.

Difficulties in life are impediments to travel.

Counselors are guides.

Progress is the distance travelled.

Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks.

Material resources and talents are provisions.

We use this metaphorical correspondence in our everyday speech:

She has a baby on the way.

The parents gave their kids a good start in life.

My dad is over the hill.

She is at cross-roads in her life.

I'm past it.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 45) argue that we often think and speak of romantic relationships in terms of journey:

Look how far we've come.

We'll just have to go our separate ways.

We can't turn back now.

This relationship isn't going anywhere.

We've gotten off the track.

It's been a long bumpy road.

Their relation is at a standstill.

2.3. Up-Down Schema underlies many orientational metaphors.

Upward orientation tends to be associated with a positive evaluation, while downward orientation with a negative one.

Oriental metaphors are based on our bodily experiences giving concepts a spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, centre-periphery. For example, HAPPY IS UP, SAD IS DOWN can be accounted for by an experiential basis, namely a drooping posture typically goes along with sadness and depression, while an erect posture with a positive emotional state:

I'm feeling up.

My spirits rose.

I'm feeling down.

My spirits sank.

Oriental metaphors have primarily an evaluation function. Since they make a set of target concepts coherent in our conceptual system, Kövecses (2002:36) believes that the term "coherence metaphor" is more in line with the cognitive function these metaphors perform. By 'coherence' he means that certain target concepts tend to be conceptualized in a uniform manner. Thus, concepts like 'happy', 'healthy', 'conscious', 'control', 'virtue',

'rational' are associated with upward orientation, while their opposites receive downward orientation. Here are some examples of spatial or orientational metaphors selected from *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:14-21):

GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN

Things are looking up.

We hit a peak last year, but it's been downhill ever since.

HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN

She is in high spirits.

She's really low.

I'm depressed.

CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN

Wake up!

He fell asleep.

He sank into a coma.

HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN

He is in top shape.

He fell ill.

She came down with the flu.

CONTROL IS UP; LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN

He's on top of the situation.

She is under my control.

VIRTUE IS UP; LACK OF VIRTUE IS DOWN

They are upstanding citizens.

She has high standards.

That was a low thing to do.

However, Lindstromberg (apud Neagu, 2005: 49) considers that down does not always have negative associations. The explanation has again a physical experiential basis. All traditional jobs require people to spend most of their time looking down, working on something at waist level or below:

Let's get down to work.

Put down a few lines, please!

Krzeszowski (1993: 310) discusses an important characteristic shared by all image schemas: the plus/minus parameter, since all of them exhibit a bipolar characteristic of conferring positive or negative associations. In conclusion, all image schemas have euphoric or dysphoric characteristics. These properties are imperative for forming the well-known axiological concepts like: good, true, bad and false.

2.4. Force Schemas

These schemas include the schemas of Compulsion, of Blockage and the schema of Removal of Restraint. They emerge from our experience as we grew as children, of moving around and interacting with animate and inanimate entities. They are considered pre-linguistic conceptual structures which shape many linguistic categories.

In the basic force schema of Compulsion, a force vector acts on a certain entity. The force may be blocked or may continue.

The schema of Blockage consists of a force which meets an obstruction and acts differently: it can be diverted, or it can continue by moving the obstacle or passing through it.

The related schema of Removal of Restraint concerns with the removal of the blockage which allows an exertion of force to continue along a trajectory.

3. Image Schemas and Polysemy

Cognitive linguists consider that grammar is inherently meaningful and that all linguistic structures are parts of Idealized Cognitive Models (Lakoff, 1987: 113-14). Image schemas and their transformations function as structuring principles of the ICM: they glue these complex networks together. ICM and the image schemas that make them possible constitute a fundamental means by which we structure knowledge, then they must also make language possible (Oakley, 2007:218).

Image schemas and their metaphorical extensions have been used in cognitive semantics to explain polysemy, the lexical relation which refers to the capacity of a sign (e.g., a word, phrase, etc.) or signs to have multiple related meanings (sememes), i.e., a large semantic field. It is usually regarded as distinct from homonymy, in which the multiple meanings of a word may be unconnected or unrelated.

Charles Fillmore and Beryl Atkins (2000: 91-110) consider three elements in defining polysemy: (i) the various senses of a polysemous word have a central origin, (ii) the links between these senses form a network, and (iii) understanding the 'inner' one contributes to understanding of the 'outer' one.

Lakoff (1987) uses the term radial category for the pattern produced by the metaphorical extension of meanings from a central origin. We will further analyse two aspects of this phenomenon in English: prepositions and modal verbs.

3.1. Prepositions

The schema of Containment has been used to analyse the polysemy of spatial prepositions in many languages.

On this basis, Herkovits (1986) shows how we can use the preposition in in a number of related but distinct ways:

the water in the vase

the crack in the vase

the crack in the surface

the bird in the tree

the chair in the corner

the nail in the box

the muscles in his leg

the pear in the bowl

the block in the box

the block in the rectangular area

the gap in the border

the bird in the field

The different relations between the container and the entity are relevant. For example, the bird in d. might be inside a hole in the trunk of the tree but it also might be sitting on a branch which is actually inside our projection of the shape of the tree. In l. the bird might be flying above the field. Herkovits states that these uses are better described by seeing them as extensions from a central, ideal containment schema.

According to Saeed (2011: 313) there are two important points to make about this polysemy from a cognitive semantics view: the first is that different real world situations are described in language in a metaphorical way based on an underlying schema of containment. The second point is that the relation between the various meanings is not arbitrary, but systematic and natural. Brugman and Lakoff's (1988) analysis of the preposition over is relevant for the latter point. They claim that the polysemous nature of this and other prepositions cannot be accurately described using the structural model, but requires a spatial approach, based on spatial models.

The two linguists gave a series of examples containing the preposition over:

The plane is flying over the hill.

Sam walked over the hill.

The bird flew over the yard.

The bird flew over the wall.
Sam lives over the hill.
The painting is over the mantel.
The board is over the hole.
She spread the tablecloth over the table.
The city clouded over.
The guard was posted over the hill.
Harry still hasn't gotten over his divorce.

Saeed (2011: 314) discussed the complex structure proposed by Lakoff and Brugman (1988) for the meanings of over. This preposition has a polysemous nature, having a number of related senses, of which we can select three: the above- across sense, the above sense, and the covering sense. Each sense is structured as a radial category with extension from a central prototype. The first sense is described in terms of a Path image schema, implying the term trajectory TR for a moving entity and landmark LM for the background against which movement occurs (for example a. The plane is flying over the hill.). Several other senses can be systematically related to this main schema by adding information to the schema or by metaphorical extension. Thus, the preposition may be used metaphorically in k. Harry still hasn't gotten over his divorce. The cognitive motivation is rendered here by the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, where the problems are seen as obstacles.

The above sense of over is a static one as in f. The painting is over the mantel.

The third sense of over is the covering sense which corresponds to the sentence g. The board is over the hole. Here we also have elements of the Path schema as in h. She spread the tablecloth over the table or i. The city clouded over.

Brugman and Lakoff argue that the first sense group, the above-across sense is the prototypical group for over. The two authors also claim that the processes which extend senses from a central prototype to form a radial category are systematic and widespread. Thus, any Path schema will allow a focus on the end point, as can be seen in the examples:

He walked across the road.
He works across the road.
You go around the corner.
She lives around the corner.

The sentence 1 and 3 support a motion variant and 2 and 4 a stative variant, where the latter identifies the end point or destination of the path.

Dewell (1994: 355) argues that typical accounts of over in cognitive linguistics assume several characteristics, such as the shape of and contact with a landmark, as well as suggesting across and above as separate schemas. Dewell argues that the best linguistic evidence (He jumped over the fence.) shows that the most typical examples of over involve an Arched Path schema, and from it he explains all the uses of over. Across and above are not subschemas of over, but distinct schemas generating grammatical realizations. Dewell builds his analysis around a semi-circular path with an arched arrow partially enclosing a rectangle. Taking his analysis into account, Oakley (2007:232) concludes that graphic conventions of many image schemas represent motion in a straight line as the default prototype, but as Mandler and Dewell claim, motion and path are not prototypically straight.

3.2. Modal verbs

Force schemas are used in cognitive linguistics to analyse the polysemy of modal verbs. Modal verbs have deontic and epistemic values. Saeed (2011: 317-318) describes Talmy's analysis (1985, 1988) of *must*, *may* and *can* and, also Sweetser's approach to *must* and *may*. Talmy uses force schemas to describe the deontic values of these verbs. For instance, *must* in sentence 1. is used for obligation, *may* for permission in 2. and *can* is used for ability in 3.:

1. *You must finish the project as soon as possible.*
2. *You may come in when they leave.*
3. *She can speak French much better than me.*

Talmy analyses these deontic values in terms of forces and barriers. He claims that a typical use of *may* as permission is an example of removing a barrier. Thus, in 2., a potential barrier to coming into the room is identified as being negated.

Sweetser (1990) extends this model of analysis. She argues that the normal use of *may* is when the barrier is a social one.

The deontic *must* can be approached in the same way. For instance, the use of *must* for obligation is an example of the Compulsion Force schema. The cognitive motivation is that it is a conceptual link between someone physically pushing you in a direction and a moral force impelling you to act in a certain way. Sweetser analyses the epistemic use of modals as a metaphorical extension of their deontic uses. Relevant examples are the epistemic use of *must* expressing logical deduction and *may* expressing possibility:

1. *It is very late. He must be at home.*
2. *He may feel sick after taking the medicine.*

Sweetser argues that these epistemic uses of modal verbs for rational argument and judgement are derived from their uses for the real world of social obligation and permission, i.e. from their deontic uses. This is actually a favourite topic in cognitive linguistics: the usual metaphorical extension from the external concrete world to the internal abstract world of cognition and emotion. The epistemic use of *may* represents a lack of barrier. The barrier refers to the line of reasoning. The sentence: *You may be right.* can be paraphrased as: *There is no evidence preventing the conclusion that you are right.* Thus, a parallel is drawn between social barriers and mental ones.

Sweetser explains in a similar way that the epistemic value of *must* is interpreted as the Compulsion Force schema extended to the domain of reasoning. So, the sentence 1. is paraphrased as 2.:

1. *You must have driven too fast.*
2. *The evidence forces my conclusion that you drove too fast.*

Sweetser claims that evidence is conceptualised as a force similar to social pressure and laws, moving one's reason in a certain direction. In conclusion, the linguist considers that the relationship between the deontic and epistemic use of each modal is not casual but a clear example of polysemy: i.e. the different uses are semantically related. What relates them in this cognitive approach is the metaphorical extension of the Force and Barriers schemas from the social reality to our inner reasoning.

Conclusions

Cognitive semanticists claim that our common experience of growing up and interacting in society forms basic conceptual structures which make understanding and language possible. These conceptual structures include pre-linguistic image schemas. In the cognitive approach, image schemas are considered to be experientially based conceptual templates by which we characterize spatial relations, and which are metaphorically extended across a range of domains. They provide the link between the external and concrete to the internal and abstract.

Image schemas structure our embodied experience, and they also structure our non-bodily experience, via metaphor (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 44). These schemas are seen as patterns underlying more abstract cognitive

models such as metaphors and metonymies. Thus, emotions, states and processes are perceived as containers (Are you in love?), logical deduction as compulsion (He must be tired) or purposes as paths (Has she finished the project? She is almost there.) Polysemy is also the result of the extension of such schemas to form radial categories being considered a natural and universal linguistic phenomenon.

All image schemas can be interpreted as dynamic or static, as processes or states, mapping our perceptual spatial experience onto a superior conceptual structure, language itself.

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Rezumat: În lingvistica cognitivă, sensul este văzut ca un fenomen cognitiv bazat pe structuri conceptuale convenționalizate. Experiența noastră direct pe parcursul vieții și interacțiunea cu lumea înconjurătoare oferă cadrul conceptual de bază. Ca urmare, ne formăm structurile conceptuale de bază numite *image schemas*, care sunt apoi utilizate pentru a alcătui un număr mai mare de domenii abstracte. *Image schemas* au la bază structuri cognitive superioare, cum ar fi metaforele și metonimiile. Ele constituie legătura dintre domeniile externe, concrete și cele interne, abstracte. Lucrarea noastră se axează pe analiza acestor structuri preconceptuale și pe extensiile lor metaforice. Acestea din urmă sunt relevante pentru legătura dintre perceptualizare și conceptualizare ca operații cognitive de bază.

