The Science of Linguistics

Papers in honour of Ștefan Oltean

Edited by
Imola-Ágnes Farkas
Adriana Todea

Presa Universitară Clujeană

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FOREWORD

Professor Ștefan Oltean is celebrating his 70th birthday this July. This special anniversary has occasioned this Festschrift, which we dedicate to him as we were both privileged to have him as our university professor, mentor and scientific advisor of our doctoral dissertations, an experience that has had a long-lasting influence on our careers. The contributors to this volume – colleagues, friends, former and present PhD students – have gathered to celebrate this special occasion.

Professor Oltean has promoted current trends in linguistic research such as linguistic generativism, formal semantics and possible world semantics, linguistic pragmatics and linguistic poetics, as well as comparative linguistics, the approaches of which he applied to the analysis of linguistic and discourse phenomena. In formal semantics, possible world semantics and generative grammar, his dedication and enthusiasm have been reflected in both his internationally acknowledged research contributions and the pivotal role he played in introducing these two subjects to the community of philology students and professors in Cluj-Napoca. He is a prestigious member of the research community in these areas of linguistic investigation, where his research contributions as well as his support and guidance to younger members engendered his wide and well-deserved reputation both in Romania and abroad. It is not an understatement that, taking advantage of the unique experience he gained as a visiting professor at Cornell University, Ithaca, he founded and maintained a real school of modern linguistics in the capital of Transylvania.

His linguistic interests cover a wide range of topics, with a primary focus on free indirect discourse, narrative discourse, truth in fiction, the semantics of proper names and fictional names, the semantics of questions and exclamations, and multilingualism. Many of his publications feature the concepts of text and literary style; he has worked on the semantics of adjectives and referential expressions, and he has also made important contributions to the semantics of embedded declarative clauses. All these explain the choice of our title, *The science of linguistics*, which, in a nutshell, reflects Professor Oltean's theoretical and methodological approach to linguistic inquiry as staunchly scientific.

Besides his work as a linguist and especially as a formal semanticist, Professor Oltean has both directly and indirectly contributed to the institutional development of the Faculty of Letters of Babeș-Bolyai University, more generally, and of the Department of English language and literature, more specifically, in the fields of language policies, curriculum, human resources and international cooperation. As member of the board of the European Language Council, he was a major contributor in European research projects, language programs and policies with a view to a better present and future of the multilingual and multicultural societies across the European Union.

We hope that the papers collected in this volume will be of interest to a wider linguistic audience but, more importantly, they represent a token of our appreciation, gratitude and esteem for Professor Oltean as we celebrate a lifetime dedicated to teaching, mentoring, academic research and institutional development in education.

We wish Professor Ștefan Oltean a very happy birthday and many more years of success!

The editors

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“SPREADING THE WORD”: ON THE DIFFUSION OF GULF PIDGIN ARABIC

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ABSTRACT: The paper analyzes the variety of Arabic taught to migrants to the countries of the Arab Gulf, on the basis of a corpus which consists of five websites (Indians in Kuwait 2013, Basic Arabic Lessons 2010–2012, Arabic Words 2013, Pinoy in Saudi Arabia 2016, Kreatif: Belajar bahasa Arab 2013) and an e-book (Ryšlinková 2009). It is shown that the variety of Arabic taught to migrants is actually a minimal pidgin, exhibiting most of the diagnostic features of this developmental stage. The minimal pidgin at issue is identified as being Gulf Pidgin Arabic. Also discussed are the implications for the stabilization of Gulf Pidgin Arabic.
KEYWORDS: Arabic, migrants, Gulf Pidgin Arabic, minimal pidgin, stabilization

1. Introduction

Gulf Pidgin Arabic is spoken by millions of migrant workers in the countries of the Arab Gulf. Its emergence was first reported by Smart (1990). According to Bakker (1995: 27-28), pidgins can be classified in terms of the social situation in which they are used: (i) maritime pidgins; (ii) trade pidgins; (iii) inter-ethnic contact languages; (iv) work force pidgins. In terms of this classification, Gulf Pidgin Arabic appears to have started out as a work force pidgin, used by the multinational crews on oil rigs (Smart 1990: 83), but it now functions as an inter-ethnic contact language (Avram 2018b).

Most of the studies so far are descriptions of the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of Gulf Pidgin Arabic. While many of these focus on Gulf Pidgin Arabic as locally spoken in specific territories, e.g. Saudi Arabia (Gomaa 2007, Al-Moaily 2008, 2013), Kuwait (Salem 2013), Qatar (Bakir 2010), the United Arab Emirates (Yammahi 2008), Oman (Næss 2008, Alma‘ashnī 2016), others highlight commonalities (Avram 2014, 2016a and 2016b). Gulf Pidgin Arabic has also been discussed in a comparative perspective, with reference to other Arabic-lexifier pidgins and creoles (Tosco and Manfredi 2013, Bizri 2014 and 2017, Manfredi and Bizri 2019, Avram 2018b). Relatively little has been written on the sources of Gulf Pidgin Arabic features. Avram (2017a) is an attempt at illustrating the complexities of the feature pool upon which Gulf Pidgin Arabic draws, which includes among others the substratal input, the influence of specific dialects of Gulf Arabic, the Foreigner Talk of Arabic, incipient grammaticalization; it is also shown that some specific features of Gulf Pidgin Arabic may be suggestive of convergence of several possible sources. The potential contribution of Arabic Foreigner Talk in particular is analyzed in Avram (2017b, 2018a).

The present paper focuses on a phenomenon neglected so far and looks into the potential role played by the Arabic taught to would-be migrants to the countries of the Arab Gulf in the diffusion of Gulf Pidgin Arabic. The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 briefly presents the corpus and the methodology. Section 3 describes a number of features of the Arabic taught to migrants. Section 4 discusses the findings and some of their implications.

2. Corpus and methodology

The corpus consists of examples taken from five websites and an e-book. Indians in Kuwait (2013) is a community-run website which provides translations on request from English, for Indian migrant workers in Kuwait. Three others, Basic Arabic Lessons (2010–2012), Arabic Words (2013) and Pinoy[1] in Saudi Arabia (2016), cater to Filipino migrants to Saudi Arabia; these all contain both word lists and sample sentences. Kreatif: Belajar bahasa Arab[2] (2013) targets Indonesian migrants to the United Arab Emirates; it contains exclusively set phrases and sample sentences. Finally, Ryšlinková (2009) is an e-book addressing a readership consisting of Czech medical personnel planning to work in Saudi Arabia; it includes a glossary and dialogues.

In the present paper the focus is on just a number of selected phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical features, attested in some of or in all the sources examined. For reasons of space, the number of examples has been kept at a reasonable minimum.

All examples are reproduced in the orthography used in the sources and include the Saudi Arabic, Kuwaiti Arabic or Emirati Arabic etyma as well as the translation into English. The following abbreviations are used: 1 = first person; 2 = second person; DEF = definite article; E = English; EA = Emirati Arabic; GA = Gulf Arabic; GPA = Gulf Pidgin Arabic; I = Indonesian; KA = Kuwaiti Arabic; NEG = negator; PL = plural; SA = Saudi Arabic; SG = singular; U = Urdu.

3. Arabic taught to migrants

3.1. Phonology

The following examples from the website Indians in Kuwait (2013) illustrate variation in the phonetic realizations of consonants, as inferred from the orthography used:

(1) a. /ʤ/ → [ʤ] ~ [z]
ezzee ~ *eji* ‘to come’ < KA *iǧi*
b. /w/ → [v]
savi ‘to do’ < KA *sawwi*

[1] An informal ethnonym for Filipinos.
[2] Which translates ‘Creative: Learn Arabic’.

The next set of examples is selected from Basic Arabic Lessons (2010–2012), Arabic Words (2013) and Pinoy in Saudi Arabia (2016). Here again the spelling points to variation in the reflexes of the consonants in the Saudi Arabic etyma:

(2) a. /b/ → [b] ~ [v]
*ji**b*** ~ *zi**v*** ‘to give’ < SA *ǧī**b***
b. /z/ → [z] ~ [s]
*la**z**em* ‘never mind’ ~ *la**s**m* ~ *la**s**em* ‘must’ < SA *lā**z**im* ‘necessary’
c. /ʃ/ → [ʃ] ~ [s]
shil ~ *sil* ‘to get, to take off’ < SA *šīl*
d. /ʤ/ → [z] ~ [ʤ]
***j**ib* ~ ***z**iv* ‘to give’ < SA ***ǧ**īb*
e. /ɣ/ → [k] ~ [g] ~ [r]
*sho**k**ol* ~ *su**g**ol* ‘to work’ cf. SA *šu**ġ**ul*; *da**r**t* ‘pressure’ < SA *ḍa**ġ**t*
f. /ḥ/ → [h] ~ ø
*ro**h*** ~ *ro**ø*** ‘to go’ < SA *rū**ḥ***

The same holds for geminate consonants. These occur randomly and regardless of whether they are found (3a) or not (3b) in the etyma:

(3) a. /jj/ → [j]
*sua**i**a* ~ *sha**y**a* ‘a little’ < SA *šwa**yy**a*
b. /l/ → [l] ~ [ll]
*ca**ll**am* ~ *ka**l**am* ‘to talk’ < SA *ka**l**ām* ‘speech’; *shi**l*** ~ *shi**ll*** ‘to get, to take off’ < SA *shī**l***

Considerable variation is also attested with vowels:

(4) ***a**fta* ~ ***e**fta* ~ ***i**fta* ‘to open’ < SA ***i**ftaḥ*

Cases illustrative of variation in the phonetic realization of consonants found in Kreatif: Belajar bahasa Arab (2013) include those reproduced below:

(5) a. /f/ → [f] ~[b]
*ke**f*** ‘how’ cf. EA *kē**f***; *ari**b*** / to know’ < EA *ʕāri**f***
b. /ʃ/ → [ʃ] ~ [s] ~ [sj]
***sh**ugul* ~ ***s**ugul* ‘to work’ < EA *shuġul*; *in**sy**allah* ‘God willing’ < EA *in šā Allāh*

The last series of examples is from Ryšlinková (2009). Consider first variation in the reflexes of various consonants in the Saudi Arabic etyma:[3]

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[3] In the Czech orthography used, <ch> represents [x], <ý> stands for [i:], and <é> renders [e:].

(6) a. /ḍ/ → [d] ~ [z]
*mary̆**d*** 'sick' cf. SA *marī**ḍ***; *nazy̆f* 'clean' cf. SA *na**ḍ**īf*
b. /x/ → [x] ~ [k]
***ch**ubz* 'bread' cf. SA ***ḫ**ubz*; *ta**k**dy̆r* 'narcosis' cf. SA *ta**ḫ**dīr*
c. /ħ/ → [ɦ] ~ [x] ~ ø
*va**h**éd* 'one' cf. SA *wā**ḥ**id*; *ru**ch*** 'to go' cf. SA *ru**ḥ***; *eftaø* 'open!' cf. SA *ifta**ḥ***
d. /w/ → [w] ~ [v]
*gah**w**a* 'coffee' cf. SA *gah**w**a*, *da**w**a* ~ *da**v**a* 'medicine' cf. SA *da**w**a*

Also, geminate consonants alternate with simplex ones, including in forms derived from the same root:

(7) /rr/ → [rr] ~ [r]
*ha**rr*** 'warm' ~ *ha**r**an* 'hot' < SA *ḥa**rr***, *ḥa**rr**ān*

Similarly, long and short reflexes of etymologically long vowels alternate, as shown below:

(8) /e:/ → [e:] ~ [e]
*k**é**f* ~ *k**e**f* 'how' < SA *k**ē**f*

3.2. Morphology and syntax

The following forms from Indians in Kuwait (2013), in (9), and from Basic Arabic Lessons (2010–2012), in (10), illustrate the occurrence of pseudo-reduplication, since the corresponding simplex form (see the etymon), i.e. the base for reduplication, is not attested:

(9) *sava-sava* 'together, with; same' < KA *sawa* 'together'
(10) *jaldi-jaldi* 'quickly' < U *jaldi* 'quick(ly)'

Another feature attested is categorial multifunctionality. The websites Basic Arabic Lessons (2010–2012), Arabic Words (2013) and Pinoy in Saudi Arabia (2016) provide a number of examples. For instance, the same form, derived etymologically from SA *šuġul* 'work', functions as a noun in (11a), but as a verb in (11b):

(11) a. *is* *fi* ***sugol*** *inta*
what FI work 2SG
'What is your job?'
b. *fen* *inta* ***shokol***
where 2SG work
'Where do you work?'

The clearest case of categorial multifunctionality is represented by *fi*. In the two examples reproduced below *fi* functions as a verbal predicate marker:

(12) a. *ana* ***fi*** *rou*
1SG FI go
'I am going.'
b. *inta* ***fi*** *shouf* *tamam*
2SG FI see good
'You will see well.'

The use of *fi* as a predicative copula is also attested:

(13) a. *ma**fi*** *kwais*
NEG-FI good
'[it] is not good'
b. *ma**fi*** *mowjood*
NEG-FI found
'[it is] not found'

Furthermore, *fi* can be used as an existential copula:

(14) *el* *awol* *momken* ***fi*** *moshkila*
DEF first possible FI problem
'In the beginning there may be a problem.'

Finally, *fi* also occurs in predicative possession constructions:

(15) *inta* ***fi*** *sukar?*
2SG FI sugar
'Do you have diabetes?'

The only personal pronouns attested in sample sentences are *ana* / *anna* '1SG' and *eente* / *ente* / *inte* '2SG'. Ryšlinková (2009) is the only source which lists – in the glossary part – the third person singular masculine and feminine as well as the plural forms.

Consider next the forms of verbs. In the sentences on the website Indians in Kuwait (2013), verbs have an invariant form, predominantly derived from the imperative (16) or the imperfective (17):

(16) a. *erja* 'to come back' < KA *irǧaʕ*
b. *gib* 'to give' < KA *ǧīb*
(17) *tabii* ~ *yabii* 'to want' < KA *tabi*, *yabi*

Also found are verbs derived etymologically from nouns:

(18) a. *kalam* ‘to talk’ < KA *kalām*
b. *intedar* ‘to wait’ < KA *intiẓār*

On the websites Basic Arabic Lessons (2010–2012), Arabic Words (2013) and Pinoy in Saudi Arabia (2016), the invariant form of verbs is etymologically derived from a wide range of sources. The majority of the verbs listed are derived from imperatives. A representative sample is given below:

(19) a. *ghum* ‘to stand’ < SA *gūm*
b. *hut* ‘to put’ < SA *ḥuṭṭ*
c. *jib* ‘to give’ < SA *ǧīb*
d. *kalim* ‘to call’ < SA *kallim*
e. *ro ~ roh* ‘to go’ SA *rūḥ*
f. *shouf* ‘to see’ < SA *šūf*

Another source consists of imperfectives. Consider the following examples:

(20) a. *ibga* ‘to want’ < SA *yibġa*
b. *ibki* ‘to cry’ < SA *yibki*
c. *ikallam* ‘to speak’ SA *yikallam*
d. *yabi* ‘to want’ SA *yabi*

Both active participles (21) and passive participles (22) figure among possible sources:

(21) a. *ahlif* ‘to know’ < SA *ʕārif*
b. *fahim* ‘to understand’ < SA *fāhim*
(22) *malom* ‘to know’ < SA *maʕlūm*

Finally, a number of verbs are reflexes of etymological nouns:

(23) a. *kalam* ‘to speak’ < SA *kalām*
b. *shokol ~ sugol* ‘to work’ < SA *šuġul*
c. *sual* ‘to ask’ < SA *suʔāl*
d. *tandif* ‘to clean’< SA *tanḍīf*

Most of the verbs which occur in the sample sentences on the website Kreatif: Belajar bahasa Arab (2013) are derived etymologically from either the imperative, as in (24), or the imperfective, as in (25):

(24) a. *ruh* ‘to go’ < EA *rūḥ*
b. *sawi* ‘to do’ < EA *sawwi*
(25) *abga* < EA *abġa*

Also found are forms derived etymologically from an active participle, in (26), and a noun, in (27):

(26) *arib* 'to know' < EA *ʕārif*
(27) *kalam* 'to speak' < EA *kalām*

As for Ryšlinková (2009), if one disregards the obvious instances of set sentences, verbs also have an invariant form. As shown below, the sources of these invariant forms are the imperative (28), the past participle (29), and nouns (30):

(28) *šuf* 'to see' < SA *šūf*
(29) *malum* 'to know' < SA *maʕlūm*
(30) *haraka* 'to move' < SA *ḥaraka*

Prepositions hardly ever occur. The following is one such rare instance, from the sentences on the website Indians in Kuwait (2013):

(31) *Ente ezzee sava sava* ***bil*** *anna?*
2SG come together with 1SG
'Are you coming with me?'

More often than not, however, prepositions are omitted, as in this example from Basic Arabic Lessons (2010–2010):

(32) *ana shokol hina* ***ø*** *Jeddah*
1SG work here Jeddah
'I work here in Jeddah.'

In the absence of conjunctions and complementizers, both coordination and subordination rely on paratactic structures or the use of adverbs. Consider the following example from the website Pinoy in Saudi Arabia (2016):

(33) *inta elbis nadara, el awol monken fi sudah /moshkilla, baaden ...*
2SG dress glasses DEF first possible FI headache /problem then
talata yum, arbaa yum, inta fi shouf tamam
three day four day 2SG FI see well
'You wear the glasses, at first you may have a headache / problem, then … [after] three days, four days, you will feel better'

3.3. Lexicon

The words occurring on the analyzed websites include several lexical hybrids[4], i.e. lexical items that can be identified across languages, given their phonetic and/or semantic similarities. Consider the following examples from Basic Arabic Lessons (2010–2012) and Kreatif: Belajar bahasa Arab (2013), in (34) and (35) respectively:

(34) *ziv* 'to bring, to give' cf. SA *ǧīb* 'bring!' and E *give*
(35) *mungkin* 'maybe' cf. EA *mumkin* and I *mungkin*

Also attested are instances of reanalysis of morphemic boundaries. Some of them involve two words, not necessarily belonging to the same syntactic phrase, as in the following examples from Indians in Kuwait (2013), in (36) and Ryšlinková (2009), in (37):

(36) a. *bel* / *bil* < KA *bi*, *il* 'DEF'
'in, on, with'
'[I] don't know.'
b. *mayaref*
'[I] don't know' < KA *ma* 'NEG', *yaʕrif*
(37) *Márif* < SA *ma* 'NEG', *ʕārif*
'I don't know'

The most frequently attested cases are formulaic sentences, such as greetings, and other set phrases. The following is a representative sample from Basic Arabic Lessons (2010-2012), Kreatif: Belajar bahasa Arab (2013) and Ryšlinková (2009), in (38), (39) and (40) respectively:

(38) a. *kefalek* / *kheifehalik* < SA *kēf ḥālek*
'How are you?'
b. *Masalker* < SA *masāʔa al-ḫēr*
'Good evening.'
(39) a. *massalamah* < EA *maʕa as-salāma*
'Good bye.'
b. *tisbahail kheir* < EA *tiṣbaḥ ʕalā ḫēr*
'Good night.'
(40) a. *Saba Akchér* < SA *ṣabāḥ al-ḫēr*
'Good morning.'
b. *Šveja da giga* < SA *šwayya* 'a little', *dagīga* 'minute'
'Just a minute'

[4] The term is borrowed from Mühlhäusler (1997: 135).

4. Discussion and conclusion

The data analyzed in section 3 demonstrate that the Arabic taught to migrants in the six sources examined is in fact a pidginized variety of Arabic. It should be stressed that the contributors to or authors of the above sources are unaware of the fact that they speak (and disseminate) a pidginized variety of Arabic. Note that similar cases are reported in the literature on pidgins. Mühlhäusler (1997: 14), for instance, writes that his informants for Papuan Pidgin English and New Guinea Pidgin German claimed that they spoke English and respectively German. Note also that pidginized Arabic has been taught in the past, but avowedly so. Consider the phrasebook by Sandison (1942) for British military personnel in wartime Sudan. The author explicitly cautions the readers that "what follows is NOT Arabic" and specifies that "it is a jargon based on Arabic, which makes possible the communication of simple commands and ideas to Arab speakers"; this is followed by a list summarizing the main differences between Arabic and Pidgin Arabic (Sandison 1942: 1).

The pidginized variety of Arabic taught to migrants exhibits most of the diagnostic features typical of a minimal pidgin, i.e. of the so-called "jargon" stage, suggested by Mühlhäusler (1997: 128-138), supplemented with the criterion of unproductive reduplication[5], as shown in Table 1:

Table 1. ***Arabic taught to migrants as a minimal pidgin***

Features of minimal pidgins	Arabic taught to migrants
inter-speaker variation in phonology	+
categorial multifunctionality	+
unproductive reduplication	+
minimal personal pronoun system	(+)
absence of copula	N.A.
absence of tense and aspect markers	+
absence of prepositions	(+)
coordination with paratactic structures or adverbs	+
absence of complementizers, conjunctions	+
iconic paratactic structures	+
small size of vocabulary	+
semantic extension	N.A.
lexical hybrids	+
circumlocutions	N.A.
reanalysis of morphemic boundaries	+

As shown in Avram (2016b), GPA is also a minimal pidgin. Just like the pidginized Arabic taught to migrants, GPA exhibits most of the features typical of this developmental stage. It is therefore instructive to compare the pidginized

[5] For reasons in support of the addition of this criterion see Avram (2016b: 95). See also Avram (2011).

Arabic taught to migrants and GPA.[6] The comparison is set out below in tabular form:

Table 2. ***Arabic taught to migrants and GPA***

Feature	Arabic taught to migrants	GPA
inter-speaker variation in phonology	+	+
unproductive reduplication	+	+
categorial multifunctionality	+	+
minimal personal pronoun system	(+)	+
absence of definite article	+	+
fi as verbal predicate marker	+	+
fi as a predicative copula	+.	+
fi as an existential copula	+	+
fi in predicative possession constructions	+	+
verb forms derived from imperatives	+	+
verb forms derived from imperfectives	+	+
verb forms derived from active participles	+	+
verb forms derived from passive participles	+	+
verb forms derived from nouns	+	+
absence of tense and aspect markers	+	+
absence of prepositions	(+)	(+)
coordination with paratactic structures or adverbs	+	+
absence of complementizers, conjunctions	+	+
iconic paratactic structures	+	+
small size of vocabulary	+.	+
semantic extension	N.A.	+
lexical hybrids	+	+
circumlocutions	N.A.	+
reanalysis of morphemic boundaries	+	+

As can be seen, the pidginized Arabic taught to migrants and GPA share the overwhelming majority of the features considered. Therefore, it can safely be concluded that the pidginized variety at issue can be identified as being GPA.

Consider finally the implications of these findings for the stabilization of Gulf Pidgin Arabic. As suggested in Avram (2016b: 96), the conjunction of a number of factors have hindered so far GPA from reaching stabilization, the next developmental stage of pidgins identified by Mühlhäusler (1997). One such factor is the constant influx of immigrant workers (Avram 2014, 2017b), of widely diverse linguistic backgrounds, which triggers constant pidginization of Gulf Arabic. Linguistic superdiversity in the countries of the Arab Gulf (Bakir 2010, Avram 2014, 2017b) thus further widens the pool of features on which GPA draws. The typologically diverse substrate languages contribute both to inter-speaker variation in GPA (Avram 2014, 2017a) and to typological inconsistency, e.g. the

[6] The absence of the definite article and of tense and aspect markers has not been discussed in this paper. The various types of *fi* are included among the features, given their high-frequency occurrence in GPA (see Avram 2012).

co-existence of competing word order correlations, conforming to either the VO or the OV type (Avram 2014, Bizri 2014, Avram 2017a).

Another factor is the considerable variation in the extent of exposure to GA (Bakir 2010, Albaqawi and Oakes 2019), e.g. between domestic workers – working individually or as members of smaller groups and oil or construction workers – working as members of large groups, frequently of the same linguistic background. There is also variation in the specific forms of GA to which immigrant workers are exposed. These may correlate with gender and thus account for the occurrence of invariant feminine vs. masculine forms of the verb (Bakir 2010). More recently, Næss (2018) shows that the work environment may account, at least in part, for the fact that invariant forms derived etymologically from imperatives are prevalent in GPA as spoken by female domestic workers, whereas those derived from nouns are more frequently used by migrants in the service sector. In addition, the input includes the Foreigner Talk register of Arabic, whose inconsistency further reinforces variation in GPA, as shown in Avram (2017b and 2018a).

The stabilization of GPA is also hindered by the specific way in which it is acquired. Like other minimal pidgins, GPA is not a "target language" and is rather individually created. Hence, differential "fossilization" of features is expected, i.e. with different "fossilized" features employed by different speakers of GPA (Bakir 2010, Avram 2016a).

To conclude, a further potential factor hindering stabilization of GPA may be added: its unintentional diffusion in various sources, under the guise of Arabic, to would-be migrants to the countries of the Arab Gulf. It should be mentioned that it is admittedly hard, if not downright impossible, to evaluate the actual impact of sources disseminating GPA. However, a possibility which should not be ruled out is that the spread of GPA via such sources also paves the way for consolidation of GPA as a minimal pidgin, thereby hindering its potential stabilization.

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ENGLISH *MAD* MAGAZINE SENTENCES. (BE) INFINITIVES?! I DON'T THINK SO!

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ABSTRACT: In this paper I investigate the syntactic and semantic properties of English *Mad* Magazine sentences. I argue that their echo/quotation part is a subjunctive clause. The special interpretation derives from the modality contributed by the subjunctive in the echo sentence in coalition with the coda. By analogy with parentheticals in free indirect discourse, I argue that the coda c-commands the quotation, turning it into a polar echo question with a negative bias.
KEYWORDS: *Mad* Magazine sentence, English, subjunctive, modal, polar echo question

1. Aim

Previous studies dubbed the responses illustrated by B in (1) "*Mad* magazine sentences" (MMS) (Akmajian 1984), "incredulity response constructions" (Lambrecht 1990), "incredulity small clauses" (Potts and Roeper 2006) or "semi-echoic independent" small clauses (Radford 1988):

(1) A: I hear Bob is writing a linguistics paper.
B: What?! Bob write a linguistics paper?! No way!

More recently, MMSs have been discussed in relation to root infinitives in child language (see, *e.g.* Boser et al. 1992, Hoekstra and Hyams 1998) and have been treated as adult root infinitives (ARI) (Grohmann 2000, Grohmann and Etxepare 2003, Etxpare and Grohmann 2005). According to Grohmann (2000) (henceforth G. 2000), MMSs are exclamative infinitives with a null modal morpheme. Grohmann and Etxepare (2003) (henceforth G&E 2003) and Etxpare and Grohmann (2005) (henceforth E&G 2005), while retaining the exclamative infinitival status of ARIs, abandon the null modal analysis and argue that the modal, irrealis interpretation derives from their tripartite structure: an exclamative operator, the echo and the coda.

In this paper I offer a possible reconciliation of these two approaches. Previewing the results, I argue, in the spirit of G. (2000), that English MMSs have a phonetically unrealized modal morpheme. But I show that they are subjunctive (not infinitival) clauses. The special interpretation derives from the modality contributed by the subjunctive in the echo sentence in coalition with the coda, in the spirit of G&E (2003) and E&G (2005). By analogy with parentheticals in free indirect discourse, I propose that the coda and the echo/quotation form one unit.

Following Giorgi (2014), I assume that syntax includes signals for prosodic patterns and I argue that the coda c-commands the echo, turning it into an echo question with a negative bias.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows: Section 2 offers a description of the main properties of MMSs in English. In Section 3 I briefly present the two previous analyses: the null modal morpheme analysis of G. (2000), and the exclamative operator analysis of G&E (2003) and E&G (2005). I put forth an alternative analysis in Section 4. Section 5 concludes.

2. Main properties of MMSs

MMSs are "used by speakers to express surprise, disbelief, skepticism, scorn, and so on, at some situation or event" (Akmajian 1984: 2). One can identify three distinct ingredients of such responses: special structure, special prosodic pattern and special interpretation.

MMSs include a quotation or an echo part (the sentence in bold uttered by Speaker B in 2), built on a previous sentence: the context/the stimulus sentence (the sentence in bold uttered by Speaker A). The echo sentence is obligatorily followed by a coda: *This can't be true!*, uttered by Speaker B.

(2) Speaker A: I think **Mary is taking Valium**.
Speaker B: Oh, my God... **Mary take Valium?** *This can't be true.*

The speaker repeats only the relevant parts of the context sentence, whose content is evaluated as surprising, unbelievable, impossible, etc., i.e. the surprise is directed at the proposition implied by the preceding discourse. This quotation part has rising intonation and lacks assertoric force.

One outstanding syntactic property of MMSs is the Accusative subject, which is the intonation centre of the echo (Akmajian 1984: 11). It receives focal stress. Weak Accusative pronominal forms are banned from MMSs (see 3b) and so are Nominative subjects (3c) (Akmajian 1984):

(3) a. Him write a linguistics paper?!
b. *Im write a linguistics paper?!
c. *He write a linguistics paper?!

The range of acceptable subjects excludes expletive *there*, anaphoric *it*, *it* with weather verbs, as well as idiom chunks (4) (Akmajian 1984, Zhang 1992). Negative and non-restricted quantifiers can occur as subjects (see 5) (E&G 2005).

(4) a. A: Damn! There's no more chocolate left.
B: What! *There (be) no more chocolate?!
b. A: At last I see the book. It's on the table.
B: Oh? *It be on the table?! I can't believe it.

c. A: Those clouds make it look like it might snow again.
B: What!*It snow again?! Impossible!
d. *The cat be out of the bag?! (Zhang 1992: 525)

(5) a. Nobody write the paper?! No way!
b. Everyone skip the lecture?! No way!

MMSs lack tense and agreement markers (6a) and disallow modals (6b). When they contain a copula verb followed by an Adjective Phrase, a Noun Phrase or a Preposition Phrase, the form of the copula is *be* (7). Acceptability judgments vary, however, with respect to auxiliaries. According to Akmajian (1984), MMSs with the perfective *have* or the progressive *be* are "odd" (8a-b); according to G. (2000), auxiliaries are all excluded (8c). E&G (2003) similarly point out that in English MMSs cannot have a perfect form (8d):

(6) a. *Him gets a job?!
b. *Him might get a job?!

(7) a. What! Bronsky be clever?! Ha!
b. Larry be a doctor?! What a laugh! (Akmajian 1984: 5)

(8) a. ??Him have got a job?!
b. What! Mary (?*be) publishing her memoirs with Grove Press?! (Akmajian 1984: 5)
c. *Martin (did/has/had/is) tell(ing)/told us a funny story?! (G. 2000: 44)
d. *Helmut have won the elections in 1994?! (E&G 2003: 206)

The data above are transparent with respect to why previous analyses treated the English MMSs as reduced non-finite clauses which do not project a Tense Phrase (lack an AUX, Akmajian 1984) or whose Tense Phrase (TP) is deficient (G. 2000, G&E 2003). This is in line with the unavailability of T-oriented adverbs (9). The ungrammaticality of (9) shows that MMSs disallow anchored past time adverbs.

(9) *Bob visit us yesterday?!

Deontic and subject-oriented adverbs are allowed (10) and so are aspectual adverbs (11). Epistemic adverbs, on the other hand, cannot occur in MMSs (12) (G&E 2003, E&G 2005):

(10) a. Peter obligatorily do that?! You must be joking!
b. Me willingly go there?! Who do you think I am?

(11) Bob usually/often go to bed early?! No way!

(12) a. *Mary probably go there?!
b. *Helmut perhaps marry Susan?!
c. *Me frankly buy that?!

Additionally, MMSs ban topicalization (13b), fronted foci (14b) and *wh*-movement (15b) (Akmajian 1984, G. 2000, E&G 2005):

(13) a. Us read that trash novel?!
b. *That trash novel, us read <that trash novel>?! (adapted from Akmajian 1984: 3)
(14) a. Him buy books?!
b. *BOOKS, him buy <books>?!
(15) a. Us read that trash novel?!
b. *What us read <what>?

In terms of interpretation, most studies insisted on the irrealis value of MMSs (Akmajian 1984, G. 2000, G&E 2003). There is consensus that this response type conveys surprise and incredulity (Akmajian 1984, Lambrecht 1990, G&E 2003) as well as with respect to its lack of assertoric force. This is why MMSs license NPIs (G&E 2003):

(16) Me buy anything in that shop?! Never!

3. Previous accounts

G. (2000) puts forth an analysis of MMSs as infinitival exclamatives, i.e. they are non-finite clauses in a root context. He builds his analysis of MMSs on their modal reading (reinforced by their irrealis interpretation), their lack of (full) clausal structure beyond the TP and the deficiency of the latter. At the core of his proposal lies the idea that MMSs contain a null modal morpheme, whose properties may differ across languages but which finally lands in C, irrespective of its properties.

In English (the focus of the present investigation), MMSs are infinitival clauses with a deficient C-layer. The lack of left periphery projections is evidenced by the ban on topicalization, focalization and *wh*-movement (see 13-15 in section 2), syntactic operations which target a position in the C-domain of the clause. G. (2000) adopts Cinque's (1999) hierarchy (given in 17), according to which epistemic/speaker-oriented adverbs occur in a high position. The ban on such adverbs in MMSs (illustrated in 12 in section 2) is interpreted as further evidence that the C-domain is deficient.

(17) [*frankly* Moodspeech act [*fortunately* Moodevaluative [*allegedly* Moodevidential [*probably* Modepistemic [*once* Tpast [*then* Tfuture [*perhaps* Moodirrealis [*necessarily* Modnecessity [*possibly* Modpossibility [*willingly* Modvolitional [*inevitably* Modobligation [*cleverly* Modability/permission [*usually* Asphabitual [...VP (Cinque 1999: 106)

But root modal adverbs, which, according to Cinque (1999), merge in a low ModP, are available. MMSs are analysed as accommodating a low (root) ModP, lower than TP.

(18) $[_{TP}$ $[_{T'}$ T $[_{ModP}$ $[_{Mod'}$ **Mod** [...$[_{vP}$ .....] (Grohmann 2000)

An AspP is also available, given the compatibility with aspect adverbs, which have been argued in the literature to merge in the Specifier of AspP (Cinque 1999). These adverbs precede the lexical verb, indicating that the latter is inside the *v*P. The compatibility of MMSs with such adverbs additionally indicates that they project at least to TP. MMSs accommodate, according to G. (2000), the functional projections in (19):

(19) TP > ModP > AspP > *v*P > VP

The TP of MMSs, as shown in section 2, cannot host auxiliaries, modals or agreement markers and are incompatible with deictic past adverbs. According to G. (2000), such data indicate that the TP of these clauses is deficient.

As can be seen in (10) and (11), aspectual and root modal adverbs precede the lexical verb. But the subject precedes both the adverbs and the lexical verb. According to G. (2000), the fact that the subject is not assigned Nominative case, in conjunction with its position in relation to aspectual and root modal adverbs, indicates that it has moved out of the vP but it landed in a position lower than Spec TP, possibly Spec ModP (G. 2000: 55-56).

(20) $[_{TP}$ T^0 $[_{ModP}$ SUBJECT [modal morpheme]-Mod^0 $[_{vP}$ <SUBJECT> ...]]]
(adapted from G. 2000: 55)

MMSs, as shown in section 2, have modal value. G. (2000) advances the hypothesis that there is an underlying modal morpheme in their structure:

(21) a. Peter (could/might/must/should) kiss Mary?!
b. My boss (could/might/must/should) give me a raise?!
c. Martin (could/might/must/should) tell us a funny story?! (G. 2000: 55)

This modal morpheme merges in ModP, lower than TP. Importantly, this null morpheme is not the equivalent of "a fully inflected auxiliary element" (p. 12), though it merges in the position in which modal verbs merge. G. (2000) adopts a non-standard analysis of (root) modal verbs in English, according to which they first merge in a low ModP, from where they move to T in order to check Tense and where they enter a case-checking relation with the subject, which raises to Spec TP. In MMSs, though, TP cannot accommodate any modal verb because of its deficiency, reflected in its lack of a Specifier and failure to assign Nominative case to the subject, i.e. the modal morpheme does not move to Tense. But it contributes to the modal value of MMSs which are assumed to be exclamatives.

Exclamative clauses have a "complex operator-like feature", [E], in the C-domain (as in 22). E is a strong feature, checked in the derivation by a null modal morpheme which first merges in ModP (like modal verbs) and then moves to C. The result is the irrealis interpretation of MMSs.

(22) [$_{CP}$ 0 [Mod – C^0 [E]] [$_{ModP}$ SUBJECT <Mod> [$_{vP}$ <SUBJECT> V_{inf}…]]]
(G. 2000: 57)

Movement of the null modal morpheme to C licenses the clause type as an infinitival exclamative.

G&E (2003), E&G (2005) follow G. (2000) in assuming that in English MMSs are exclamative infinitival clauses with a deficient TP. They abandon, however, the null modal morpheme account which, they argue, cannot explain the Spanish data. In Spanish, root modals (associated in G. 2000 with the low ModP in which the null modal morpheme merges) are lexical verbs and they can occur in MMSs:

(23) a. Juan poder leer un libro?!
Juan can-INF read-INF a book
'Juan *can/be able to read a book?!'
b. Yo tener que leerme eso?!
I have-INF that read-CL that
'Me *must/have to read that?!' (G&E 2003: 219)

In this case, a MMS with a null modal morpheme should have the same interpretation as its counterpart with an overt modal, a prediction which is not borne out by the data.[1] (24a) shows that the MMS with an overt modal bans deictic past time adverbs whereas the one with an allegedly silent modal does not:

(24) a. *Juan poder leer un libro ayer?!
Juan can-INF read-INF a book yesterday
*'Juan be able to read a book yesterday?!'
b. Juan leer un libro ayer?!
Juan read-INF a book yesterday
*'Juan read a book yesterday?!' (G&E 2003: 219)

In the absence of a silent modal, G&E (2003) derive the modal value of MMSs from the contribution of the coda. Their analysis capitalizes on the tripartite structure of MMSs, both syntactically and semantically: MMSs involve an echo

[1] Notice, however, that the syntax of MMSs can be subject to cross-linguistic variation. The fact that the null modal analysis is challenged by the Spanish data does not straightforwardly lead to the rejection of the analysis for all languages. One possible source of the difference between Spanish and English MMSs can be the different status of root modals in the two languages: lexical vs. functional. But this explanation is challenged by MMSs in Romanian, which have been argued to have a null modal (see, e.g. Avram 2013, 2015) though modal verbs in this language are lexical verbs as in Spanish, and can occur in MMSs.

sentence and a coda which are related by a covert exclamative operator, i.e. the coda and the ARI are structurally related:

(25) operator _ ARI _ coda

Following Zanuttini and Portner (2003), they assume that MMSs, which are exclamatives, have an operator R, which widens the domain of quantification of the event over which they scope; R contrasts a presupposed set of expected situations with the unexpected/incredible one, expressed by the echo part. This unexpected situation is at the end of a scale of events, contributed by the common ground, and the contrast introduced by R induces the surprise/incredulity effect. This quantificational tripartite reading matches a tripartite syntactic structure:

(26) ExclP

‘echo’/ARI Excl’

Excl Coda (from G&E 2003: 223)

4. An alternative analysis

4.1. MMSs as subjunctive clauses

G. (2000), G&E (2003) analyse MMSs as exclamative infinitival constructions. However, nothing in the properties of MMSs which they discuss hinges on the infinitival status of the quotation. In English the bare infinitive is homophonous with the *be* or present subjunctive[2] (the “base form of the verbs”, Quirk et al. 1985: 155) which has modal value. The *be* subjunctive, on a par with the bare infinitive, lacks tense and agreement markers and does not require *do* insertion:

(27) a. They suggest that the prime-minister resign.
b. It is vital that he not delay. (Roberts 1985: 41)
c. It is crucial that the war between Iran and Iraq be settled.
(Matsui 1981 in Radford 2009: 191)

At first sight, the infinitive and the *be* subjunctive are both plausible candidates for the predicate of the echo in MMSs: they have the same form and both can have modal value. In what follows, I will be evaluating the descriptive

[2] Though several linguists do not recognize the existence of a subjunctive mood in contemporary English (see, *e.g.*, Huddleston 1984), some acknowledge at least the existence of subjunctive clauses (Aarts 2012). In this study I adopt the view that the subjunctive still exists in English and I will use the label the “*be* subjunctive”/“*be* subjunctive clause” for the form which is homophonous with the bare infinitive. I avoid the label “present subjunctive” because there is no tense contrast in the subjunctive.

adequacy of an infinitive *vs.* a subjunctive analysis of the echo part in MMSs in English.

One argument in favour of analysing MMSs as non-finite clauses is the lack of agreement and tense markers. As shown above, the *be* subjunctive and the bare infinitive behave similarly in this respect. Moreover, syntactic finiteness is indifferent to overt markers of tense and/or agreement. It is the ability of the TP of assigning Nominative case to the nominal in the canonical subject position which is key to it (Cowper 1992).

One important property of MMSs is that they take an Accusative subject. This has been interpreted as failure of their TP to assign Nominative case to the subject. Fair enough, the analogy with embedded infinitival clauses favours an analysis of MMSs along this line:

(28) a. I saw him dance with Mary.
b. Him dance with Mary?!

On the other hand, only the Accusative pronoun in (28a) has an overt case assigner in the matrix. Irrespective of the case assignment analysis one opts for, the two pronouns in (28a) and (28b) cannot be argued to receive Accusative case in the same manner.

Returning to MMSs, in section 2 it was shown that the subject of the echo bears focal stress (Akmajian 1984). This explains why weak pronominal forms are excluded (see 3b). It also explains the ban on expletive *there* in subject position; expletive *there* is always unstressed.

(29) A: Damn! There's no more beer left.
B: What! *There be no more beer?!

Weather *it* and anaphoric *it* are also incompatible with focal stress positions and, as expected, they cannot occur in MMSs (see 4b-c). It is not implausible to assume that actually an Accusative case pronominal subject does not necessarily signal lack of a Nominative case assigner. The Accusative form could be accounted for in terms of its bearing focal stress. Additionally, as shown by Lambrecht (1990), the subject of MMSs can also occur in sentence final position, as in (30) below, and only constituents which are in a non-argumental position may be freely ordered with respect to one another. This is why Lambrecht (1990) argues that the Accusative pronoun is a topic. Notice, however, that the echo allows negative quantifiers as subjects, as shown in (5), which cannot be topics.

(30) a. What, worry, me?!
b. Give me a raise, my boss?!
c. Wear a tuxedo, him?!// Him wear a tuxedo?! (Lambrecht 1990)

In conjunction with the focal stress which the subject receives, its possible non-argumental status suggests that it may actually surface in the left periphery, in a Focus Phrase (Rizzi 1997). And since in English the Accusative is the unmarked case for pronouns which are not in argumental position (see 31a-b), the Accusative form of pronominal subjects in MMSs is accounted for. That the Accusative DP may not actually occur in the canonical subject position is also supported by the ban on idiom chunks (31c).

(31) a. It was us/*we.
b. Me/*I, I like beans.
c. *Tabs be kept on Mary?! (Zhang 1992: 525)

Huddleston (2002) explains Accusative pronominal subjects in polar questions with bare predication (illustrated in 32) in terms of register: "the echo belongs to relatively informal style, and a personal pronoun subject will thus tend to take accusative case" (p. 890). MMSs also belong to informal style.

(32) A: She's a genius. B.: Her a genius? (Huddleston 2002: 890)

All the data indicate that Accusative pronominal subjects in MMSs should not be interpreted as lack of a Nominative case assigner but as licensed by a coalition of other factors. If my analysis of the subject in MMSs is on the right track, it follows that the clause cannot be non-finite. It also indicates that the C-layer of MMSs has at least a Focus Phrase (defined as in Rizzi's 1997 split-CP representation), which is occupied by the subject.

One more property of MMSs which casts doubt on the infinitival clause analysis is the obligatoriness of an overt subject[3] (33). Infinitives do not impose any condition of overtness on the subject. The *be* subjunctive does (34).

(33) a. What?! ***(BOB)** buy sweet wine?! I don't believe it!
b. *(**PAUL)** not write the music?! He would never agree!
(34) a. They demand that *(the touring company) be here tomorrow.
b. I doubt that *(Peter) buy expensive wine.

MMSs are incompatible with the perfect auxiliary *have*. This auxiliary is absent even when it was used in the context/the stimulus sentence:

(35) A: Bob has resigned.
B: Bob resign?! I can't believe it!

[3] Akmajian (1984) is the only one who argues that the subject may be missing in MMSs (but see Lambrecht 1990 for a discussion on this issue, as well as the data in G&E 2003, E&G 2005).

This property, doubled by the ban on deictic past time adverbs, indicates that the echo in MMSs cannot refer to situations which obtained prior to ST (36). Infinitives, as shown in (37a-b), can occur with the perfect auxiliary *have* as well as with deictic past time adverbs. *Be* subjunctives, on the other hand, do not accept modification to a deictic point in the past (37c).

(36) a. *Bob leave yesterday?! No way!
 b. *Bob have left?! No way!
(37) a. You should have told me yesterday about it.
 b. He claims to have lost his key yesterday.
 c. *They doubt that he have done that yesterday.

Further evidence that the echo in MMSs should be analysed as a subjunctive comes from the special interpretation of this response type. A closer look at the relationship between the stimulus or the context sentence and its echo in the MMS reveals a shift from an indicative to a non-assertive predicate; if the stimulus has a stage-level predicate (as in 38), that will be echoed as an individual-level one. The MMS generally questions the availability of a dispositional property. This is more transparent in languages like German or Romanian, where the speaker can present the subject and the predicate independently, with the equivalent of *and*, signalling "the infelicity of combining them" (Potts and Roeper 2006: 199):

(38) Ich **und** Angst haben?
 I and fear have-INF
 'Me be afraid?' (from Potts and Roeper 2006)

MMSs have some generic or habitual flavour, which explains why specific time adverbs are not available in the echo.

(39) A: Mary is reading a novel by Nicole Krauss.
 B: What?! Mary read novels? This can't be true.

The predicate in the echo denotes a subject-oriented property, which makes it compatible with subject-oriented adverbs and deontic adverbs but incompatible with non-thematic subjects.

Importantly, this shift also signals evaluation on the part of the speaker. The modal value of MMSs derives from the unexpectedness of the situation denoted by the stimulus given the presupposed set of expected situations in the common ground. The common ground includes knowledge about the dispositional properties of the entity denoted by the subject. The echo questions the veridicality of the stimulus, signaling that it is contrary to expectations. The infinitive has an irrealis interpretation but it lacks an evaluative dimension; it does not have a contrary to expectation potential either. The subjunctive, on the other hand, has an evaluative dimension. Its use can be triggered by an evaluative update (Farkas 2003).

(40) a. I doubt he be hurt.[4]
b. No doubt he be looking down on you all.

The data presented in this section support a subjunctive clause analysis[5] of the echo in MMSs. The obligatoriness of an overt subject and the evidence that the subject is Accusative for reasons independent of the failure of the TP to assign Nominative case show that the echo is a finite clause. The comparison of the main properties of the echo in MMSs with those evinced by infinitival and by *be* subjunctive clauses revealed that, actually, it behaves like the latter. Additionally, the evaluative dimension of the echo is found with subjunctive clauses but not with infinitives.

Recall that G. (2000), focusing on the modal value of MMSs, posited a structure with a null modal morpheme, abandoned in the analysis in G&E (2003) and subsequent studies. But, if the analysis of the echo in MMSs as a *be* subjunctive clause is correct, the null modal analysis can be "freely" retained. In an impressive number of studies *be* subjunctive clauses were argued to be finite clauses with a TP whose head hosts a null modal (Roberts 1985, 1987, Potsdam 1997, Haegeman and Guéron 1999, Radford 2009, a.m.o). The *be* subjunctive has been associated with a non-overt modal, the null equivalent of *should* (Roberts 1987, Haegeman and Guéron 1999: 325). Radford (2009), however, suggests, correctly to my mind, that it might be more appropriate to adopt an analysis under which the head of the TP is "an inherently null subjunctive modal" (0_{SUBJ} in 41):

(41) I demand [$_{CP}$ that [$_{TP}$ she [$_{T}$ 0_{SUBJ}] [$_{VP}$ **stay** at home tonight]]]

Evidence in favour of this analysis comes from the availability of a Nominative subject (see 41, for example), the "base form" of the verb (which is the complement of a modal), and the lack of *do*-support. Since the null modal occupies the head of TP, modal verbs and auxiliaries cannot occur in this position; the latter, if present, stay in the VP. For example, they cannot precede the sentential *not* (Potsdam 1997):

(42) a. *It is mandatory that the spectators must stand behind the barricade.
b. *It is imperative that Tom be not punished.

The fact that there is a null modal in T predicts that, in accordance with the VP Ellipsis Licensing Condition, VP ellipsis should be unavailable. And it is:

(43) *Bob needn't be there but it is important that the other students 0.

[4] https://www.fidacernaia.it/top-Latest--Exam.../ECSAv10-pdf/
[5] See Avram (2019) for arguments along the same line.

4.2. MMSs as polar echo questions

So far I have revisited G's (2000) analysis according to which MMSs contain a phonetically unrealized modal morpheme, abandoned in G&E (2003) and E&G (2005). I argued that in English the echo in MMSs is a *be* subjunctive clause, i.e. a finite clause with a null modal morpheme which merges in T.

G. (2000), G&E (2003) and E&G (2005) analyse MMSs as exclamative infinitives. But exclamatives are an assertion; they convey the interpretation that a property is manifested to a high extent (Michaelis and Lambrecht 1996: 238). The echo/quotation part in MMSs is not assertive; it transparently questions the truth of the stimulus sentence. It is the coda which contributes the assertoric force of the MMS (G&E 2003), casting doubt on the availability of the property implied by the situation which the stimulus/the context sentence denotes. A brief comparison of the echo in MMSs to polar echo questions (illustrated in 44a-b) reveals that they evince similar properties.

(44) a. A: She's a genius. B: She's a genius?
b. A: She's a genius. B: Her a genius? (Huddleston 2002: 890)

Huddleston (2002: 890) identifies the following properties of polar echo questions: (i) they repeat a stimulus sentence; (ii) they have rising intonation; (iii) they signal "a request for repetition, or justification" (for what he calls "repetition echo") or clarification (for what he calls "clarification echo"). Besides, pronominal subjects in polar echoes with bare predication "tend to take accusative case". MMSs, as shown earlier, have all these properties, plausibly representing a merger between repetition and clarification echoes. I suggest that MMSs are a subtype of polar echo question rather than exclamatives. Since questions are non-assertive contexts, it comes as no surprise that MMSs license NPIs (as shown in 16).

One important difference, though, between MMSs and polar echo questions is related to their bias. The latter are "biased towards an answer which expresses the same propositional content" as the one expressed in the question (Huddleston 2002: 890). For example, the answer to an echo like the one in (44b) would be "I said/I meant that she is a genius". MMSs are also biased; but their negative bias comes from the coda which signals negative evaluation on the part of the speaker. Following the spirit of the analysis put forth in G&E (2003) and E&G (2005), I assume that the incredulity associated with MMSs is contributed by the coda. This is the part of MMSs which signals explicit doubt at the state of affairs denoted by the stimulus sentence, a state of affairs which does not correspond to the speaker's knowledge or expectations. It disconfirms every alternative introduced by the echo.

(45) a. What, me worry? **Never!**
b. What, Mary in the army? **It can't be!**

And it is this negative coda which yields the whole context non-assertive, evaluative and, as such, it triggers the use of the subjunctive in the echo.

4.3. On the role of the coda

There is a similarity between the relationship between the echo and the coda in MMSs and sentences in free indirect discourse (FID) and parentheticals (Giorgi 2014). In FID the narrator reports the thoughts of a character without resorting to direct quotation or indirect speech (Quirk et al. 1985). In the echo part of a MMS the speaker repeats the sentence uttered by the interlocutor. FID involves change of coordinates (from the character to the narrator) and shifting (tense, pronouns) (Oltean 1993, 1995). Similarly, the echo part in MMSs also involves change of coordinates (from one interlocutor to the other) and shifting (from the indicative to the subjunctive). The use of the subjunctive allows the shift from the realis of the indicative mood in the context sentence to the evaluative nature of the MMS, from the specific episodic nature of the context sentence to the generic indefinite nature of the echo. One property which signals both similarity and difference between the two is related to their evaluative function. The evaluative function of FID can be, according to Oltean (1993:706), "of two different types, depending upon whether the narrator coveys his/her distance from or identification with a character in the representation of the latter's verbal, preverbal, or non-verbal states, namely, irony and empathy." Irony arises when there is "a contrast of values associated with the two positions." In MMSs there is only one type: the echo signals speaker's distance from the prior statement of the interlocutor.

According to Giorgi (2014), in FID the change of coordinates is made possible by the presence of an introducing predicate, which can be expressed in the parenthetical or, when not explicitly expressed, is retrieved from the context. The interpretive properties of parentheticals rely on their prosodic characteristics and the two are mediated by the syntax. Under this analysis, the syntactic structure includes a layer, at the left periphery of the C-layer, which encodes information concerning the parenthetical. Giorgi (2014) follows Kayne (1994) in assuming that linear order reflects asymmetric c-command; a head must intervene between every two maximal projections:

(46) *[XP YP] ⏩ [XP H YP]

She suggests that the comma/the pause which separates the parenthetical from the FID sentence is a head K which projects its own constituent, KP. K is not a complementizer; it is a non-lexical head, a prosodic formative present in the syntax. KP dominates both the host sentence and the parenthetical (there are two intonational breaks). The parenthetical is hierarchically higher[6] (as in 47) and the interpretation of the FID sentence depends on the parenthetical which c-commands it. The actual linear order is derived via topicalization of the FID sentence to the Spec KP.

(47) [$_{\text{KP}}$ K [***thought Winston*** [$_{\text{KP}}$ K [$_{\text{COMP}}$ ...]]]]

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[6] This is in line with Cinque's (2008) view that discourse fragments are organized in hierarchical structure.

(48) $[_{KP}\,[_{COMP}\ldots]_i$ K [***thought Winston*** $[_{KP}$ K $e_i]]]$ (Giorgi 2014)

Importantly, on this analysis, FID sentences are not typical embedded complement clauses introduced by a complementizer; they do not have the syntax typical of subordinate clauses. The introducing predicate, the parenthetical, projects a constituent on the left of the main C-layer. The presence of the KP resets the context coordinates in the C-layer of the FID sentence so that they become ones "pertaining to the internal source".

By analogy, in MMSs, the echo and the coda are both dominated by KP. The coda, I suggest, has the same role as the parenthetical in FID, and it is hierarchically higher. The linear order of the constituents of a MMS is derived via topicalization of the echo sentence to Spec, KP, as in the case of FID:

(49) a. $[_{KP}$ K [**coda** $[_{KP}$ K $[_{COMP}$ echo]]]]

b. $[_{KP}\,[_{COMP}\ldots]_i$ K [***coda*** $[_{KP}$ K $e_i]]]$

(50) a. She should have been here by now, *John thought*.

b. John be here?! *No way.*

The only difference is that in FID parentheticals do not have to be overt, whereas the presence of a coda in MMSs is mandatory.

The MMS is characterized by break intonation, a typical prosodic pattern, and the interpretation of the echo sentence depends on the coda, which c-commands it. The coda is negative, which creates a non-assertive context for the echo and yields the irrealis interpretation. It allows the speaker to make a conversational move which results in overt expression of doubt or disagreement. The negative evaluation of the coda (a meaning compositionally derived from negation, as a non-veridical operator, and the evaluative predicate) signals a contrast between the stimulus sentence and the echo sentence, i.e. an evaluative contrast between the two discourse participants. The polar echo question has a negative bias because it is c-commanded by a negative coda. Evaluativity and negation trigger the use of the subjunctive.

5. Conclusions

In this paper I tried to reconcile two previous approaches to MMSs: G's (2000) analysis of MMSs as exclamative infinitivals with a null modal morpheme whose presence accounts for the modal interpretation of the sentence, and the analysis put forth in G&E (2003) and E&G (2005). According to the latter, the special interpretation of MMSs no longer derives from a null modal morpheme but from their tripartite structure, in which an Exclamative operator links the coda to the echo. I argued that G's (2000) null modal analysis can be maintained if the echo part of MMSs is analysed as a *be* subjunctive, not as an adult root infinitive. In the spirit of G&E (2003) and E&G (2005), I tied the irrealis, incredulity interpretation of MMSs to the relation between the coda and the echo/the quotation part. But I departed from their analysis in treating the echo sentence as a polar echo question, not as an exclamative. By analogy with parentheticals in free indirect discourse (Giorgi 2014), I proposed that the coda c-commands the echo, turning it into a polar echo question with a negative bias.

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CUM TRADUCEM POLITEȚEA? MENTALITATEA JAPONEZĂ ÎN CUVINTE ROMÂNEȘTI

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ABSTRACT: Considerate de mulți ca fiind concepte universale ce guvernează interacțiunile interumane, respectul și politețea sunt definite însă și de caracteristicile culturilor cărora le aparțin indivizii între care se stabilesc relațiile de comunicare. Plecând de la o prezentare contrastivă a reprezentărilor lingvistice ale politeții și respectului în limbile japoneză, română și engleză, lucrarea noastră se focalizează asupra dinamicii utilizării expresiilor de respect și politețe în interacțiunile inter-personale, precum și asupra provocărilor pe care această dinamică le pune în fața traducătorului român de limbă japoneză. Deși în toate cele trei limbi limbajul folosit de interlocutori se modifică odată cu schimbarea diverselor elemente contextuale, în japoneză nu avem de-a face cu un proces unidirecțional (cum ar fi, de exemplu, trecerea de la registrul formal la registrul informal, pe măsură ce relația devine mai apropiată), ci cu o continuă pendulare între stiluri și registre, în cadrul aceleiași relații inter-personale, în funcție de dinamica diverselor elemente ale contextului. Acest fenomen este în deplină concordanță cu principiul fluidității, ce guvernează mentalitatea și cultura japoneză și reprezintă o reală dificultate în traducere.
CUVINTE-CHEIE: politețe, limbajul respectului, traducere japoneză-română, mentalitate fluidă

1. Introducere

A te comporta și a vorbi politicos reprezintă unul dintre indicatorii care marchează trecerea de la stadiul de copil la cel de adult conștient de necesitatea integrării în societatea umană. Dar ce anume înseamnă a te purta civilizat sau a vorbi respectuos? Care sunt trăsăturile definitorii ale comportamentului civilizat și ale adresării politicoase? Cum se teoretizează și cum se cuantifică politețea și respectul? Răspunsurile la aceste întrebări nu sunt deloc simple, întrucât politețea este un concept specific relațiilor interumane, cu toate variabilele pe care o asemenea relație le implică. Indiferent cât de inteligente ar fi alte specii și indiferent câte sarcini și acțiuni ar putea duce la îndeplinire diverse specii de animale, ele nu vor putea niciodată să creeze relații politicoase în raporturile pe care le au. Politețea este un construct uman, creat cu scopuri specifice, care definesc interacțiunea dintre oameni.

2. Politețea – considerații generale

O definire unilaterală a politeții este extrem de dificilă, întrucât în analiza acestui concept sunt luate în considerare atât aspectele socio-culturale caracteristice unei anumite societăți într-un anumit moment, cât și modul în care acestea sunt reflectate în limba vorbită de comunitatea luată în discuție. Definirea politeții este o chestiune care a suscitat un interes crescut de-a lungul timpului. Nu există nici în acest moment o definiție unanim acceptată, dificultatea rezultând atât din complexitatea ariilor pe care acest concept le acoperă, cât și din complexitatea actanților care iau parte la interacțiunea în care actul politicos este pus în practică, dar și din specificitatea culturală ce caracterizează conceptul de politețe. Oricât de tentantă ar fi încercarea de a explica și de a analiza politețea din perspectivă universală, ea nu reușește până la urmă să acopere întreaga paletă de probleme, specificitatea diverselor culturi ridicând în final serioase piedici în explicarea strategiilor de politețe ca fiind universale. Lucrarea de față nu își propune o abordare comprehensivă a politeții, ci insistă asupra aspectelor lingvistice ale exprimării acesteia, focalizându-se pe limbile japoneză, română și engleză. Expresiile politeții nefiind însă exclusiv lingvistice, ci și – sau mai ales – legate de elemente ale contextului extra-lingvistic, ne vom opri ori de câte ori va fi nevoie pentru a explica atât aspectele care țin atât de situația particulară de comunicare, cât și determinarea socio-culturală specifică.

În încercarea de a prezenta provocările care apar în procesul de conceptualizare a politeții, Evelina Dimitrova-Galaczi (Dimitrova-Galaczi 2002) face o trecere în revistă a principalelor definiții date acestui concept de-a lungul timpului. Ne vom referi la acestea în rândurile ce urmează. Robin Lakoff consideră că a fi politicos înseamnă a spune lucrul corect din punct de vedere social[1] (Lakoff 1975: 53), pentru a reduce fricțiunile din interacțiunea personală (Lakoff 1975: 64); în mod similar, Sachiko Ide consideră că politețea se referă la un comportament fără fricțiuni și la folosirea limbii pentru o comunicare fără impedimente (Ide 1989: 22); Penelope Brown consideră că politețea este egală cu a spune și a face lucrurile în așa fel încât să fie luate în considerare sentimentele celeilalte persoane (Brown 1980: 114); pentru Hill et al, politețea este una dintre constrângerile asupra interacțiunii umane, al cărei scop este să ia în considerare sentimentele celorlalți, să stabilească niveluri de confort reciproc și să promoveze relațiile între interlocutori (Hill et al 1986: 349); Fraser și Nolen consideră că a fi politicos înseamnă a respecta regulile relației. Vorbitorul devine nepoliticos doar atunci când încalcă unul sau mai mulți termeni contractuali ai relației (Fraser and Nolen 1981: 96). Pe de o parte, politețea este așadar asociată ideii de atenuare a unui posibil conflict, a unei fricțiuni, a unei amenințări. Pe de altă parte, politețea este văzută ca un factor de susținere a relațiilor interpersonale, susținere care se realizează printr-o comunicare bazată pe raportarea la celălalt.

O distincție importantă în ceea ce privește conceptualizarea politeții vine de la Watts, Ide și Ehrlich (Watts, Ide & Ehrlich 1992), care propun dihotomia politețe

[1] Traducerile citatelor și termenilor ne aparțin.

de prim ordin și politețe de ordin secund. Politețea de ordinul întâi reprezintă noțiunea de politețe ‘de bun simț’ (Watts, Ide & Ehrlich 1992: 3), în timp ce politețea de ordin secund este un termen tehnic utilizat în teoriile legate de comportamentul social și folosirea limbii. Aceeași idee se întâlnește și la Kasper (Kasper 1994), care distinge între politețea ca noțiune comună, desemnând o atitudine socială corespunzătoare și considerație față de ceilalți, și politețea ca un concept pragmatic al modurilor în care este exprimată funcția relațională în acțiunea lingvistică (Kasper 1994: 3206). Janney și Arndt (Janney & Arndt 1992: 24) disting, la rândul lor, între politețe socială, al cărei rol este să ofere strategii pentru coordonararea interacțiunii sociale în situații concrete (politețe de ordinul întâi), și politețe interpersonală (numită și tact), care presupune păstrarea ”feței” și reglarea relațiilor interpersonale (politețe de ordinul al doilea).

În toate teoriile prezentate mai sus, politețea este văzută în strânsă legătură cu aplicarea unor strategii care nu sunt niciodată exclusiv lingvistice. Alegerea uneia sau a alteia dintre strategiile de politețe aparține vorbitorului și este într-o mare măsură influențată de parametrii situației de comunicare și de intențiile vorbitorului. Cu toate acestea, există cazuri în care vorbitorul nu este interesat în mod necesar de beneficiile pe care le-ar putea obține aplicând o anumită strategie de politețe, ci mai degrabă de a se conforma la niște reguli prestabilite de comportament. Acesta este și cazul societății japoneze, de exemplu, unde interlocutorii folosesc expresii politicoase în funcție de convențiile sociale mai degrabă decât de strategiile interacționale (Ide 1989: 223). Politețea este văzută aici nu ca o strategie, ci ca un deictic social.

3. Expresii lingvistice ale politeții și respectului

La nivel lingvistic, în cele trei limbi pe care le avem în vedere identificăm cu ușurință forme și strategii de exprimare a politeții și respectului, însă aria lingvistică pe care acestea o acoperă nu este întotdeauna aceeași.

3.1. Limbile engleză și română

În limba engleză, politețea este adeseori asociată cu exprimarea formală și cu expresiile de considerație. Dacă formalitatea se regăsește de cele mai multe ori la nivelul formulelor de adresare (de exemplu, *Your Honour, Mr. President*), expresiile de considerație nu sunt fixe, ele fiind utilizate pentru a menține bunele relații cu ceilalți (de exemplu, utilizarea verbelor modale). Alte strategii utilizate pentru redarea conceptului de politețe țin de nivelul pragmatic al limbii, incluzând atât strategii negative precum exprimarea ezitantă (*hedging*), exprimarea indirectă sau impersonalizarea locutorului și a interlocutorului, cât și strategii pozitive precum încercarea de a obține acordul interlocutorului, evitarea dezacordului, oferirea de motive, luarea în considerare a interlocutorului etc. (Fukushima & Iwata 1985). Și în limba română întâlnim strategiile de exprimare a politeții prezente în limba engleză, însă româna dispune, pe lângă strategiile ce țin de pragmatica limbii, și de elemente morfologice specializate în exprimarea politeții, precum pronumele de politețe sau forma de persoana a doua plural a verbelor.

3.2. Limba japoneză – formalitatea intersubiectivă

Dintre cele trei limbi la care ne referim, japoneza deține cel mai complex sistem de exprimare a politeții și respectului, sistem care include atât elemente morfologice, cât și lexicale, sintactice și pragmatice. Vom prezenta mai jos, pe scurt, modalitățile de exprimare a respectului și politeții în japoneză, plecând de la mențiunea că ne vom referi doar la ceea ce Emma Tămâianu-Morita numește ”formalitate intersubiectivă”, respectiv acele construcții care au ca termen de raportare ființe umane (Tămâianu-Morita 2004: 208-209). Japoneza dispune și de un set de strategii de exprimare a unei formalități obiective, cu ajutorul cărora discursul capătă o notă de eleganță, care se pot raporta la orice fel de entități, inclusiv non-umane, dar acestea nu fac obiectul lucrării noastre.

Formalitatea intersubiectivă acoperă două arii majore: stilul onorific și stilul umil. Primul vizează interlocutorul și tot ceea ce ține de acesta, în timp ce cel de-al doilea este legat strict de locutor. Locutorul și interlocutorul sunt văzuți în această ecuație prin tot ceea ce ei reprezintă: persoana în sine, acțiunile lor, obiectele pe care le posedă sau le creează, membrii grupului lor etc. Pentru exprimarea celor două stiluri, vorbitorul poate recurge la procedee lexicale sau la procedee morfo-sintactice.

3.2.1. Procedee lexicale

Existența unor echivalente lexicale formale ale cuvintelor ce se regăsesc în uzul comun al limbii reprezintă un fenomen comun celor trei limbi la care ne referim în lucrarea de față. De exemplu, în română întâlnim echivalența *a sta jos – a lua loc*, în engleză avem *to sit (down) – to have a seat*, iar în japoneză întâlnim perechea *suwaru* (a sta jos) – *chakuseki suru* (lit. ”a face așezare”). În general, în limba japoneză, cuvintele de origine chinezească sunt considerate mai formale (și, implicit, mai politicoase) decât echivalentele lor japoneze. Procedeele lexicale la care ne referim în lucrarea noastră nu se subsumează însă acestei categorii de echivalente, ci reprezintă forme lexicale distincte ale anumitor verbe, folosite exclusiv pentru a exprima respectul și politețea. Spre exemplu, pentru verbul ”a mânca”, în japoneză există cuvântul *taberu*, care are un echivalent formal de origine chinezească, *shokuji suru* (aprox. ”a lua masa”), încadrându-se astfel în strategia mai sus-menționată, comună tuturor celor trei limbi. Pe lângă aceasta, există însă două forme distincte ale verbului *taberu*, corespunzătoare limbajului onorific (*meshiagaru*), respectiv limbajului umil (*itadaku*). *Meshiagaru* se folosește exclusiv referitor la acțiunea de a mânca a interlocutorului, în timp ce *itadaku* este folosit exclusiv pentru acțiunea de a mânca a locutorului. În tabelul de mai jos, prezentăm câteva exemple de astfel de forme distincte ale verbelor din japoneză:

Tabel 1. ***Forme onorifice și umile***

Verb (forma 'de dicționar')	**Onorific**	**Umil**
da ("a fi", copulativ)	*de irassharu*	*de gozaimasu*
iru ("a fi, predicativ și auxiliar pentru animate)	*irassharu*	*oru*
aru ("a fi", predicativ și auxiliar pentru inanimate)	-------	*gozaimasu*
suru ("a face")	*nasaru*	*itasu*
iku ("a merge")	*irassharu*	*mairu*
kuru ("a veni")	*irassharu*	*mairu*
iu ("a spune")	*ossharu*	*mousu*
taberu ("a mânca")	*meshiagaru*	*itadaku*
nomu ("a bea")	*meshiagaru*	*itadaku*
shiru ("a ști")	*gozonji desu*	*zonjiru*
miru ("a privi/a vedea")	*goran ni naru*	*haiken suru*

Nu doar verbele prezintă forme lexicale distincte, acestea fiind întâlnite și la substantive. Corespondentele respectuoase pentru membrii familiei interlocutorului sau ai unei alte persoane față de care este necesară exprimarea respectului pot fi amintite drept exemple din această categorie. Pentru propria soție, de exemplu, se vor utiliza cuvinte precum *tsuma, kanai* sau *nyōbō*, în vreme ce cuvinte precum *oku-san* sau *fujin* vor fi utilizate exclusiv pentru soția altei persoane în afară de locutor, fiecare dintre acești termeni având propria nuanță semantică sau restricție de utilizare. *Fujin*, de exemplu, este un termen utilizat pentru referirea la soția unei persoane ce face parte din înalta societate, precum diplomați, politicieni, oameni de afaceri etc.

3.2.2. Procedee morfologice

Pentru indicarea respectului și a politeții, substantivele și adjectivele pot fi prefixate cu prefixele de politețe *o-* sau *go-*. Ca regulă generală, cuvintele autohtone japoneze primesc prefixul *o-*, în timp ce cuvintele de origine chinezească primesc prefixul *go-*. *Kaban* ("geantă") devine *o-kaban* atunci când el se referă la obiectul aparținând persoanei față de care este necesară exprimarea respectului. În mod similar, *wakai* ("tânăr") devine *o-wakai* în aceeași situație.

3.2.3. Procedee morfo-sintactice

Procedeele morfo-sintactice utilizate în limba japoneză pentru a indica stilul onorific includ utilizarea în construcție activă a formei de pasiv a verbului și anumite construcții perifrastice cu verbul *naru* ("a deveni"), în timp ce pentru indicarea stilului umil se utilizează construcții perifrastice cu verbul *suru* ("a face").

Încheiem prezentarea procedeelor de exprimare a formalității intersubiective în japoneză cu un exemplu prin care dorim să ilustrăm modul în care nivelul politicos și nivelul respectuos se pot combina[2], rezultând structuri care pot deveni reale provocări în traducere. Astfel, pentru a exprima conținutul propoziției ”Profesorul a venit”, în limba japoneză avem la dispoziție următoarele opțiuni:

(1) a. *Sensei ga* *kita*.
profesor-NOMINATIV a veni-INFORMAL-TRECUT
b. *Sensei ga* *kimashita*.
profesor-NOMINATIV a veni-POLITICOS-TRECUT
c. *Sensei ga* *irasshatta*.
profesor-NOMINATIV a veni-RESPECTUOS-TRECUT
d. *Sensei ga* *irasshaimashita.*
profesor-NOMINATIV a veni-RESPECTUOS-POLITICOS-TRECUT

Dacă pentru exemplul (a) am putea utiliza un echivalent de tipul ”A venit profu’” (cu mențiunea că, în limba română, registrul colocvial este marcat la substantiv și nu la verb, ca în japoneză), exemplul (b) ar putea fi tradus prin ”Profesorul a venit”, păstrând nuanța politicoasă. În exemplele (c) și (d), pe lângă nuanța de politețe trebuie adăugată și cea de respect, o posibilă soluție fiind ”Domnul profesor a venit” pentru exemplul (c), respectiv ”Domnul profesor a sosit”, pentru exemplul (d). Firește, nu întotdeauna limbile română sau engleză vor dispune de elemente lingvistice care să redea cu fidelitate conținutul din japoneză.

Sintetizând strategiile lingvistice de exprimare a politeții și respectului, prezentăm în Tabelul 2 nivelurile acoperite de acestea în fiecare dintre cele trei limbi de lucru. Nu am inclus în tabel nivelul pragmatic al limbii, scopul nostru în această etapă fiind să identificăm ariile unde există forme proprii pentru exprimarea politeții și a respectului. Prin ”forme proprii” înțelegem forme utilizate exclusiv pentru indicarea politeții sau a respectului, în timp ce ”forme multifuncționale” se referă la elemente lingvistice unde aceeași formă are funcții multiple, una dintre ele fiind aceea de a marca politețea/respectul.

Tabel 2. ***Strategii lingvistice de exprimare a politeții/respectului și nivelurile limbii***

	Nivel morfologic		**Nivel lexical**		**Nivel sintactic**	
	Forme proprii	Forme multifuncționale	Forme proprii	Forme multifuncționale	Forme proprii	Forme multifuncționale
Engleză	-	-	X	X	-	-
Română	X	X	X	X	-	-
Japoneză	X	X	X	X	X	-

La nivel morfologic, formele proprii de exprimare a politeții și respectului sunt în general pronume personale specializate – pronumele personal de politețe în limba română, respectiv anumite forme ale pronumelor din limba japoneză (de

[2] În limba japoneză există trei registre de politețe: informal/colocvial, standard/politicos și respectuos. Registrele politicos și respectuos reprezintă astfel niveluri diferite de politețe, ele putând fi folosite separat sau împreună.

exemplu, *watakushi*, care este un pronume personal de persoana întâi cu grad înalt de formalitate, fiind utilizat împreună cu forme ale limbajului umil). Am considerat forme cu funcționare multiplă persoana a doua plural a verbelor din limba română, respectiv forma de pasiv utilizată în construcție activă în limbajul onorific în japoneză. La nivel lexical, în engleză și în română regăsim formulele de adresare de tipul *Your Excellency/Excelența voastră*, utilizate exclusiv pentru marcarea deferenței, în vreme ce în japoneză includem în această categorie, de exemplu, termenii referitori la membrii familiei altei persoane. Nivelul sintactic este cel la care doar în japoneză există forme utilizate exclusiv pentru marcarea politeții și a respectului – construcțiile perifrastice pentru limbajul umil (cu verbul *suru* (a face)) și pentru limbajul onorific (cu verbul *naru* (a deveni)). În limba japoneză, putem vorbi despre o marcare a politeții chiar și la nivelul unităților fonologice suprasegmentale. În vorbirea femeilor, de exemplu, o tonalitate înaltă a vocii este considerată mai politicoasă decât una joasă, fiind adesea preferată în situații de comunicare profesională.

4. Dinamica utilizării expresiilor de politețe

Utilizarea expresiilor de politețe se face pe o scală graduală, existând diverse grade de politețe. Brown și Levinson (1987) vorbesc despre trei variabile sociologice la care vorbitorii recurg în alegerea gradului de politețe:

1. distanța socială dintre vorbitor și interlocutor
2. puterea relativă a vorbitorului asupra interlocutorului
3. ierarhizarea absolută a impunerilor/obligațiilor într-o cultură particulară

Cu cât distanța socială între interlocutori este mai mare, cu atât este mai mare gradul de politețe ce se așteaptă din partea lor. Cu cât puterea relativă (percepută) a interlocutorului față de vorbitor este mai mare, cu atât mai mare trebuie să fie gradul de politețe exprimat. Cu cât impunerea asupra interlocutorului este mai mare (de exemplu, cu cât este mai mare favoarea cerută), cu atât mai mare va trebui să fie și gradul de politețe.

Regulile de mai sus se aplică, fără doar și poate, atât în engleză, cât și în română sau în japoneză. Cu toate acestea, în limba japoneză întâlnim o mult mai mare fluiditate în utilizarea expresiilor politicoase, în sensul că discursul locutorilor se va alinia continuu la schimbările ce apar în context, indiferent dacă vorbim despre un context restrâns, cum ar fi situația concretă de comunicare, sau de un context mai larg, cum ar fi situația socială. Subtilele modificări ce pot apărea în relația dintre cei doi interlocutori vor fi imediat captate și în modul de exprimare, lucru care nu se întâmplă cu o la fel de mare acuratețe în română sau în engleză. Rolul contextului în alegerea modalității de exprimare este mult mai mare în japoneză decât în cele două limbi europene, limba japoneză fiind extrem de sensibilă la schimbările contextuale. Asistăm nu o dată la pendulări între stiluri, uneori în cadrul aceleiași conversații, în funcție de distanța psihologică care ia naștere între cei doi participanți, în condițiile în care distanța socială rămâne aceeași. Pentru traducătorul de limbă japoneză, aceste mișcări continue între stiluri și registre reprezintă dificultăți cărora nu întotdeauna li se pot găsi soluții satisfăcătoare.

Pentru a exemplifica cele spuse mai sus, ne vom referi la câteva fragmente din romanul ”Suspine tandre” al scriitoarei japoneze Yoko Ogawa, apărut în traducerea noastră la Editura Humanitas în anul 2018. Protagonista principală a romanului este Ruriko, o artistă de caligrafie occidentală care, hotărându-se să își părăsească soțul violent, se retrage în liniștea unei păduri unde îl întâlnește pe domnul Nitta, un fabricant de clavecine, și pe asistenta acestuia, Kaoru. Între Ruriko și domnul Nitta se naște o poveste de iubire, peste care însă plutește mereu imaginea lui Kaoru, căci între aceasta și domnul Nitta există o relație mai profundă decât cea cu Ruriko, în ciuda naturii ei platonice. Ne vom opri mai jos la câteva momente semnificative pentru relația lui Ruriko cu domnul Nitta, privind cu atenție la modul în care cei doi se adresează unul altuia și în care folosesc formulele de politețe.

Prima întâlnire dintre cei doi are loc în atelierul domnului Nitta, unde Ruriko vine pentru a-i mulțumi lui Kaoru pentru un gest amabil pe care aceasta îl făcuse cu o seară înainte. Aflată în fața unui instrument muzical pe care nu îl poate identifica, Ruriko îl aude pe domnul Nitta în spatele ei spunându-i că este vorba de un clavecin, după care acesta continuă:

(2) a. *Gozonji deshita ka.*
a ști/a cunoaște-RESPECTUOS- POLITICOS-INTEROGATIV
”Știați?”

Conversația dintre cei doi continuă folosindu-se exclusiv forme ce marchează atât politețea, cât și respectul (cum ar fi auxiliarul *irassharu*, utilizat la stilul politicos), deloc surprinzător pentru un prim dialog între două persoane adulte care nu s-au cunoscut anterior. Pe măsură ce relația avansează, gradul de politețe scade de ambele părți, cei doi folosind fie forme unde este marcată doar politețea, fie forme ale limbajului respectului, dar la stilul colocvial. Un episod semnificativ este cel în care domnul Nitta și Ruriko intră în scorbura unui ulm, loc în care cei doi pot să își deschidă sufletele, cerând și dând răspunsuri pe care în spațiile convenționale nu găsesc puterea să le rostească cu voce tare. Dialogul din scorbură începe într-un stil care încă mai marchează distanța psihologică dintre ei, prin folosirea formelor de limbaj al respectului, dar fără marcarea politeții:

(2) b. *Tokidoki, irassharu no*?
uneori a veni-RESPECTUOS-PREZENT-INTEROGATIV
”Veniți uneori aici?”

Pe măsură ce trece timpul petrecut în acest spațiu care anulează distanțele fizice și psihologice, formele utilizate devin din ce în ce mai colocviale:

(2) c. *[…] chembaro wo* *hiku n* *desu ka*.
clavecin-ACUZATIV a cânta-NOMINALIZATOR a fi (copulativ)-POLITICOS-INTEROGATIV
”Cântați la clavecin?”

Structura ”~ *n desu*” se atașează formei scurte a verbelor și reprezintă echivalentul din vorbire al structurii modalizatoare ”*no desu*”, utilizată aici pentru a indica interesul, curiozitatea și a cere explicații.

(2) d. *Anata ha* *hitori* *ja nakatta*.
tu-TEMĂ singur a fi (copulativ)-COLOCVIAL-NEGATIV-TRECUT
”Nu erai singur”
e. *Kotaete.* *Onegai.*
a răspunde-IMPERATIV-COLOCVIAL a ruga-IMPERATIV-COLOCVIAL (elipsă verbală)
”Răspunde-mi! Te rog!”

Dialogul din scorbură reflectă fidel ștergerea distanței psihologice dintre cei doi, pornind de la forme în care sunt încă marcate fie respectul, fie politețea (dar nu ambele în același timp, cum se întâmpla în conversația de la prima întâlnire a celor doi) și terminând cu forme colocviale, de registru informal. Până în acest punct, deși mai nuanțate, strategiile sunt similare cu cele din limbile română sau engleză, unde întâlnim aceeași dinamică, de reducere a gradului de politețe pe măsură ce distanța dintre cei doi protagoniști se reduce. Diferențele apar însă în momentul în care cei doi protagoniști, implicați deja într-o relație romantică, se găsesc în ipostaze care implică impunerea unei distanțe psihologice, lucru care se reflectă imediat în limbaj. În prezența lui Kaoru, de exemplu, discutând despre subiecte neutre, cei doi folosesc forme politicoase/standard unul cu celălalt. Mai mult, pentru a-și cere scuze față de Ruriko, domnul Nitta folosește limbajul respectului, cu forme umile, deși natura relației dintre ei ar fi permis utilizarea formelor colocviale. Din momentul în care Ruriko începe să simtă că relația sa cu domnul Nitta nu va atinge niciodată gradul de apropiere pe care acesta îl are cu Kaoru, apropiere care vine din pasiunea comună pentru clavecine și muzica acestora, limbajul lor va reîncepe să devină din ce în ce mai formal și mai politicos, chiar și în conversațiile particulare, la care iau parte doar ei doi. Reîncep să apară formele politicoase (*Samuku arimasen ka/Nu vă este frig?*, unde verbul arimasen (a fi-copulativ) este utilizat la forma politicoasă/standard) și, treptat, chiar cele în care se combină marcarea respectului cu marcarea politeții (*Gozonji arimasen ka/Nu știți?*, unde sintagma *gozonji arimasen* reprezintă forma onorifică negativă a verbului ”a ști”), cu precădere atunci când referenții conversației sunt ei înșiși, acțiunile și sentimentele lor. Se marchează astfel distanțarea tot mai mare care apare între ei.

Dificultatea de care ne-am lovit în traducerea textului din limba japoneză a constat tocmai în imposibilitatea de a reda, în limba română - și cu atât mai puțin am fi putut să o facem în engleză - a acestei reveniri la exprimarea politicoasă, cu un grad destul de ridicat de formalitate, odată ce se ajunsese la stilul colocvial, mai ales că, cel puțin la suprafață, relația dintre cei doi nu se schimbă, ei continuându-și aventura romantică. Am optat pentru a păstra până la final stilul colocvial în conversațiile celor doi, pentru că o revenire la exprimarea politicoasă ce implica utilizarea persoanei a doua plural și, eventual, a pronumelor de politețe, ar fi fost extrem de nefirească în limba română.

O altă provocare a traducerii formelor de respect a constituit-o modul în care Ruriko se referă la domnul Nitta pe tot parcursul romanului. Acesta este numit *Nitta-san*, fără excepție, unde -*san* este un sufix ce se atașează numelor proprii pentru a denota respectul față de persoana în cauză, un echivalent la îndemână în limba română fiind ”domnul” sau ”doamna”. Utilizarea sufixului personal -*san* de către Ruriko, chiar și în propriul dialog interior, ne-a ridicat câteva semne de întrebare în momentul traducerii, căci gradul de intimitate pe care relația celor doi îl atinge la un moment dat ar fi cerut folosirea prenumelui sau a altor formule mai colocviale, însă acestea nu ne-au fost oferite de textul japonez, așa încât am păstrat sintagma ”domnul Nitta” pentru a desemna personajul principal masculin, indiferent de tipul de context. Această observație nu se aplică și la situațiile în care Ruriko i se adresează direct domnului Nitta, în aceste cazuri ea folosind termeni de adresare adecvați contextului.

5. Concluzii

Exprimarea politeții și a respectului într-o anumită limbă reprezintă un proces complex, ce aduce împreună elemente lingvistice, paralingvistice și extra-lingvistice, un rol important jucându-l și determinarea culturală a personajelor implicate. În cazul concret al celor trei limbi la care ne referim, japoneza este cea care dispune de cel mai complex sistem lingvistic de exprimare a respectului, acoperind toate nivelurile limbii și aflându-se în concordanță cu principiile culturale generale ce guvernează mentalitatea niponă. Una dintre caracteristicile principale ale spațiului cultural japonez este ideea de fluiditate, în care granița care separă lucrurile nu este una clară și precisă, acestea nefiind percepute neapărat ca entități distincte una de cealaltă – așa cum se întâmplă în culturile de tip occidental –, ci ca părți constitutive ale unui continuum în care deplasarea nu este una unidirecțională, ci una de tip spirală, fiind oricând posibile reveniri în același punct. Acest tip de mentalitate se regăsește adesea reflectat și în structura și utilizarea limbii, iar exprimarea politeții și a respectului nu face excepție de la regulă. Revenirea la utilizarea limbajului respectului chiar și după ce relația celor doi interlocutori atinge un grad ridicat de familiaritate poate fi explicată în această cheie.

Provocările traducătorului aflat în fața unui text japonez își au adesea originea în dificultatea de a găsi modalități de expresie care să rămână fidele acestei fluidități a mentalului nipon, dar care să nu intre totuși în contradicție cu modul dihotomic în care este organizată gândirea occidentală.

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SUMMARY: Considered by many as universal concepts governing human interactions, respect and politeness are also defined by the characteristics of the cultures to which the individuals involved in communication belong. Starting from a contrastive presentation of the linguistic representations of respect and politeness in Japanese, Romanian and English, our paper focuses on the actual use of expressions of respect and politeness in inter-personal interactions, as well as on the challenges that the dynamics of said use brings to the Romanian translator of Japanese texts. Although in all the three languages mentioned above, the selection of the expressions used by the interlocutors is made in accordance with the changes that occur in the context, in Japanese the process is not uni-directional (such as, for example, switching from formal to informal language as the relationship between the interlocutors becomes closer), but we witness a continuous oscillation between styles and registers within the same inter-personal relationship, closely following the dynamics of the various elements of the context. This phenomenon reflects the principle of *fluidity* - which governs the Japanese mentality and culture - and it represents a real difficulty in translation.

KEYWORDS: politeness, respect language, Japanese-Romanian translation, fluid mentality

THE USE-MENTION DISTINCTION AND THE FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURE OF PROPER NAMES*

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ABSTRACT: Against the commonly accepted view that proper names (=PNs) denote unique individuals, being expressions of type <e>, it has sometimes been proposed (e.g. Matushansky 2002) that the naming construction with verbs like *name, baptize*, etc. offers a clear example where PNs are used as *predicates*, with <e, t> denotation. The aim of the paper is to propose a different analysis claiming that PNs in the naming construction continue to be rigid designators, but they undergo reference shift, designating the *name* itself, rather than the bearer of the name. In classical terms, in the naming construction, PNs are mentioned, rather than used.
KEYWORDS: proper names, descriptive names, classifiers, use and mention, naming constructions

1. Aim and assumptions

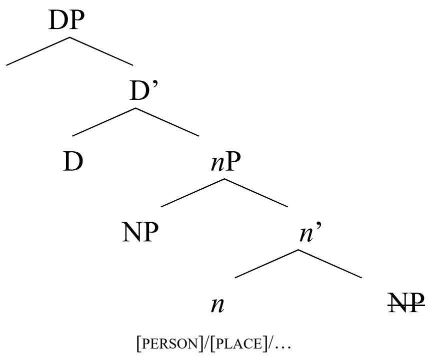
This short paper unsurprisingly deals with proper names. We have chosen this topic hoping that it would catch Professor Oltean's interest and that he would take pleasure in reading it. As is well known, proper names have represented a fascinating topic for Professor Oltean, a topic to which he devoted a long series of excellent works (e.g. Oltean 2009, 2013, 2016). By and large, he adopts an externalist position on proper names at times favouring Kaplan's (1978) theory of direct reference, which basically claims, in a Russellian line, that proper names contribute to truth conditions only the individual they denote, since they have no descriptive meaning: "Thus, proper names of individuals are *non-descriptive, rigid designators*, *whose meaning lies exclusively in their denotation* [italics ours, AC&AT]. As such, their contribution to the semantic content of the sentence are the individuals they denote, and not descriptive contents" (Oltean 2013: 377). Given the logico-philosophical tradition he is following, Professor Oltean considers proper names "as unstructured linguistic expressions, with no descriptive content or inherent meaning" (Oltean 2013: 371).

The perspective adopted in our paper is narrowly syntactic and, thus internalist. We attempt to show that proper names are syntactically structured but this does not prevent them from being arguments with rigid designation. Consequently, we concentrate on the functional structure of proper names (=PNs) bringing to bear two sets of data: the structure of *descriptive* names and, especially, the syntax and interpretation of verbs of naming and nomination in Romanian.

Probably the most important contribution to the syntax of PNs is Longobardi's (1994) claim that PNs are DPs universally (cf. also Borer 2005) and that they overtly or covertly raise to D. This follows from the proposal that D is the locus of reference, and nominals with <e> denotation, therefore PNs in the first place, have a filled D position at least at LF, if not earlier. Borer (2005) reformulates this analysis claiming that PNs have an inherent <definite-unique> feature, which the PN checks by Move or Agree, against a matching [+def(inite)] feature in D. Thus, N-to-D, in languages that have it, is triggered by the PN's need to check a [definite-unique] feature and/or also a grammatical [Person] feature in D (cf. Longobardi 2006). In languages that do not have N-to-D, the PN checks its feature(s) by Agree (the case of English, Borer 2005).

We propose that the *functional structure of PNs includes* not only a D [+def, φ, +Person], but also *a qualitative classifier*. This proposal reflects the intuition that a correct understanding of the PN requires an understanding of *the kind of entity* named by the PN. In other words, PNs are categorized. Syntactically, this qualitative classifier should also be viewed as a *nominalizer* (cf. Kihm 2005), a *word class marker* which shows that its complement is an NP. The classifier thus appears as a small *n*, the counterpart of small *v*.

(1)



The idea that PNs connote the type of entity they are associated with has been put forth before. For instance, Karttunen & Peters (1979) claim that a name like *John* denotes an individual, and *conventionally implicates* that *the individual* is *human* and *male*. The suggestion to employ classifiers in order to specify the kind of entity denoted by the PN is directly supported by languages which use classifiers to designate types of entities, such as Manjaku, analysed in Kihm (2005: 474). A root like √*lik* (draw water) may be classified in different ways, choosing different nominalizing affixes, like *pë- /m- /ka-* respectively forming *pë-lik* (well), *m-lik* (water) and *ka-lik* (fruit-juice). These examples show that the classifying element has descriptive content, designating a kind of thing. What we propose is that *classifiers also operate on PNs*, specifying the kind of entity that bears the name. We view the classifying *n* head as containing a strong interpretable PERSON/PLACE/OTHER? feature usually checked by the PN itself, as in (1).

The distinction between the [PERSON]/[PLACE]/[OTHER?] classifiers is required, because many languages have specific patterns for forming person PNs, as opposed to place or other PNs, knowledge of these patterns is part of anyone's I-language. As will be seen, the assumption that there is a small *n* classifying PNs as to the entity they denote proves to be helpful in solving thorny descriptive and theoretical problems.

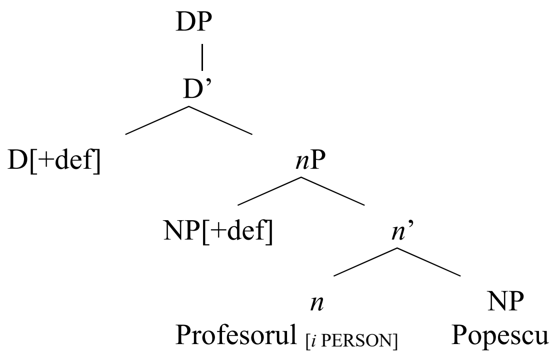
2. Descriptive names

A central set of data to be considered is that of *"descriptive proper names"* or *complex PNs* (cf. Soames 2002). These are PNs made up of a common noun + PN. The descriptive noun designates a social role (kinship, profession, institutional role), a sort of place (city, street, river, village, etc.) or some other entity (a theatre, a planet, etc.).

(2) *Profesorul Ionescu* 'professor.the Ionescu'; *Regina Elizabeta* 'queen.the Elisabeth'; *Mătuşa Tamara* 'aunt.the Tamara'; *Prinţul Carol* 'prince.the Charles'; *Oraşul Iaşi* 'city.the Iaşi'; *Strada Paris* 'street.the Paris' etc.

The syntactic analysis of descriptive PNs is problematic. It has sometimes been suggested that they are appositive constructions, rather than complex PNs. English, however, clearly shows their PN status, by the conspicuous absence of the definite article: *Prince Charles*, etc. The hypothesis of a classifier in the functional structure of PNs provides a natural analysis for descriptive PNs, since the classifier is practically visible in their structure. Intuitively, the common name has a classifying role, indicating the kind of entity the PN denotes, as in *Professor Smith*. While for simple PNs, the PN itself checks the classifier feature, by Move or Agree, for descriptive PNs, the descriptive common noun merges as the specifier of the nominal-class head, since the feature of this *n*-head is one of the features of the common noun. With descriptive PNs the *silent classifier head is overt*. The structure of a Romanian descriptive PN is as in (3). Apparently in (3), the PN itself is too low to check [+def, +φ + person], so it is the definite descriptive classifier that takes over the checking of definiteness.

(3)



Demonstrably, in descriptive PNs, the PN is not part of an appositive structure. Appositive modification has always been described as DP-, in opposition with, NP- modification (cf. Potts 2005); in other words, both the modifier and the modifyee should be DPs, as in: *They admire the author of this play, the best known English writer.//They admire the best known English writer, the author of this play.* Notice now that the PN in the descriptive name construction is an NP not a DP. This is shown by the impossibility of replacing PNs by pronouns in this construction. Recall that pronouns are always categorized as DPs.

(4) a. Profesorul Popescu
professor.the Popescu

b. *Profesorul el
professor.the he

Importantly, in true appositive constructions involving PNs, PNs *are* interchangeable with pronouns, and are thus analyzable as syntactic DPs.

(5) a. Brancuşi românul
Brancuşi Romanian.the

b. el românul
he Romanian.the

The descriptive nouns acting as classifiers could be viewed as *semi-lexical categories* (as in Löbel 2002) with the following properties: they become *relational* requiring a complement; they are *not referential*, since in a phrase like *domnul Popescu*, there is only one referent, that of the PN. The descriptive term may be abbreviated, a linguistic signal of functional elements; this is a common practice for classifying titles: *D-na Pop* (*Doamna Pop* 'Mrs. Pop'), *Dr. Ionescu* (*Doctorul Ionescu*), etc.

When, furthermore, a NumP is also projected in (3), the PN is reanalyzed as a common countable noun, in examples like (6).

(6) un profesor/mulţi profesori Ionescu (a professor/many professors Ionescu)

The classifier is thus descriptively helpful for various aspects of PN syntax. The suggestion that PNs are always classified regarding the entity they denote will lead to a new analysis of verbs of naming. These verbs represent a challenge for PN theories, since with these verbs PNs do not have their regular person/place denotation.

3. Verbs of naming and nomination. An instance of mention

Along the years, there have been attempts to unify the analysis of common names and proper names, in spite of their ultimately different attempts. Some linguists, like Matushansky (2002), basically treat PNs like common names, claiming that both are predicates, i.e. expressions of type <e, t>. The referential use of PNs is derived in syntax.

The opposite position is to claim that PNs are uniquely referring expressions, always DPs, with the syntax of covert or overt definite descriptions. One problem for this position is represented by predicative uses of PNs in the naming construction. In this section we propose an analysis of the naming construction, which is consistent with the view that PNs are rigid designators in this construction as well.

3.1. Matushansky's analysis

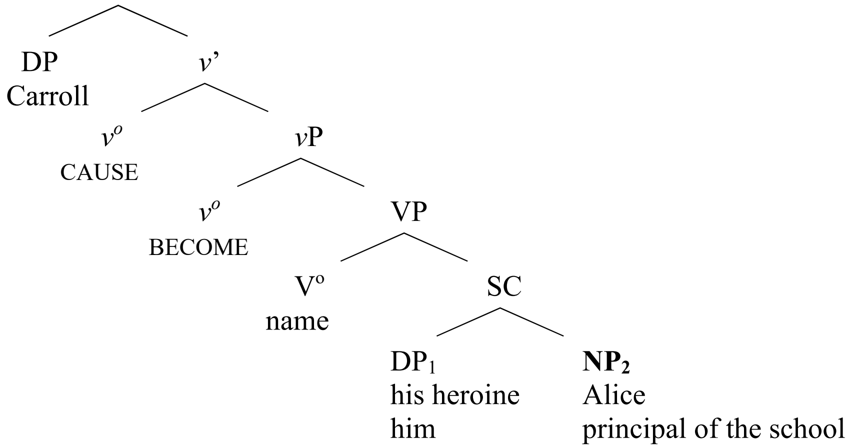
An important result in the analysis of verbs of naming and of PNs is due to Matushansky (2002). Essentially, she claims that in the naming construction, PNs are **NPs**, and have *predicate* denotations. The *referential use* of PNs is *constructed in syntax* by combining PNs with indexical articles. In their referential use PNs are **DPs** and semantically they are assimilated to *definite descriptions*. In this analysis PNs are like common names. They may be predicates and then they are NPs, or they may be arguments and then they are referentially used definite DPs.

Matushansky discusses the *predicative use of PNs* on the basis of constructions with verbs of naming and verbs of nomination. In her view, verbs of naming (*name*, *christen*, etc.) form a uniform class with verbs of nomination (*name*, *appoint*, *vote*, etc.), and project an *invariant structure across languages*. Since verbs of nomination are ECM[1] verbs (Stowell 1991) and form a natural class with verbs of naming, the latter will also be assumed to take small clause complements (as in (7c), from Matushansky 2002), whose subject is raised. The PN in the naming construction and the function-designating noun in the nomination construction are the *predicates* of these small clauses. The predicative role of the PN in the naming construction is fully supported by its syntactic properties regarding interrogation, anaphora, case-marking and absence of the definite article in languages with pre-proprial articles. Such tests go to show that in these constructions, *PNs are not arguments*, but *predicates*. Moreover, the *predicative* PN is analysed as *internally simple*, i.e., it is an NP (not a DP), and as such it must be interpreted as a predicate ((7c) is the analysis of the PN in (7a), Matushansky 2002: 9).

(7) a. Carroll named his heroine *Alice*. (verb of naming)
b. Carroll named him *principal of the school.* (verb of nomination)

[1] Exceptional case-marking (ECM) is a phenomenon whereby the subject of an embedded verb in the infinitive shows up in a superordinate clause. ECM is licensed by certain verbs known as *raising-to-object* verbs.

c.



(8) [[Alice]] = $\lambda x \in D_e$. λR. x is **a** referent of [Alice] by virtue of the naming convention R of the community

According to the semantic analysis in (8), in predicate position, the name Alice simply denotes **one** referent of the name Alice, a referent possible by virtue of the naming convention R established in the community (Kripke 1980, Evans 1982, Soames 2002). Matushansky (op. cit.) argues that, given their properties and meaning, PNs *have the same syntax as common names*, and enter the derivation as *semantic predicates*.

In argument positions, PNs are *internally complex*, necessarily having a *definite article in their structure*. The article is *not an expletive*, but secures uniqueness of the referent for the speaker and hearer, as well as rigidity. The presence of the article explains why PNs are indexical and definite. As a consequence, while predicative PNs are *NPs* and *predicates*, argumental PNs always represent definite *DPs*, and are disguised or overt *definite descriptions*. The English name *Alice* in (9) contains an *indexical definite article*, present at LF, but not at PF, and is analyzed as in (10). The naming convention holds between the speaker and the hearer, since the article is indexical.

(9) Alice is a sweet girl.

(10) [[~~the~~ Alice]] = λx . x is a referent of [Alice] by virtue of the *naming convention in force between the speaker$_c$ and the hearer$_c$.*

Depending on syntactic, morphological and language specific properties, the definite article is pronounced in some languages (Greek, Portuguese) and "absorbed", i.e. silent in others (English, French), although it is always present at LF. In conclusion, Matushansky (2002) achieves a semantic and syntactic unification of common nouns and PNs: both enter syntax as predicates, both need

D in order to achieve uniqueness of reference. This is an elegant linguistic defense of the *descriptive theory of PNs*, in the variant recently proposed by Geurts (1997).

3.2. A counterproposal

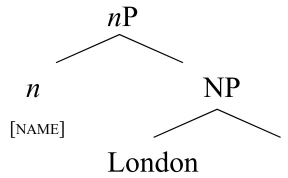
Despite its elegance, the analysis above faces descriptive problems and has unwelcome consequences for the theory of PNs, in as much as it forces the descriptive theory of PNs, i.e. the view that PNs are (disguised) descriptions. (For arguments against Geurts' variant of the description theory of PNs, see Abbot 2002).

On the basis of a detailed analysis of verbs of naming and nomination in Romanian, we propose a different account of the naming construction. We claim that *in the naming construction PNs are instances of mention*, rather than *use*, i.e. they are employed as in (11b), rather than (11a) (see Devitt & Sterelny 1999).

(11) a. London is a city. b. "London" has six letters.

The function of the PN in (11b) is *meta-linguistic*. This is why the PN does not have its regular unique-place denotation. The mention function will be signaled by the *presence of a* [NAME] *classifier* in the structure of the PN. In this analysis the PN is still referential, but it denotes a name that has six letters. Therefore, the difference between the two uses of the PN in (11) lies in the nominal classifier at work, [PLACE] vs. [NAME]. Classifiers thus mark the formal difference between use and mention.

(12)



Matushansky is surely right that in the naming construction, PNs do not have their expected reference and that they represent part of the predicate. However, the characteristic of PNs in the naming construction is not simply their predicative function, but the fact that they represent instances of *mention* rather than *use*.

If successful, this analysis has the following desirable results. First, it offers a good empirical coverage of the syntax of (Romanian) verbs of naming and nomination. Secondly, it allows PNs to be referential expressions, even when they are part of the syntactic predicate. It is simply the case that when they are instances of mention, PNs *rigidly designate the name itself*. The analysis we propose is thus compatible with the classical view of PNs as constants (rigid designators), rather than disguised definite descriptions.

4. The grammar of Romanian verbs of naming and verbs of nomination

Romanian verbs of naming and nomination (listed in (13)), like their English counterparts, are ECM verbs and take small-clause complements.

(13) a. *Verbs of naming:* a numi 'name, baptize', boteza 'baptize', chema 'call', a porecli 'nickname', a striga 'call', a se autointitula ' self-style'

b. *Verbs of nomination*: a numi 'name, appoint', a mirui/unge 'anoint', a aclama 'acclaim', a alege 'choose', a încorona 'crown', a înscăuna 'enthrone', a declara 'declare', a desemna 'designate', a eticheta 'label', a face 'make', a delega 'deputy', învesti 'pronounce', a nominaliza 'nominate', a proclama 'proclaim', a vota 'vote'

Also, just as in English, plenty of evidence supports the claim that the PN with verbs of naming, as well as the function-denoting noun in the case of verbs of nomination are *part of the small clause's predicate*. Beyond these similarities, however, Romanian shows systematic differences between these verb classes, regarding the internal structure of the small clause and other properties. Specifically, the small clause of *naming* verbs suggests that PNs are *mentioned* rather than used in this construction.

4.1. The proper name is a syntactic predicate

Case marking provides important evidence that the PN is predicative in the naming construction. In Romanian, the predicate of the small clause case-agrees with the subject, so that both are Nominative (e.g. in root copulative constructions) or both are Acc(usative) in ECM constructions. However, the two Acc are different. The subject of the small clause is assigned structural Acc, by the ECM verb. In contrast, the PN/function-designating noun appears in what has been called an *inherent Acc* case (Cornilescu 1995). DPs in the inherent Acc do not passivize. PNs and function-designating nouns with naming and nomination verbs confirm this expectation and do not passivize, contrasting with the subject of the small clauses, assigned structural Acc, which does passivize.

(14) a.	*L-au*	*botezat*	*pe*	*copil*	*Ion*.
	him.ACC-have.they	christened	DOM	child	Ion
	'They have christened the child John.'				
b.	*Copilul* *a*	*fost*	*botezat*	*Ion.*	
	child.the has	been	christened	Ion.	
	'The child has been christened John.'				
c.	**Ion* *(l)-a*	*fost*	*botezat*	*pe*	*copil.*
	Ion him.ACC-has been		christened	DOM	child.
	'*John has been christened the child.'				
(15) a.	*(L)-au*	*numit*	*pe*	*Ion*	*preşedinte*.
	him.ACC-have.they	named	DOM	Ion	president
	'They have appointed John president.'				

b. *Ion a fost numit preşedinte.*
Ion has been named president.
'John has been appointed president.'
c. **Preşedinte (l)-a fost numit pe Ion.*
president him-have.they been named DOM Ion.
'*President has been appointed John.'

Romanian is a differential object marking language, where nouns denoting people may or must receive the preposition *pe* 'on, towards' in the Acc, if they are arguments and have <e>-type readings. In particular, the use of *pe* 'on, towards' is *obligatory* with argumental PNs. Nouns assigned inherent Acc cannot receive *pe*, even if they denote persons or are PNs. Expectedly, neither PNs nor function-denoting names can receive *pe* 'on, towards'; this confirms that they are not used as arguments:

(16) a. **Au botezat copilul pe Ion.*
have.they christened child.the DOM Ion
'*They have christened the child on/towards John.'
b. **Au ales profesorul pe preşedinte.*
have.they elected professor.the DOM president
'*They have elected the professor on/towards president.'

Thus, case supplies considerable evidence that for both types of verbs the PN/ the function designating nominal is not an argument, but is (part of) the predicative.

Interrogation and anaphora phenomena also prove that NP_2 in (7c) is not an argument. But in Romanian the two verb classes sharply differ with respect to both interrogation and anaphora, in ways which suggest that the internal structure of the small clause is not the same. With both types of verbs, the subject of the small clause is questioned by (*pe*) *cine* 'whom', while the predicative is treated differently. When the PN is questioned in the naming construction, the suitable interrogative must be the manner adverb *cum* 'how', never *cine* 'who' or *ce* 'what'. In contrast, the function-denoting name in the nomination construction is questioned by *ce* 'what', never *cine* 'who' or *cum* 'how'.

(17) a. *L-au botezat pe fiul lor Cezar.*
him.ACC-have.they christened DOM son.the their Caesar
'They christend their son Caesar.'
b. ***Cum/*(pe)cine/*ce*** *l-au botezat pe fiul lor?*
how/*whom/*what him.ACC-have.they christened DOM son.the theirs
'What did they christen their son?'
(18) a. *L-au numit pe Ion preşedinte.*
him.ACC-have.they appointed DOM Ion president.
'They appointed Ion president.'

b. ***Ce/*cine/*cum*** *l-au* *numit* *pe* *Ion?*
what/*who/*how him.ACC-have.they appointed DOM Ion
'What did they appoint John?'

Since *cum* 'how' and *ce* 'what' are never interchangeable, it follows that the syntactic category of the predicative is different with the two types of verbs. It is an NP, replaced by *ce* 'what' with verbs of nomination, but a PP/AdvP, replaced by *cum* 'how' with verbs of naming. The two verb classes select different categories of small clauses, PPs for verbs of naming and DPs (or NPs?) for verbs of nomination.

As to anaphora, the PN in the naming construction, in fact, the predicative PP containing the PN, is anaphorically referred to only by the adverbial pro-forms *aşa*, 'so' and *astfel* 'so, thus'. In contrast, the function-designating NP in the nomination construction is anaphorically replaced by the neuter demonstrative *asta* 'this'/*aia* 'that', which are DPs.

(19) a. *L-au* *botezat* *pe* *Ion* *aşa/astfel/*asta*
him.ACC-have.they christened DOM Ion so/thus/*this
după *bunicul* *său.*
after grandfather.the his
'They christened Ion/ thus/*so/*thus after his grandfather.'
b. *Pe* *Ion* *l-au* *ales* *preşedinte/* *asta/*aşa/*astfel.*
DOM Ion him.ACC-have.they elected president this/*so/*thus
'They have elected Ion president/ this.'

Conclusions so far: 1. Both type of verbs select small clauses. The subject of the small clause gets structural Acc by ECM. The second nominal gets inherent Acc by agreement with the subject. Structurally, the small clause appears to be a PP with verbs of naming and a DP with verbs of nomination. More data will reinforce these conclusions.

4.2. The alternative overt PP construction

The suggestion that the predicative of naming verbs is a PP is reinforced by the fact that with *all* Romanian verbs of naming, the PN alternates with a PP where the PN *must* be preceded by the common noun *nume* 'name' introduced by the Prep **cu** 'with': *cu + nume + PN*. The obligatory occurrence of *nume* 'name' in the alternative PP pattern is significant. It strongly suggests that in the naming construction the PN is *mentioned*, *i*.e. as Kaplan (1964) was saying, the PN has *syntactic reference.* At the same time, the presence of a PP node, rather than DP/NP node in predicative position is in keeping with questioning by *cum* 'how' and substitution by the adverbs *aşa* 'so'/*astfel* 'so, thus'. All verbs alternate with the Prep *cu* 'with', some also alternate with *pe* 'on' + nume + PN.

(20) a. *L-au* *numit/ botezat* ***Ion****/* ***cu numele*** ***Ion***.
him.ACC-have.they christened Ion/ with name.the Ion
b. *Îl* *cheamă/ strigă* ***cu numele*** ***Ion****/* ***pe numele*** ***Ion***.
him.ACC call with name.the Ion/ on name.the Ion
c. *L-au* *poreclit* ***cu*** ***o poreclă*** ***ciudată***.
him.ACC-have.they nicknamed with a nickname strange

An interesting facet of the naming construction is the fact that the predicative PP of naming verbs may be replaced by a *qualifying adverb*. The adverb does *not* refer to the properties of the *naming ceremonial event*. Instead, the adverb corresponds to an adjective that characterizes the noun *nume* 'name', and indirectly the PN given in the naming ceremony. The adverbial construction, which refers to metalinguistic properties of the name (sonority, origin), is further proof that in the naming construction, PNs are instances of *mention*, not *use*, since the noun *nume* 'name' is implicit, even when it is not overt.

(21) *L-au* *botezat* ***foarte frumos*** ***/cu un*** ***nume***
him.ACC-have.they christened very beautifully /with a name
foarte ***frumos****/* *aşa.*
very beautiful/ so
'They gave him a beautiful name.'
(22) *Îl* *cheamă* ***foarte ciudat****: Artur//* ***cu un nume foarte ciudat****: Artur*.
him.ACC call very strangely: Artur// with a name very strange: Artur
'They call him by a strange name: Artur.'

Finally, notice that there are cognate naming constructions, which unlike the naming verbs themselves, use either only the PN, but not the classifier construction, or the other way round. Thus, in Romanian, there are dative constructions with verbs of saying used as naming verbs; the DP that corresponds to the small clause subject appears in the Dative, the alternative PP structure is either not available, or awkward, but the question phrase is again *cum* 'how', and the anaphoric construction also uses *aşa*.

(23) a. *Lumea* ***îi*** *zice* ***Ion/*** ****cu numele*** ***Ion***
people him.DAT call Ion/ *with name.the Ion
*/?? **pe*** ***numele*** ***Ion***
/?? DOM name.the Ion.
'People call him Ion/*by the name Ion.'
b. ***Cum*** ***îi*** *zice* *lumea?*
how him.DAT say people.the
'What do people call him?'
c. ***Aşa*** ***îi*** *zice* *lumea.*
so him.DAT say people.the.
'People call him this.'

Secondly, light verbs like *a da* 'give', *a pune* 'put' are also frequently used to report naming events. With these verbs the [NAME] classifier is *obligatory*, and the PN alone is ungrammatical. As expected, given the syntax of these verbs, the interrogative is *ce nume* 'what name':

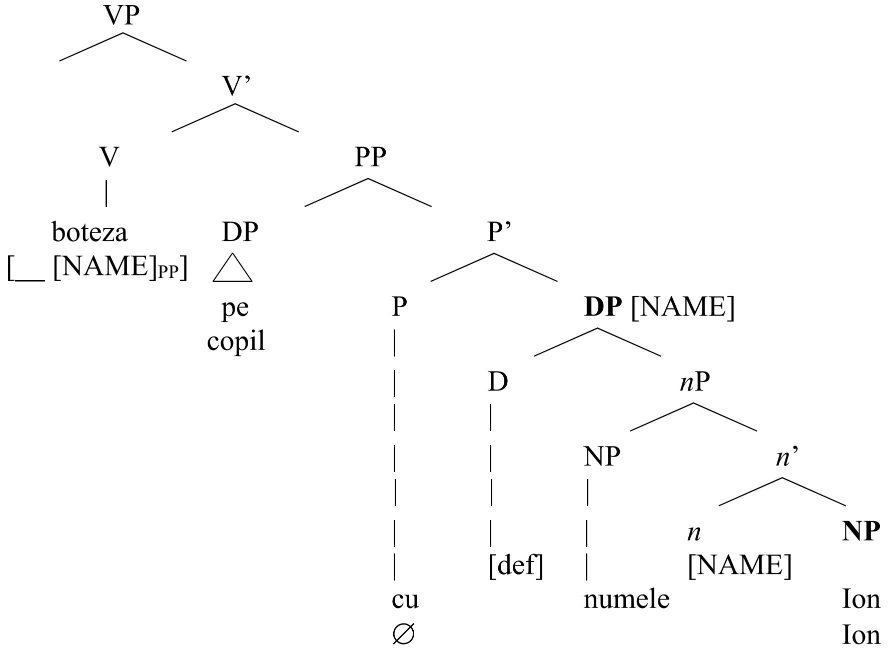
(24) a. *I-au* *dat* **Ion/* *numele* *(de)* *Ion.*
him.DAT-have.they given *Ion/ name.the (of) Ion
'They gave him the name Ion.'
b. *Ce* *nume* *i-au* *dat?/*Cum* *i-au* *dat?*
what name him.DAT-have given /How him.DAT-have given
'What name did they give him?'

The analysis Since they are accomplishments, verbs of naming have a complex event structure, including a small clause. In a logic of type Hale and Keyser (2002), *to name*, clearly *a denominal verb*, might be analysed as 'cause somebody to be with a name', projecting a structure which would include a prepositional small clause. The intuition is that verbs of naming s-select a phrase with the property [NAME], a property satisfied by the lexical noun *nume* 'name', or by the PN which is *classified as a name* in situations of mention. Consider the sentences below, which have the same structure.

(25) a. *L-au* *botezat* *pe* *copil* *Ion.*
him.ACC-have.they christened DOM child Ion
'They christened the child John.'
b. *L-au* *botezat* *pe* *copil* *cu* *numele* *Ion*.
him.ACC-have.they christened DOM child with name.the Ion
'They have christened the child (with the name of) John.'
c. **L-au* *botezat* *cu* *Ion.*
him.ACC-have.they christened with Ion
'*They have christened with John.'

Given the data above and leaving aside the causative upper layer, the complete structure of a *v*P headed by a naming verb like *a boteza* 'baptize' looks as in (26) below.

(26)



The verb selects a PP-small clause, as indicated by the question word *cum* 'how' or the adverbial substitute *aşa* 'thus'. We adopt the hypothesis that naming verbs have a selectional [NAME] feature in their semantics, a feature that must be satisfied by their complement. Consider sentences (25a) and (25b). For them to converge, the derivation must solve two problems: a) The PN must check case and b) the verb must satisfy its s-selectional [NAME] feature. Two situations are possible: a) the P in (26) is empty, as in sentence (25a); b) the P in (26) is overt, as in (25b). In both cases the subject of the small clause raises into the main clause and gets structural Acc from the main verb.

When the P is empty, it will amalgamate with the V-head (see (26)). If the P is removed by incorporation, in the new configuration the predicative DP may get case by *agreement with the small clause subject*. At the same time, since there is no lexical head between the naming verb and the interpretable class feature *n*[NAME], this feature, valued by the PN itself, may be used to check the selectional [NAME] feature of the verb. It is likely that the [NAME] feature is transmitted from head to head up to the phrase containing the higher head (as long as no lexical head blocks this process).

Notice that it is indeed likely that it is head transmission of the [NAME] feature which is involved, since the lexical P, if present, blocks this process (cf. (25c)) and forces the presence of the overt lexical noun, *nume* 'name' (25b). Thus, through their s-selection properties, verbs of naming *coerce* the PN to appear in the appropriate classifier construction. Since P is empty in sentences like (25a), the PP node may get the feature [NAME] by percolation so that the PP satisfies the selectional feature of the verb. At the same time, since P is empty, one may wonder whether the PP node is justified in (25a). As already underlined, the PP node is required to account for interrogation with *cum* 'how', and for anaphora with *aşa /astfel* 'so'.

When the preposition is overt (26), it will assign case to its complement, but the selectional feature of the verb can no longer be directly satisfied by the classifier of the PN since percolation of the [NAME] feature is blocked by the lexical P. Rather, the presence of the lexical noun *nume* 'name' is required. It may appear in a descriptive PN structure (see Section 2) as it does in (25b). The PN is classified as a [NAME], while the lexical noun *nume* appears as the specifier of the classifier phrase.

A comparison with nomination verbs is again useful since some of these verbs also have an alternative PP construction; the P must appear in questions and in anaphoric constructions.

(27) a. *L-au* *ales* *drept* *preşedinte/* *drept* *asta*.
him.ACC-have.they elected as president/ as this
'They elected him president.'
b. *Drept* *ce* *l-au* *ales*?
as what him.ACC-have.they elected
'What did they elect him?'

Given the evidence in (27), these verbs either select a DP small clause, as in (19b) above, or a PP small clause, with an always overt P. The syntax of these verbs is like the syntax of both naming and nomination verbs in English. Romanian verbs of naming always select a PP small clause, with an overt or covert P.

Result Under the mention analysis, even if PNs are part of the predicate, *PNs are not semantic predicates* in the naming construction, but have *syntactic reference* in the sense of Kaplan (1964): the PN *Ion* in (25a) *rigidly designates* the name 'Ion'. The naming construction does not provide any evidence that PNs should be interpreted as predicates, on the model of common nouns. This will also be shown by a consideration of some other apparently predicative uses of PNs in Romanian.

4.3. Other predicative uses

PNs can be small clause predicates with copulas, Subject-to-subject raising (SSR) verbs and ECM constructions, including copulas or only secondary predicates:

(28) a. *În* *fotografia* *asta,* *bărbatul* *acesta* *pare* *(a fi)* *Ion.*
in picture.the this man.the this seems (to be) Ion
'In this picture, the man seems to be John.'

b. *în fotografia asta, aş considera-o pe asta Maria,*
in picture.the this would.I consider-her.ACC pe this Mary,
după pălărie.
after hat
'I would consider this person to be Mary, judging by her hat.'

The small clauses are identity statements, where the PN is in predicative position. Notice in particular example (28b): the small clause subject assumes structural Acc with *DOM*, the predicative PN assumes inherent Acc just as in the naming construction. So, the syntax of the PN is that of syntactic predicative. On the other hand, semantically, in (28b), the PN functions as an indexical, since, clearly, Maria is an individual called so by virtue of the *naming convention in force between the speaker$_c$ and the hearer$_c$*.The interpretation of the PN is the same as in argument position, even if, syntactically, the PN is a predicate. Equative constructions simply say that two DPs have identical reference, and thus offer another example of predicative syntax combined with referential PN semantics. Summing up, if we stick to *literal uses* of PNs, there are no cases which would force on us the conclusion that PNs ever are semantic predicates. Unlike Matushansky, we believe that there remain considerable differences between common names and PNs, deriving from the fact that only common names, but not PNs, are predicates. (See Segal 2001 for a review of the evidence that PNs should be dealt with as *constants*, or as *pragmatic variables*, but not as predicates). For a convincing analysis of non-conventional uses of PNs, see Oltean (2016).

5. Conclusions

1. PNs are always DPs and include a class-name or classifier in their functional structure.
2. The class-name is silent ordinarily but it may be overt in descriptive PNs.
3. In the naming construction, PNs are *mentioned*, not used.
4. The naming construction is not a syntactic argument that PNs are semantic predicates.
5. Proper names continue to be analyzed as constants and as rigid designators corroborating the correctness of the Kripkian-Kaplanian analysis, also defended by Professor Oltean.

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*The two authors would like to wish Professor Stefan Oltean "Many Happy Returns of the Day!". We would like to thank HIM for all that we have learned from him, for his enthusiasm in defending modern linguistics and other good causes, for his sense of humor (sometimes carefully hidden), for our enduring friendship and for all the happy times we spent together.

RETURNEE VLOGGING AND CULTURALIST DISCOURSE

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ABSTRACT: We herein attempt a convergent media computer-mediated discourse analysis (Herring 2013) of young Romanian returnee expressing on YouTube vlogs the intercultural issues they experienced as immigrants/diasporans and then on returning as temporary or permanent residents to Romania. To this end, we deconstruct the monologuish generated content (vlog) meant to engage audiences (the latter providing text reactions, i.e. comments, as made possible by the affordances of the convergence of the media (Web 2.0)) with a focus on how returnee vloggers keenly engage in a discourse, often essentialist, about host- and home-cultures even as they negotiate a focal, subjective identity for themselves: that of Romanian returnees. As the explicit goal of the vlogs is to rationalise the content generators' decision to be temporarily or permanently repatriated, we shall peruse both the implicit and explicit cultural aspects invoked by the video creators and used as resources to negotiate a meaningful identity from among their repertoires. Our exploratory qualitative analysis unveils theirs to be a pervasively culturalist discourse, essentialising and reducing both the heritage and the *other* culture, as the vloggers strive to provide convincing arguments for their relocation to Romania, on presuming that some of their designed audiences hold contrary, ingrained opinions.
KEYWORDS: returnee, culturist discourse, vlogs, multimodality, computer-mediated discourse

As part of a longer and more complex, as yet not ended, study on returnees and their sociocultural self- and mediated representations we are currently engaged in, we have encountered some aspects that merit exploration in an autonomous paper. We have decided to explore an issue that could potentially add elements to the, as yet, far from complete portrait of a recent sociocultural segment. Thus, in the course of our scrutiny for analytic material that could help us make further sense of why and how returnees insist, at times, to foreground this particular identity, we have come across user-generated content on YouTube that qualifies as vlogging. Vlogs are mainly video content uploaded by users, relying on viewers, followers/subscribers to engage textually with their production. The interaction between the video content creators and consumers results in a collaborative discourse involving both the producers and the consumers.

As Jenkins has notably observed, from inception, YouTube has been "a key site for the production and distribution of grassroots media" (Henry Jenkins cf. Androutsopoulos 48-49). The social media platform enables everyone and anyone possessing minimal technology know-how and creativity to make public to a global audience video productions quite often featuring themselves, as is the case of vlogging, conveying subjective information on a plethora of personal or mundane topics. A veritable example of how the Social Media is an agency of empowering subordinate categories and a facilitator of universal democracy, YouTube is a pioneer in this sense. It is a platform of multiauthored, multimodal, multimedia productions whose intended messages are liable to practically illimited negotiations in the comment area (Tannen & Trester). And while a vlog episode can be misconceived of as a monologue-like performance, it, in fact, is commensurate with an arena for inherently dialogic 'participatory spectacles' (Androutsopoulos 50), as it affords viewers to negotiate the vlog content. That is, commentators have ample space to textually acquiesce to, resist or reject the subjective preferred meanings of the vlog video, and so does the video producer (if so they wish).

1. Returnees as a sociocultural segment

A fairly recent phenomenon peculiar mainly, but not singularly, to countries formerly behind the Iron Curtain and following a cca. 20-year odd time span after the fall of the communist regime, it consists in the return to one's home country by a steady number of former emigrants. While the returnees display varied demographics, we have distinguished a niche within, formed by young adults in their early twenties.

The fact that this is an acknowledged social phenomenon is testified to by the attention and scientific interest it has received from varied sociologists or education system administrators. Indeed, such concerns as have become palpable are directly connected with the broader ongoing process of internationalisation of local higher education institutions. While classifying returnees as local or international students depends on their citizenship and on their intention either to be permanently repatriated or to preserve the status of sojourner transnationals, quite often they are informally regarded as 'special' international students. Some will regard their language repertoires as impressive, as they will almost always include the mother/heritage language – which coincides with the local official one, alongside at least one L2. In contrast, others will see the complexity of their repertoires as difficult to manage and a hindrance in meeting the communication skill requirements of Academia. It is anticipated that their language use may display dense linguistic transfers and interferences, which is unacceptable to the rather purist and prescriptive linguistic-wise orientation of the Romanian education system.

And where the BICS – basic interpersonal communication skills – and CALP – cognitive academic language proficiency– dichotomy comes into play, whereas the usually high level of performance in the former may be appreciated, they are, nevertheless, deemed insufficient for academic achievement.

Former Romanian diasporans have been known to relocate even prior to the present moment but not as visibly in terms of number and as compact in terms of age as now. Our target group are characteristically members of an age group that have left Romania as preteenagers alongside their parents, have spent their primary, secondary and high-school years enrolled in the host-countries' schooling systems. Most of them are self-confessedly relocating for the specific goal of enrolling in a higher education programme in their country of origin for reasons that are financial, sentimental or linguistic. Never a simple reason for their return (as shown by the answers to a questionnaire applied to the target category within the broader empirical study mentioned above), whatever they are they seem to be underpinned by a diffuse, yet generalised, wish to return to one's roots.

What has sparked our particular interest while seeking analytical material that could inform an initially thin depiction of this sociocultural category were the YouTube vlogs by returnees that seemed to put an effort in providing standing arguments for their choice to be repatriated in the face of the overall incredulity and scepticism manifested by the stayees. Needless to say at this point that the apparent suspicion with which their earnestness to return is met speaks of a burgeoning conflict, an anticipated failure at a returnee-stayee dialogue, both of which are the domain of interculturality.

What we intend to undertake in what follows is a thematic analysis of a number of vlog episodes in order to verify an observation we have reached while exploring authentic returnee material on the Social Media: that while a 'reversed' cultural shock would be expected on return and reimmersion in the home culture by these young adults who were mere children when they left their country of origin and have spent so substantial a time abroad in their formative years as to suppose that they have few if any memories of home, we have, instead, a case of keen returnees that will not be overwhelmed by the clash of the *rencontre.*

We shall be analysing, in an essayistic manner, three vlog episodes by two individual vloggers whom we have identified as 'recent' returnees within the category delineated above, by deconstructing the cultural aspects (Holliday, Hyde & Kullman) overtly or covertly approached by the vlog visual and 'textual' content. We shall also try to diagnose how in the process of communicating/ vlogging the content generators construct or foreground a (temporary) meaningful, focal identity: that of Romanian returnee.

2. Returnee vlogging

The topic of the vlogs in word and image is that of relocation to Romania, the vloggers' home-country, and a subset of subsidiary themes such as the process of decision making, arguments for or against, hesitations, retakes, and cultural and social anxieties. A total of three video vlogs were analysed, the first two forming a two-part series by one female blogger, and the third by a male blogger. We have coded the vlogs and the content generators, respectively, as follows: Vf1a, Vf1b, Vm2, and F1, M2. The exemplifications provided are syntactic transcripts with English translations immediately following between square brackets.

A primary general observation on the three vlogs scrutinised is that they are, at once, reflexive and dialogue-inducing, as the vloggers' monologues are structured as discourses with a designed audience in mind. As such, while claiming to hold monopoly over knowledge and experience on life matters, it does invite participation in the social construction of the said issue.

Vf1a is entitled *Avantajele vietii in Anglia | Partea 1*. [The Advantages of Life in Britain. Part 1]. The video was uploaded on July 21, 2016, it has a duration of 9:34 minutes, and had registered 201 comments by 10.03.2020. At the time of the recording, F1 was residing in Britain but had apparently been at least a couple of times to Romania, and felt she was ready for a final decision about rehoming. She starts her vlog self-assuredly, like a weathered vlogger, with a collective form of address: Hello, Romania! Her one-to-many video performance, as afforded by the YouTube platform, also implies F1 is confident of having a loyal, established number of followers, in all probability Romanian-based emigrant-wannabes intent on tapping into her Britain-wise expertise. The video setting is that of her private (girly) room, with F1 clad in her bathrobe after apparently having had a shower, but carrying make-up for an aesthetic of sorts and for an intended audience. The comfort, relaxation and calm conveyed by her staging carries the underlying message that she feels equally at ease in the world outside her bedroom windows, that is, that she is fully integrated in her host country, the UK.

She offers a brief biography starting with her arrival to Britain, the reasons for her emigration, her first and then summative impressions of her change of residence, all to attest her knowledgeability on British matters. She enumerates her initial thoughts on such aspects as are typically glossed over in any mundane conversation on foreign cultures: people, higher education, health system, general cleanliness, socialising, sociocultural tolerance, politeness, and then makes a point of how the clichés about the British learned while still in Romania juxtapose with the unexpected. Immersion in Britain has offered her the opportunity of penetrating the deeper layers, the unknown part of the cultural iceberg: the core British values as compared to the observable behaviours and their subjective interpretations. She revisits the enumerated cultural aspects mentioned above and re-assesses them, this time in a critical and didactic tone of voice. Since her reason for leaving Romania was to enrol in a British college, she insists on the cultural aspects that differentiate the two education systems, indirectly demonising the Romanian one by emphasising the positive British one: refined and integrated teaching methods, high degree of teaching ethics, authoritative as opposed to authoritarian, focus on developing transversal skills. By insisting on what she perceives to be the strengths of the western education system as compared to the eastern one(s), she feels the urge to justify her choice to enrol in a British college (having been given the choice and the opportunity), which is in conflict with her current wish to return home (to Romania) and general expectations.

The unfolding of the vlog shows F1's is not a fully spontaneous but a scripted discourse to some degree, rehearsed even, with some amount of reflexivity carried out prior to the performance itself. For instance, she speaks of the deep-seated bias and dated mentalities of *părinții noștri* [our parents], hinting not only at the cultural distance but also at the social one. She associates our parents with *pe timpul acela* [in those times] emphasising the sociocultural deixis through a sense of irreversible chronology and unamendable times. Apparently, she blames the contagious aspirational ideology of her/(our) parents for her move to Britain of a few years ago, and credits her newly found wisdom on British matters for prodding her on to return home. The closure, thus, contradicts the predictions of the vlog episode's title.

Vf1b is the sequel to Vf1a and is entitled *De ce mă întorc în România | Viața în Anglia partea a 2a*. [Why I am returning to Romania | Life in Britain part 2]. The feeling it relays is that it was probably not planned, but came as a reaction to the number of critical comments posted by the viewers of Vf1a. This vlog episode was uploaded on July 22, 2016, it is 4:37 minutes long, and it had featured 556 comments by 7.03.2020. F1 starts this time by abruptly reprimanding the acid tone of some of the Vf1a comments and spells out the reason for her decision to return to Romania. She revisits the reiterative typical question by Romanian stayees as to why she would want to resume residence in Romania, and after listing extra reasons and reviewing the ones that should have been inferred from the prior vlog episode, she tops her conclusion with a reductive assertion: *Englezii sint prea rigizi pentru sângele meu latin*. [English people are too rigid for my hot Latin blood.]

Vf1b displays a reversed attitude towards the British-Romanian parallel. This episode's video carries clip insertions of Romanian scenery, folk activities, and the personal footage of the vlogger with friends in Romania. The Romanian cultural specifics mentioned are the Romanian penchant for preparing home-cooked food and the relish in eating it, the unique savor of the Romanian cuisine, the depth and warmth of social bonding, and the genuine inclination for cultivating friendship and pursuing collective pastimes. The presentation in strictly positive terms of the Romanian cultural dimensions takes a sharp turn in stylistics when a comparison is made with the British idiosyncrasies: the many and broad English accents (sharp metalinguistic observations), nation-wide low general knowledge (the British equate Romanians to the Roma minority), snobbery, shallowness. She speaks of her mental health problems (diagnosed by the NHS with seasonal affective disorder: a form of depression) and of her preference to return home (to Romania) for mental solace from her close family to undergoing treatment with solar lamps. The recounting of the experience triggers a eulogy of the Romanian mother figure, warmth and solicitude of the people. Hers is a highly subjective and polarized perspective, completely explicit, and encapsulated in an adapted adagio: *Iarba verde din Anglia, pentru că plouă întruna, nu e așa frumoasă ca iarba mai puțin verde de acasă*. [The green grass of Britain, for it rains all the time, is not as beautiful as the green grass of home].

VM2 is created by a male vlogger and is entitled: DE CE M-AM ÎNTORS ÎN ROMÂNIA. [WHY I HAVE RETURNED TO ROMANIA]. Its length is of 10:54 minutes, it was uploaded on January 30, 2019, and displayed 253 comments when accessed on 11.03.2020. The vlogger appears to be driving his car across Bucharest on his way to the rural location of his parents' home. He has a half-endearing, half-ridiculing name for his car: *răgălia* [old wreck], which, however, seems to be reliable enough for a weekly, regular four-hour return drive, as well as allowing, given its condition, for ample time to recount his life story. What follows is a novelistic account: when he was 10, his parents left for work to Italy leaving him behind until they settled and they could be rejoined. During his remaining stay in Romania he took private Italian tutoring. At 11, he joined his family in Italy. He was well received by the local school pupils at first, but was underachieving in school as he had only receptive skills and no productive ones. Within two weeks of school, however, he started talking. There follow some metalinguistic comments of his experience with Italian schooling and the Italian language. It took him two years to come to terms with the subtleties of Italian pronunciation and to develop linguistic attitudes about prestige and stigmatised dialects and accents. He gives an example of the broad accent typical of Romanian unsophisticated speakers of Italian. He stayed in Italy for 16 years and returned in 2017 with his parents, having completed his undergraduate and postgraduate studies. His reason: he did not want to stay on in Italy and work in some storage unit and be on the brink of personal bankruptcy as his monthly wages would be spent on rent, car insurance and fuel. In Romania he has worked with several IT companies and his finances are high enough to allow him to lead a better life here than he would in Italy. There follows a three-minute video section with the landscape he drives by, providing no comments but a couple of embedded folkdance clips attuned to the rural scenery. He then abruptly remarks on the redundancy of the question asked by fellow Romanians (stayees), who find it inexplicable for any former Romanian diasporans to repatriate for whatever reason: Why have you returned to Romania?, implying that at least a partial answer can be found in the preceding minutes of filming.

The name of the village he is headed to – Măciuca [The Club] – occasions him to reminisce on the region's history of battling the 18th century archenemies of the locals: Turkish raiders. This is also an opportunity to divulge his pride-taking in the history of the locals, his people, and to speculate on the etymology of the toponym. He pauses to zoom on the statue of a club taking pride of place in the village square, commemorating the victory of the locals against the Turks.

Compared to the prior vlog episodes, this is more implicit in presenting the underlying motivation for one's resolution to reprise one's roots: pride in one's heritage and finding inspiration in the local lore on valiance in front of a more numerous and military sophisticated enemy.

Next comes the filming of a regular household with poultry, pets, family: the new parental home. The visual discourse becomes the narrative, replacing all words. No images of comparable rural life in the former host country are made available or commented on, as if that had been ruled out beforehand. The idyllic images of the tour of the household and its many annexes give one a sense of reversed hegemony, where the apparently 'deficit' culture of the home country is more enjoyable and fulfilling than the one of the affluent host-country.

3. Communal Findings and Conclusions

We should note that in the aftermath of the fall of the communist regime in Romania, followed by a period when democratic expectations of the majority of the population failed to be met by the country's political administrators, discourse about emigration was acute. A generalised socio-political discontent, hopelessness in the revived political parties, led to a repurposing of the aspirational drives of much of the population, and emigration to the West entered many people's agendas. For many, it was the unique solution for achieving during one's lifetime superior life standards under every aspect.

Today, in the era of New Media and such platforms as YouTube, needs and aspirations are made publicly available by means of authentic, democratic, grassroots discourse. The affordances of the New Media make this type of discourse very appealing, both to produce and to consume. Some producers, and/or vloggers, have become quite sophisticated in creating and broadcasting such media. Indeed, YouTube user generated content and the performance of vloggers consistent use of semiotic resources are reassembled by means of media techniques such as separating, recombining video and audio tracks or by layering footage with new audio tracks. (Androutsopoulos 53) While the techniques in the vlog episodes scrutinised are rather rudimentary, they are, nevertheless, creative and effective. When combined with the explicit and implicit messages of the word/speech video content, they allow for a collaborative spectacle to be alternately constructed, deconstructed, and eventually, reconstructed accordingly. And if the *emigration* theme was highly incidental in popular political discourse in the first decades falling the fall of the communist regime, we seem to be now witnessing first-hand a burgeoning, but equally passionate, reversed discourse about *returning*.

The two young vloggers whose performances we have analysed in the three YouTube vlog episodes lay claim to transnational expertise which they try to objectify through video inserts of private footage. This happens at the introduction of new but related themes, but it is not done consistently. The layering of images is meant to anchor the actual discourse which, however, is culturalist: reducing people, the *other*, to less than they are, and essentialist. Vf1a and Vf1b particularly abound in antonymic pairs and in unfavourable comparisons, use of black versus white solid colours in depicting the tableaus of the host- and home-cultures, and show little if any interpretative refinement in assessing one's personal experiences abroad or retrospectively reflecting on things past. This is the infamous culturalist trap many fall into when judging only observable behaviours and failing to see the complexity of the concealed-from-sight part of the cultural iceberg. The several instances of otherisation and negative stereotyping indicate that either F1 is ignorant of multifacetedness in general or is incapable of objective observations. Or else, it could be a performance trick to elicit opinionated reactions/comments from viewers that either reciprocate her views or combat them.

Both vloggers appear to have become desensitized to the positive Western culture stereotypes they had been inoculated with in childhood, in their home country, after spending, each, almost a decade as immigrants in the respective host-countries. As a result, selected facets of the home culture are extolled while others are deliberately omitted, the unpleasantness of some personal experiences as immigrants are blown out of proportions, and the overall rhetoric is nationalistic. Iconic Romanian imagery is present in all three vlogs, albeit some of it may be meant to produce an artistic effect or it can be merely creative play with technology and multimodality.

All in all, the choice of title, themes and content of returnee-vlogs form a nexus where culturalist discourse, nationalist rhetoric, and subjective knowledge combine to convey a preferred message and showcase a focal (temporary) identity: that of the Romanian returnee.

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'GAME OF THRONES' – A SOCIOLINGUISTIC VIEW

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ABSTRACT: The present study describes the investigation methods that have been employed for our research and makes a brief presentation of the collected empirical data retrieved from the digital environment of online social networks created by fandoms. The aim of the investigation was to deliberately isolate one of the well-defined social groups, one specific cyber community, the *'Game of Thrones'* fan base, and scrutinize the discourse patterns used by the active members of the community in their interpersonal communication through social media posts or comments. Our main motivation was to observe whether *conlangs* (constructed languages) of any type, but more specifically the ones spoken in the *'Game of Thrones'* universe were actively employed by the fan base's members in their everyday speech and if applicable, to what extent these linguistic features become easily identifiable within our target digital group.
KEYWORDS: conlangs, dothraki, high valyrian, Game ofThrones, digital fandoms

1. Introduction

Our paper describes the investigation methods that have been employed for our research and makes a brief presentation of the collected empirical data retrieved from the digital environment of online social networks. The aim of the present study is to deliberately isolate one of the well-defined social groups, one specific language cyber community, the 'Game of Thrones' fan base, and scrutinize the discourse patterns used by the active members of the community in their interpersonal communication through posts or comments.

The main field of our investigation is Facebook as it is considered to be the largest and most accessible platform that allows users from all over the world to create open and closed online groups and cyber communities, and it also represents the main source of our corpus gathering and construction due to the discovery of a significant number of such groups created by the members of the 'Game of Thrones' fan base, who actively engage in different 'Game of Thrones' related discussions.

Moreover, 'a virtual community is the perfect environment for many individuals to communicate with other individuals in different parts of the world, with whom they can share different opinions and points of view and approach various conversation topics (…). All the communities created in the cyberspace form a community of practice, having a specific purpose: whether they create a business profile and intend to advertise or sell products to possible online customers, or simply seek to bring together people who share a mutual passion for a specific activity, they are easily identifiable particularly due to their efforts at self-definition and group-identification' (Ene 37).

Given the fact that our investigation is carried out mainly on Social Networking Sites (SNS) that 'provide opportunities for connection and relationship building' (Cotoc 55), we find it relevant to bring into discussion the term 'networked publics'. According to Boyd (40), networked publics like "publics", bring together 'a collection of people who share a common understanding of the world, a shared identity, a claim to inclusiveness, a consensus regarding the collective interests (…). Thus, people engaging in social network sites manifest a group identity that makes them feel they belong to a community which contains members that are like them. Implicitly, they are different from people engaging in different communities.'

Based on our current findings, a considerable amount of fandom members have been creating distinct groups of discussions on Facebook since 2011 (the first 'Game of Thrones' episode was released on April 17th, 2011), having the focus of interest the study and practice of the constructed languages created for the HBO TV show, even if the *Dothraki* language comprised only 3163 words at that time (September, 2011).

We consider it important to mention that our target 'conlangs'[1] are used and spoken solely in the 'Game of Thrones' TV series, not in the books written by George R.R. Martin, on which the TV show is based, where the people who speak the *Dothraki* language are generally referred to as 'people who have their own language', however everything they say is written in English in the books, and they are employed more frequently only in the first two seasons of the series out of eight. David J. Peterson, the creator of *Dothraki* and *High Valyrian*, explains that 'there is actually one line in the *Dothraki* language in season 3 of the TV series. This brief line occurred when two of the characters, Daenerys Targaryen and Missandei are discussing the *Dothraki* language in the eighth episode of the third season, *'Second Sons'*:

> *Zhey Drogo ast-me Dothraki thasho h'anhaan ven anha ray yol mehas. Me azh maan atjakhar.* (En: Drogo said I spoke Dothraki like one born to it. It gave him great pride). *"Athjahakar"* was intentionally slurred as *"atjakhar"* so Missansdei could correct Daenerys's mistake[2]

In his Dothraki conversational language course book, David J. Peterson (7) specifies a noteworthy cultural detail related to the language he created and the fictional characters who speak it, namely that 'the *Dothraki* have no writing system and no use for books. In this book we'll make use of a Romanization system to write the language, but bear in mind that it's a spoken language first and foremost. To be appreciated properly it needs to be spoken aloud. Forcefully'. Therefore, unlike Peterson's other conlangs, such as *Casthitan* and *Irathient* or Marc Okrand's *Klingon*, 'the *Dothraki* have no written form of their language' (Peterson 211). He

[1] ***Conlangs*** = constructed languages
[2] https://gameofthrones.fandom.com/wiki/Dothraki_(language) (accessed on 01.09.2019)

states that 'this was made explicit by George R.R. Martin in the *'Song of Ice and Fire'* book series. Consequently, the language has no orthography. For the convenience of those of us in the real world, though, *Dothraki* **does have** a Romanization system' (Peterson 211). We consider this detail important when it comes to the language learning process and the actual use of *Dothraki* in the digital environment, taking into account the fact that most of the members of the 'Game of Thrones' fan base are English speakers or speakers of other languages that use the Romanization system, thus the lack of a writing system in *Dothraki* makes it easier for the fans to learn and employ it in the interpersonal communication in the cyberspace.

At an initial phase of our research, we launched a baseless assumption according to which the reason why our target conlangs gained so much popularity right after the release of the TV series was because they represented a novelty for the fans. That was the moment when the audience/readers could match the *Dothraki* people (previously described by the author of the book series) as speaking a language that had the features of an actual natural language, thus gaining much more credibility and authenticity. Therefore, the aim of our research was to observe the frequency with which these conlangs were employed by the fans (e.g. the context in which they occurred, the language level, the number of users, etc) and a potential evolution thereof since the release of the first season (2011) until present (2020).

However, during the actual corpus selection and compilation process, we discovered an interesting phenomenon that changed our initial assumption. The material gathered so far still reflects the fanbase's members' clear enthusiasm, interest and active engagement in the language learning process to the extent that we diagnosed numerous examples of interpersonal communication situations in the form of comments and posts in the closed Facebook groups or blogs created by the fans, that contain words or even phrases in *Dothraki* or *High Valyrian*. We might state that this piece of evidence leads us to the hypothesis according to which these constructed languages may be at the incipient phase of pidginization after Klingon, for instance.

It is noteworthy to remark though, before even considering a potential pidginization state of our target conlangs, that they might be limited only to the jargonization phase and never develop fully into pidgins. As stated by Velupillai (18), 'what may start out as *ad hoc* solutions by individuals in specific situations may, if the situations occur repeatedly, crystallize into ready-to-use communicative tool that the parties continue using when dealing with speakers of different languages. This would essentially be a jargon stage.' She continues along the same line and mentions that 'if this tool is then used systematically enough, it may crystallize further into a language variety which has its own system and which must be learned. This would essentially be a pidgin stage.'

Let us note that 'pidgins are languages that emerged in situations of intense contact, in which speakers of mutually unintelligible languages needed a medium for communication (...)' or 'very simplified, a language that emerges when groups of people are in close and repeated contact, and need to communicate with each other but have no language in common' (Velupillai 15). However, our study does not refer to the classical meaning or process of pidginization, given the fact that the present research is digital-oriented and it is carried out in the cyberspace, being based on digital data exclusively and not on data collected in specific real life situations, in which pidgins usually represent 'the communicative bridge (…) that needs to be used by two or more language groups' (Velupillai 17).

Finally, taking into consideration all the above stated theories about pidginization and all the collected empirical data relevant to our investigation, we consider it premature to rule out our previously stated hypothesis according to which our target conlangs might be undergoing a possible phase of pidginization. All this process might take place in real time within the cyber communities that employ these constructed languages on a daily basis, therefore we conduct a qualitative research that seeks to collect, analyze and interpret the digital data by observing the linguistic behaviour of the active members of our focus groups. The nature of the present investigation is exploratory and open ended, therefore it is also a descriptive research that delineates the linguistic phenomena that occur in the digital space, determines the frequency with which they do so and categorizes all the retrieved information.

2. Corpus selection and compilation

Chat groups created by fans are the perfect environment for the discussion of various language related issues (such as grammar, vocabulary, cultural aspects, etc.) and even provide support in the language learning process, by offering additional explanations, suggestions and sources for further practice outside the group, such as apps, blogs, language learning websites, dictionaries, etc.

Taking into consideration the sociolinguistic nature of our investigation, we would define the above described interaction between the members of the same fan base as *peer communication*. 'Online closed groups generally nourish a strong sense of community and inter-subjectivity in a medium already highly equalitarian. The in-group interactions reflect a self-perceived sense of close-knit community where uniplexity may be a defining trait (members are not offline acquaintances and are only Facebook *friends*). On Facebook, for instance, *friends* are in fact a list of digital connections, and Facebook groups can form around common interests, concerns, goals amongst people who are strangers offline' (Cotrău, Cotoc 33).

We believe at this point that our target group, the 'Game of Thrones' digital fan base community meets the criteria of a close-knit networked group whose members share recognizable features and display linguistic patterns recurrent in the digital environment.

3. Corpus selection on Facebook

As we have previously mentioned, Facebook represents the main field of the present investigation and the most relevant sourse of our corpus compilation. The study reports on findings regarding the sociolinguistic behaviour of several open and closed Facebook groups created by the members of the 'Game of Thrones' fanbase from all across the world. Therefore, we created a Facebook account in order to be able to gain access to both open and closed fan groups that might have represented a relevant source of corpus selection. Once we created the Facebook profile, we personalized it by using some of its digital features, such as *Timeline* (we uploaded 'Game of Thrones' related profile and background pictures), *About* (we provided general information about the user: education and location), and the *like* feature that automatically connected our newly created profile with other 'Game of Thrones' pages that contained fandom activity.

After creating the above mentioned Facebook profile, we started tracking down open and closed fandom groups that engage in 'Game of Thrones' related topics and discussions regularly, if not on a daily basis. As stated by Cotoc (70), 'on Facebook, users can create groups and invite members to join their groups or they can join groups that are already created by other users and that they are interested in and want to be up-dated with particular topics.' Our case was the latter, namely that we started tracking down groups that had already been created by other users, in order to identify and gather data regarding our topic of interest: the use of *conlangs* in the digital space by the members of the 'Game of Thrones' fandom, predominantly through posts and comments within the groups. The groups can be on any theme/with the specificity preferred by users […]. Some concrete examples are the following: *Valar Morghulis, Duolingo High Valyrian Learners, Games of Thrones – Fans Group, Game of Thrones Fanpage, For the Fans: GOT, Game of Thrones Xtreme, Game of Thrones Addiction, Game of Thrones – The Watchers on the Wall, Game of Thrones International, Dothraki Language, Game of Thrones Watch and Discussion Group*, etc.

There are three options for the creation of groups: *Open* (anyone can see the group, who is in it, and what members post); *Closed* (anyone can see the group and who is in it. Only members see posts); *Secret* (only members see the group, who is in it, and what members post) (Cotoc 7).

The most accessible fan groups that we were able to gain easy access to were the *open/public groups*, which do not always require answers to ***membership questions*** (related to the TV series) or ***rules*** to follow stated by the administrator of the group when we want to join that particular group. Usually, there is no need to send a ***request*** to join the group, we simply use the *Like* or *Join* options and get access to all the data that can be found on that particular group's Wall.

Taking into account all the affordances of Facebook, we managed to track down several *Game of Thrones* **closed groups** that we, first, had to gain access to, in order to identify and start collecting relevant data to our investigation. Bearing in mind Kelsey's statement, according to which 'The Wall was like a time capsule that you could scroll to see more' (Kesley 32, apud. Cotoc 69), we were able to compile a large amount of both fresh and older data (that was posted a few years back – 2011 e.g.), consequently, we currently own a satisfactory amount of corpus that has been constructed in a fairly short period of time (approximately 1 month).

Our target groups were those open and closed groups that had their focus of interest the conlangs spoken in the 'Game of Thrones' series, *Dothraki* and *High Valyrian*. Therefore, we started tracking down such groups by typing different *keywords* in the search engine on Facebook (e.g. *Dothraki, the Dothraki language, High Valyrian, the High Valyrian language, learn Dothraki, etc.*), and that is how we discovered some of these groups and their members' online fandom activity. Once we gained access, we immediately started collecting data by taking *screenshots* (visual material) of all the posts and comments that we found relevant and useful to our investigation. In the following part of our paper, we would like to illustrate some of our findings that contain both *posts* and *comments* on different topics in *Dothraki* and *High Valyrian* (see **Fig. 1, 2** and **3** below):

Recent post (June 7th 2019)

Dothraki expression/greeting (= *Much respect!* (lit. A lot of honour to you!)

Did you learn/hear (about) the Dothraki language book? (apporoximate personal translation)[3]

Hi! Yes! I had the Dothraki language book, but I lost it.

(approximate personal translation)

Fig. 1

[3] https://wiki.dothraki.org/Vocabulary. Accessed on 4 September 2019.

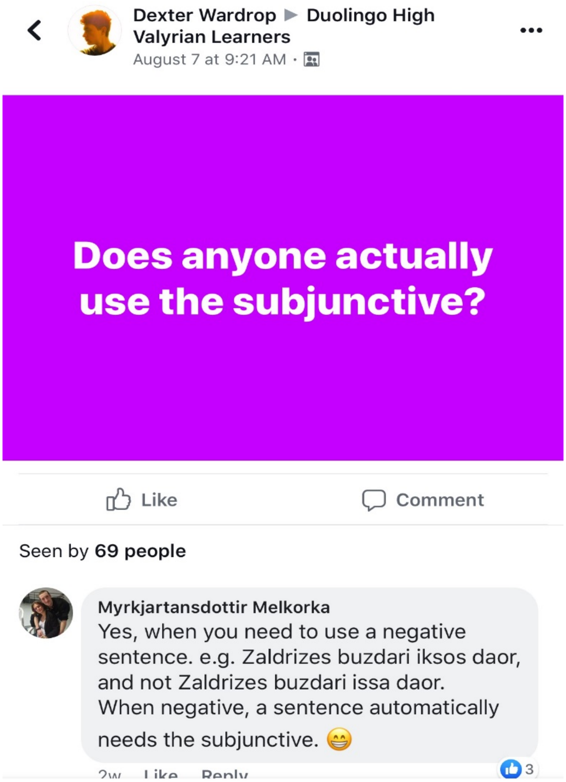
Dexter Wardrop ▶ Duolingo High Valyrian Learners
August 7 at 9:21 AM ·
Does anyone actually use the subjunctive?
Like
Comment
Seen by 69 people
Myrkjartansdottir Melkorka
Yes, when you need to use a negative sentence. e.g. Zaldrizes buzdari iksos daor, and not Zaldrizes buzdari issa daor.
When negative, a sentence automatically needs the subjunctive. 😁
3

Fig. 2


Jessie Kenk ▶ Dothraki
February 23, 2014 ·
Hi everyone!
I am super new to Dothraki and I'm wondering about "vos" how come it is used when the negative is already shown in the derivation of verbs.
for example:
Vo(s) lekhos jin mawizze.
Can someone tell me a bit more about "vos" and it's usage if possible? Does it appear in all negative sentences?
Thank you!
Like
Comment
Share

Fig. 3

We notice from the above illustrated pictures that the members of these Facebook groups actively use the *Dothraki* and *High Valyrian* languages in interpersonal communication through posts and comments. Initially, we assumed that we might retrieve data that contained traces of these conlangs, such as certain isolated words or a few short phrases that do not require much knowledge about that particular conlang. However, our findings contradict our initial assumptions, considering that a part of the retrieved digital material also contains complex phrases in *Dothraki*, for instance, that required a certain degree of prior grammar knowledge and vocabulary. The collected corpus is diverse and we managed to diagnose several different instances when these conlangs are used within the fan groups.

One of our corpus collecting 'tools' consists in ***screenshots*** that are taken whenever we consider that the online content might be relevant to our research, such as comments, posts, pictures, etc, that contain *Dothraki* or *High Valyrian* words or any other linguistic elements that suggest the active use of conlangs within the online fan community. We find this approach a pragmatic one because it is not a time-consuming process and it is also an ingenious strategy for corpus compilation, in case some of the community members decide to edit or even delete/ withdraw some of the content that has already been posted.

Consequently, once the screenshots that contain the data we consider relevant and important to our investigation have been taken, we already own the visual evidence of language use within that particular cyber community that can be used as corpus.

4. Conclusions

To sum up, in the present article we wished to offer a brief insight into how online fandom groups engage in different language activities that have their focus of interest the constructed languages created for the HBO 'Game of Thrones' TV series, the *Dothraki* and *High Valyrian* languages. During our investigation, we identified several online platforms (Social Media pages, blogs, forums and apps) that are 'home' to fandom activity, however Facebook represents our main corpus collecting field in the present study. Our research objective was to diagnose instances of *conlang* use within the above-mentioned digital fan groups that engage in interpersonal communication through posts and comments on various topics, either 'Game of Thrones' or language related ones, by taking screenshots of the visual digital material as our main corpus collecting tool.

Up to this point, we report on a satisfactory amount of findings that reflect the fandom members' great interest in constructed language learning. Moreover, we have diagnosed active peer-communication instances as well between the members of the fan base that in most cases lead to content-related peer-teaching and frequent instances of code-switching. However, it is beyond the scope of the present study to give more than a brief overview of these phenomena, which are subject to a more detailed analysis that we are going to pursue in the forthcoming studies.

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A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH: COGNATE OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS WITH *LIVE* AND *DIE*

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ABSTRACT: In the present paper we look at English, Romanian and Hungarian cognate object constructions built on the verbs *live* and *die*. We show that any analysis of these constructions faces the analysis of these verbs and their cognate objects as being exceptional in English in one sense or another. In addition, we argue that, to a certain degree, this is also valid in the case of the Romanian and Hungarian counterparts of these structures.
KEYWORDS: cognate object, *live*, *die*, English, Romanian, Hungarian

1. Introduction

In the present paper we look at cognate object constructions (COC) built on the verbs *live* and *die* in English, Romanian and Hungarian. More precisely, we are interested in the syntactic and semantic features of these constructions built on these two verbs, which are canonically known to exhibit both unaccusative and unergative behaviour, and are frequently considered to be classic examples of the so-called unaccusative mismatch (Levin 1986, Levin & Rappaport 1989). We take the terms 'cognate object' and 'cognate object construction' in the narrowest sense and focus our attention on those VPs where these verbs take a DP object the head noun of which is a nominalization of the verb stem. In the following English examples, although the cognate object (CO) is not root-identical to the verbal base, it is both semantically and morphologically related to it; cf. Jones (1988), Massam (1990), Macfarland (1995), Horita (1996), Matsumoto (1996), Mittwoch (1998), Kuno & Takami (2004), de Swart (2007), Real Puigdollers (2008), Kitahara (2010), Horrocks & Stavrou (2010), among many others.

(1) a. to live a happy/miserable life
 b. to die a peaceful/heroic death

This paper, which focuses exclusively on these two verbs appearing in a COC, sheds light on some interesting properties of the Romanian and Hungarian VP from the perspective of this construction. We start with a general presentation of the unaccusative mismatch and a summary of the English data on *live a life* and *die a death*. Then we dedicate two sections to the Romanian and Hungarian counterparts of these constructions, respectively. The final section concludes.

2. The unaccusative mismatch and the English data

From a syntactic point of view, verbs can be classified as ditransitive, transitive or intransitive, with this latter class further split into four subclasses: prototypical unaccusative, derived unaccusative, prototypical unergative and derived unergative. Whereas ditransitive and transitive verbs seem to be (more) straightforward both cross-linguistically and intra-linguistically, the picture is more complex when it comes to one-argument verbs. In its original form, the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978) stipulates that all one-argument verbs can be neatly and distinctly divided into two, and classified as either unaccusative or unergative. But cross-linguistic and intra-linguistic examination of verbs sheds light on the fact that behind this uniform behaviour – which is indeed displayed by the vast majority of verbs – we can also find examples of verbs that show a mixed behaviour. These verbs of variable behaviour, predicted to be either unaccusative or unergative on the basis of semantic or syntactic tests, do not satisfy these diagnostic requirements. These imperfect matches are called unaccusative mismatches in Levin (1986) and Levin & Rappaport (1989). In short, in these cases there seems to be an imperfect match between the verb expected to behave as unaccusative or unergative by various diagnostics and the actual behaviour of the verb. The verbs *live* and *die* are classic examples of this mismatch, as they exhibit both unaccusative and unergative behaviour.

On the one hand, the verb *live* can appear both in the existential *there*-construction (characteristic of unaccusative verbs; see (2a)), and in the pseudopassive structure and the COC (characteristic of unergative verbs; see (2b) and (2c)):

(2) a. There once lived a king who had three daughters.
  b. This house was once lived in by Napoleon.
  c. He lived a miserable life/the life of an exile.

Interestingly, there does not seem to be any semantic difference between the claimed unaccusative *live* in (2a) and the claimed unergative *live* in (2b) and (2c) (e.g. one being volitional and the other not).

On the other hand, the verb *die*, which – based on its encyclopaedic definition – has been considered unaccusative but it is not purely unaccusative, also shows mixed behaviour, as argued in Kuno & Takami (2004) or Dąbrowska (2016). If we test it against several unaccusativity diagnostic tests valid for English, we observe that according to some of them, such as the selected perfect auxiliary in Early Modern English (3a) and the existential *there*-construction (3b), it should be considered truly unaccusative, as argued in Lavidas (2014). But according to other tests, such as the participial adjective test (3c), the *one's way* construction (3d) and the COC (3e), it should be viewed as truly unergative, as argued in Larson (1988) or Macfarland (1995).

(3) a. Then I knew that the Messenger of God is died.
b. With his death, there died the last surviving player to …
c. *a recently died knight
d. … for when you are lost in the cosmos, you are not lost in a place but in a condition. You could die your way out of it.
e. The soldier died a peaceful/gruesome death/the death of a hero.

These data lead to the general conclusion that this verb should be regarded as exhibiting both unaccusative and unergative behaviour, hence it should be viewed as a classic example of the unaccusative mismatch.

This (syntactically) unaccusative and (aspectually) telic achievement verb, which frequently appears in a cognate configuration, poses serious problems and challenges not only to the unergative restriction on the COC, which states that only unergative verbs can appear in this construction, unaccusative verbs cannot (Kuno & Takami 2004), but also to the aspectual constraint on the same structure, which emphasizes that only atelic activity verbs can occur in this construction, telic achievement verbs cannot (de Swart 2007). The syntactic classification of the verb – according to which the verb, which is not an accusative case-assigner, already has an internal argument and cannot take a second internal argument – favours the adjunct status of the cognate nominal. To put it very simply, as the adjunct position is still available for unaccusatives, the CO accompanying such a verb adjoins the VP, and it is assigned either accusative case in some maximal functional projection or so-called 'pseudo' accusative case under linear adjacency to the verb (Nakajima 2006). This gains additional support from the aspectual classification of the same verb, according to which the only reading the adjunct CO can have is a manner adverbial interpretation. Consequently, the transitivized sentence in (4a) below is equivalent to the intransitive sentence in (4b), which includes the adverbial counterpart of the pre-modifier *peaceful*.

(4) a. to die a peaceful death
b. to die peacefully

This is not unexpected considering that an achievement verb describes the endpoint of an activity/event and shows that the result is instantaneously brought about, and a CO expresses a resultant state or object. Consequently, COCs built on an achievement verb express the result of a result, which is both contradictory and redundant, as argued in Kuno & Takami (2004: 123).

However, if we approach this VP from a diachronic perspective, we immediately remark that the situation was different in earlier stages of the language. As highlighted by Visser (1963), the VP *die a death* may have developed from earlier V + dative (or instrumental) case patterns, with the dative complement functioning as an adverbial adjunct of manner. Going beyond the unaccusativity of the verb, Kuno & Takami (2004) reach a similar conclusion: they take into consideration the diachrony of the COC built on this verb and report that in Middle

English the noun *death* in *die a death* was used with different prepositions such as *with*, *by*, *on* or *of*, and described only the manner in which one died but not the result. In present-day English, the preposition is dropped making the occurrence of this verb in the COC similar on the surface to that of other verbs occurring in this structure. Thus, the authors emphasize that although many studies have treated the COC *die a death* as being exactly the same as the construction involving other intransitive (more precisely, unergative and activity) verbs such as *smile* in *smile a broad smile*, it is necessary to distinguish them and recognize that they have historically different derivational processes. More recently, Lavidas (2013) examines the frequency of the *die – death* combination in diverse electronic historical corpora and concludes that, besides being the most frequent cognate combination, the first examples of this construction are found after 1350, and its highest frequency is during the period between 1420 and 1500.

What is more, the following examples cast light on some differences between these two verbs and the COCs built on them in terms of the syntactic tests of *it*-pronominalization (5), passivization (6) and *what*-interrogative (7); see Kuno & Takami (2004: 132) and Jones (1988: 89):

(5) a. He lived a happy trouble-free life. He could live it (= the life) because his wife took care of all the difficulties.
b. He died a terrible, lingering death. *There was no reason for him to die it (= the death) with all the powerful painkillers we have nowadays.
(6) a. Life can be lived in many different ways.
b. *A tragic death was died by my friend.
(7) a. John lived an eventful life. What did John live? An eventful life.
b. John died a gruesome death. *What did John die? A gruesome death.

What we see here is that *live* behaves like a regular transitive or transitively-used intransitive verb taking a nominal, which is accidentally related to the verb from a morphological point of view. In addition, this nominal behaves like a fully referential and subcategorized nominal with an argument status as shown by the fact that it passes the pronominalization and passivization tests, and it can also constitute the answer to a *wh*-question introduced by *what*. But the verb *die* behaves like an intransitive verb, which takes a non-referential and non-subcategorized nominal, which does not have an argument status. This is shown by the fact that it cannot be replaced with the non-expletive *it*, it cannot appear in the derived subject position of a passive structure and it does not constitute the answer to a *wh*-question introduced by *what*.

In sum, at first sight the occurrence of the verbs *live* and *die* in a COC seems interesting and unique, considering the fact that they have received contradictory treatments, they are oft-cited examples in debates revolving around the precise borderline between unaccusative and unergative verbs, and are classic examples of the unaccusative mismatch. However, upon closer inspection, it turns out that any analysis of COCs faces the analysis of these verbs (and especially the verb *die*) and their cognate objects as being exceptional in one sense or another. As shown in the following two sections, this, to a certain degree, is also valid in the case of the Romanian and Hungarian counterparts of these constructions.

3. The Romanian data

The verbs *live* and *die* can take a semantic and morphological CO expressed by an object DP (and not only an adjunct PP) even in Romance languages, which are generally known to lack aspectual COCs built on a prototypical unergative verb and a DP object, which is a morphological 'copy' of the verb (e.g. *to smile a broad smile*); cf. Real Puigdollers (2008) or Melloni & Masini (2017). The following examples illustrate the Italian (8a), French (8b) and Spanish (8c) data:

(8) a. *vivere una vita serena/ morire una buona morte*
live a life happy die a good death
'to live a happy life/to die a good death'
(Melloni & Masini 2017: 264)
b. *vivre la vie avec patience* (Serrano 2004: 53)
live the life with patience
'to live life with patience'
c. *vivir una vida miserable/ morir una muerta gloriosa*
live a life miserable die a death glorious
'to live a miserable life/to die a glorious death'
(Gallego 2012: 108)

Similarly, in Romanian, besides those VPs where the CO is only semantically related to the verb as in *a trăi o viață fericită* 'to live a happy life', COs that are morphologically related to the verb are also found in present-day Romanian as illustrated below:

(9) *a trăi un trai fericit/ a muri o moarte naturală* (CoRoLa)
to live a life happy to die a death natural.FEM
'to live a happy life/to die a natural death'

In addition, (10) contains an example where the CO anaphorically refers to a sentence built on a finite verb with which it is corradical. This example, where the CO and the verb are separated by a comma, involves a non-restrictive apposition:

(10) *a murit, o moarte cu totul neașteptată* (CoRoLa)
have.PST.3SG died a death with everything unexpected.FEM
'he/she died, a completely unexpected death'

It is a well-known fact that in this Romance language COCs are extremely frequent in Old Romanian, less frequent in Middle Romanian and (very) rare in Modern Romanian, where they are used especially in popular speech and religious texts. In the latter case, they copy pleonastic structures occurring in the original Slavonic religious texts, which, in turn, are taken over literally from the Greek and, ultimately, from the Hebrew versions of the texts; cf. Frâncu (2009); Dragomirescu (2010, 2013); Dragomirescu & Nicolae (2013); Pană Dindelegan (2016); Nicula Paraschiv & Niculescu (2016) and Farkas (2020). Some examples from Old Romanian are given below:

(11) a. *așa de veaselă viiață vețuiesc* (SVI, 178)
such of happy.FEM life live.PRS.1SG
'I am living such a happy life'
b. *aș vie viiață îngerască* (A, 148)
would live.PRS.1SG life angelic.FEM
'I would live an angelic life'
c. *moartea, ce murиră toți feciorii Eghipetului* (FD, 142)
death.DET that died all son.PL Egypt.POSS
'the death that all sons of Egypt had died'

As shown by these examples, the CO in the singular can be an indefinite or a definite noun, and the modifier is either an adjective or a relative clause built on the verb with which the CO is corradical.

Besides this DP pattern, the same object nominal can be turned into an adjunct PP. In addition to the cognate nominal being the complement of the prepositions *de* 'of' in the so-called *of*-pattern (see (12a)) or *cu* 'with' in the so-called *with*-pattern (see (12b)), as shown in Melloni & Masini (2017: 222) for other Romance languages, the nominal *moarte* 'death' can also be nested in a PP headed by the preposition *în* 'in' (see (12c)). The following examples are from both Modern and Old Romanian:

(12) a. *a murit de o moarte romantică/ violentă* (CoRoLa)
have.PST.3SG died of a death romantic.FEM violent.FEM
'he/she died of a romantic/violent death'
b. *cu moartea va muri* (AD, 31)
with death.DET will.3SG die
'he/she will die a death'
c. *în moartea celor neobrezuiț vei muri* (BB, 554)
in death.DET those.GEN uncircumcised.PL will.2SG die
'you shall die the deaths of the uncircumcised'

These examples show that COCs built on the verbs *a trăi* 'to live', *a viețui* 'to live' and *a muri* 'to die' are very productive and frequent in different diachronic stages of the language. However, similarly to their Romance counterparts, these constructions might sound formulaic and their use may stylistically be marked.

4. The Hungarian data

The verbs *live* and *die* can take a semantic and morphological CO expressed by an object DP (and not only an adjunct PP) even in Hungarian, which – similarly to Romanian and more generally Romance languages – is known to lack aspectual COCs in the literal sense of the word, as shown in Farkas (2019). However, the author demonstrates that although Hungarian lacks the English-type of aspectual COC, it has a wide variety of non-referential and non-thematic pseudo-objects, which are not literally cognate with the verb they accompany but fulfil the function of the aspectual CO in this language. Consequently, the Hungarian counterpart of the canonical aspectual COC *to smile a broad smile* is not **mosolyogni egy széles mosolyt* '(lit.) to smile a broad smile.ACC' but *mosolyogni egy széleset* '(lit.) to smile a broad.ACC'. Interestingly, these two verbs under consideration in this paper are, again, exceptions in the sense that they take a full (premodified) nominal that is cognate with them (13a) and not an accusative-marked pseudo-object (13b):

(13) a. *titkos* *életet* *élni/* *hősi* *halált* *halni*
secret life.ACC live heroic death.ACC die
'to live a secret life/to die a heroic death'
b. **titkosat* *élni/* **hősit* *halni*
secret.ACC live heroic.ACC die
'to live a secret life/to die a heroic death'

Csirmaz (2008) claims that an account of the pseudo-objects of the type *egy széleset* 'a broad.ACC' above in terms of a CO ellipsis seems viable but she argues against their CO analysis. There are two major reasons behind this choice: first, COs cannot always be added as shown in **mosolyogni egy széles mosolyt* 'to smile a broad smile' and second, the CO cannot always be elided as shown in **hősit halni* 'to die a heroic death'. Farkas (2019) claims that in Hungarian there are two types of COCs. On the one hand, there is the prototypical COC pattern, also known from languages such as English, where the (modified) DP object is a semantic and morphological 'copy' of the verb. In this case, it is precisely the obligatory presence of the CO nominal that defines the construction, as shown in (13) above. On the other hand, there is the less prototypical COC pattern, not known from languages such as English, where the CO is expressed either by the semantically light pseudo-object *egyet* 'one.ACC' (as in *mosolyogni egyet* 'to smile a smile') or by an accusative-marked adjective functioning as a pseudo-object (as in *mosolyogni egy széleset* 'to smile a broad smile'). In this case, it is precisely the obligatory absence of the CO nominal that defines the construction.

In addition to the fact that these two verbs are not compatible with an accusative-marked adjective having the role of a CO in the language, it is interesting to notice that they are also incompatible with the lexically reduced pseudo-object *egyet* 'one.ACC':

(14) **A* *katona* *élt* *egyet/* *halt* *egyet.*
the soldier live.PST.3SG one.ACC die.PST.3SG one.ACC
'The soldier lived a life/died a death.'

As argued in Farkas & Kardos (2018), the telicity of the achievement verb *halni* 'to die' would only be compatible, for instance, with the telicity of a verbal particle such as *meg* in *meghalni* '(lit.) PRT.to.die' but not with the semantic properties of the pseudo-object *egyet* 'one.ACC', which encodes an aspectual operator that picks out a contextually specified non-maximal subpart of the event in the denotation of the predicate. The only case where the particle verb *meghalni* '(lit.) PRT.to.die' can co-occur with the nominal *halál* 'death' is where the latter is an adjunct; cf. (15) below, where the preverbal PP adjunct requires that the particle *meg* be in the immediately postverbal position:

(15) *A* *katona* *természetes/* *hirtelen* *halállal* *halt* *meg.*
the soldier natural sudden death.INSTR die.PST.3SG PRT
'The soldier died a natural/sudden death.'

An interesting (aspectual) difference between these two verbs is that whereas *élni* 'to live' can appear unaccompanied either by a (telicizing) particle or a CO (see (16a)), the verb *halni* 'to die' cannot (see (16b)).

(16) a. *Élt* *egyszer* *egy* *ember* *aki ...*
live.PST.3SG once a man who
'There once lived a man who …'
b. **A* *katona* *a* *harcmezőn* *halt.*
the soldier the batterfield.SUP die.PST.3SG
'The soldier died on the batterfield.'

Similarly to English, the modified CO accompanying these verbs can have a manner interpretation. Hence, the transitivized sentence in (17a) below is equivalent to the intransitive sentence in (17b), which includes the adverbial counterpart of the pre-modifier *hősi* 'heroic':

(17) a. *A* *katona* *hősi* *halált* *halt.*
the soldier heroic death.ACC die.PST.3SG
'The soldier died a heroic death.'
b. *A* *katona* *hősiesen* *halt* *meg.*
the soldier heroically die.PST.3SG PRT
'The soldier died heroically.'

In sum, the Hungarian verbs *élni* 'to live' and *halni* 'to die' not only famously and frequently occur in the COC but they also take a full cognate nominal instead of an accusative-marked pseudo-object, a pattern that usually characterizes the cognate object constructions of this language.

5. Conclusion

In the present paper, we have looked at the verbs *live* and *die* appearing in a cognate object construction in English, Romanian and Hungarian. We summarized the literature on the English *live a life* and *die a death* constructions, and concluded that any analysis of COCs faces the analysis of these verbs (and especially the verb *die*) and their cognate objects as being exceptional in one sense or another. Then we turned to the Romanian and Hungarian counterparts of these VPs, and we noticed that, to a certain degree, the exceptional quality of these constructions is valid in the case of these two languages as well.

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DISCURSUL RAPORTAT DIN PERSPECTIVĂ POLIFONICĂ

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ABSTRACT: Articolul pleacă de la cercetările inspirate de teoria polifonică a enunţării (Ducrot 1984; Nølke *et alii* 2004), situîndu-se în cadrul lingvisticii şi pragmaticii textuale. Vom adopta, în analiza discursului raportat, o perspectivă polifonică uşor diferită de cea a grupului Scapoline, punând la baza distincţiei celor patru tipuri disocierea locutor/enunţător. Vom deosebi aşadar pentru început un discurs raportat care pune în scenă doi locutori (tipurile DD şi DDL) de unul care pune în scenă un locutor şi un enunţător (tipurile DI şi DIL). Analiza exemplelor conduce la stabilirea unor diferenţe specifice între DD şi DDL, pe de o parte, şi între DI și DIL, pe de altă parte. Datele furnizate de analiza exemplelor vor fi validate prin două analize de text literar.
CUVINTE-CHEIE: polifonie, discurs raportat, locutor, enunţător, situaţie de enunţare

Într-un articol publicat în 2003, Laurence Rosier[1], face un "bilanţ critic" al abordărilor discursului raportat, din perspectiva Şcolii franceze de analiza discursului. După opinia lui Rosier, discursul raportat aparţine de drept analizei discursului deoarece formele şi funcţiile sale sunt "emblematice" pentru construirea unui raport social, depăşind astfel cadrul unei simple abordări gramaticale. Aceasta din urmă a predominat în prima jumătate a secolului XX, în ciuda orientării spre enunţare, imprimată de Charles Bally, astfel că, în studiile asupra discursului indirect liber (DIL), abordările gramaticale se confruntau cu cele stilistice. DIL-ul se afla aşadar în centrul unei discuţii dintre gramatică şi stilistică privind caracterul hibrid al formelor lingvistice, discuţie dublată de critica tezelor lui Saussure de către Bahtin/Voloşinov. În anii 50-60, discursul raportat face obiectul unor abordări predominant filologice sau literare. A fost nevoie, spune Rosier, de o "deplasare epistemologică radicală" înspre conceptul de eterogenitate enunţiativă pentru ca discursul raportat să fie abordat în termenii lingvisticii textului şi a discursului. Premisele acestei deplasări epistemologice au fost puse de teoriile enunţării, reprezentate în anii 60 de lucrările lui Emile Benveniste, iar în anii 80 de cele ale lui Oswald Ducrot şi Jacqueline Authier-Revuz[2]. Integrarea conceptului de

[1] Laurence Rosier este profesor de lingvistică la Universitatea Liberă din Bruxelles şi autoarea unei lucrări de referinţă despre discursul raportat în limba franceză, apărută în 1999.

[2] Jacqueline Authier-Revuz, profesor emerit de lingvistică franceză, axează fenomenul de discurs raportat pe trei opoziţii majore : (1) discurs raportat în sens strict şi modalizare prin trimitere la un alt discurs ; (2) semn standard şi semn autonim ; (3) eterogenitate marcată şi eterogenitate constitutivă.

enunţare în cercetările de lingvistica textului şi a discursului constituie o cotitură în măsura în care aceste cercetări pun accentul pe subiectul vorbitor şi pe mecanismele punerii sale în scenă în discurs, printre care discursul raportat ocupă un loc important. O dovedeşte modelul elaborat de Authier-Revuz (1984, 1992) în jurul conceptelor de eterogenitate marcată vs eterogenitate constitutivă.

1. Discursul raportat în viziunea polifoniştilor scandinavi

Pornind de la teoria polifonică a lui Ducrot, membrii grupului *Scapoline*[3] propun o abordare a discursului raportat din perspectivă polifonică. Pentru cercetătorii scandinavi, discursul raportat este un fenomen textual situat la confluenţa studiilor de polifonie lingvistică şi literară. Pentru a denumi acest fenomen de polifonie textuală, ei recurg la termenul, propus de Fairclough în 1988, de *discurs reprezentat* (DR) ca termen generic pentru toate tipurile de discurs raportat. Potrivit concepţiei Scapoline, locutorul (LOC) reprezintă în discursul său, prin diverse strategii, discursul altui locutor, numit locutor reprezentat (LR), care este, ca şi LOC, o figură a discursului (fr. *être discursif*). Pot fi reprezentate cuvinte, adică acte verbale, sau gânduri, adică acte psihice parţial verbalizate şi chiar un discurs dialogal.

Între o abordare formală a DR, vizând aspecte pur lingvistice (transpunerea timpurilor verbale, modificări ale sistemului deictic etc.) şi o abordare funcţională vizând natura fenomenului însuşi, Nølke *et alii* (2004) optează pentru cea din urmă. Ei îşi propun deci să efectueze o descriere funcţională şi polifonică a DR, care să ofere posibilitatea de a explica sau chiar de a prevedea caracteristicile sale lingvistice. În termeni polifonici, discursul reprezentat este un caz particular de polifonie externă, deoarece obiectul reprezentării este enunţul sau discursul unui LR, nu doar punctul său de vedere. Mai mult, conform concepţiei lui Ducrot despre sens, enunţul reprezentat vehiculează şi enunţarea locutorului reprezentat (sursa sau autorul enunţului), ceea ce înseamnă că DR reflectă atât forma cât şi conţinutul discursului sursă.

Actul de reprezentare se poate focaliza pe diverse aspecte ale enunţului sursă: poate insista pe actul enunţării şi lăsa în umbră rezultatul acestuia; sau poate insista atât de mult pe conţinut încât să şteargă aproape urmele enunţării. *In extremis*, reprezentarea se poate focaliza fie pe formă, fie pe conţinut iar aceste opţiuni se pot combina între ele, dând naştere la diverse variante de discurs reprezentat.

Enunţul sursă poate fi reprezentat în mod literal sau mijlocit, poate beneficia sau nu de un element introductor numit *inquit*. Combinând aceşti doi parametri, *Scapoline* distinge patru "prototipuri" de discurs reprezentat:

- dacă LOC prezintă discursul lui LR sub forma sa literală, avem de-a face cu un *discurs direct*; dacă recuge la o reprezentare mijlocită, mediatizată, avem de a face cu un *discurs indirect*;

[3] ScaPoLine desemnează "teoria scandinavă a polifoniei lingvistice", elaborată în cadrul unui proiect interdisciplinar iniţiat de o echipă de cercetători scandinavi, lingvişti şi specialişti de literatură. Teoria a fost prezentată în lucrarea *Scapoline. La théorie scandinave de la polyphonie linguistique*, publicată la Paris în 2004 sub semnătura lui Henning Nølke, Kjersti Fløttum şi Coco Norén.

- dacă LOC introduce discursul reprezentat printr-un element numit *inquit*, avem de-a face cu un *discurs raportat*; dacă nu recurge la un element introductor, avem de-a face cu un *discurs liber*.

Cele patru tipuri rezultate sunt: discurs direct raportat (DDR), discurs indirect raportat (DIR), discurs direct liber (DDL) şi discurs indirect liber (DIL). Deşi această clasificare în patru tipuri are un caracter reductor, având în vedere faptul că există o serie de forme mixte de discurs reprezentat (cf. Rosier 1999), ea constituie pentru autori un bun punct de plecare pentru analiza fenomenelor de polifonie textuală.

Este de remarcat modul în care sunt definiţi parametrii care servesc la descrierea celor patru tipuri de DR. Pentru a specifica funcţia enunţiativă a elementului introductor, polifoniştii scandinavi recurg la distincţia stabilită de Wittgenstein între a spune (*dire*) şi a arăta (*montrer*), de care filozoful austriac s-a servit pentru a defini performativele explicite în raport cu cele implicite. Folosirea unui element introductor îi permite locutorului *să spună* că reprezintă în enunţul său enunţul unui LR, ceea ce înseamnă că îl *raportează*. În lipsa elementului introductor, locutorul se mărgineşte *să arate* că reprezintă acel enunţ, deci nu îl raportează.

În ce priveşte opoziţia direct/indirect, ea ţine mai degrabă, în concepţia grupului *Scapoline*, de fenomenul de *încorporare enunţiativă*: în formele indirecte, LOC încorporează enunţarea discursului reprezentat propriului său enunţ, în timp ce în formele directe, îi păstrează - într-o măsură mai mare sau mai mică - statutul de enunţare autonomă.

Discursul raportat (DDR sau DIR) este, potrivit modelului *Scapoline*, un fenomen de "polifonie deschisă", deoarece LOC îşi asumă în mod deschis răspunderea reprezentării discursului sursă, în timp ce discursul liber (DDL sau DIL) este un fenomen de "polifonie disimulată" întrucât LOC pune "mai direct pe scenă locutorul reprezentat" (2004: 64) şi nu-şi asumă în mod deschis răspunderea pentru exactitatea reprezentării.

2. O altă abordare polifonică

Abordarea pe care o propunem se foloseşte, cum era de aşteptat, atât de rezultatele studiilor franceze (Authier-Revuz, Rosier) cât şi de cele ale polifoniştilor scandinavi.

În ce priveşte denumirea fenomenului, suntem de acord cu poziţia grupului *Scapoline*, conform căreia, doar formele care beneficiază de un element introductor, adică discursul direct şi cel indirect se încadrează perfect în categoria *discurs raportat*. Dar sunt cazuri în care discursul direct nu este introdus printr-un verb de comunicare, ceea ce pune în discuţie apartenenţa acestor forme (cf. ex. 1) la categoria de discurs raportat. Pe de altă parte, termenul de *discurs reprezentat*, atribuit de Scapoline celor patru tipuri (DDR, DIR, DIL, DDL), s-ar preta mai mult cazurilor în care actul reprezentării este implicit, adică DIL şi DDL care se opun astfel formelor de discurs raportat DDR şi DIR. În această accepţiune, noţiunea de discurs reprezentat ar mai putea include discursul direct atipic (ex. 1), formele mixte de discurs raportat (ex. 2) precum şi discursul narativizat (ex. 3), astfel că sfera noţională a categoriei în cauză ar putea fi mult mai largă.

(1) Irina se întoarse mirată spre el: "Ce vrei să spui cu asta?"
Matei îşi îmbrăţişă fiul: " Sunt mându de tine, dragul meu!"
(2) Mama simţise că "ăsta moare" dacă nu-l lasă să se ducă. (M. Preda, *Marele singuratic*)
Aici Iosif se opri şi repetă întrebarea: Îşi mai aducea Moromete aminte? (ibidem)
(3) Cînd se întâlnesc, discută politică sau afaceri
Noul venit le povesti totul din fir a păr

În cele ce urmează, vom recurge, pentru a denumi cele patru tipuri de bază, la termenul de *discurs raportat*, consacrat de o lungă tradiţie lingvistică, rezervându-l pe cel de *discurs reprezentat* pentru accepţiunea generică care subsumează, pe de o parte, discursul raportat iar, pe de alta, diverse alte modalităţi de reprezentare a actelor verbale: forme mixte, discurs narativizat sau procedee de punere la distanţă a discursului cum ar fi condiţionalul mediativ (*X s-ar fi retras din politică*) sau locuţiunea *se pare* (*se pare că X s-a retras din politică*).

Reprezentarea, în discursul locutorului, a unui discurs străin provenit dintr-un alt act de enunţare decât discursul locutorului presupune în primul rând punerea în relaţie a unui discurs citat (DCat) şi a unui discurs citant (DCant). Deşi aceşti termeni s-ar preta pe deplin doar cazurilor în care discursul străin este raportat sub forma sa literală, adică în discursul direct sau direct liber, îi vom folosi din raţiuni practice şi în celelalte două cazuri.

Vom adopta, în analiza discursului raportat, o perspectivă polifonică uşor diferită de cea a grupului *Scapoline*, punând la baza distincţiei celor patru tipuri disocierea dintre locutor şi enunţător[4]. În termenii teoriei polifonice a enunţării (Ducrot 1984), locutorul este autorul enunţului, instanţa care asumă responsabilitatea actului locuţionar, şi centrul reperajului deictic (*eu-aici-acum*). Enunţătorul este o atitudine, un punct de vedere, o poziţie enunţiativă aparţinând locutorului sau unei surse străine de locutor, dar fără a se asocia unui act locuţionar. Locutorul "pune în scenă" unul sau mai mulţi enunţători sau locutori secundari, luând poziţie faţă de atitudinile şi punctele lor de vedere.

Vom deosebi deci pentru început un discurs raportat care pune în scenă doi locutori (tipurile DD şi DDL) de unul care pune în scenă un locutor şi un enunţător (tipurile DI şi DIL). Să examinăm din această perspectivă următoarele exemple:

[4] Vorbim de o distincţie cu valoare operaţională şi nu de o opoziţie radicală între locutor şi enunţător. Când poziţia sa enunţiativă este în concordanţă cu enunţul său, locutorul se identifică cu enunţătorul: L/E. Disocierea lor este însă deosebit de utilă în cazul în care locutorul se distanţează de enunţul său sau de cel al altui locutor. Deci, chiar dacă aceste două faţete ale instanţei de enunţare sunt corelate, disjuncţia lor prezintă un cert interes teoretic pentru descrierea discursului raportat, cu precădere a discursului indirect liber.

(4) Când eram mică, tata mă întreba deseori: "Ştii ce îmi doresc mai mult în viaţă? Aş dori să mă întorc în ţara mea". (*Dilema veche*, 1-7 febr. 2018, p. 2)
(5) După ce s-a întors, l-am întrebat cum este cu aselenizarea. Spre surprinderea mea, mi-a răspuns că totul i s-a părut o minciună. (ibidem)
(6) M-am întâlnit azi cu Mihai. Şi-a găsit în fine locuinţă: doar o cameră şi o bucătărie mică, e drept, dar nici că-i trebuia mai mult
(7) Elena îi făcea tot timpul reproşuri soţului ei. De ce-ai cumpărat atâta brânză? Şi de ce la preţul ăsta? În colţ găseai mai ieftină

Discursul direct din (4) şi direct liber din (7) fac să răsune două voci: cea a unui locutor primar L, autor al DCant şi cea a unui locutor secundar l, autor al DCat. Doi locutori distincţi înseamnă două acte de enunţare distincte având fiecare propriul cadru referenţial şi propriul centru deictic. Să analizăm mai întâi exemplul (4), extras dintr-un interviu pe care fiica profesorului Neagu Djuvara l-a oferit revistei *Dilema veche* :

Locutor primar: L	Alocutor: *Dilema veche*	Timp-spaţiu: febr. 2018, redacţia DV
Loc. secundar: l (*tata*)	Alocutor: L	Timp-spaţiu: copilăria lui L, Paris

L este Domnica, fiica lui Neagu Djuvara, care evocă, la solicitarea jurnalistului de la DV, un dialog pe care l-a avut cu tatăl ei pe când era copil şi se aflau la Paris. Sunt informaţiile pe care ni le furnizează DCant şi interdiscursul mediatic. Ele servesc la stabilirea referinţei discursului citat.

Să abordăm acum exemplul (7), unde vom deosebi din nou cadrul referenţial al DCant de cadrul referenţial al DCat:

Locutor primar: L	Alocutor: X	Timp-spaţiu: Z
Loc. secundar: l (*Elena*)	Alocutor (*soţul ei*)	Timp-spaţiu: T > Z

(7) este un exemplu imaginar în care L este persoana care relatează lui X într-un timp-spaţiu Z ceea ce am putea numi o scenă de menaj. Aflăm din DCant că locutorul secundar este Elena care se adresează soţului ei şi că aceste scene aveau loc la întoarcerea soţului acasă de la cumpărături.

În ambele cazuri (4 şi 7), DCant evocă un eveniment comunicativ iar DCat reproduce literal (sau pretinde că reproduce) spusele protagonistului acestui eveniment: tatăl, care adresează o întrebare fiicei sale - la care răspunde tot el - şi, respectiv, Elena, care, tot sub forma unor întrebări, face o serie de reproşuri soţului ei.

Ce deosebeşte însă discursul direct de discursul direct liber? Relaţia care se stabileşte între DCat şi DCant în funcţie de prezenţa sau absenţa verbului introductor şi a ghilimelelor, dacă ne referim la formele tipice de DD şi de DDL. Prezenţa, în formele tipice de DD, a unui *verbum dicendi* tranzitiv, face din segmentul corespunzător DCat un complement direct al DCant. Deşi construit prin juxtapunere, acest complement este marcat grafic prin două puncte şi ghilimele, ceea ce asigură în acest caz o legătură strânsă între DCat şi DCant. Lipsa verbului introductor, a relaţiei completive implicite şi a ghilimelelor face ca, în cazul DDL, legătura dintre DCat şi DCant să fie una de ordin pur semantic.

În schimb, discursul indirect (ex. 5) şi indirect liber (ex. 6) nu fac să răsune decât o singură voce : cea a locutorului care construieşte întregul enunţ. Conform teoriei polifonice, acest locutor pune în scenă doi enunţători: E1, care corespunde discursului citant, şi E2, care corespunde discursului citat. Dacă DCant, care evocă un dialog al lui L cu o terţă persoană, este bine ancorat în situaţia de enunţare, având propriul centru deictic ("*eu* l-am întrebat, *mi*-a răspuns" şi respectiv "*m*-am întâlnit cu Mihai"), DCat nu are un centru deictic propriu, nu este un discurs actualizat (*en situation*) ca în cazurile anterioare ci un discurs neactualizat (*hors situation*), unul care a fost deconectat de situaţia iniţială şi transpus în parametrii actului de enunţare construit de L: *mi s-a părut* devine astfel *i s-a părut* şi *mi-am găsit* devine *şi-a găsit*.

Cărui fapt i se datorează deconectarea DCat de situaţia iniţială şi reducerea locutorului secundar la statutul de enunţător? Fenomenului pe care polifoniştii scandinavi îl denumesc încorporare enunţiativă: în (5) şi (6), locutorul "constructor" încorporează enunţarea locutorului secundar propriului său enunţ, ceea ce duce la pierderea autonomiei enunţiative a DCat ; mărcile persoanei întâi sunt înlocuite cu cele ale persoanei a treia, iar prezentul este înlocuit (uneori) cu imperfectul, ca în (6). În cazul discursului indirect (ex. 5), încorporarea enunţiativă este dublată de o încorporare sintactică : DCat este inclus - prin adverbul *cum*, respectiv conjuncţia *că* - în DCant sub forma unei subordonate cu funcţia de complement direct al verbelor *a întreba* şi *a răspunde*. În cazul discursului indirect liber (ex. 6), DCat îşi păstrează autonomia sintactică, ceea ce îi conferă şi o anumită individualitate enunţiativă: elemente ca *în fine*, *e drept*, *dar*, *nici că* sunt urme ale actului de enunţare care a stat la baza discursului citat.

3. Mărcile discordanţei enunţiative

Să ne oprim puţin asupra acestor elemente care joacă un rol decisiv în analiza formelor "libere" de discurs raportat, DIL şi DDL. Ele semnalează o schimbare a planului de enunţare, o "discordanţă enunţiativă" în termenii lui Rosier (1999), ceea ce, în condiţiile autonomiei sintactice a discursului citat, constituie unicul indiciu al trecerii de la DCant la DCat. Este faptul care i-a determinat atât pe Rosier cât şi pe polifoniştii scandinavi să acorde acestor elemente o atenţie cu totul specială.

În concepţia lui Rosier, aceste elemente sunt mărci ale discordanţei enunţiative, care funcţionează ca un fel de interfaţă între DCant şi DCat. Ele concură la actualizarea, în diverse grade, a discursului citat şi oriunde apar - în DD, DI, DIL sau DDL - fac oficiul de "semne actualizatoare" (*ibid*., p. 153). Rosier include în această categorie: conectorii argumentativi, rupturile modale (schimbarea modalităţii de enunţare), morfemele de afirmaţie sau negaţie, interjecţiile şi rupturile lexicale (schimbare de registru stilistic).

Pentru Nølke *et alii* (2004) aceste elemente sunt expresii *à sens montré* (EM), adică expresii care au la bază operaţia enunţiativă de monstraţie. Ele depind direct de actul de enunţare, ca şi deicticele şi se comportă diferit în cele patru tipuri de discurs reprezentat, în funcţie de modalitatea, proprie fiecăruia, de a pune în scenă locutorul reprezentat. Lista acestor expresii include, la polifoniştii scandinavi, cam aceleaşi elemente ca şi la Rosier: exclamaţii, adverbe de enunţ, adverbe de enunţare şi conectori de tipul *deci*, *cu toate astea*.

Pentru a sesiza mai bine specificul acestor elemente, vom analiza două exemple de DIL (6 şi 8) şi două de DDL (7 şi 9), unde DCat este semnalat prin italice:

(6) M-am întâlnit azi cu Mihai. *Şi-a găsit în fine locuinţă: doar o cameră şi o bucătărie mică, e drept, dar nici că-i trebuia mai mult*
(7) Elena îi făcea tot timpul reproşuri soţului ei. *De ce-ai cumpărat atâta brânză? Şi de ce la preţul ăsta? În colţ găseai mai ieftină*
(8) Ghinea se simte fericit şi e vesel, parc-ar fi cîştigat la loterie. *Bine c-a găsit pe bătrînul cela. Şi iacă, nici nu i-a mulţumit cum se cuvenea. Ar fi trebuit barem să întrebe unde să-i trimită cei doi lei...Ce-o să zică omul acela cumsecade de dînsul?* (L. Rebreanu, *Cuceritorul*)
(9) Se aşezară amîndoi, cuminţi, pe marginea canapelei şi deschiseră albumul. O filă, încă una*, ah, ia stai puţin, dă înapoi, te rog,vreau să văd ceva aici... nu, acolo sus, ia uite...* Un album aşa cum fiecare are prin casă, undeva, într-un colţ mai dosnic. (N. Breban, *Bunavestire*)

În (6) şi (8), DCat nu are autonomie enunţiativă, centrul său deictic fiind subordonat centrului deictic al DCant, astfel că gândurile lui Ghinea şi spusele lui Mihai nu sunt redate la persoana întâi ci la persoana a 3-a, trecând prin filtrul discursului locutorului. Discursul raportat de tip DIL este exploatat cu predilecţie de naraţiunea literară, dar întâlnit uneori şi în limbajul curent.

Ce ne permite să disociem, într-o secvenţă narativă la persoana a treia, discursul citant de discursul citat? Altfel spus, ce ne îndreptăţeşte să atribuim, în (8), enunţul cu litere romane naratorului, iar cel cu italice, personajului Ghinea? Tocmai acele mărci ale discordanţei enunţiative care indică clar o schimbare a planului de enunţare. Pe lângă modalizatorul *bine că* şi deicticul *iacă* apar şi alte mărci ale subiectivităţii lingvistice: adverbul *barem* (un ardelenism) şi interogaţia care include o evaluare afectivă (*cumsecade*). Aceste caracteristici: subiectivitate, afectivitate, oralitate trimit la discursul interior al personajului Ghinea.

Dacă, în (8), discursul oblic numit DIL îi permitea naratorului să-l introducă pe cititor în mintea şi în conştiinţa personajului său, în (6), aceeaşi strategie discursivă îi permite unui locutor, într-o situaţie de comunicare curentă, să-i relateze alocutorului spusele prietenului lor comun, Mihai. Discursul citat nu are aici pregnanţa celui din exemplul precedent, subiectivitatea locutorului redus la statutul de enunţător manifestându-se cu precădere la nivelul orientării argumentative a DCat, marcată prin modalizatori (*în fine*, *e drept*), o variabilă argumentativă (*doar*) şi o structură concesivă bazată pe tandemul *e drept... dar*.

Acelaşi tip de analiză se poate aplica şi exemplelor (7) şi (9), care ilustrează un discurs raportat de tip DDL, în ipostaza sa literară sau non literară. Dat fiind că, spre deosebire de DIL, DDL acordă discursului citat nu doar o autonomie sintactică ci şi una enunţiativă în raport cu discursul citant, ne aşteptăm ca această autonomie enunţiativă să se manifeste prin mai multe "semne actualizatoare" decât în cazul precedent. Dar, în primul rând, ce ne indică în acest caz că avem de-a face cu un discurs raportat?

Secvenţa narativă cu litere romane din exemplul (9) nu conţine niciun element care ar putea prefigura un act de vorbire. Ce ne îndreptăţeşte atunci să spunem că enunţul cu italice se raportează la discursul naratorului ca un discurs citat la un discurs citant? În primul rând trecerea de la persoana a treia la persoanele interlocuţiunii şi de la timpul trecut la timpul prezent. În al doilea rând, existenţa unui raport DCant/DCat este semnalată de mărcile discordanţei enunţiative care indică o schimbare de locutor şi de cadru referenţial: frazele nominale *o filă, încă una* (care trimit la gesturi), interjecţia *ah*, verbele la imperativ şi deicticele (*înapoi*, *aici*, *acolo sus*, *ia uite*).

Exemplul (7) prezintă o situaţie uşor diferită faţă de (9) în sensul că discursul locutorului primar include un element care poate anunţa un act de vorbire: locuţiunea verbală *a face reproşuri*. Ea facilitează în acest caz stabilirea unui raport DCant/DCat între două enunţuri la timpul trecut: unul la persoana a treia aparţinând locutorului primar şi altul la persoana a doua aparţinând locutorului secundar. Mărcile care servesc la actualizarea DCat sunt, pe lângă persoana a doua, interogaţiile şi deicticele (*ăsta, în colţ*).

În cele ce urmează vom încerca să analizăm modul de funcţionare al acestor tipuri de discurs raportat precum şi funcţia pe care o dobândesc în textul literar.

4. Discursul raportat în texte literare

"Una din cele mai răspîndite şi mai importante teme ale vorbirii umane, spune Bahtin (1982: 199) este redarea şi discutarea discursului şi a cuvintelor altuia", afirmaţie valabilă atât pentru conversaţie ca "gen primar" de discurs cât şi pentru unele genuri "derivate" ca romanul sau reportajul.

4.1. De la dialog la monolog: N. Breban, **Bunavestire**

Genurile narative sunt cele care acordă discursului raportat un loc de prim ordin în organizarea textului şi un rol esenţial în reprezentarea subiectivităţii personajului. Am ales un fragment din romanul *Bunavestire* de Nicolae Breban, care include aproape toate tipurile de discurs raportat, într-o combinaţie dintre cele mai originale. Textul prezintă începutul unei idile, în Sinaia anilor 1970, între o femeie mondenă cu mult aplomb şi un tânăr timid dar cam prozaic.

(10) Lelia (Crăiniceanu) îl privi cu oarecare uimire, uitând de soarele jucăuş al staţiunii. Nu înţelesese prea bine ce-i spunea tînărul acela descărnat din faţa ei [...]. Ea totuşi nu plecă, aşa cum se temea Grobei; oricum, în clipa cînd plecă, *repetă că* nu putea să-i fixeze nici o întîlnire dar, dacă totuşi voia şi nu-l deranja prea mult, mîine după-masă... ce-i mîine, miercuri, parcă...? - Da, da, mîine e miercuri, 9 ianuarie!... - Ei bine, ea şi-a propus să facă o scurtă

plimbare la Braşov cu trenul de şaisprezece şi şaptesprezece, vrea să dea o raită prin magazine, eventual, poate găseşte o pereche de pantofi trotteri, cu baretă sau mai bine cu o cataramă, cum au început să se poarte acum... - Cu şireturi nu e mai elegant? *îndrăzni*, timid, Grobei, ghete cu şireturi, cu tocul... nu-nu, *făcu* ea un gest nerăbdător... în sfîrşit, dacă nu are altceva mai bun de făcut... Evident, evident, *se înclină* Grobei, ducînd instinctiv mîna la piept, uitînd că nu are tranzistorul la el. - Nu, nu, *spuse* ea, surîzînd, nu trebuie să-şi ia nici o obligaţie, dacă îl va găsi mîine în gară, în jurul acestei ore, dacă nu va fi timp urît...dacă nu va avea alt program, mai interesant... să nu-şi facă oricum iluzii, o simplă plimbare, o raită plicticoasă prin magazine, avea habar la ce oră se deschideau magazinele la...? Toate acestea spuse în timp ce ea se îndepărta, în jumătăţi de piruete, cochetînd cu soarele, cu buzele întredeschise (buzele ei subţiri, umede, dinţii albi, ascuţiţi) şi pardesiul care flutura uşor [...]. Grobei rămase pe loc, încîntat şi nu, ce conta, putea foarte bine să nu se ducă, *şopti* un gînd laş în el, oricum, va vedea pînă mîine, deşi ştia foarte bine că va merge. O raită prin magazine! El, care numai într-o săptămînă de cînd se găsea aici vizitase două case memoriale, un castel [...], o expoziţie de numismatică, una de artă populară [...], el care mergea aproape zilnic la bibliotecă, era un loc unde putea întîlni oameni serioşi... şi-acum, deodată, o raită la ora patru după-amiază (ce oră vulgară !) după o pereche de pantofi de damă numărul treizeci şi şapte, probabil, sau treizeci şi şapte şi jumătate ! Iată ce se întîmpla cînd se abătea de la programul său zilnic, raţional, instructiv, desăvîrşit şi pus la punct pînă în cele mai mici detalii.
(N. Breban, *Bunavestire*, 1977, p. 12-13)

Prima problemă pe care o ridică acest text o constituie modul în care se succed şi se articulează diverse forme de discurs raportat: ele se înlănţuie atât de strâns una cu alta încât fac aproape imposibilă uneori delimitarea lor. De altfel, operatorii verbali, în poziţie de introductor (*repetă că*) sau de incidente postpuse (*îndrăzni*, *făcu*, *se înclină*, *spuse*, *şopti*) sunt relativ puţini la număr şi nu ajută prea mult la fixarea limitelor dintre "partituri". Operatorii servesc în majoritatea cazurilor la introducerea discursului direct sau indirect, dar nu toţi sunt verbe de comunicare. Mai eficiente în delimitarea discursului celor două personaje se dovedesc a fi punctele de suspensie şi liniuţele de dialog. Vom identifica şi descrie aceste discursuri în ordinea în care se succed ele în text iar numerele de ordine le preced pe fiecare în transcriere.

Textul construieşte trei instanţe de enunţare: naratorul, personajele Lelia şi Grobei. În prima jumătate a textului, naratorul, ca locutor primar, pune în scenă un dialog între cele două personaje, atribuindu-le pe rând o postură de enunţători sau de locutori secundari. În partea a doua a textului, dialogul cedează locul monologului interior al personajului Grobei redus la poziţia de enunţător.

Primele enunţuri, construite în jurul perfectului simplu, aparţin locutorului primar, care introduce discursul Leliei prin operatorul *repetă că* specific discursului indirect. Primul DCat este astfel încorporat sub raport sintactic şi enunţiativ discursului naratorului. Dar DI lasă loc la un moment dat discursului direct liber (2), care suscită replica lui Grobei în DD (3). Această secvenţă dialogală de tipul întrebare/răspuns face în fine să răsune vocile celor două personaje:

> ... *repetă că* (1) nu putea să-i fixeze nici o întîlnire dar, dacă totuşi voia şi nu-l deranja prea mult, mîine după-masă (2) ce-i mîine, miercuri, parcă...? (3) - Da, da, mîine e miercuri, 9 ianuarie !...(4) - Ei bine, (5) ea şi-a propus să facă o scurtă plimbare la Braşov... vrea să dea o raită...poate găseşte o pereche de pantofi trotteri, cu baretă sau mai bine cu o cataramă...

Nu pentru multă vreme, pentru că, abia schiţat, discursul Leliei (DD 4) îmbracă din nou o formă indirectă (DIL 5) care o readuce pe aceasta în poziţia de enunţător. Graţie autonomiei sintactice, DIL-ul dispune de o mai mare libertate în folosirea timpurilor verbale (de la PC la prezent), faţă de DI care recurgea în (1) la trei forme de imperfect (*putea*, *voia*, *deranja*) impuse de timpul propoziţiei regente (*repetă*), în virtutea unui sistem de corelaţii formale. Dacă, la nivel gramatical putem vorbi de o "concordanţă", la nivel enunţiativ constatăm o discordanţă între formele de trecut şi deicticul temporal *mâine după-masă* care prefigurează de fapt trecerea de la DI la DD.

În secvenţa de patru replici care urmează, discursul direct, bine marcat grafic şi lexical, face din nou să alterneze vocile celor doi tineri. Doar două din cele patru replici sunt marcate prin liniuţe de dialog (6 şi 10), dar toate dispun în schimb de operatori verbali plasaţi în incidente postpuse: *îndrăzni Grobei* (6), *făcu ea* (7), *se înclină Grobei* (9) şi *spuse ea* (10).

(6) - Cu şireturi nu e mai elegant? *îndrăzni*, timid, Grobei...(7) nu-nu, *făcu* ea un gest nerăbdător...(8) în sfîrşit, dacă nu are altceva mai bun de făcut... (9) Evident, evident, *se înclină* Grobei, ducînd instinctiv mîna la piept...(10) - Nu, nu, *spuse* ea, surîzînd, (11) nu trebuie să-şi ia nici o obligaţie... dacă îl va găsi mîine în gară... dacă nu va avea alt program... să nu-şi facă oricum iluzii, o simplă plimbare prin magazine, avea habar la ce oră se deschideau magazinele la...?

În două rânduri, discursul Leliei începe cu un DD pentru a lăsa repede locul DIL-ului: de la (7) la (8) şi de la (10) la (11). Segmentul (7) pare a fi o replică non verbală, spre deosebire de (10), unde negaţia este urmată de un *verbum dicendi*; acesta face oficiu de operator şi pentru secvenţa (11) care îmbină într-o manieră originală sintaxa stilului oral cu un discurs oblic în care persoanele interlocuţiunii sunt înlocuite cu persoana a treia.

Întrevedem aici motivul pentru care, în acest text narativ, dialogul este dispus pe orizontală şi nu pe verticală: forma dominantă de reprezentare a discursului raportat nu este aici discursul direct ci DIL-ul, fie că e vorba de dialogul dintre Lelia şi Grobei, fie că e vorba de monologul interior al lui Grobei.

Monologul lui Grobei este introdus printr-o secvenţă aparţinând locutorului-narator, care este departe de a adopta tonul detaşat al naraţiunii obiective: o amplă frază nominală cu funcţie descriptivă ("toate acestea spuse în timp ce se depărta...") în care, prin însăşi construcţia sa, fiecare segment trădează privirea şi emoţia lui Grobei ("buzele ei subţiri, umede, dinţii albi, ascuţiţi şi pardesiul care flutura uşor..."). Discursul interior este declanşat de un calificativ al stării afective ("Grobei rămase pe loc, *încîntat şi nu*..."), plasat după un verb la perfectul simplu care contrastează cu seria verbelor la imperfect ce se succed în continuare, acoperind tot restul paragrafului. Dar schimbarea formei temporale nu este singurul factor care marchează trecerea de la un plan de enunţare la altul, adică de la discursul naratorului la discursul interior al personajului. Apar o serie de "semne actualizatoare" care conferă DIL-ului nota sa subiectiv-afectivă : interogaţia ("ce conta"), conectori argumentativi şi deictice ("oricum, va vedea pînă mîine, deşi ştia că se va duce"). La acestea se adaugă diversele tipuri de structuri exclamative care domină net acest pasaj : fraze nominale cu sau fără marcă intensivă ("o raită prin magazine!", "ce oră vulgară!"), structuri de tipul pronume personal + subordonată relativă + variabile argumentative ("el, care numai într-o săptămînă vizitase două case memoriale, un castel... o expoziţie..."). Dar semnele cu funcţia actualizatoare cea mai pregnantă rămân deicticele congruente cu perspectiva temporală a protagonistului : "şi acum, deodată, o raită la ora patru după amiază..." ; "iată ce se întîmpla cînd...".

Dacă în cazul reprezentării gândurilor şi trăirilor interioare ale personajului, DIL-ul este o tehnică narativă consacrată, ne-am putea întreba de ce, în *Bunavestire*, Nicolae Breban preferă să recurgă la DIL chiar şi în cazul reprezentării schimbului de replici dintre personaje, evitând de foarte multe ori redarea dialogului sub forma DD. Credem că opţiunea pentru un discurs oblic în care vocea naratorului se împleteşte cu cea a personajelor îi permite naratorului din *Bunavestire* să ia o distanţă ironică faţă de acestea : faţă de Lelia Crăiniceanu, care şi-ar dori o mică aventură, dar afişează o atitudine condescendentă faţă de Grobei, şi faţă de Traian-Liviu Grobei, care îşi învinge inerţia şi timiditatea încercând să "agaţe" o fată dintr-un alt mediu social.

4.2. Discursul unei instanţe colective: P. Stoica, **Viaţa mea la ţară**

Pentru a pune în evidenţă diferenţele care separă discursul direct de discursul direct liber, am ales un fragment din jurnalul poetului Petre Stoica, inserat în numărul din 14-20 februarie 2019 al revistei *Dilema veche.* Fragmentul evocă momentele dramatice ale cutremurului din 4 martie 1977, pe care poetul le-a trăit în comuna Bulbucata, judeţul Giurgiu. Din textul, care acoperă o pagină întreagă a revistei, am extras pasajele care relatează primele momente ale catastrofei şi reacţiile locuitorilor comunei.

(11) **4 martie** [...]

Îmi beau ceaiul în tihnă şi privesc ceasul, aşteptând ora nouă şi jumătate ca să ascult ştirile. Mai e puţin şi deschid *Scînteia*. Pe când parcurg titlurile principale, aud zgomote de iad. Am senzaţia că în imediata mea apropiere s-a prăbuşit un avion. Văzând cum saltă lucrurile în jur, trag concluzia că nu poate fi decît cutremur de pămînt. Năvălesc fulgerător în curte. Luminile se sting brusc, iar dinspre Capitală ţîşneşte o flacără uriaşă. Nucul se leagănă şi vine către mine, clădirea de vizavi saltă din temelii. Ţâşnesc în stradă clătinîndu-mă. N-am timp să mă gîndesc la moarte. De pe acoperişul fostei şcoli curg olanele, cărămizile coşurilor zboară în stânga şi în dreapta. Caruselul materiei ia cu sine efemerul [...]. Hohotul străfundurilor pămîntului are durata veşniciei. Şi totuşi, se înscăunează liniştea [...]. Treptat-treptat, lumea iese buimăcită din case, mînă spre primărie. Unii apar desculţi sau doar în izmene. Pîlcurile fantomatice se îngroaşă. Prima impresie: "A fost mai grozav ca în patruzeci". Întrebarea generală: "Ce-o fi în Bucureşti?". După aproximativ un ceas răsare o maşină. Este oprită prin zeci de mîini ridicate. Posesorul maşinii: "Toate cartierele noi sunt distruse, n-a rămas cărămidă pe cărămidă". Găsesc exagerat. Lugubra veste dezlănţuie urlete, ţipete, comentarii ciudate: "Of, lume! La ce ne-am mai născut...", "Ai auzit, mă, că Bucureştiul e una cu pămîntul?", "Nenorocire, vai, maică, vai...", "Ce-or face ai noştri? S-au prăpădit cu toţii, presimt. Le-am spus să nu se mute la bloc", "De-o săptămînă mi s-a zbătut ochiul stîng", "Ce ziceţi de flacăra aia?", "Explozie", "Cîţi morţi or fi? Sute de mii". [...]. Se iveşte o altă maşină. Lumea baricadează drumul: "S-au dărîmat mai multe clădiri vechi. Dezastrul e în centru.", "Cum e cu blocurile noi?", "Venim din Balta Albă. Acolo nu s-a dărîmat nici un bloc", "Tot e bine. Să trăieşti, taică, mulţumim pentru veşti". Mă liniştesc cît de cît. Maşinile încep să circule şi în sens invers. Profit de ocazie şi o iau spre Bucureşti, înnebunit la gîndul că s-ar fi putut întîmpla ceva cu ai mei.

(Petre Stoica, *Viaţa mea la ţară*, în "Dilema veche", 14-20 febr. 2019, p.14)

Dacă în descrierea senzaţiilor provocate de efectele catastrofei, naratorul recurge la un stil concis dar bine articulat din punct de vedere sintactic, atunci când trece la reprezentarea reacţiilor verbale ale instanţei colective, naratorul adoptă un stil nominal şi totodată o manieră originală de a introduce discursul citat.

Cu toate acestea, discursul reprezentat este net delimitat de cel al naratorului în primul rând sub aspect grafic: sunt utilizate atât cele două puncte cât şi ghilimelele. Dacă acordăm sintagmelor nominale un statut de DCant este pentru că ele trimit de fiecare dată la un act verbal: *prima impresie; întrebarea generală; ţipete, comentarii ciudate* sunt nominalizări ale unor propoziţii bazate pe verbe de comunicare: "[oamenii] întreabă", "ţipă, comentează".

> Prima impresie: "A fost mai grozav ca în patruzeci". Întrebarea generală: "Ce-o fi în Bucureşti?". Lugubra veste dezlănţuie urlete, ţipete, comentarii ciudate: "Of, lume! La ce ne-am mai născut...", "Ai auzit, mă, că Bucureştiul e una cu pămîntul?"

Sintagma *posesorul maşinii* face o figură aparte, deoarece nu este rezultatul unei transformări nominale ci rezultatul suprimării verbului *dicendi*, care a condus la reducerea propoziţiei "posesorul maşinii spune" la sintagma nominală subiect:

> După aproximativ un ceas răsare o maşină. Este oprită prin zeci de mîini ridicate. Posesorul maşinii: "Toate cartierele noi sunt distruse, n-a rămas cărămidă pe cărămidă".

Verbul elidat ar putea fi şi *a răspunde*, dacă acordăm gestului o valoare de semn non verbal; zecile de mâini ridicate echivalează cu tot atâtea întrebări.

În fine, a treia formulă la care recurge naratorul este implicitarea discursului citant, care poate fi uşor restituit de cititor prin inferenţă. Atenţia se fixează astfel pe discursul citat care este foarte bine marcat sub aspect grafic. Pentru că, de astă dată, avem de a face cu un dialog propriu-zis, locutorii discursului raportat sunt pe rând şoferul celei de a doua maşini şi unul sau doi locuitori ai comunei:

> Se iveşte o altă maşină. Lumea baricadează drumul: "S-au dărîmat mai multe clădiri vechi. Dezastrul e în centru.", "Cum e cu blocurile noi?", "Venim din Balta Albă. Acolo nu s-a dărîmat nici un bloc", "Tot e bine. Să trăieşti, taică, mulţumim pentru veşti".

În acest caz, ceea ce face diferenţa între discurs direct şi discurs direct liber este exclusiv marcajul grafic. La lectură, restituirea sensului, care implică şi identificarea locutorilor secundari, se bazează exclusiv pe inferenţă. Delimitarea netă a discursului citat de discursul narativ prin mărci grafice este până la urmă, în cazul textului narativ, condiţia necesară şi suficientă pentru a interpreta o secvenţă textuală ca discurs direct.

Modalitatea originală de reprezentare a discursului în textul (11) contribuie într-o măsură decisivă la crearea dramatismului acestei scene colective. Discursul direct, care serveşte la construirea unei ample polifonii, disociază net actele verbale ale instanţei colective de discursul naratorului. Acesta din urmă creează acel "spaţiu enunţiativ particular" (Rosier 1999) care prefigurează apariţia unor acte verbale, fără însă a le oferi acestora un suport sintactic. Pe lângă semnele grafice, ceea ce indică schimbarea planului de enunţare este, în mod evident, modalitatea de enunţare, adică trecerea de la discursul delocutiv al locutorului primar la discursul interlocutiv al locutorilor secundari. Independent din punct de vedere sintactic şi enunţiativ de discursul citant, discursul locutorilor secundari se leagă în schimb de acesta la nivel semantic şi semiologic.

5. Concluzii

Aspectele pe care le ridică modelizarea şi analiza textuală a discursului raportat sunt dintre cele mai complexe, iar acest articol şi-a propus să prezinte principalele jaloane ale unei noi abordări teoretice. Inspirată de teoriile enunţării, mai cu seamă de teoria polifonică, abordarea noastră recurge, în aproximarea formelor prototipice DD, DI, DDL, DIL, la următoarele concepte operaţionale : locutor/enunţător; discurs citat/discurs citant; act de enunţare, cadru referenţial, centru deictic; încorporare enunţiativă; discordanţe enunţiative, cu rol crucial în stabilirea relaţiei dintre discursul citant şi discursul citat.

Aşa cum menţionam la început, cele patru tipuri de discurs raportat se integrează unui fenomen mai amplu de reprezentare a actelor verbale în discurs, care mai include formele atipice sau mixte, discursul narativizat şi diverse procedee de distanţare ca modalizarea autonimică sau prin trimitere la alt discurs, condiţionalul mediativ etc. Integrarea acestor forme în textul literar este supusă, după cum rezultă din analiza noastră, unor constrângeri de organizare textuală care ţin de un anume gen sau program estetic. Această problemă se pune şi pentru alte tipuri de discurs cum ar fi presa scrisă, unde reprezentarea discursului vehiculat în spaţiul public beneficiază de un gen aparte (cf. Florea 2011). Genul, pe care l-am numit relatarea actelor verbale (fr. *compte rendu de paroles*), se bazează într-o mare măsură pe folosirea discursului narativizat.

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SUMMARY: Situated in the field of textual linguistics and pragmatics, this article starts from works inspired by the polyphonic theory of enunciation. In the analysis of the reported discourse (RD), the author adopts a polyphonic perspective slightly different from that of the *Scapoline* group, which means he bases the distinction between the four types of RD on speaker/enunciator dissociation, made by Ducrot. In the beginning, we distinguish a RD which represents two speakers (types DD and DDL) from a RD which stages a speaker and an enunciator (types DI and DIL). Analysis of the examples leads to establish some specific differences between DD and DDL, on the one hand, and between DI and DIL, on the other. The data provided by the analysis of the examples will be validated by the approach of two literary texts.

KEYWORDS: polyphony, reported discourse, speaker, enunciator, speaking context

REPORTATIVE EVIDENTIALITY AND ATTRIBUTION IN CREANGĂ'S AND ISPIRESCU'S FAIRY TALES[1]

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ABSTRACT: This study sets out to examine how reportative evidentiality and attribution are achieved in Romanian fairy tales. By comparing and contrasting reportative and attribution expressions, the current research aims to determine the deictic function of these constructions, the pragmatic motivations of the speaker for evidential usage as well as the lexicalization, richness and functional diversity of these expressions in the Romanian language. In fairy tales, the content, actants, constructed reported discourse, sources of information and reproduction of speech vary widely, thus the relationship between evidentiality and attribution can be richly explored from a syntactic, lexical and a pragmatic perspective. Research findings suggest, among other things, that Romanian fairy tales integrate evidential and attributive preferences that are reflective of a regional practicality of the genre as a form of communication, that there is cognitive implication of the storyteller in the process of evidential choice and that evidential values are associated with particular constructions that allow for evidentiality and attribution to operate as effective discourse strategies in the realization of the interpersonal functions in the tales. With regard to Romanian fairy tales, such evidential expressions help clarify, validate and evaluate sources of information, operating as prompters in a perspective-taking dynamic process.
KEYWORDS: reportative evidentiality; attribution; fairy tales; Romanian

1. Introduction[2]

Irrespective of the name it goes by, whether constructed discourse (Vincent & Dubois 1997), presentation modes of character talk (Leech and Short 2003), reproduction of speech (Gaulmyn 1992), ways of presentation of conversation and/or dialogue (Freeborn 1996), constructed dialogue (Tannen 1989), reproduction of speech (Vincent and Dubois 1996) or represented discourse (Johanssen 2011), speech reporting still remains a complex linguistic issue. Its levels of understanding have already transcended broad theoretical perspectives by building bridges between linguistic, stylistic and narratological frameworks that have been only separately considered initially. Thus, speech parts within narratives have been approached not only within literary studies but also from several

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linguistic perspectives. Within the field of literary studies, various approaches reveal that there is hardly any agreement by theoreticians on the extent to which the narrator manages the direct speech turns. Some theorists claim that there is no entire independence of the speaker's voice from the surrounding narrative (Mc Hale 2011), others hold that speech representation is construed as an emerging interaction between the character's and the narrator's texts (Schmid 2005) or even more interestingly, that the flow of the narrative is interrupted by speech passages and that the role of the framing expressions is to restore them back to it (Głowinski 1997). The field of pragmatics has also provided ample pragmatic frameworks for the examination of discourse and dialogic turns in conversation analysis (Sperber and Wilson 1986; Grice 1975) and the linguistic (cognitive) approaches to dialogue (Langacker 1999, 2001; Herman 2009) have extended the linguistic analysis of dialogic turns on direct speech framing verbs. Syntactically, dialogue framing expressions and quotative inversion have been researched within generative linguistics (Collins 1997) cross-linguistically (Suñr 2000; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2007; Branigan 2001) and/or within dependency syntax (Mel'cuk 2004).

A different level of understanding of speech reporting is provided by evidentiality, an all-inclusive concept used for the grammaticalized marking of the source of information. Such markers indicate the source and evidence for the information provided in the proposition, in terms of whether the speaker did see something happen, did or did not see the event happen and/but heard (of) it, "made an inference based on general knowledge or visual traces, or was told about it" (Aikhenwald 2004: 15). Evidentials are also "indicative not only of the kinds of evidence the speaker possesses for factual claims but also of the means by which a person obtained the information on which her/his assertion rests" (Willet 1988: 55). In more recent years, evidentiality has become a self-standing semantic functional field (Diewald & Smirnova 2010) that clarifies a variety of meanings relevant to reported sources of information, evidence-based propositions and credibility of source.

Taking linguistic evidentiality to be the explicit encoding of evidence used by a speaker to express the primary proposition of the utterance, attention will be given, in the theoretical part of the study, to our twofold approach to evidentiality. Such an approach, distinguishing categorically between reportative evidentiality and attribution (Willett 1988; Guardamagna 2017) on the one hand, and grammatically in terms of lexicogrammatical realizations of indirect evidentiality on the other, will aid in identifying the mechanisms and expressions of indirect evidentiality in Romanian fairy tales. The present study extends previous research on evidentiality in Romanian (Zafiu 2002, 2009; Remberger 2009; Irimia 2010, 2017, 2018) by contributing a pragmatic insight to expressions of indirect evidentiality. To that end, a corpus of 10 Romanian fairy tales will be examined in a comprehensive and contrastive way.

The study is divided into the following sections. Section 1 provides an introduction to the purpose of the study. Section 2 provides an overview of recent research on evidentiality, types of evidentiality (Section 2.1.), reportative evidentiality and attribution (Section 2.2.), Romanian fairy tales (Section 2.3.) and studies on Romanian evidentials (2.4.). The methodology section outlines the steps of the research process in Section 3 and the discussion of the results informs Section 4 of this paper. The last part of the study (Section 5) provides the conclusions and implications of this research as well as some directions for future research.[3]

2. Evidentiality

Evidentiality makes it possible for a language to specify what one knows about something, how one came to that knowledge and what one thinks about what somebody else knows. Franz Boas notes that while some languages display definiteness, number, and time as obligatory categories, "other languages consider the source of information – whether seen, heard, or inferred as obligatory aspects" (1938: 133). The drive to indicate the evidence and information source has traditionally emerged from the desire to support the proposition by credibility of source. Much like how the idea of time may be represented by a grammaticalized set of tense forms in a language, or how command may be embedded into the imperative mood of a language, so can the issues surrounding the real-life parameter of information source be grammatically marked in language by evidentiality, a linguistic category functional and describable in its own right (Aikhenwald 2004, 2015).

The general notion of evidentiality was for the first time introduced by Jakobson in 1957 as an all-inclusive term for the grammaticalized marked specification of information source. With Willett (1988), a first attempt was made at a cross-linguistic examination of grammatical evidentiality systems, but a more comprehensive treatment of the category was provided by Aikhenvald (2004) in the first monograph that examines the grammars and evidential systems of well over five hundred languages. Additional cross-linguistic foundations for the typology of evidentiality were formulated by Joseph (2003) and de Haan (2005). However, more recent research on the meanings of each evidential has further revealed existing distinctions between visual (seen) and nonvisual (relative to other senses such as: hearing, feeling, smelling or touching) evidentials (Aikhenvald & Storch 2013). General examinations of the semantics of small evidential systems (Comrie 2000; Hagège 1995; de Haan 2001) provide the framework for discussions of both individual terms (De Haan 2005) and surveys of meaning overtones (Curnow 2003). Other non-evidential categories extended to perform evidentiality strategies, such as the conditional mood, participles, nominalizations and perfectives, are examined with reference to uncertain and unreliable

[3] The paper uses the following abbreviations: NP: noun phrase; SAYC: Say and Complementiser; TAM: Tense, Aspect, Mood; IEV: indirect evidentiality; REV: Reporting evidential; RVB: Reporting verb; RAJ: Reporting adjunct; REN: Reporting nouns; IC Group 1: Ion Creangă Group 1 tales; PI Group 2: Petre Ispirescu Group 2 tales; FoiG.3s: Future oi + gerund, 3rd person singular; PRES: Present.

information (Dendale 1994; Dendale & Van Bogaert 2007) or lexical items and modal verbs (Squartini 2007; Aikhenvald 2007).

With regard to the interrelation of evidentials with tense, aspect and mood (TAM), in opposition to the joint treatment of evidentiality and epistemic modality (Palmer 1986), boundaries between evidentiality and modality are drawn (Aikhenvald 2004; Chafe & Nichols 1986), in specific terms of authority and commitment (Fox 2001), pertinence (Ifantidou 2001), inference and assumption (Boye 2012) and, not in the least amount, in terms of epistemological stance (Mushin 2001). Narrower approaches to evidentiality concern obligatory markers used to encode a speaker's source and type of information (Lazard 2001; de Haan 2001; Aikhenvald 2004), whereas much broader ones include additional examinations of the degree of information reliability, probability or certainty, speaker's attitude towards the information (Chafe 1986; Aikhenvald & Dixon 2003), socio-interactional meanings (Kim 2005, 2011), as well as speaker's access to information (Cornillie 2004; Rooryck 2001).

Dendale & Tasmowski (2001) advance a wider threefold usage of the concept of evidentiality: *a broad* sense of evidentiality, one in which evidentiality is inclusive of the epistemic modality system and of the speaker's attitude toward the epistemic status of information (Palmer 2001), a *narrow* sense of evidentiality, which is the particular expression of the information source (Willett 1988, Aikhenvald 2004), and a mixed type of *overlapping of evidentiality and epistemicity*, which is particularly adopted for the inferential evidentiality subtype (Auwera & Plungian 1998).

More focused research has been extended on the techniques by means of which speech, whether direct, indirect or/and mixed, may be delivered in texts (Thompson 1996; Buchstaller & van Alphen 2012). Other studies have looked into the syntactic direct speech verb behaviour (Dirven et al. 1982; Klamer 2000) and the semantic properties of verbs (Wierzbicka 1987; Kissine 2010). There is also little agreement over the terminology used for direct speech (DS) verbs: *verba dicendi*, or action verbs (Verschueren 1987), quotatives (Buchstaller & van Alphen 2012), verbs of communication (Goossens 1990) or Speech Framing Expressions (SFEs) (Caballero 2017) that are inclusive of finite verbs, modifiers and/or concatenations of verbs.

Despite all overlap and interaction of evidentiality with other grammatical categories and processes, evidentiality in this study is treated as a conceptual rather than a grammatical category, its main function being that of presenting a proposition by indicating how the source of information has been acquired by the speaker (Tantucci 2013; Guardamagna 2017).

2.1. Types of Evidentiality

In an attempt to approach evidentiality from a conceptual/functional perspective and reach agreement on identifiable evidentiality systems, several studies pursuing inventories of evidential expressions have been to date conducted (Willett 1988; Aikhenvald 2004; Pietrandrea 2007; Squartini 2008; Wiemer 2010).

As a result, several subsystems of evidentiality have been advanced, the most elaborate being those found in Aikhenvald (2003, 2004).

She proposes a distinction between two types of evidentiality systems: Type I, including those which imply the existence for the evidence of an information source without a specific mention of that evidence; and Type II, those that indicate the type of evidence – whether this was visually obtained, inference-based, or simply reported. According to Aikhenvald (2003, 2004), languages displaying a Type II system may include several subtypes depending on the number and types of specified information sources: a1) *Eyewitness and non-eyewitness* (a distinction that applies exclusively in the past tense), a2) *Non-firsthand and everything else* (non-firsthand typically refers to inference on the basis of both visible evidence and reported information), a3) *Reported (or 'hearsay') and everything else* (the most widespread kind of evidential system). Therefore non-eyewitness distinction may indicate that the speaker has knowledge of some action from a secondary source, or alternatively, had a direct participation in it or made inferences about it however he/she was hardly in any control of it. This aspect was analyzed as mediativity in Guentchéva (1996).

With regard to three-term systems (Type III), according to Aikhenwald (2004: 3), at least one sensory mention is included, as follows: b1) *Visual direct, inferred and reported* when specifications are made as visually acquired knowledge, hearsay (knowledge acquired via somebody else), and inferred knowledge, b2) *Visual, non-visual sensory, inferred*, and b3) *Non-visual sensory, inferred* and *reported* (as auditory information, assumed and secondhand information).

Four-term systems (Type IV), on the other hand, involve a sensory specification. Thus, Aikhenwald (2003: 6) distinguishes four types of evidential information: c1) *Visual, non-visual sensory, inferred, reported*, c2) *Visual, inferred, inferred, reported*, c3) *Non-visual sensory, inferred, inferred, reported*, and (c4) *Visual, inferred, reported*. Further complexity emerges from the evidentials that are either inference-based (as in c2, c3) or are based on reported information (c4).

In the taxonomy of systems (with two, three, four, and five or more choices of evidential marking) that Aikhenvald proposes, Types I, II and III are fairly common whereas Types IV and V are rather uncommon, displaying a typically rare distribution in the economy of languages.

As only one subcategory of evidentiality, which consists of hearsay and reported speech, falls within the scope of our examination, a different taxonomy of evidential marking (Willett 1988) poses relevance for the current study. Such a taxonomy, emerging from the data provided by 32 surveyed languages, advances a three type distinction of grammatically encoded evidentiality: *direct* (direct access/ perception), *indirect* and *inferential* evidentiality. Direct access evidentiality occurs whenever the speaker marks information source by first-hand sensory evidence, indirect evidentiality includes second and third-hand evidence (as reportative evidence) whereas inferential evidentiality is entirely deduction-based (Cruschina & Remberger 2008).

In Willett's view, reportative evidence consists of the following types (Willett 1988: 96):

1). *Hearsay* (as second-hand evidence) which indicates that the speaker has heard of some situation described from a direct witness, which he conveys in the form of *he says*;

2). *Hearsay* (as third-hand evidence) which indicates that the speaker has heard about some situation described, however his information source was from an indirect not from a direct witness. This type of evidence is typically rendered by impersonal constructions such as: *it is heard*, *it is said*, *they say*, etc.

3). *Folklore*: the information source is indicated by the speaker as being part of an established oral history pertaining to mythology, proverbs, fairy tales, gospel, sayings, oral literature, etc.

Willett's taxonomy is illustrated in Figure 1.

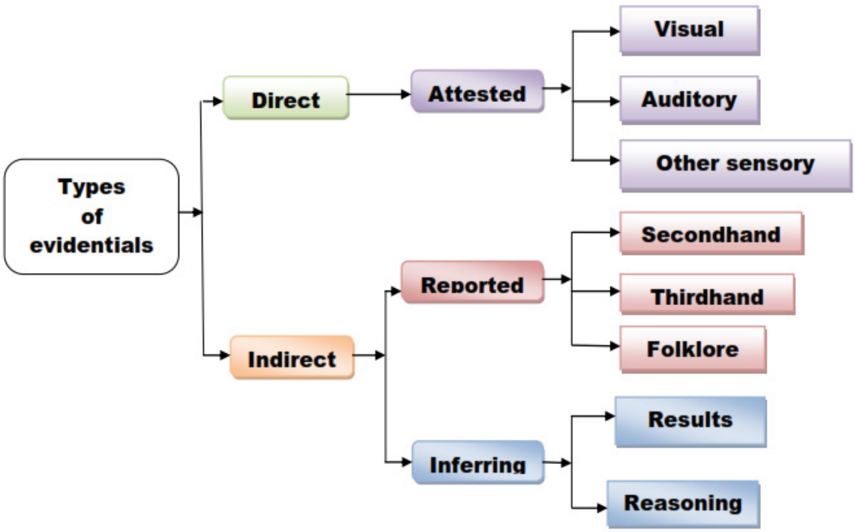

Fig. 1. ***Willett's typology of evidentials***

As the main concern of our study is indirect (reportative) evidence, our analysis framework will rest on Willett's (1988) classification of reportative evidence. For practical purposes, we shall limit our research to indirect (reportative) evidentiality, specifically to the last two scales along Willett's proposed cline (Attested–Reported–Inferring). This narrowed down perspective allows us to focus on reportative evidentiality and seek more propositional assigning clarification that derives from Guardamagna's (2017: 160) distinction between reportative evidentiality and attribution.

2.2. Reportative Evidentiality and Attribution

The novel conceptual category of *attribution* has been recently introduced by Guardamagna (2017) to help account for the uses of *according to NP* in Latin (*secundum* NP) whose meanings fall between reportative evidentiality and epistemic modality. Guardamagna finds that reportative evidentiality and attribution perform a deictic function, involve extended intersubjectivity (Tantucci 2013) and represent distinct categories that did not only appear in different periods but also emerged via different paths.

Conceptually, attribution is a category, not a discursive strategy, which lies at the interface of semantics and pragmatics. The term has been previously used with various, yet different, acceptances either to indicate a reported speech function (Rosier 2008), an *inferred (reported) thought* (Semino & Short 2004), or as *judicantis* (Dressler 1970; Haspelmath 2003), reference in the latter being rather to the semantic maps of geometric representations of functions (in terms of recipient/experiencer beneficiary).

Guardamagna (2017: 161) holds that reportative constructions, indicative of the speaker's information source, contrast with attribution expressions. Whereas reportative evidentiality specifies the external information source that the speaker has for a proposition in the form of *I know that proposition (information source)*, attribution indicates that the speaker ascribes a proposition to somebody *(someone thinks that proposition)* whose involvement in the speech situation may be direct or indirect (speaker, hearer, other person).

(1) **According to** Dr Chapman, the cause of death was drowning.
(2) **In my opinion**, this issue has to be dealt with immediately.
(3) **For her**, love is a magical feeling indeed.
(4) **In his eyes**, this prize truly symbolizes the American way of life.
(5) **For you**, life is too short to waste.

As illustrated above, the *according to* NP expression (1) is a traditionally reportative evidential construction, whereas (2), (3), (4) and (5) are attribution expressions. If the speaker's source of information for the proposition is something overtly communicated by somebody else (1), in the case of (2), (3), (4) and (5), the assigned proposition may be deduced or simply invented. The distinct division of attribution into *other-attribution* and *self-attribution*, allows for more explicitness in what regards the speaker's propositional assignment, whether to someone else (3), (4), to the hearer (5) or to self (2). However, when speakers identify themselves with divided, more rational selves, somewhat similar to the split self metaphor (Lakoff 1996; Talmy 2000), self-attribution (2) remains a particular case of other-attribution (Guardamagna 2017: 161). Self-attribution expressions are thus characteristically epistemic and convey a wide range of forms relative to speaker's commitment to propositional content whereas other-attribution constructions are non-performative and non-epistemic in nature.

The current research represents a departure from previous studies which jointly treated evidentiality and attribution as reportative evidentiality (Pietrandrea 2007; Wiemer 2010) and sets out to examine the relationship between evidentiality and attribution across a select sample of Romanian fairy tales.

2.3. Romanian Folk and Fairy Tales

The Romanian fairy tale is a species of folk epic in prose in which imaginary characters (kings, fairies, heroes, ogres) bear symbolic and kaleidoscopic good and evil values, cross fantastic lands, experience events at the end of which Good always triumphs over Evil. Their loaded meanings involve elements of the Romanian folklore philosophy, the concept of life and death, the place and purpose of man in the universe, the meaning and limits of happiness. As space and time have flexible meanings and proportions in fairy and folk tales, and coordinates of action are often vague and imprecise, atemporality and aspatiality coexist with specifics on events reported to have taken place in times of the narrator's childhood or adolescence. The action of the fairy tale may take place now, or happened then, once, or once upon a time, hence time knows no boundaries, being contractible, dilatable, and reversible at any given fairy tale time. Extension of time, on the other hand, albeit credible, makes a year last for three days only, or alternatively, allows the protagonist (Făt Frumos) to grow in a year as much as others in nine years time, or fight against the ogre in a three day and three night long battle. In typical oral tradition formulas, at the end of most fairy tales, it is even possible to hear that the hero may be still alive being contemporary with the storyteller who may be even invited to participate in the hero's royal wedding.

Researchers have placed the stable form of the Romanian fairy tale in the development period of the Romanian language and culture hence time reference involves at once a genetic and a generic context that grants both time and its reporting potential the fuzzy boundaries of an archaic collective mentality (Zipes 2002). Such a mentality has become, by implicit recurrence and by mythical effect, a culturally preserved mnemonic sediment. In so being, the Romanian fairy tale conforms not only to a construct outlined within Propp's functions template (1993) but also contributes significantly to the modeling and valorisation of the Romanian collective conscious (Eliade 2000; Zipes 2002) and language.

We hold that a more cognitive-oriented approach in the study of evidentiality in fairy tales (more in the line advanced by Chafe 1986), in particular of reportative evidentiality and attribution, may reveal different uses and expressions of evidentiality, a novel relationship between information sources and evidentials choice, as well as the new role of the storyteller and his cognitive involvement in the practice of evidential choice. In fairy tales in particular, the content, actants, constructed reported discourse, sources of information as well as the reproduction of speech vary widely and hence allow for evidentiality and attribution to be more richly explored from a syntactic, lexical and a pragmatic perspective.

In addition to the pragmatic explanation, the more general morphosyntactic examination of the manifestations of commitment may help contribute to the central question of whether the encoding of evidential notions in the Romanian language results mostly from pragmatics or is rather morpho-syntax-derived.

2.4. Studies on Romanian Evidentiality

Studies on the paradigm of grammatical evidentials in Romance languages have revealed numerous expressions of evidentiality in a diversity of modal and temporal forms (Squartini 2001, 2004, 2005; Cruschina & Remberger 2008).

On the basis of comparative evidence, a more systematic examination of various functions and degrees of grammaticalisation of *Say and Complementiser* (SAYC) in Romance has shown that Romanian displays a defective verbal use of SAYC (Cruschina & Remberger 2008: 114), that SAYC elements are in a progressive grammaticalisation process (not yet completed) and that an illustration of such an incomplete process may be the evidential marker "*cică*" which has developed out of the 3rd person singular form of *say* (*se zice că*) (he says plus a Complementiser (Remberger 2009: 1).

Evidentiality and epistemic modality as well as the morphologies that belong to the Romanian Presumptive Mood have been tackled to date from different perspectives (Coşeriu 1976; Avram & Hill 1997; Reinheimer-Rîpeanu 2000; Squartini 2001, 2004, 2005; Irimia 2010, 2017, 2018; Mihoc 2012). While there is considerable agreement on the fact that the presumptive mood is associated with indirect evidentiality, different perspectives converge to the still controversial nature of this verbal paradigm and the special properties it displays under the Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) system of the Romanian grammar. Mihoc (2012) for example, approaches the presumptive-epistemic future modal with instruments from the standard theory of epistemic modality and concludes that the Presumptive Mood is in fact a "matter of upper-end degree epistemic modality" (ii). Following observations in Goudet (1977), Iorgu & Robu (1978) and Irimia (1983) among others, who agree that the presumptive mood is a distinct mood with separate present and past tense forms (instead of a *conjugation* inclusive of several moods), Irimia (2010, 2017) addresses the nature of the ambiguity relations existing with the perfective forms of the Romanian modal auxiliaries as well as the issue of whether evidentials in Romanian allow for an epistemic modal construction or, alternatively, behave like illocutionary operators whose interpretation is solely determined by contextual, pragmatic factors. By putting Romanian evidentials to the *embedding* and *assent/dissent* tests, Irimia concludes that the semantics of the *presumptive* moodis largely evidential and that Romanian evidentials should be rather analyzed as epistemic modals on the basis of their truth-conditional contribution (Irimia 2010: 113).

More recently, Irimia (2018) advances a strategy for syntactic decomposition of indirect evidentiality (IEV) into its basic components. Such a strategy, she holds, allows for the identification of both similarities and differences between IEVs and other modals as well as for a better understanding of how deictic tiers fused beyond the modal component are actually manipulated in evidentials vs. counterfactuals or epistemic modals.

3. Data and Research Methodology

The current research was conducted on a select representative sample of 10 Romanian fairy tales[4], written or collected by Ion Creangă and Petre Ispirescu. The stories are classics of the Romanian genre: 1). *Capra cu trei iezi* 'The goat and her three kids' by Ion Creangă; 2). *Fata babei şi fata moşneagului* 'The old man's daughter and the old woman's daughter' by Ion Creangă; 3). *Povestea lui Harap-Alb* 'The story of Harap-Alb' by Ion Creangă; 4). *Punguţa cu doi bani* 'The little purse with two halfpennies' by Ion Creangă; 5). *Ursul păcălit de vulpe* 'The bear fooled by the fox' by Ion Creangă; 6). *Prostia omenească* 'The human foolishness' by Ion Creangă; 7). *Greuceanu*, collected and recounted by Petre Ispirescu; 8). *Prâslea cel voinic și merele de aur* 'Mighty Prâslea and the golden apples', collected and recounted by Petre Ispirescu; 9). *Sarea-n bucate* 'The salt in your food', collected and recounted by Petre Ispirescu; 10). *Tinerețe fără bătrânețe și viață fără de moarte* 'Youth without age and life without death', collected and recounted by Petre Ispirescu.

Although a genre may be said to be constantly evolving, it "implies not only a particular text type, but also particular processes of producing, distributing and consuming text […]. Changes in social practice are both manifested on the plane of language in changes in the system of genre, and in part brought about by such changes" (Fairclough 1992: 47). In view of the above, the general assumption of the current research is that genres may nonetheless display common features over certain periods of time. The selection of the tales was thus made on the basis that both writers were contemporaries hence tale writing (or collecting) by Petre Ispirescu (1830-1887) and Ion Creangă (1837-1889) was done throughout the same period of time and in different geographical regions of the country.

Research is quantitative, seeking to identify, at the preliminary stage, all lexical expressions of reportative evidentiality and attribution in the Romanian tales. Two sub-corpora were organized so as to determine the occurrences of evidentials per region yet inside the same genre. Group 1 consists of 6 tales (by Creangă) and Group 2 consists of 4 tales (by Ispirescu). For the practical purposes of our research, no distinction between Romanian fairy and folk tales has been made, rather they have been treated as one corpus with two sub-corpora divided by writer, not by subgenre. Different markers were used for tagging the lexicogrammatical realizations of the evidential types (REV, RVB, RAJ and REN), which were subsequently grouped as per types of information source[5] encoded by evidentials (cf. Willett's typology). Attribution encoded expressions were further identified and manually counted, then an analysis of the evidential subtypes in line with Willett's and Guardamagna's taxonomies was pursued on the basis of the results obtained. Our analysis framework rests on Willett's (1988) classification of reportative evidence with more

[4] Available online at http://www.povesti-pentru-copii.com/ion-creanga.html.

[5] We classified *cică* as RV (a SAYC evidential/discourse marker located in the canonical left peripheral syntactic position) and *vorba ceea* as RN (a nominal phrase that introduces paremiological structures in Romanian proverbs, sayings, etc).

propositional assigning clarification deriving from Guardamagna's distinction between reportative evidentiality and attribution (2017).

The research seeks to identify the lexicogrammatical realizations of reportative evidentiality in Romanian fairy tales, the deictic functions of these expressions, the pragmatic motivations of the speaker/narrator for evidential choice, his cognitive involvement and/or intrusion in the process of evidential choice as well as some problematic morpho-syntactic aspects posed by evidentials in expressing various degrees of commitment and sources of evidence.

4. Results and Discussion

Based on the analysis above, the study found that a large number of evidentials were used in the selected corpus. Table 1 crosstabulates the two groups of Romanian tales (Creangă 6 tales; Ispirescu 4 tales) with the type of evidentials found.

Table 1. ***Corpus evidentials (per group and type)***

	Reportative (Willett)		Attribution (Guardamagna)	
	Reported (Second hand; Third hand; Folklore)	Inference (Reasoning)	Self -attribution	Other-attribution
Group nr 1 (Creangă)	486	263	174	328
Group nr. 2 (Ispirescu)	138	85	66	112

The results indicate that all types of evidentials occur in both sub-corpora of Group 1 and Group 2. Given the nature of the genre and somewhat much to our expectations, the most commonly used evidentials are the reported evidentials (second-hand, third-hand and folklore). They point to the information source from a direct/indirect witness or alternatively, the source is indicated by the speaker as being part of an established oral history pertaining to proverbs, fairy tales or sayings. Such common preference for second-hand and third-hand information sources underscores not only the interpersonal functions of the evidentials but also levels of how the negotiation of the interpersonal relationship is achieved as motivation for evidential choice.

Much like other Romance languages (Squartini 2004; Dendale & Tasmowski 1994; Remberger 2009), Romanian displays if not a wide, at least a fairly diverse range of lexicogrammatical realizations of indirect evidentiality. Since only inferential and quoting (partially only) evidentialities are grammaticalized through verbal forms of modal values (the presumptive and conditional moods), an additional variety of adverbial phrases are functionally more specialized for indicating epistemic source (Zafiu 2002, 2009). The most common lexicogrammatical realizations of indirect evidentiality that have been identified in our Romanian fairy tales corpus are:

The nominal phrase ***vorba ceea***, indicating:

- reference to folklore, a repository of common popular beliefs and traditions:

(6) ***Vorba ceea**: Sunt cinci degete la o mână şi nu seamănă toate unul cu altul*. '**As they say**: There are five fingers on a hand and no two are alike'. The goat and her three kids (IC Group 1)

- reference to songs:

(7) *Însă **vorba cântecului**: De-ar şti omul ce-ar păţi, dinainte s-ar păzi!* '**As the song goes**: [An equivalent of] Fear is the mother of wisdom'. The story of Harap-Alb (IC Group 1)

- reference to proverbs:

(8) ***Vorba ceea:** Frica păzeşte bostănăria.* '**As they say**: [An equivalent of] Good fences make good neighbours.' The story of Harap-Alb (IC Group 1)

- reference to sayings:

(9) a. ***Vorba ceea**: Apără-mă de găini, că de câini nu mă tem.* '**As the old saying goes**, May (God) protect me from hens for I fear no dogs.' The story of Harap-Alb (IC Group 1)

(9) b. *Dar **vorba veche**: Pereţii au urechi şi ferestrele ochi*. 'But **there is an old saying**: Walls have ears and windows eyes'. The goat and her three kids (IC Group 1)

Constructions pointing to the speaker's agreement or disagreement towards quoted opinion (*a avea dreptate* 'be right'; *pe bună dreptate* 'rightfully', etc):

(10) *Apoi, **pe bună dreptate**, degeaba mai stricaţi mâncarea, dragii mei*! 'Then, **rightfully** indeed, you don't deserve the food you eat…!' The story of Harap-Alb (IC Group 1)

Verbs and verbal phrases pointing to an active process by means of which the speaker indicates second hand hearsay: *a afla* 'to find', *a prinde de veste* 'to get wind of something':

(11) *Petrecu acolo vreme uitată, **fără a prinde de veste**, fiindcă rămăsese tot aşa de tânăr, ca şi când venise.* 'He spent a long time there, **no wind of anything**, young as he was when he first got there.' Youth without age and life without death (PI Group 2)

Inferential presumptive mood forms:

(12) a. *D-apoi calul meu de pe atunci, cine mai ştie unde i-**or fi putrezind** ciolanele?* ‘Who knows where my then-horse **may be rottening**!’ The story of Harap-Alb (IC Group 1)
(12) b. *Dar oare pe acesta cum mama dracului l-**o fi mai chemând**?* ‘I wonder what the hell his name **may be**?’ The story of Harap-Alb (IC Group 1)

SAYC evidential/discourse marker *cică*:

- as reportative second-hand:

(13) a. *Amu [Spânul]a scornit alta: **cică** să-i aduc pe fata împăratului Roş de unde-oi şti.* ‘He [the Bald Man] has now made up something else: that I bring him the Red Emperor’s daughter from wherever she might be.’ The story of Harap-Alb (IC Group 1)

- as reportative third-hand:

(13) b. *împăratul Roş, care, zice, **cică** era un om pâclişit şi răutăcios la culme.* ‘[…] Red Emperor, who, **they say**, was an extremely mean and wicked man.’ The story of Harap-Alb (IC Group 1)

- as folklore:

(13) c. ***Cică** era odată un om însurat, şi omul acela trăia la un loc cu soacră-sa* ‘**It is said** that once upon a time there was a married man who lived in the same house with his mother-in-law.’ The Human Foolishness(IC Group 1)

Markers of inferential evidentiality such as incidental discursive phrases: *pesemne, pasămite*:

(14) ***Pesemne** umbli după cai morţi să le iei potcoavele*. ‘**Apparently**, you are going on a wild goose chase.’ The story of Harap-Alb (IC Group 1)

Present and perfect conditional forms in subordinate clauses of declarative verbs and/or independent clauses:

(15) […] *alţii întăreau spusele celorlalţi, zicând că chiar ea **ar fi venit** în chip de pasăre de a bătut acum la fereastră, ca să nu lase şi aici lumea în pace*. ‘Others confirmed that she **might have come** as a bird herself knocking on the window and troubling people here as well.’ The story of Harap-Alb (IC Group 1)

Indirect reference to source by means of *trebuie* ‘must’ as logical deduction:

(16) […] *ea cunoscu furca şi pricepu că Prâslea cel viteaz **trebuie să fi ieşit** deasupra pământului*. ‘She recognized the fork and realized that Mighty

Prâslea **must have climbed out** of the precipice.' Mighty Prâslea and the golden apples' (PI-Group 2)

While all types of evidentials occur in both sub-corpora, the results indicate that there is an unbalanced distribution and usage of evidential types between the two groups. Such contrasting occurrences of evidential types in Groups 1 and 2 point to an underlying motivation for the regional variation found between the two sub-corpora datasets. Belonging to the same genre, the discursive conventions and evidential preferences in the tales are determinedly reflective not only of the socio-cultural practices of the narrators' regions but also of the practicality of the genre (folk vs. fairy tales) as a form of communication. While the fairy tales in Group 2 were said to have been collected from Ispirescu's parents, in particular from his mother (who had been born in Transylvania), they nonetheless differ from those in Group 1 (specific to the Moldova region) in numbers and types of evidential choices as well as encoded sources of information to segments of the tale's unfolding discourse. Specifically, the evidentials identified in Group 2, used for describing the speaker's involvement with events, are less numerous than those in Group 1 and occur mostly in *realis* contexts, particularly in past tense situations (11), (16). This regional feature is less prevalent with Group 1, where evidentials tend to occur more frequently in *irrealis* situations and are mostly grammaticalized in presumptive and conditional mood forms (12), (15). This observation reflects a generally stronger reliance on sources of information steeped in real-like events with Group 2 and a more neutralized presumptive substance for indirect evidence in the tales of the other group (1).

Another noticeable distinction between the two groups concerns the use, particularly in the tales of Group 1, of the periphrastic presumptive mood structures Foi (Future oi), FoiG (Future oi + gerund) inclusive of the future tense of the auxiliary *a fi* 'to be FUTURE' and the gerund of the lexical verb to express inferential evidential content (12 a) and (12b).

(12) a. *D-apoi calul meu de pe atunci,* ***cine mai ştie unde i-or fi putrezind ciolanele*** [ROT.FoiG.3s]*?* 'Who knows where my then-horse **may be rottening**!' The story of Harap-Alb (IC Group 1)

(12) b. *Dar oare pe acesta cum mama dracului l-**o fi** mai **chemând*** [CALL.FoiG.3s.]*?* 'I wonder what the hell his name **may be**?' The story of Harap-Alb (IC Group 1)

In the interrogative contexts of (12a) and (12b) above, the inferential load is noticeably diluted (Zafiu 2009; Popescu 2012) whereas the verbal morphemes contribute an additional epistemic sense of uncertainty to the proposition, neutralizing the suppositional content for indirect evidence.

Another important finding concerns the SAYC evidential/discourse marker *cică*: while Group 1 lists 9 occurrences (8 in The story of Harap-Alb and 1 in Human foolishness), Group 2 lists none. In the identified occurrences, all three types of reportative evidence are encoded as reported second-hand (13a), reported third-hand (13b), and reported folklore (13c). Being an adverbial with an evidential meaning in the tales (Cruschina & Remberger 2008), *cică* operates as an overt evidential marker (13a) that elucidates the source of evidence and ties it to the speaker's Deictic Center (Irimia 2018). Our sub-corpora results reveal a wide variety of functions that *cică* is apt to perform, ranging from that of an adverb similar in meaning with *allegedly* (e.g. *cică este/cică era/cică să-i aduc*) to that of a source marker that operates in a different clause than the one in which the source is indicated (13 a) and which has an explicit subject in the third person singular.

(13) a. *Amu [Spânul] a scornit alta:* ***cică*** *să-i aduc pe fata împăratului Roş de unde-****oi şti***. Now [Bald man-the] MAKE-UP.PAST.3S another: SAYC that BRING.PRES.1S him daughter-the of Red Emperor-the from wherever KNOW.Foi.1s.
'He [the Bald Man] has now made up something else: that I bring him the Red Emperor's daughter from wherever [equivalent] she might be.' The story of Harap-Alb (IC Group 1)

Such an effective functionality of *cică* as a folklore evidence marker coupled with its unbalanced number of occurrences in the two sub-corpora entitles us to identify a stronger evidential projection emerging from a more determined reliance on folklore and popular knowledge, as evidenced in the first Group of tales compared to those in the second Group. This observation is further confirmed by a similar contrasting unbalanced occurrence of the quotational evidential *vorba ceea* across the two groups, that registers 24 occurrences in Group 1 tales (6), (7), (8), (9a) and (9b) as opposed to none in the second Group. The prevalent frequency and reliance on *cică* and *vorba ceea* in the first group point in favour of a clear(er) folktale vs. fairy tale distinction on grounds that evidential values are associated with particular expressions that allow for evidentiality to operate as an effective discourse strategy in the realization of the interpersonal functions in the tales. In Romanian fairy tales, such evidential projectors perform the pragmatic functions of clarifying, validating and evaluating sources of information. Albeit a totally speaker-centric perspective on evidentiality may not be satisfactory enough to understand the semantics of information source indicating, in Romanian fairy tales, it is the narrator's perspective that becomes central to comprehending the social-cognitive associations of evidentiality. The speaker/narrator perspective is generally the most prototypical in evidential expression and the perspective-holder's perceptual experience represents the evidential origo (San Roque et al. 2017). However, if generally the speaker/narrator is by default the origo, our findings suggest that in Romanian folk and fairy tales, specifically in Group 1 tales (6), (7), (8), (9a), (9b), (13a), (13b) (13c) the reader is the origo. In other words, *cică* and *vorba ceea* act, we hold, as evidential markers that project the 'witness' role in an invited perspective-taking dynamic process. The perspectivising is surprisingly assumed not by the speaker/narrator but by the reader whose epistemic authority in a sequential, by all means imaginary, conversational turn can clarify as well as validate the information source by alignment to the long oral tradition of popular beliefs and wisdom.

Besides Willet's taxonomical approach, the other interpretation level that our research pursues treats reportative evidentiality as a conceptual rather than a grammatical category, distinct from that of attribution (Guardamagna 2017). While reportative evidentiality indicates that the speaker's source of information (in making a proposition) is conveyed by somebody else (*I know that proposition* (*information source*), attribution expressions of the type *somebody believes that proposition* (other-attribution), and *I believe that proposition* (self-attribution) indicate the speaker's explicit assigning of a proposition to another speaker/hearer or third person who may infer or guess the speaker's mental content (2), (3), (4) and (5).

A variety of attribution expressions that have been identified in our corpus, whether other-attribution forms (6), (7), (8), (9a), (9b), (10), (13a), (13b), (13c) or self-attribution varieties (17), (18) contribute to the emergence of evidential meaning by indicating an explicit assignment of a proposition to someone's (or speaker's own) thought, opinion or belief. Category-wise, if epistemic modality is regarded as a subjective category, self-attribution forms (17), unlike other-attribution constructions, remain clearly epistemic and performative in nature (Guardamagna 2017; Nuyts 2001) and reflect the speaker's evaluation of, as well as commitment to, a state of fact.

(17) ***După mintea mea***, *dragostea ce am către tine este, dacă nu mai presus decât a surorilor mele, dar nici mai prejos decât mierea şi zahărul*… '**To my mind**, the love I have for you is, if not greater than that of my sisters, then certainly no lesser than honey and sugar…' The salt in your food (PI)

Strictly attribution-wise, the findings of our study indicate a general yet most significant reference to folklore as other-attribution statements of a third instance. The deictic function of other-attribution expressions is similar to that of reportative evidentiality expressions, granting the storyteller a quick access to some repository of ready-made statements. Such doxa is taken for granted as it encapsulates the common beliefs and popular opinions that allow the storyteller not only to take distance from personal commitment (Norrick 1985) but also to negotiate some form of consensus with the reader during an active verbal communicative process. It is as if the storyteller had thought of such words of wisdom himself and he were just looking for additional confirmation of information source from the reader or from unfolding events (Ruxăndoiu 2003). The interweaving of proverbs and sayings into the fabric of Group 1 fairy tales (e.g. 80 proverbs/sayings in The story of Harap-Alb and 20 proverbs/sayings in The goat and her three kids) is more prominent by comparison to those in Group 2. As an evidential strategy, it has the powerful effect of an indexical that creates a more extended intersubjectivity (Tantucci 2013; Nuyts 2001) that results from more evidential substance "grounded in the assumed social agreement upon an assertion" (Tantucci 2013: 219).

Function-wise, a direct connection established on the basis of Frawley's (1992) deictic model (Table 2) between attribution and reportative evidentiality contributes to a better understanding of propositional assignment to the speaker's self (17) or to others' mental content (6), (7), (8), (9a), (9b).

Table 2. ***Deictic functions of evidentiality and attribution (after Guardamagna 2017)***

	SELF	**OTHER**
ATTRIBUTION	SELF-ATTRIBUTION expressions	OTHER-ATTRIBUTION expressions
EVIDENTIALITY	INFERENTIAL	REPORTATIVE

Despite sharing similarities – both concepts involve intersubjectivity and operate as deictic categories – the examination of reportative evidentiality and attribution as two separate categories in our research (Tantucci's 2013; Guardamagna's 2017) allows for a twofold novel perspective on evidentials in point of functionality and propositional assignment in Romanian fairy tales. On the one hand, it has helped identify and position different pragmatic intentions relative to various evidential expressions. On the other, by taking perspective on the alternation of story-teller/reader positions, as in (9a) vs. (14) or (15) vs. (17), it has served to clarify the distinction, in the speakers' propositional arguments, between reportative and mental argumentation in the form of belief and thoughts.

5. Conclusion

A twofold approach, distinguishing categorically between reportative evidentiality and attribution on the one hand, and grammatically in terms of lexicogrammatical realizations of indirect evidentiality on the other, has helped us explore the mechanisms and expressions of indirect evidentiality in Romanian fairy tales. The present study rests on previous general research on evidentiality (Willett 1988; Guardamagna 2017) and extends Romanian morpho-syntactic studies conducted by Zafiu (2002, 2009), Irimia (2010, 2017, 2018), Remberger (2009) by contributing a clearer pragmatic insight to Romanian expressions of indirect evidentiality. Making its way through the yet understudied area of Romanian fairy tales, our research was premised on the idea that a more cognitive-oriented approach in the study of reportative evidentiality and attribution may contribute a fresh insight to the body of research on indirect evidentiality in Romanian in terms of pragmatic intentions, degrees of commitment to information sources, evidential choice and practice. Results suggest that evidential preferences are determinedly reflective of both regional socio-cultural practices and the practicality of the genre (folk vs. fairy tales) as a form of communication. Additionally, evidential values were found to be associated with particular constructions that allow for evidentiality to operate as an effective discourse strategy in the realization of the interpersonal functions in the tales. With particular regard to Romanian fairy tales, such evidential expressions help clarify, validate and evaluate sources of information and operate as prompters in a perspective-taking dynamic process.

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THE SEMANTICS OF MODAL VERBS REFLECTED IN *BAND OF BROTHERS*

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ABSTRACT: A lot of effort is invested in the semantics of the English modal verb system, usually neglecting one of the most useful approaches described by Michael Lewis as early as 1986 (i.e. *remoteness*). The present paper intends to discuss a few central and non-central modal verbs and structures, supported with a database deriving from Stephen E. Ambrose's book and its movie version, a highly popular TV series, *Band of Brothers*. While deontic and epistemic meanings of *shall, should, must,* and *have to* are discussed, we also highlight the importance and function of informal versions, such as *got to* or *gotta*, arguing for their importance (especially) in spoken American English.
KEYWORDS: deontic, epistemic, remoteness, non-central modals, audiovisual

1. Introduction

Although countless articles and even books have been written on the English modal verbs (modals), few scholars admit that "a unified system of modal forms and meanings has not been crowned with success" (Jacobsson 296), as categorizing them defies a commonly accepted terminology, mixing formal (syntactic) and semantic characteristics.

Knowing that modals constitute "one of the most complicated problems of the English verb" (Lewis 99), we are faced with extensive lists (cf. Quirk et al. 137) distinguishing central or core modals (*can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *shall*, *should*, *will*, *would*, *must*), marginal modals (*dare*, *need*, *ought to*, *used to*), modal idioms (*have got to*), semi-auxiliaries (*have to*), catenatives (*happen to*, *seem to*), and main verbs (*hope to*-infinitive).[1] Others highlight their possible semantic values, forming a neatly arranged table (Palmer):

Table 1. ***Central modals (Palmer)***

	Epistemic	**Deontic**	**Dynamic**
Possibility	*may*	*may / can*	*can*
Necessity	*must*	*must*	
?	*will*	*shall*	*will*

[1] To simplify description, we only mention central / core modals and non-central ones throughout the article.

Lewis manages to replace the question mark successfully with the concept of *inevitability*, referring to *will*, *would*, *shall* and *should*, and it is also Lewis who states that each modal verb "is fundamentally grounded in the moment of speaking, at the point of Now" (Lewis 102). As such, he argues that the modal 'pairs' (*can–could*, *may–might*, *shall–should*, *will–would*) are different along the concept of *remoteness*, as *could*, *might*, *should* and *would* refer to distance in time, possibility (tentative – conditional / hypothetical), volition, obligation or (social) relationship and politeness compared to their pairs (Lewis 114–20).

This means that various uses should be discussed when modals are involved, including interrogation and negation as well, as we can distinguish 'modal negation' and 'main verb negation' (Jacobsson 297), not to mention that the remote pairs may express both past reference and unreality (cf. conditional, tentative, hypothetical uses), adding the modal 'values' of "possibility, probability, and necessity" (Jacobsson 300).

While the major research is connected to the central modals, it is known that they "have been significantly declining in use" (Leech et al. 71), giving rise to the non-central modals, even if they were 5.4 times less frequent in 1991. However, they are "significantly increasing" (Leech et al. 78), in speech being "considerably more frequent than in writing" (Leech et al. 100), where their number is "not far behind" the central modals, especially in AE"[2] (Leech et al. 116).

In the light of these introductory ideas and findings, we tend to think that non-central modals should be discussed more often, including school curricula, reasoning that their increased use is partially due to the entertainment industry, giving access to spoken AE worldwide. Thus, we would like to check the frequency and use of certain central and non-central modals in a highly popular book (Ambrose, *Band of Brothers*) that has been turned into a movie, becoming the third most popular TV series after *Planet Earth* and *Planet Earth II* (https://www.imdb.com/chart/toptv?ref_=tt_awd).

As the majority of studies on modals pay little attention to the possible differences between written and spoken English, we have selected a few central modals (*shall, should, must*) and non-central ones (*ought to, have to*) to check their occurrences in the book (B) and in the movie (M). However, our choice is not arbitrary, as Leech et al. (1991) conclude that over a period of thirty years (1961–1991) the use of *shall* has declined the most (43.5%), followed by *ought to* (37.5%) and *must* (31.2%, cf. Leech et al. 73).

Before discussing modals individually, it is worth mentioning that major meanings (deontic and epistemic) have countless further entailments; for instance, deontic meaning is best exemplified by *obligation,* which has further close or more distant synonyms when modals are implied (Imre 291):

[2] AE = American English.

Fig. 1. ***Obligation***

The other core meaning, *inevitability*, may also have various senses (Imre 298):

Fig. 2. ***Inevitability***

In the following we will discuss the previously mentioned modals verbs or modals one by one, knowing that their meanings often overlap, forming a web of senses, making way for subtle differences in their interpretation.

2. Shall

This modal verb may express a very powerful deontic volition, insistence, determination (Preda 309), as well as polite requests, proposals (Palmer 79), advice, request for opinion, ask for help (Aarts 287–88), and puzzlement, perplexity, waiting for order (Preda 311).

Its most powerful sense is associated with the Bible (Imre 358–59), although newer editions 'soften' it by using substitutes:

(1) Thou shalt not kill. (KJV)
(2) You must not murder. (New Living Translation)
(3) You are not to commit murder. (International Standard Version)
(4) Do not commit adultery. (New Heart English Bible)
(5) Never murder. (GOD'S WORD® Translation)

Although two instances of *shall* (B) are combined with the first person singular, which is a different case, there are four (B) and three (M) instances of *shall* altogether. The common example is a quote from Shakespeare's *Henry V* (1599), which is a text from the period of the KJV Bible (1611):

(6) From this day to the ending of the world … we in it shall be remembered (B/M)

The modern use of *shall* is typically left for laws,[3] (written) obligations, formal orders, rules, regulations, proclamations, pacts, agreements, treaties and contracts (Preda 310), in which cases *shall* is stressed, without the possibility of contraction.

The area of 'legal English' (Lewis 120) or 'legalese' is still in use,[4] although no clear issues were found in our text and transcript. The possible reason for the decline in use of *shall* is its 'authoritarian' tone (Quirk et al. 230), or even self-imposing obligation:

(7) … we shall remember them in a way they would have thought most fitting (B)

The example clearly displays a sense of "demand that the speaker makes of himself" (Boyd and Thorne 65), and further issues may be found when watching thrillers involving trial scenes or quotes from archaic texts (e.g. the Bible or the US Constitution) or laws.

3. Should

Should is often primarily associated with the concept of 'desirability', which is a type of obligation leaving more room for "the doer's reluctance to comply" (Pelyvás 943), hence it is considered politer or "less dictatorial" (Leech et al. 116) than *must*, still preserving a "regulative" (Greenbaum 261) sense.

Thus, its use stems from "social norms and expectations" (Pelyvás 941) or "everyday and practical matters that are morally desirable" (Graver 39), such as duty, responsibility, civility, common sense, right / wrong, wise, reasonable, because this is "the way the world must be constituted" in the speaker's opinion (Aarts 288–91). In these cases *ought to* is a possible synonym (Leech et al. 86).

It may also be associated with logical necessity (epistemic), as well as (tentative) conditionality (*if*+*should*), expressing highly unexpected and improbable situations which are nevertheless possible (Imre 363). This is why *should* is ambiguous, especially in perfect forms (cf. Boyd and Thorne 67).

We have collected sixty-four instances of *should* (B=21, M=43), including strong obligation, advice, suggestion, logical conclusion, ask for advice or even surprise or the so-called 'putative':

[3] http://unprofessionaltranslation.blogspot.com/, 02. 28. 2020.

[4] In one single document of the European Union of 146 pages (European Parliament, 18. 6. 2008, Position of the European Parliament, EP-PE_TC1-COD(2007)0262 _EN, accessed on 04. 12. 2012) we could track as many as 616 (!) instances of shall (often in passive structures), compared to should (74), can (2), cannot (10), will (2), would (1), could (0), may (57), might (0), or must (62).

(8) They should walk with pride and military bearing. (B)
(9)… they should go back to their homes and rebuild their lives. (B)
(10) Our armies should join hands and wipe out the Russian Army. (B)
(11) Sir, I think we should take cover. (M)
(12) You should get the official nod in a few days. (M)
(13) What should we do? (M)
(14) Funny you should mention it. (M)
(15) Well-disciplined as they were, the men quickly caught on to the basic idea that they should save their hell-raising for Swindon. (B)

More than that, 25% of cases are in perfect form, leaving more room for interpretation:

(16) You should have shot him. (B)
(17) Should have been born earlier, Nix. (M)
(18) Summer in this Alpine paradise should've been a relief. (M)

These examples express reproach for unfulfilled action, possible regret and a fact contrary to logical expectation / necessity. Nevertheless, the examples confirm that *should* tends to be used more and more to express "deontic rather than epistemic meaning", while the epistemic *should* is declining (Leech et al. 86, 115). It has also been noted that the decline of *ought to* enabled *should* to strengthen its 'weak necessity' position (Leech et al. 116).

Although *should* may have rather complex meanings, including non-modal uses as well (cf. the idiomatic expression *I should say*) or its combination with certain verbs, such as *announce* (both cases present in our database), its extensive use is recommended only for advanced speakers, its obligation–advice sense in present, and the air of admonition in perfect form is enough for learners.

4. Ought to

While *ought to* is synonymous in meaning with *should*, we witness a "sharp decline in frequency" of *ought to* (Leech et al. 93), as their weak deontic obligation meanings "largely overlap" (Palmer 122). As such, certain scholars mention that no semantic differences should be considered (cf. Pelyvás 944), yet *ought to* tends to be "more stressed", "more official" (Coe et al. 160), "more impersonal" (Preda 330) and "more readily connected to moral obligation without constraints" (Bădescu 428).

It has also been noted that *ought to* expresses "social norms and expectations," although "the doer's reluctance to comply" is felt (Pelyvás 941).

It is also associated with objective necessity or subjective perception (cf. Lewis 127), and our examples confirm both major uses:

(19) We found something you ought to see, sir. (M)

(20) Bad enough to be humiliated before your friends, but to be photographed in your disgrace – that lieutenant ought to be shot. (B)
(21) She ought to like that. (M)
(22) You ought to have seen the look of that guy. (B)

Although the examples display a variety of possible meanings associated with *ought to*, only seven instances were found (B=3, M=4), which corroborates with the prediction regarding its 'loss of ground' compared to *should*.

5. Must

Given the theme of the book and TV series, namely World War II implying armies, we would have expected a more extensive use of this central modal readily associated with strong deontic sense. Furthermore, *must* is also central to necessity, logical deduction and possibility, not to mention reproach, irritation or emphatic advice. Interestingly, only twenty-seven instances were collected (B=14, M=13), and all in all only six cases can be associated with a clear sense of obligation, exemplified below:

(23) … the men must do it instinctively right the first time, as there would not be a second. (B)
(24) Each man must prepare himself mentally to make that jump. (M)

Although we agree that "[s]entences with *must* are usually ambiguous" (Boyd and Thorne 67), logical necessity is easily detected in the following examples:

(25) They must think he's a medic or something. (M)
(26) Luftwaffe must be asleep. (M)
(27) He must have scared half the company. (B)
(28) Malarkey thought it must be a Luger. (B)

The third example is what is described as 'conclusive' *must* (Jacobsson 302), and the last example is interesting because this use of *must* tends to disappear, being taken over by *had to*, discussed in a later section. The twenty-one cases of logical deduction prove that *must* can express "varying degrees of necessity, moral, logical, or physical" (Jacobsson 310), and while the deontic *must* is slowly disappearing, its logical necessity sense is "very much alive" (Jacobsson 310–11), especially in American English.

The deontic sense is associated with authority, grammar books often describe *must* as expressing 'inner' compulsion, while *have to* is used to express 'external' authority. In reality, this is hardly tenable, as the listeners may often have doubts regarding the source of authority or they may not care of the source at all. Still, scholars argue that the speaker can convey that "he is imposing or concurring with the obligation" by using *must,* and the "external source" is associated with *have to* (Jacobsson 311). The same author mentions that more recently, *have to* is also used to express the probability previously connected to *must*, but the 'near-extinction' of *must* is still far away.

The epistemic necessity of *must* is still thriving, as the decline of the epistemic *should* (Leech et al. 116) also favors *must.* However, the deontic 'kingdom' of *must* is seriously shaken by prospective non-central variants, especially in spoken English (*have to*, *have got to*, *gotta*), so we focus our attention on them in the following sections.

6. Have to

Although users "can distinguish no consistent patterns of semantic distinction" (Lewis 156) between *must* and *have to*, the latter is more often used in the entertainment industry, mostly reflecting spoken AE. The problem is that classic reference grammars fail to list *have to* as the synonym of *must* (Jacobsson 307), while Leech stated in 1969 that *have to* is actually stronger than *must* (e.g. *There has to be a way out.*).

Traditionally, *have to* is reserved for external obligation, which poses the problems mentioned in the previous section. In reality, the LCSAE[5] records eight times more instances of *have to* than *must* (Leech et al. 79) in an age when the movie industry was not so effective in spreading spoken AE than it is today. We tend to think that *have to* (and its variants) is much more important than before, favored by AE and language learners worldwide, without thinking too much about the 'strength' of obligation.

Have to may be weaker than *must* (cf. the 'mighty' *must*, e.g. Jacobsson 308–09), but it has been argued that *have got to* is stronger than *must.* The previously mentioned internal / external obligation may be replaced by a proper collection of written and spoken samples from relevant sources, which will prove that the "canonical modal" to express obligation and necessity (Leech et al. 101) has serious contenders: *have to*, *need to*, *have got to* and *got to*.

For the time being, let us see a few examples of the fifty-one (!) collected cases:

(29) Somebody has to get in and kill the enemy. (B)
(30) Somebody has to be in the infantry and the paratroops. (B)
(31) You have to keep going. (B)
(32) Don't give away your position until you have to. (M)
(33) We'd have to venture farther into town. (M)
(34) These prisoners have to be put back in the camp immediately. (M)
(35) He'll have to lead those men. (M)

Although the form of *have to* is primarily connected to the present, it is a viable option for reported speech (or future-in-the-past) as well as future meanings

[5] The Longman Corpus of Spoken American English (LCSAE).

(examples 33 and 35). More than that, it may be found in conditional clauses and combined with other central modals, which automatically add to its use:

(36) If someone has to do the shooting, it won't be me. (B)[6]
(37) If the wire cuts are successful, all we should have to deal with is... (M)

All these examples strengthen the use of *have to*, proving that it "overtook *must* as a verb of root obligation/necessity", leaving *must* dominant only in its "epistemic sense" (Leech et al. 109). As central modals have a single form and there is no possibility to combine them, *must* is rather restricted, to which we can add the lack of internal negation; all these create "niches" to *have to* (Leech et al. 115). However, *have to* has a further 'winning formula', which is *had to.*

7. Had to

Although it may be strange to separate *had to* from *have to*, we have our reasons, stemming from its major "syntactic opportunity" (Leech et al. 115) enabling it to successfully challenge *must*, as the clearly past tense form replaces the deontic *must* in the majority of cases (maybe except for reported speech).

Our database contains seventy-nine examples of *had to* (B=64, M=15), which successfully express the past senses of both *must* and *have to*:

(38) I said what I had to say. (M)
(39) We went about and did the job that we had to do. (M)
(40) Compton had to lead the battalion… (B)
(41) It brought us together. We had to survive Sobel. (B)

Not surprisingly, more than 25% of the cases are in passive voice, which – among others – makes the obligation (wartime constraints) more bearable:

(42) Sitting in front-line foxholes was bad, being an OP was worse, going on combat patrol looking for a fight was the worst. But it had to be done. (B)
(43) Once again the road was cut. It had to be reopened. (M)

While the examples may be ambiguous taken out of the larger context, it is evident that they express both deontic and epistemic meanings, making it clear that it fills all the 'spaces' left empty by *must.* Still, if one should argue that *have to* is not as strong as *must*, we have a much stronger variant, discussed next.

8. (Have) got to

As *get* is not among the valued words in writing, the "prestige barrier" (Leech et al. 105) often limits its use, while the spoken version was forty-five times more frequent for *have got to*, although the first part is often contracted or omitted. As

[6] Note the concessive overtone.

described by many scholars, this non-central modal expresses a very strong deontic meaning, a rather compelling obligation, only alleviated when in a conditional clause (concession). Our database contains fourteen cases (B=11, M=3), exemplified below:

(44) We have got to make a move. (B)
(45) You've got to keep moving! (M)
(46) If you've got to wear a wool-knit cap, keep it under your helmet. (B)
(47) Captain Speirs got to go to England, where he had married a British woman who believed her husband had been killed in North Africa. (B)

Although – at first sight – it may seem strange to have more samples in the book than in the script and only half as many examples as in the case of *must*, the explanation is simple: it has a much more effective way of pronunciation, when the last two components melt together into a word labeled as 'non-standard' (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/gotta) or 'informal' even in AE (https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/gotta).

9. Gotta

While authoritative books would mostly mention it in a sentence or two, this is definitely a more popular spoken version of *have got to*. It may be described as a phonetic reduction, and "we have no knowledge of the motivation of the authors or transcribers in opting for one of these spellings rather than the fuller form" (Leech et al. 105). In fact, we tend to think that stylistic reasons can fully motivate this choice, as it is a 'live' term, although it may belong to the not-so-educated masses, being "colloquial to occur in printed texts" (Leech et al. 95), unless "simulations of speech" (Leech et al. 93).

Actually, this is exactly our case, which takes an interesting turn. The author wrote a book that brings to life real events with real conversations based on true facts, interviews with survivors and various diaries of former soldiers, yet *gotta* is mentioned in a single case on the occasion of simulating the speech of a drunken person:

(48) We gotta thank Hitler… (B)

After all, an accomplished writer has to follow written standards, a style which is seemingly completely neglected in the movie version, the script releasing the full potential of the eight-year-old event depicting harsh conditions of common people, leaving all fastidiousness behind, exemplified – among other terms – with no fewer than fifty-four cases, some of which listed below:

(49) We gotta move. Let's go! (M)
(50) The artery, we gotta find the artery. (M)
(51) You gotta know something. (M)

(52) I gotta go talk to Regiment. (M)

These four examples unveil the potential of *gotta*, reflecting strong internal and external obligation, logical deduction or ambiguity (order or necessity). Although banished in printed form, in our opinion nothing is more lifelike than this term, given the circumstances.

10. Conclusions

Although very briefly discussed, our findings visibly support the tendencies described in Leech et al. as early as 1991. On the other hand, Lewis offered a most logical framework for discussing modal verbs, with seemingly little results, as present-day grammar books still rely on older mainstream ones. While native authors seem to be unaware how challenging it is for native speakers to use the English modals properly, many non-native authors mostly reuse the same information. For instance, Swan's third and 'fully revised' book contains more than 650 pages, some four (!) pages describe the (central) modals (Swan 325-29).

After having collected a part of central and non-central modals from Ambrose's book and the transcript, it is obvious that a realistic presentation of the modals should focus more on the emergence of non-central ones. Although we are well aware of the fact that our object of inquiry is very limited and presents a special case of spoken AE in a particular setting, we tend to believe that there are many similar cases, which might be reflected upon.

Both scholars and language teachers should extend their area of interest to non-central modals as well, otherwise failing the expectations of describing spoken English properly, not to mention those students who hardly use *must* as they only heard *gotta* outside the classrooms. Our data, however limited, show that central modals cannot cover the modal possibilities by themselves, and non-central variants effectively color the palette, illustrated by the following table:

Table 2. ***Modal frequency in*** **Band of Brothers**

MODALS	**B**	**B/M %**	**M**	**M/B %**	**Σ**	**%**
SHALL	6	66.67%	3	33.33%	9	2.94%
SHOULD	21	32.81%	43	67.19%	64	20.92%
OUGHT TO	3	42.86%	4	57.14%	7	2.29%
MUST	14	51.85%	13	48.15%	27	8.82%
HAVE/HAS TO	23	45.10%	28	54.90%	51	16.67%
HAD TO	64	81.01%	15	18.99%	79	25.82%
(HAVE) GOT TO	11	78.57%	3	21.43%	14	4.58%
GOTTA	1	1.82%	54	98.18%	55	17.97%
TOTAL	143	46.73%	163	53.27%	306	100.00%

We can see that central modals constitute only about one third of all examples, and *should* is the only one with many instances. This may be due to its rise as a deontic *should* to the detriment of *must* (cf. Leech et al. 89), but we can also see that central modals are challenged overall by non-central ones, especially in speech, which is spreading worldwide due to the entertainment industry (most notably movies and videogames).

A direct result is that the once canonical *must* with its 27 examples (8.82%) comes nowhere close to the non-central options: *have/has to* (51), *had to* (79), (*have*) *got to* (14) and *gotta* (55), totaling 199 examples (65.03%), which is seven times more than the use of *must*. We can draw a partial conclusion that all non-central modals make communication 'fresher' and more stylish, reviving overall language use associated with modality.

In our opinion, school curricula should reflect this to a certain extent at least, in an age of audiovisual material available online. A possibly more visible use of modals is reflected in the figure below:

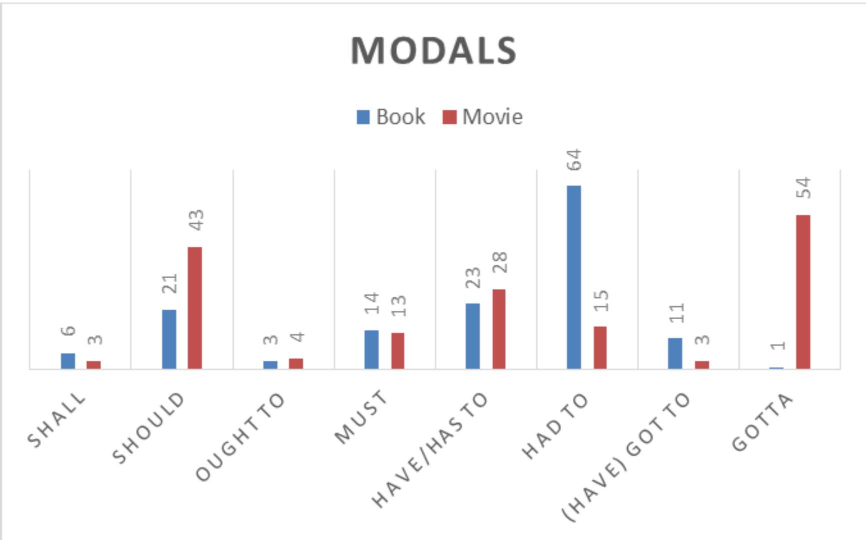

Fig. 3. ***Frequency of modals: book and movie***

The best explanation to this trend we have found so far is that central modals are associated with "hierarchical social relationships, with people controlling the actions of other people, and with absolute judgments" (Myhill 157, Abstract), and non-central ones are "more personal, … give advice to an equal", thus they reflect the present-day society much realistically. This may explain why *have to* is on the increase, but language changes are also worth examining. It is known that "the infrequent suffer loss more than the frequent do" (Leech et al. 90), which is why *ought to* is slowly replaced by *should*, *have got to* is taken over by *gotta*, whatever linguists think of it.

All things considered, we believe that the 21st century scholars and teachers alike should follow the trends, when 'prescriptive' also seems to lose ground to 'descriptive'.

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FORCE DYNAMIC PATTERNS IN AGENTIVE TIME METAPHORS

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ABSTRACT: Such a universal yet abstract concept as time can have unique representations in language. The schema of causation (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) and force dynamics (Talmy, 2000) show that time, such an elusive entity, generally associated with space, can appear in various metaphorical contexts, i.e. as the entity or the force that causes change in the world. Force dynamics is rooted in the schematic system of force and causation, more precisely on knowledge structures and schematic patterns based on the physical environment and experiences: "how entities interact with respect to force" (Talmy 409). Besides the underlying cognitive processes, the negative/positive polarity is one of the main factors of analysis for these metaphors, because it determines the metaphorical profile of time in language. My hypothesis is that the patterns of lexicalization of certain cognitive processes related to time could differ in Hungarian and English, and I will investigate cognitive underpinnings of metaphors to support this claim using an empirical corpus-based method.
KEYWORDS: conceptual metaphor theory, corpus linguistics, cognitive linguistics, image schemas, force dynamics

1. Introduction

Time has been linked with various concepts, such as money (Lakoff 210), a moving object (Lakoff and Johnson 42), a process or an object (Evans 253) etc. Time in language can also appear as an anthropomorphized entity. This is a corpus-based research which investigates force dynamic patterns in time metaphors, using the node word 'time' and its collocates within the frame of finite verbs, in English and Hungarian. The metaphors were collected from *The Corpus of Contemporary American English* and *The Hungarian National Corpus* (*Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár*). They all contain a balanced ratio of various types of genres, which can be divided into three main groups: formal, informal and literal. This study is twofold: first, it identifies force dynamic patterns in agentive time metaphors, which are expected to be similar in the two languages, as they represent basic conceptual processes, and second, it focuses on the polarity of force, from negative to positive, in which case results are expected to show higher discrepancies.

In order to investigate the cognitive and semantic information of TIME IS A CHANGER metaphor, several cognitive components are consulted. The schema of causation (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) and force dynamics (Talmy, 2000) are important in the semantic dissection of these metaphors because they show that time, such an elusive entity and so abstract, generally associated with space, has another important facet: the entity or the force that causes change in the world.

2. The Schema of Force and Causation

Pre-conceptual force gestalts, which later influence language, stem from the way we interact with our environment (Johnson 42). These force gestalts are represented by image schemas such as the schema of diversion, blockage, counterforce, and others (ibidem). The force schema is based on the premise that when there is a force, there has to be an interaction first (Johnson 43). Metaphors collected from the corpus, in which time is in the position of an agent, frequently show this type of interaction between two entities.

The image schema of causation has several secondary image schemas, which are more specific. The following are found among the selected metaphors: 1. *The image schema of compulsion*. This schema captures an external force, similar to a natural force, which signifies a type of constraint (Johnson 45). This is evident in metaphors such as the Hungarian *elsodor az idő* 'time drifts us away'. A number of linguistic metaphors can fall under the category of the compulsion schema. 2. *The image schema of counterforce* (Johnson 46) can be identified in metaphors where time is not in the position of the agent. In all TIME IS A CHANGER metaphors, where time gains an inferred agency, *time* is the agent of cause, either in a negative or positive manner. When time is no longer in the position of the causer, we can no longer talk about an agency, therefore metaphors such as *battle time* or *withstand time* are of secondary importance for the present research. Some examples are the following:

(1) *Romolhatatlan*	*múmia-ként*	*áll-ja*	*az*	*idő-t.*
undecaying	mummy-ESS	stand-3.SG	the	time-ACC

'(He) withstands time like an undecaying mummy.'

(2) *Büszkén*	*dacol*	*az*	*idő-vel.*
proudly	defy.3SG	the	time-COM

'It proudly defies time.'

(3) Such things shall withstand time.

(4) It is a battle against time.

The image schemas mentioned in this section serve as components of theories that this research is based on. For instance, the image schema of force is a component of the theory of Force Dynamics. Such theories are necessary for a cognitive interpretation, because image schemas only provide a very schematic idea of what lies behind these metaphors.

3. Force Dynamics

Image schemas and force dynamics are both rooted in the schematic system of force and causation, more precisely in knowledge structures and schematic patterns based on the physical environment and experiences: "how entities interact with respect to force" (Talmy 409). Force dynamics is one of the fundamental semantic categories, a semantic theory of causation. The basis of this theory is most likely embodiment, more specifically motor activities and the physical world: "its founding concepts are of the domain of physical force interactions" (Talmy 430). Essential components in force dynamics are the force entities (agonist and antagonist), the intrinsic force tendency (the agonist's tendency towards action and towards rest), the balance of strengths (stronger entity and weaker entity), and the agonists resultant (rest or action) (Talmy 413-414). The two forces in force dynamics are similar to the thematic roles of agent and patient. In a boarder sense their connection can be seen as a reference relationship, where one of the concepts is dependent on the other, and it can also be used for temporal sequence and other types of temporal relations, cause-result relations etc. (Talmy 327).

Lakoff and Johnson present the necessary traits of a prototypical causation as follows: "the agent has as a goal some change of state in the patient (…), the agent is the energy source (i.e., the agent is directing his energies toward the patient), and the patient is the energy goal (i.e., the change in the patient is due to an external source of energy) (…). the change in the patient is perceptible" (Lakoff and Johnson 70). These are just some of the specifications that need to be present in the case of a prototypical event. If these points are not met, then we can talk about non-prototypical causation, in which case there could be a larger variety of events: "the category of causation has fuzzy boundaries" (Lakoff and Johnson 72). The examples provided in this research are less prototypical. In the case of time, there is a non-human agency involved in the dynamics; however, it is a personified one, metaphorically gaining human-like or animated traits. There is also a metaphorical extension of prototypical causation (Lakoff and Johnson 72): the concept of causation can also be seen in metaphors, but it is less prototypical such as in "*Harry raised our morale by telling jokes*" (ibidem). Metaphors in this study show tendencies that are similar to the example provided by Lakoff and Johnson.

Some elements of force dynamic patterns are connected to physics (Talmy 456), as well as psychology (Talmy 459), which shows how basic and important it is for our conceptual system. In fact, according to Talmy, "the linguistic force-dynamic system operates in a common way over the physical, psychological, social, inferential, discourse, and mental-model domains of reference and conception" (Talmy 461).

4. Force Dynamic Patterns in TIME IS A CHANGER Metaphors

Based on the model of Talmy (2000a), time can exhibit certain force dynamic patterns in metaphors. The force dynamic schema can be used to interpret the agentivity of time, in the metaphors where time appears as an agent of cause. The terms *antagonist* and *agonist* can stand for time and the self (or the world), and the interaction between the two. While we cannot talk about the prototypical causation in this case, there is causation: time, the force, with the function of an agent, carries out an action that creates a noticeable change in the patient.

Since these are metaphorical types of causation, the parameters coined by Talmy are not always applicable in a straightforward manner, like in the case of prototypical causation. I chose the parameters from the semantic category of force dynamics that are the most prominent in the analysis of time metaphors, and most suitable for this research. The first aspect has to do with the agonist and antagonist. The agonist is usually the focal entity and the antagonist, the peripheral one (Talmy 462), which is opposed to the agonist or causes it to change. Due to the fact that in most time metaphors time is the agent, which exerts some kind of force on an object or an entity, it can be considered the antagonist, and the object or entity, the "world" is the agonist. When it comes to the balance of strengths (Talmy 414), in all of the cases where time is the agent, time is the stronger entity and the agonist is the weaker entity.

Regarding the presence of the agonist-antagonist in agentive time metaphors, three recurrent force dynamic patterns can be observed, based on the model of Talmy (2000a). Firstly, the most frequent type of force dynamic pattern that metaphors exhibit is when the agonist (us, the world, etc.) and the antagonist (time) are both present, but there are no opposing forces, the causation is once again only metaphorical. Time is the stronger force, the agonist is present in the metaphor, but it is passive. This is the pattern in case of metaphors such as *time will prove us right*, or *time works on our side*, as well as negative polarity metaphors, such as *time has eroded my flesh*, or *time ravages love*. Most neutral or context-dependent metaphors show this type of force pattern, e.g. *time shapes thought and causes our thoughts to change.* The force of the antagonist varies from negative to positive and from stronger to weaker, e.g. compare *time leaves its mark on deteriorating, heavily spliced prints of once whole films* with *time has ravaged her beauty*. The agonist is always passive, the intensity and intrusiveness of the force differs. The agonist has the tendency towards rest but because of the force of the antagonist, it goes through a change. Such metaphors show similarities in their force dynamic patterns in different languages, as further examples show.

(5) Time will ease the physical pain.

(6)	*A súlyos*	*fájdalm-at*	*is*	*enyhít-i*	*az*	*idő*.
	the serious	pain-ACC	also	ease-3SG	the	time

'Time also eases serious pain.'

Secondly, a much rarer type of pattern is in which the agonist-antagonist connection is based on an intrusive force that not only affects the agonist, but it also includes it into the force schema as a participant. These are metaphors such as the Hungarian *magával ragadta a száguldó idő* 'speeding time has swept it away' or the English metaphor *time has carried us into uncharted territory*. The agonist has the tendency towards rest, but time forces it to move (intrinsic tendency towards rest or action, Talmy 415). The outcome is an "action-yielding result" (ibidem), because this type of force causes the agonist to change its position metaphorically. In these force dynamic patterns the two elements involved carry out the same action, i.e. the antagonist and the agonist take part in the force event simultaneously and in a congruous way, the only difference is that the antagonist is stronger. In Hungarian this type of force dynamic pattern is found more often in the corpus than in English. These metaphors are built on the image schema of compulsion (Johnson 45).

(7)	*A kommunistá-k-at*	*el-sodor-ta*	*az*	*idő.*
	the communist-PL-ACC	PRT-sweep-PST.3SG	the	time
	'Time swept away the communists.'			

(8) (…) regain what time has swept away.

Thirdly, another type of pattern is when time is a causative force, but there is no real force connection, as usually there is no agonist included into the metaphor. For example in the case of *time will tell* or *time will show*, the force dynamic schema is only metaphorical, causation is implied, i.e. the passing of time will cause certain facts to be revealed. These borderline cases are rare, but besides an implied metaphorical meaning, there is no real force dynamic pattern to be revealed, except that these metaphors are built on the schema of causation. In these constructions it is implied through the metaphor that the passing of time will cause something to happen in the future, more specifically certain information about it will be revealed. Therefore, even though at a linguistic level there is no interaction between forces, the change from one state to the other is expressed at a conceptual level.

(9) Only time will tell if we can get that done.

(10)	*Az*	*idő*	*majd*	*meg-mutat-ja.*
	the	time	then	PRT-show-3SG
	'Time will show it.'			

Fourthly, a rare yet recurrent type of force dynamic pattern only involves one entity, namely time. In fact, force dynamic patterns can be exhibited by one entity as well (Talmy 431), usually marked by the presence of a reflexive direct object (Talmy 432). Such reflexive patterns can be observed in metaphors of motion, such as the Hungarian metaphor *az idő agyaglábakon vonszolta magát* 'time was dragging itself on legs of clay.' In some of the cases, besides the force dynamic pattern, these metaphors are built on the image schema of cycle. While these examples are not frequent in the corpora, some of them are recurrent metaphors, marked by the verb *repeat*, which appears with a reflexive direct object.

(11)	*Az*	*idő*	*ismétl-i*	*önmagá-t.*
	the	time	repeat-3SG	itself-ACC
	'Time repeats itself.'			

(12) Yes, time does repeat itself.

These examples differ from the rest of the metaphors because they are not built on causative or on verbs but the verb *repeat*. In these constructions the motion might be implied, but what we actually have at hand is the schema of cycle. This temporal circle is similar to the concept of fate, the up and down, which are both closely linked to time, change and causation. Thus it represents a temporal circle (Johnson 119), a change in state, and not a physical circle based on a schematic image. Most other examples contain motion verbs.

(13) Time folds in on itself.
(14) Time may have reversed itself.
(15) Time loops back on itself.
(16) *Ki-fordította* *önmagá-t* *az* *idő*.
PRT-turn.PST.3SG itself-ACC the time
'Time has turned itself inside out.'

We can also go back to one of the examples mentioned before, for the sake of including some relevant schemas. These are, for instance, *Such things shall withstand time* or the Hungarian *büszkén dacol az idővel* 'it proudly defies time'. In non-agent time metaphors, the force dynamic pattern is different, as the agonist's tendency can be towards rest and towards action, the resultant is usually towards action and the relative strengths are balance-switching as well as balance maintaining in some cases (based on parameters by Talmy 462). The image schema of counterforce entails that both forces are of equal strength. In these constructions, while they are secondary for this research, the agonist-antagonist connections as well as the parameters of force dynamics are more prototypical than in metaphors in which time is an agent. This is because in these metaphors there are opposing forces, while in agentive time metaphors, more rarely.

To sum up, these are the parameters of force dynamics (Talmy 462), which can be identified and play a role in TIME IS A CHANGER metaphors, in the form of recurrent patterns, in both English and Hungarian:

agonists tendency: towards rest
resultant: towards rest, towards action
relative strengths: balance maintaining, the antagonist is always stronger
divided self: force usually as a different object from its opposite, sometimes in the same object with its opposite

It seems that the force dynamic patterns regarding the agonist tendency, the resultant, the relative strength and the divided self (Talmy 462) do not show a great variation between Hungarian and English, all of the ones identified here are shared. Instead, the variation happens regarding polarity of force.

5. Polarity of Force

As metaphors from both ends of the scale (negative and positive) show, metaphors in which time is a changer are built upon inferred causation or non-prototypical causation. We can talk about causation here in the sense that there is a perceivable (physical or otherwise) change that is caused by time, an entity, and this change is visible in another entity. Such semantic and cognitive patterns can be observed across all the metaphors belonging to this group. The following conceptual metaphors motivate the linguistic expressions which have a polarity: TIME IS AN ENEMY on the negative polarity, with the more specific TIME IS A DESTROYER, TIME IS A DEVOURER, TIME IS A PURSUER, TIME IS A REAPER, TIME IS A THIEF (these metaphors are mentioned by Kövecses 56), as well as TIME IS A POWERFUL ENTITY (neutral or context dependent) and TIME IS AN ALLY, TIME IS A HEALER, TIME IS A PROPHET on the positive end of the scale.

(17) *Az* *idő* *minden-t* *meg-szépít.*
the time everything-ACC PRT-beautify.3SG
'Time makes everything beautiful.'
(18) Time has ravaged her beauty.

The metaphors in this section are analyzed based on various criteria. A contrastive presentation of linguistic metaphors based on recurrent causative verbs is carried out, drawing similarities and parallelisms between the two languages. This analysis takes into account both conceptual and semantic information that these metaphors might carry. The polarity of force is grouped in the following way: positive polarity, negative polarity, and context-dependent polarity. These groups refer to the favorable or unfavorable attitude towards time as it appears in language, most often clearly indicated by the verb, i.e. *time heals*, or *time destroys*. Context-dependent polarity includes true neutral metaphors, such as *time will tell,* as well as metaphors which can be neutral, positive or negative depending on the context, for example metaphors with the verb *bring*: time can bring wisdom, change or degeneration.

The analysis revealed that the polarity of force in time metaphors is asymmetric and non-polarity metaphors prevail over polar metaphors. Polarity is in correlation with the type of metaphor: negative polarity force patterns in time metaphors are more frequently novel, rare and with a stronger emotive impact; positive polarity or neutral metaphors are often idioms or conventionalized expressions.

Relevant differences between the two languages that are revealed are the higher rate of metaphors on the negative polarity of the scale in Hungarian, compared to English, which is based on the normalized frequency of metaphors that can be considered to capture time as a negative entity. While both languages have predominantly positive or neutral metaphors for time as an agent, in Hungarian the total normalized frequency of expressions on the negative end of the scale is almost double as compared to English. In other words, it seems that what time "does" in Hungarian and English is more often positive or neutral than negative, but there are still some significant differences to consider.

The most frequent differences at the conceptual level are target-related differences, which include "preferential conceptualization" or "range of target" (Kövecses 82). This means that while the same metaphors might exist in Hungarian and English, some may be preferred over the others. For example, time as an enemy surfaces in English as an insidious entity that causes deterioration, motivated by TIME IS AN ENEMY conceptual metaphor, while in Hungarian it surfaces as an intrusive, savage entity, TIME IS A DESTROYER. Both languages have metaphors for all of these characteristics in time metaphors, but they each rely more on certain ones than on others.

To sum up, based on the present findings, there is evidence that the image of time is not only derived from space, but metaphorically associated with other concepts as well. Time is very closely linked with causation, and the force dynamic pattern between two forces, time and the world. These causation patterns and the interaction between forces vary on a scale of polarity, from negative to positive, and this scalar system can differ from one language to another.

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ADNOTĂRI PE MARGINEA FLEXIUNII SUBSTANTIVALE

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ABSTRACT: În acest articol se (re)examinează dintr-o perspectivă multiplă teoretică şi generală (terminologică, tradiţională, structuralistă, relaţionistă şi ontologică) statutul *flexionar* şi *relaţional* al categoriilor gramaticale ale substantivului în corelaţia *expresie* vs *conţinut*. În acest sens, categoriile gramaticale ale substantivului sunt considerate toate *primare* şi cu un conţinut propriu, fie relaţional, fie nerelaţional. Punerea lor în evidenţă se realizează sau prin *flective* proprii ori apropriate (cazul şi numărul), sau prin flectivele altor clase de cuvinte (adjective, pronume), care i le *preiau* prin *repetare*/acord sintagmatic vs *reprezentare*/acord paradigmatic (categoria de gen). Din modul de «preluare» derivă statutul funcţional al pronumelui faţă de cel al adjectivului: identic, dar diversificat cazual în prima situaţie, respectiv diferit şi nediversificat cazual în a doua situaţie. Deosebirea se menţine şi la nivelul „întrebărilor" cazurilor: la substantive şi pronume, cazurile au întrebări, aceleaşi cu ale funcţiilor sintactice prototipic realizate, în timp ce la adjective, cazurile sunt lipsite de întrebări.
CUVINTE-CHEIE: flexiune vs non-flexiune, declinare vs conjugare, categorie gramaticală, categorie primară, expresie vs conţinut, cuvânt obiectual vs cuvânt neobiectual vs cuvânt «pro-obiectual», acord sintagmatic vs acord paradigmatic, repetare vs reprezentare, relaţional vs nerelaţional

0. Obiectul observaţiilor de mai jos îl constituie *flexiunea substantivală* în latura de *semantică gramaticală* prototipică, mai exact felul în care substantivul îşi «promovează» categoriile gramaticale proprii, fie direct, prin corpul său fonetic, fie indirect, prin consecinţele/efectele (în expresie şi conţinut) asupra altor clase de cuvinte, în speţă adjective şi pronume.

Deşi nu este în română «etalonul» de flexiune (forme distincte vs omonime, flective şi sincretisme), ne-am oprit asupra substantivului pentru că semnificaţiile categoriilor sale gramaticale au proprietatea de a-i fi *intrinseci*[1] şi de la ele «emană» în fapt şi cele ale altor clase de cuvinte (adjective şi pronume). De aceea se vor face frecvente raportări în plan semantic ale unora la altele şi în adiacenţă cu acestea câteva consideraţii terminologice privind gradul de «transparenţă» al denumirilor în evoluţia lor de la statutul etimologic (latinesc) la cel din română.

Concepţia teoretică de ansamblu căreia îi sunt tributare aceste adnotări este una relativ «compozită»: *tradiţionalistă*, *structuralistă*, *relaţionistă* şi *ontologică*. Din considerente persuasive şi preponderent didactice, terminologia vehiculată, în principiu cea uzuală, este substanţial *explicitată*.

[1] Gruiţă 1981, p. 11, le numeşte categorii *deictice* (vs categorii *anaforice*).

0.1. În accepţiunea tradiţională şi deopotrivă curentă în gramatică, termenul **flexiune** înseamnă *schimbare formală*[2], de regulă în partea terminală, a cuvintelor[3]. *Raţiunea* acestei variabilităţi în expresie este motivată de necesitatea marcării/exprimării unor sensuri logico-gramaticale foarte abstracte, diferite de cele lexicale, numite *categorii gramaticale* (caz, număr, mod, timp etc.). În baza acestora, *solidare* şi *corelate* în diferite feluri unele cu altele, atât în conţinut, cât şi în expresie[4], cuvintele trec din ipostaza strict *lexicală* şi *statică* (de dicţionar) în cea dinamică şi *comunicativă*, adică sunt investite cu calitatea de *termeni* ai unui enunţ/componente cu funcţii logico-semantice şi sintactice în cadrul acestuia.

Prototipic şi teoretic, numai cuvintele cu categorii gramaticale reclamă şi au variaţii formale în procesul de comunicare. (O clasă de cuvinte lipsită de categorii gramaticale nu şi-ar justifica flexiunea.)

0.2. În funcţie de tipurile de semnificaţii gramaticale vehiculate de membrii acestora, clasele de cuvinte cărora le aparţin (la modul propriu sau prin preluare) şi specificul realizării în expresie (= flectivele[5]), gramatica limbii române (şi nu numai) distinge două tipuri mari de flexiuni, cea *nominală* şi cea *verbală*, implicit opunând tranşant din punct de vedere flexionar genericul «nume» (substantiv, pronume, adjectiv…) verbului.

La fiecare dintre acestea (flexiune nominală vs flexiune verbală) se apelează curent şi aproape în *sinonimie* cu termenii *declinare* vs *conjugare*. Etimologic şi *stricto sensu*, aceste ultime denumiri uzuale acoperă însă diferit ca «transparenţă» şi numai o parte din ceea ce numim *flexiune nominală* vs *flexiune verbală* şi reflexele acestora în generarea de funcţii (logico-semantice şi sintactice) în procesul de comunicare.

0.3. Categoriile gramaticale ale substantivului în română, unanim recunoscute, sunt *genul*, *numărul* şi *cazul*[6]. *Nota comună* a acestora este că toate trei sunt categorii de/cu *conţinut* gramatical propriu (intrinsec substantivului) şi, deşi diferite (număr ≠ gen ≠ caz), funcţionează în solidarităţi obligatorii, adică nu există una fără

[2] Accepţiunea gramaticală a termenului este o *particularizare* figurată/metaforică a înţelesului general de „îndoire”, „schimbare a formei” unui obiect (vezi *DEX* 2016: sv *flexiune*, *a flexiona*, *flexibil*, *flexibilitate*, *flexionar*).

[3] Este ceea ce se numeşte *flexiune sintetică* sau propriu-zisă, în raport cu care, complementar sau suplimentar, se defineşte, prin analogie şi/sau echivalenţă funcţională, *flexiunea analitică*. (Ambele tipuri de flexiune aparţin morfologiei ca disciplină de studiu, dar în lipsa celei dintâi la nivel de sistem nu se poate vorbi nici de o flexiune analitică, de flexiune în general.) Vezi, pentru aceste concepte, Guţu Romalo, 1968, p. 39 şi urm.

[4] Categoriile gramaticale se dovedesc astfel a fi entităţi în sfera *semnelor lingvistice*, adică dotate obligatoriu cu un înţeles/conţinut şi o expresie. (Contează mai puţin faptul că, în anumite situaţii bine determinate, expresia (= numai expresia) poate fi şi negativă/zero – vezi, pentru statutul acesteia, cunoscut în gramatici sub numele de „morfem zero”, *DŞL* 1997, sv MORFEM; *GALR* 2005, p. 14-16.)

[5] Vezi, pentru flectiv, Guţu Romalo 1968, p. 46 şi urm.

[6] Nu avem în vedere aici şi categoria mai recent instituită în română, *determinarea* (cu morfemele acesteia – *articolele*), al cărei statut rămâne încă destul de controversat. Indiferent dacă o acceptăm sau nu printre celelalte categorii gramaticale, «morfemele» ei, articolele, în special cele enclitice, sunt incontestabil implicate în flexiunea cazuală şi ca atare incluse cu acest rol în flectivul substantival. Vezi, pentru problematica acestei „categorii”, *GALR* 2005, p. 84-87.

cealaltă/celelalte. Motivaţia o găsim în specificul *ontologic* al substantivului, acela de a fi, singurul de altfel, cuvânt *obiectual*/cuvânt care denumeşte *obiecte*. Or, numai acestea au gen, număr, ca atribute exclusive şi fireşti ale modului lor de existenţă. Lor li se adaugă *cazul* în unele limbi, cum este şi româna, care, la un înalt şi firesc grad de abstractizare, reflectă lingvistic, nu neapărat mecanic, *raporturile* dintre obiectele denumite, fie ele reale sau astfel imaginate/percepute de vorbitori.

Prin urmare, conţinutul acestor categorii este inerent substantivului, adică *nu este preluat/dobândit* într-un fel oarecare de la alte clase de cuvinte (neobiectuale). În acest sens spunem că toate cele trei categorii gramaticale ale substantivului sunt funciar categorii *primare*[7]. Aceleaşi categorii, toate de conţinut şi primare, se definesc diferit prin raportare la *flexiune*/variabilitate în expresie, prototipic în partea terminală a substantivului, şi statut *relaţional*[8]/implicare în generarea calităţii de termeni/funcţii sintactice în procesul de comunicare.

Unind cele două citerii, clasificarea rezultată (= flexionar-relaţională) cuprinde următorii membri:

a. *cazul* – categorie atât de flexiune, cât şi de relaţie/relaţională;

b. *numărul* – categorie de flexiune[9], dar de non-relaţie/nerelaţională/de opoziţie;

c. *genul* – categorie de non-flexiune şi de non-relaţie.

În această ordine ne oprim pe scurt asupra lor.

1. Ca termen, **cazul** substantival (şi numai acesta), în accepţiune tradiţională/greco-latină, ilustrează prin excelenţă un anumit tip de flexiune, şi anume **declinarea**, mai numită şi *flexiune cazuală*[10]. Termenii *caz* şi *declinare*, ambii de origine latină (caz < *casus*, declinare < *declinatio*), între alte sensuri transmise românei, îl au şi pe cel rezultat, încă în latină, printr-o mutaţie

[7] Vezi *pronumele*, care, „reprezentând” *in absentia*, ca orice substitut, numele obiectului, îi preia/îi „reprezintă” şi informaţiile gramaticale aferente (de gen, număr şi caz), sau *adjectivul*, care, exprimând diverse „caracteristici” ale obiectelor denumite de substantive sau reprezentate de substitute, „repetă” *in praesentia* informaţii gramaticale care nu-i aparţin/nu-i sunt proprii lui, ci substantivului/substitutului. (Ca entitate ontologică, «însuşirea» nu are nici gen, nici număr şi nici caz. Este fenomenul de „acord”, de natură strict formală, generator de redundanţă informaţională.) Utilizăm acest termen, *categorii primare*, pentru a nu se suprapune celui de „categorii de ordinul$_1$, divizate în categorii$_1$ prime şi categorii$_1$ secunde, în opoziţie cu cel de categorii$_2$, termeni utilizaţi de unii gramaticieni având în vedere cu totul altă trăsătură, şi anume „puterea” relaţional-funcţională, mai cu seamă a cazurilor. Vezi Draşoveanu 1997, p. 80-81, 113-118.

[8] Vezi, pentru *categorii de relaţie*, Draşoveanu 1997, p. 78 şi urm.

[9] Aşa-numitele *substantive invariabile* ca număr în latura de expresie constituie un segment periferic al clasei.

[10] O cu totul altă perspectivă, neavută aici în vedere, asupra categoriei cazului oferă *teoria fillmoriană*, în care se face distincţie între cazurile *profunde* (= categorii logico-semantice/roluri tematice, teoretic universale) şi cazurile de *suprafaţă*, expresii ale celor dintâi, realizate sau nu, în funcţie de tipul de limbă, prin variabilitate formală/prin afixe flexionare. Vezi, pentru o prezentare sumară a acestei teorii şi a evoluţiei ei în timp până în zilele noastre, *DŞL* 1997, sv CAZ.

metaforică, respectiv de nume al categoriei (cazul) şi al flexiunii după caz (declinarea).[11]

Prin urmare, ca semnificaţie etimologică, între cei doi termeni există o înrudire incontestabilă: deopotrivă trimit la o schimbare formală/o «îndoire» terminală/o abatere de la o formă „dreaptă” (*casus rectus*) sau formă-tip, denumită nominativ, eticheta/«numele» substantivului.

1.1. În concepţia gramaticienilor latini, *declinarea* a fost imaginată şi concretizată vizual ca o «cascadă», o sumă de devieri/«căderi» în succesiune pe verticală într-o anumită ordine, constituind formele cazuale (mai mult sau mai puţin) distincte.

În gramaticile mai vechi ale limbii române, care calchiază modelul latinesc, se păstrează succesiunea şi ordinea pe verticală: nominativ (N)
genitiv (G)
dativ (D)
acuzativ (Ac)
vocativ (V).

În gramaticile actuale, cu deplasarea accentului în descrierea flexiunii pe opoziţia *forme distincte* vs *forme omonime*, existente şi la alte clase de cuvinte din grupul nominal (adjective, pronume), imaginea vizuală a declinării arată altfel: cazurile sunt grupate în perechi şi implicit date într-o altă succesiune: NAc (N = Ac), GD (G = D), V, respingând imaginea pe verticală.[12] Se vede astfel că etimologic *declinarea*/flexiunea cazuală priveşte exclusiv *forma*/schimbarea formală, fără a furniza vreo informaţie privind raţiunea/*rostul* acestei schimbări.

Notă. Situaţia este diferită la termenul gramatical **conjugare** (< lat. *coniugatio*, *-onis*, în legătură directă cu verbul *coniugo*), în care se reţine explicit nu atât variabilitatea formală în sine (a verbului), cât *motivaţia* ei, aceea de *a uni/a lega*[13] verbul (-predicat), trimiţând la un aspect *relaţional*. Or, această *unire/legare*, cu sferă strict delimitată, priveşte ca partener subiectul, agentul prototipic al acţiunii, şi înseamnă în fapt potrivirea în *persoană* (şi număr), adică ceea ce numim *acord* (verbal)/acordul predicatului cu subiectul. Prin desinenţele de persoană (+ număr), acordul verbal este mijlocul de relaţionare – şi unicul – al predicatului faţă de subiect, persoana şi numărul devenind *categorii de relaţie*. (Verbul-predicat nu se poate „lega” prin altceva de subiect.)

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[11] Vezi, în afară de accepţiunea gramaticală: *caz (< casus)* = cădere, accident... (în germană: *(der) Fall* = cădere); *declinare (< declinatio)* = închinare, deviere, abatere... (în germană: *(die) Bengung* = îndoire, aplecare...). Vezi, pentru sensurile date, Guţu 1983, sv *casus* şi *declinatio*.

[12] Nu intră în perimetrul acestor adnotări prezentarea *inventarului* de declinări/a modelelor de declinare (vezi *GBLR* 2010, p. 64-65) şi nici a tipologiei generale şi eterogene a declinării în română (sintetic-desinenţială, sintetic-sufixală/cu articol enclitic, sintagmatică, analitică).

[13] Vezi, similar, *conjuncţie*, *conjunctiv*, *viaţă conjugală* etc.

Prin urmare, ca logică a construirii termenului, *conjugare* în sens strict şi relaţional se referă la flexiunea după persoană şi număr.[14]

1.2. Nici termenul **caz**, ca nume al categoriei (de flexiune), supraordonată firesc membrilor ei, nu trimite nici explicit şi nici altfel la trăsătura sa specifică de *conţinut*, aceea de a fi o categorie gramaticală de *relaţie* prin excelenţă, al cărei rost fundamental este tocmai acela de a vehicula prin flectivele sale (proprii sau apropriate) *sensuri relaţionale*[15], în baza cărora cuvintele de tip „nominal” devin *termeni* ai sintagmelor/funcţii sintactice.

În acest sens spunem că într-o limbă cu flexiune cazuală, aşa cum este româna, cazul este un *mijloc relaţional* de primă mărime[16], cu nimic mai prejos decât „cuvintele” unanim recunoscute drept relaţionale, în speţă *prepoziţiile*.

1.2.1. Trimiterea la această calitate de *conţinut*/de semantică relaţională (= valori/raporturi cazuale), absentă în denumirea categoriei, are, parcurgând drumul de la stadiul etimologic/de origine (latină) la cel actual (din română), un statut uşor *diferit* la numele *membrilor* categoriei (nominativ, genitiv, dativ, acuzativ, vocativ), membri avuţi aici în vedere şi unanim recunoscuţi.[17]

Notă. Existenţa în română şi a unui al şaselea caz, numit (caz) *direct* sau *neutru*[18], este discutabilă.[19]

La acestea, printr-o filiaţiune mai mult sau mai puţin «întortocheată» şi în parte speculativă, s-au putut formula unele *afirmaţii denominative*. Pe scurt, avem următoarele «citiri» de semantică relaţională deduse din numele cazurilor.[20]

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[14] Întrucât verbul are şi alte categorii de flexiune (mod, timp, diateză), gramaticile au cuprins şi variabilitatea formală a acestora sub numele de conjugare, ajungându-se prin lărgire de sferă la sinonimia *conjugare = flexiune verbală*. În prelungirea acestei semnificaţii de flexiune verbală integrală, termenul *conjugare* înseamnă şi *model* de conjugare şi, de aici, gruparea verbelor în „conjugări”. (Vezi DŞL 1997, sv CONJUGARE.)

[15] Vezi, pentru conceptul „sens relaţional”, Draşoveanu 1997, p. 21 şi urm.

[16] Vorbind despre cazurile substantivului, le avem în vedere aici doar pe cele neprepoziţionale/«pure» (germ. *reine Kasus*). La cele prepoziţionale, forma cazuală, una sau alta, este dată/impusă de regimul prepoziţional (genitival, datival, acuzatival), iar rolul relaţional este asumat în întregime de prepoziţie. (De aici o clasificare a cazurilor substantivale în cazuri$_1$/neprepoziţionale (relaţional-funcţionale 100%) vs cazuri$_3$/prepoziţionale/cu şi impuse de prepoziţii (relaţional-funcţionale 0%). Vezi, pentru această clasificare, mult solicitată mai ales de gramaticienii clujeni, Draşoveanu 1997, p. 94 şi urm. Pentru statutul relaţional al cazurilor$_2$/acordate/adjectivale, situate între cazurile$_1$ şi cazurile$_3$, vezi, *infra*, **3.4.1.1.**

[17] Chiar incluzând în flectivul substantival articolul definit enclitic, cazul în română, din cauza omonimiilor, are doar *trei* forme distincte, una de nominativ/acuzativ, alta de genitiv/dativ şi alta de vocativ. Rezolvarea omonimiei, respectiv deosebirea nominativului de acuzativ, a genitivului de dativ şi, în anumite situaţii, a vocativului de nominativ, ajungându-se la inventarul de cinci cazuri/cinci membri ai categoriei, recurge la alte mijloace (de semantică gramaticală, distribuţionale, topică, intonaţie etc.). Având în vedere acest decalaj, respectiv trei forme cazuale vs cinci cazuri, vorbim de o flexiune cazuală „săracă”. Vezi, pentru detalii, Neamţu 2008, p. 25-26.

[18] Vezi *GBLR* 2010, p. 56, 448, 451, 487.

[19] Vezi Draşoveanu 1997, p. 113 şi urm.

[20] Termenii utilizaţi pentru denumirea cazurilor sunt toţi de sorginte latinească/din gramaticile acestei limbi, termeni deveniţi locuri comune în multe alte limbi. Vezi, pentru acest demers explicativ şi

1.2.1.1. Nominativul, termen legat de *nume* (lat. *nomen-nominis*), este forma care *numeşte*, forma *etalon* a substantivului, denumirea conceptului/noţiunii, şi în acelaşi timp prezentă/antrenată în raportul primar şi fundamental din propoziţia canonică, cel dintre predicat şi subiect, dintre o acţiune şi agentul ei.[21] Nominativul trimite în fapt, deşi indirect, la o definire prin funcţia sa prototipică, cea de subiect, al cărei substitut interogativ este de regulă pronumele *cine*[22]. Potrivit acestei citiri cvasietimologice, nominativul apare într-o dublă ipostază: *neintegrat relaţional* (absolut, suspendat etc.) şi *integrat relaţional*. În această din urmă situaţie, prototipică şi primară este calitatea lui de *regent absolut*, inclusiv faţă de verbul-predicat, caz care-i situează purtătorul în vârful piramidei din structura unei propoziţii, «cazul cazurilor».[23]

1.2.1.2. Termenul **vocativ** ca nume al cazului (< lat. *vocativus* „care serveşte spre a chema"[24], derivat de la rădăcina verbului *voco*, *vocare* „a chema"[25]) redă aproximativ fidel sensul a ceea ce numim formă gramatical(izat)ă de *adresare*, cazul adresării, chemării, apelării[26]. Este singurul dintre cazuri care prin natura lui este *altfel* decât celelalte[27], şi anume *nerelaţional*, iar numele lui nici nu trimite la o altă citire, *încălcând* astfel însăşi definiţia categoriei.[28] Consecinţă a statutului său nerelaţional, vocativul nu are funcţie sintactică.[29]

Marca izolării/non-raportului sintactic cu alte cuvinte, în speţă cu verbul-predicat, inclusiv la modul imperativ, o constituie *pauzele* care-l încadrează şi *intonaţia* specifică, redate în scris prin semne adecvate, devenite implicit mijloace de recunoaştere/identificare a acestui caz.

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didactic deopotrivă, Toşa 1983, p. 173-176, care preia şi prelucrează informaţiile de la Goian 1961. (Prezentarea de faţă face „trimiterile" (cu adnotările aferente) la Toşa 1983.).

[21] Vezi Toşa 1983, p. 175.

[22] De aici utilizarea acestei «întrebări», mai ales în şcoală, pentru a identifica în analiza gramaticală atât nominativul, cât şi subiectul. De altfel, excluzând vocativul, toate celelalte cazuri au „întrebări" tipice şi operaţionale. (Vezi, pentru practica „întrebărilor" în procesul didactic de însuşire a gramaticii, practică destul de criticată, cu şi fără rost, Neamţu 2008, p. 17-21. Vezi, de asemenea, pentru identificarea şi definirea unor funcţii sintactice prin substitute interogative, Guţu Romalo 1973, p. 182 şi urm.). În subsidiar notăm că terminologia gramaticală germană dublează, nu întâmplător, numele latineşti şi uzuale ale cazurilor cu unele, tipic germane, care marchează întrebările la care răspund cazurile: nominativ – Nominativ/***Wer****fall* „cazul *cine*/cazul care răspunde la întrebarea *cine*"; genitiv – Genitiv/***Wes****fall* „cazul *al cui*"; dativ – Dativ/***Wem****fall* „cazul *cui*"; acuzativ – Akkusativ/***Wen****fall* „cazul *pe cine*".

[23] Dintre cele trei variante de interpretare a raportului *gramatical* dintre *predicat* şi *subiect* (subordonarea predicatului faţă de subiect, subordonarea subiectului faţă de predicat, subordonarea bilaterală/interdependenţa), o adoptăm pe prima, deşi nu are o audienţă prea largă. Vezi, în acest sens, Draşoveanu 1997, p. 205 şi urm.; Neamţu 1986, p. 16 şi urm.

[24] Guţu 1983, sv *vocativus*.

[25] Vezi Toşa 1983, p. 176.

[26] Vezi şi echivalentul german *Ruffall*.

[27] De aici opoziţia caz vocativ/al *adresării* vs cazuri non-vocative/ale *comunicării* – vezi *DŞL* 1997, sv CAZ. Vezi şi opoziţia caz *non-sintactic* vs cazuri *sintactice* (în *GBLR* 2010, p. 57).

[28] Fapt semnalat adesea de gramaticieni – vezi Zdrenghea 2014, p. 159-165.

[29] Disputa mai veche privind întrebarea dacă are sau nu are vocativul funcţie sintactică se pare că la ora actuală este încheiată.

Notă. Motivaţia includerii *vocativului* românesc între cazuri, în pofida statutului său nerelaţional, în afară de perpetuarea prin tradiţie a modelelor latineşti, este preponderent de natură formală – desinenţele proprii (*-e, -o, -ule, -lor*), diferite de ale nominativului la o mare parte a substantivelor. Dacă o asemenea deosebire flectivală n-ar exista, probabil că n-am vorbi de vocativ ca al cincilea membru al categoriei cazului, incluzându-l în nominativ, un nominativ al adresării, omonim total în latura realizării fonetice segmentale cu nominativul.[30]

În latura de conţinut (nerelaţional), *adresarea*, a acţionat procedeul prin „excludere": vocativul este altceva decât celelalte cazuri şi nici nu i se poate găsi un loc la alte categorii.

În subsidiar notăm că vocativul substantival are/poate avea în subordine determinanţi adjectivali al căror caz este impus prin acord (sintagmatic) de substantiv (*dragă prietene*, *iubite coleg*, *distinsă doamnă*). Or, refuzându-i substantivului un caz, respectiv vocativ, ar rămâne şi adjectivul fără caz.

1.2.1.3. Termenul **dativ**, tot de sorginte latină (*dativus*), provenit de la verbul lat. *do*, *dare* („a da"), este cel mai puţin «opac» în privinţa unei semnificaţii relaţionale etimologice, cea de *atribuire* a unui obiect *altui obiect*[31], acesta din urmă devenit *destinatar*. (De aici şi eticheta dativului de caz al «atribuirii».) Or, verbul *a da* este cel care prin matricea lui semantică reclamă firesc şi de regulă le are satisfăcute/realizate aceste compliniri după modelul: *(se) dă ceva cuiva*.

Se observă astfel că în denumirea acestui caz se reflectă/se conţine explicit şi o trăsătură *distribuţională* – apariţia lui cel mai adesea pe lângă verbul *a da* şi sinonime ale acestuia, iar, prin analogie, în multe feluri motivată, şi pe lângă diferite alte cuvinte (verbe, adjective, adverbe, substantive), îndepărtate ca semantică de *a da*, de care nu ne ocupăm aici.

Sensul *relaţional* atributiv al dativului se suprapune aproape total funcţiei sintactice a acestuia numite prin tradiţie (atât în română, cât şi în alte limbi) complement *indirect*. În plan logico-semantic, rolul său tematic prototipic este cel de *destinatar*[32]. Aşa se face că substitutul interogativ este acelaşi pentru dativ şi complement indirect, pronumele *cui*.

«Purificarea» complementului indirect în tratatele academice recente[33] prin eliminarea din afera acestuia a construcţiilor prepoziţionale (acuzativ cu prepoziţie, genitiv cu prepoziţie)[34] este un mare «câştig» pentru o definire *unitară* atât în expresie, cât şi în conţinut gramatical a acestei funcţii sintactice.

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[30] Din această cauză, în gramaticile limbii germane, de exemplu, limbă cu o flexiune cazuală cu nimic mai prejos decât a românei, nu se vorbeşte de cazul vocativ. (Vezi *GPLG* 1974, p. 117.)

[31] Vezi Toşa 1983, p. 176.

[32] Vezi, pentru alte roluri tematice, *GBLR* 2010, p. 455.

[33] Vezi *GALR* II 2005, p. 416-431; *GBLR* 2010, p. 459 şi urm. Vezi, tot aici, p. 499 şi urm., dativul „posesiv".

[34] Instituirea unui nou complement realizat prin acestea, complementul *prepoziţional*, se bazează ca *denumire* pe un criteriu *construcţional*, care, cu toate precauţiile formulate, este absent în numele şi definirea celorlalte complemente şi circumstanţiale – vezi, pentru complementul *prepoziţional*, *GBLR* 2010, p. 468 şi urm.

1.2.1.4. Genitivul, termen al cărui nume provine din formele latineşti *gignere-genitum* şi *generare*, cu înţelesurile *a naşte*, *a produce* (un obiect de către alt obiect), a stabili o relaţie de *filiaţiune*, de înrudire, înţelesuri foarte apropiate de cele de *posesie*, de *apartenenţă*, sensurile relaţionale vehiculate de genitiv le păstrează în esenţă pe cele *etimologice*.[35] În cadrul relaţiei de posesie, genitivul are marcată calitatea generică de *posesor* (= termen activ/subordonat) faţă de un *obiect posedat* (termen pasiv/regent). Genitivul este cazul specializat *gramatical* pentru acest rol, după cum adjectivul pronominal posesiv este specializat *lexical* pentru acelaşi rol.

Consecinţă a acestei trăsături, genitivul (fără prepoziţie), ca, de altfel, şi posesivul, este ocurent numai cu un «substantival», singurul apt pentru a ocupa poziţia de obiect posedat, fiind exclusă apariţia pe lângă/în relaţie cu o entitate «extrasubstantivală» (verb, adjectiv, adverb, interjecţie).

1.2.1.5. Termenul **acuzativ** (< lat. *accusativus*), legat ca formă de *acuzaţie* (< lat. *accusatio*), cu înţelesul de „învinuire”, „învinovăţire”, corespunde în mare etimologic valorii acuzativului, care reprezintă de regulă obiectul acuzat/învinuit de o acţiune, obiect care *suferă*/asupra căruia *se răsfrânge* o acţiune.[36] Se vede astfel că sensul acuzativului se suprapune celui al funcţiei sale prototipice, *complement direct*, şi de aici o definire în cerc/a uneia prin cealaltă, având ca bază comună rolul tematic fundamental, şi anume cel de *pacient* (simetric şi opus *agentului*)[37].

În **concluzie**, *declinarea* reprezintă doar o parte din *flexiunea* substantivală, cea *relaţională* şi de aceea generatoare de funcţii sintactice, flexiunea după categoria *cazului*.[38]

2. A doua categorie gramaticală a substantivului este **numărul**, a cărui paradigmă conţine prototipic doi membri: *singular* vs *plural*.[39]

Aceasta se caracterizează prin următoarele:

2.1. Este/pare a fi cea mai «concretă» și mai sesizabilă (senzorial sau mental) categorie, trimiţând nemijlocit la o realitate *ontologică*: singularitatea vs pluralitatea obiectelor denumite de substantiv. Prin aceasta, numărul este o categorie de *conţinut* inerentă doar obiectelor, redate lingvistic prin substantive/*cuvinte obiectuale*.

Reflex gramatical al acestei trăsături, substantivele au număr (singular vs plural) şi *se numără*/sunt numărabile (*un băiat/doi băieţi, trei băieţi* etc.).[40]

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[35] Vezi Toşa 1983, p. 176.

[36] Vezi Toşa 1983, p. 176.

[37] Vezi, pentru alte roluri tematice, *GBLR* 2010, p. 427. O specie aparte de acuzativ, fără nicio legătură cu sensul etimologic şi cu funcţia de complement direct, este aşa-numitul (uneori) „acuzativ al timpului”, care se intersectează parţial cu adverbul de timp (***Seara** se uită la televizor., A stat două **săptămâni** în spital.*). Vezi, pentru statutul controversat al acestuia, Neamţu 2014, p. 72-81.

[38] Pentru statutul flexionar şi relaţional al cazului la celelalte clase de cuvinte declinabile, vezi, *infra*, **3.4.1.1.**

[39] Substantivele defective de un membru al categoriei, fie de singular, fie de plural, precum şi cele „invariabile” (singular = plural) au o pondere nesemnificativă.

[40] Excepţie fac substantivele „masive” şi unele „abstracte” – vezi *GBLR* 2010, p. 72-74.

2.2. Este categoria *tipică* de *flexiune* substantivală, cu o marcare flectivală/desinenţială bogată, diversificată[41] şi tranşantă[42], monitorizată în mare măsură de categoria *genului*.[43]

2.3. În afara marcării desinenţiale/terminale a opoziţiei de număr şi cofuncţionale acesteia, o mare parte a substantivelor cunosc şi o marcare/**flexiune internă** şi **secundară** prin aşa-numitele **alternanţe fonologice** (vocalice, consonantice, mixte)[44] în radical: *floare* vs *flori*, *carte* vs *cărţi*, *băiat* vs *băieţi*, *milog* vs *milogi*, *as* vs *aşi* etc. Având în vedere poziţia în succesiunea liniară (de la stânga la dreapta), alternanţele fonologice din radical au rol *anticipant* pentru semnificaţia de număr (singular vs plural) vehiculată desinenţial.

Notă. Deşi elemente implicate în flexiune, alternanţele nu sunt incluse în flectiv, ci, din motive diverse şi întemeiate[45], în analiza morfematică se preferă includerea lor în *radical*, generând astfel variante în expresie/alomorfe ale acestuia.

2.4. Spre deosebire de caz, numărul nu este o categorie de relaţie: tipul de raport şi funcţia sintactică a unui substantiv nu depind/nu sunt condiţionate de utilizarea substantivului la un număr sau altul, respectiv singular vs plural – *I-am dat* ***elevului*** *o carte.* (singular) – *Le-am dat* ***elevilor*** *o carte.* (plural): acelaşi raport de atribuire şi aceeaşi funcţie (complement indirect).[46]

Prin urmare, *stricto sensu*, flexiunea după număr este altceva decât flexiunea cazuală/declinarea.

2.5. La nivelul *expresiei*, cele două categorii de flexiune, cazul şi numărul, una relaţională, cealaltă nerelaţională, se realizează *sincretic* printr-un singur segment (ireductibil/neanalizabil) morfematic, numit *desinenţă* (substantivală). Din această cauză, desinenţa substantivală este implicit atât pentru *număr*, cât şi pentru *caz*[47], indiferent de funcţionalitatea ei în cea de-a doua calitate, respectiv ca

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[41] Româna are un bogat inventar de desinenţe pentru singular vs plural.

[42] Cazurile în care, la nivelul expresiei, singularul şi pluralul au forme omonime sunt reduse cantitativ şi nesemnificative pentru sistem în ansamblu.

[43] De aceea prezentarea desinenţelor de număr (singular vs plural) se face pe genuri (masculin, feminin, neutru).

[44] Alternanţele fonologice nu vizează doar substantivele, ci toate cuvintele flexibile şi constituie o mare «problemă»/dificultate pentru străinii care ne învaţă limba, măcar că multe alte limbi cunosc acest fenomen.

[45] Vezi Guţu Romalo 1968, p. 49-54.

[46] La unii gramaticieni (vezi Draşoveanu 1997, p. 79), categoria gramaticală nerelaţională este numită categorie de *opoziţie*. (Aceeaşi categorie de opoziţie devine prin fenomenul de acord categorie de relaţie.)

[47] Este adevărat că desinenţele cazuale, în acest sincretism cu numărul, sincretism din care obiectiv nu le putem «scoate», cunosc fenomenul unei omonimii aproape totale (N = AC = G = D), adică prin ele însele nu deosebesc membrii categoriei, dar tot desinenţe cazuale/şi cazuale rămân. (Faptul că nu fiecare caz are desinenţe proprii, diferite ale unuia de ale celuilalt, nu infirmă statutul de desinenţe cazuale.)

autonomă/activă sau în cooperare cu alt segment morfematic.[48] De aceea vorbim de o *declinare* a substantivelor la *singular* şi o *declinare* a substantivelor la *plural*.

Întrucât în cursul declinării, semnificaţia de număr, fie de singular, fie de plural, rămâne constantă, categoria numărului este preeminentă, la rându-i subordonată categoriei genului.

3. A treia categorie a substantivului, una mai *aparte* din punct de vedere gramatical, este **genul**, în română cu trei membri: masculin, feminin, neutru.

Se caracterizează prin următoarele:

3.1. Este o categorie de *conţinut*, în corespondenţă sau nu cu realitatea ontologică, genul natural/sexual animatelor/sexuatelor şi, cu motivaţii diverse, extinsă şi asupra inanimatelor/asexuatelor[49].

Genul, unul sau altul dintre membrii categoriei, ţine de semantica internă a cuvintelor *obiectuale*[50] şi, cel puţin teoretic şi sincronic, în corespondenţă cu referenţii acestora, el este *fix*.[51] De aceea spunem că substantivele, asemenea obiectelor la care trimit, nu-şi schimbă genul în procesul de comunicare. (Genul substantivului nu este dependent de context.)

3.2. Consecinţă a invariabilităţii în privinţa genului/a conţinutului acestuia este şi invariabilitatea formală[52], adică genul *nu* este o *categorie* de *flexiune* substantivală şi prin urmare nu este reprezentat în flectivul substantival nici prin vreun segment propriu de expresie şi nici în sincretism cu numărul şi cazul.[53]

3.3. Asemenea numărului şi diferit de caz, genul substantival nu este prin el însuşi o categorie de relaţie – indiferent de gen, rolul sintactic al substantivului este acelaşi, unul sau altul, în funcţie de caz.

3.4. Punerea în evidenţă/explicitarea/«externalizarea» lui şi implicit afirmarea calităţii de categorie *gramaticală* pentru substantiv se realizează *indirect*, prin entităţi exterioare corpului fonetic substantival, respectiv prin *adjective* şi/sau *pronume*, care îi preiau genul.[54] Această marcare externă este „funcţională”

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[48] Flectivul substantival conţine/poate conţine pe lângă desinenţa propriu-zisă şi un al doilea segment de expresie cu rang morfematic – articolul, cofuncţional desinenţei.

[49] Fiecare limbă, care cunoaşte categoria genului, îşi construieşte propria receptare şi asimilare lingvistică a acestei categorii. Aşa se explică deosebirile de gen pentru acelaşi substantiv (cu acelaşi referent) în diferite limbi.

[50] Numai acestea au propriu-zis gen.

[51] Altfel spus, genul rămâne *constant* în întreaga paradigmă a unui substantiv. De aici cunoscuta formulare că substantivul are gen, dar nu se schimbă/nu flexionează după gen.

[52] O variabilitate în expresie neasociată cu una în conţinut ar fi lipsită de orice logică.

[53] Desinenţa substantivală este expresia doar a numărului şi a cazului, nu şi a genului. (A vorbi şi de o desinenţă de gen ar însemna o negare a conceptului de *flectiv*, parte variabilă a unui cuvânt asociată cu o semnificaţie gramaticală variabilă (= de gen), ceea ce nu este cazul aici.)

[54] În acest proces de transmitere sunt obligatoriu implicate şi numărul, şi cazul. (Sursa transmiţătoare/«iradiantă» pentru cele trei categorii la adjective şi pronume este substantivul. Vezi Gruiţă 1981, p. 11-14.)

deoarece respectivele clase de cuvinte realizează *flectival* genul/se schimbă după gen (asociat cu numărul şi cazul).[55]

Notă. Pe lângă morfem cazual în română, *articolul* este un alt şi important *indicator*/semn al genului substantival, specializat în mare pe membrii categoriei[56]: *băiatul/un băiat*, nu şi **băiata/o băiat*; *fata/o fată*, nu şi **fatul/un fată*. (Într-o limbă precum germana, care are atât articol, cât şi categoria genului, acest rol este scos în prim plan – vezi (der) *Artikel*/(das) *Geschlechtswort* „cuvânt care indică genul”. Articolele *der* – masculin, *die* – feminin, *das* – neutru sunt un fel de ABC în însuşirea acestei limbi.)

3.4.1. *Motivaţia* flexiunii după gen[57], diferită la adjective faţă de pronume, cunoscută sub numele de *acord*, rezidă în *specificul* informaţiei gramaticale (de gen) prin raportarea la *referent*, purtătorul flectivului de gen.

În acest sens, acordul se divide în (acord) *sintagmatic* (= *in praesentia*), care priveşte *adjectivul*, şi (acord) *paradigmatic* (= *in absentia*), care priveşte *pronumele*[58]. Acestea opun tranşant cele două clase de cuvinte (adjectivul şi pronumele) atât între ele, cât şi prin raportare la substantiv.

3.4.1.1. La *adjectiv*, cuvânt non-obiectual, informaţia de gen nu priveşte referentul adjectival/«calitatea» exprimată, ci referentul substantival/obiectul denumit de acesta. (Calitatea/însuşirea/caracteristica nu are în sine gen, după cum nu are nici număr şi nici caz.) De aceea spunem că la adjectiv categoriile gramaticale sunt exclusiv *formale*, adică flectivele lor *repetă* semnificaţiile aceloraşi categorii ale substantivului, constituind din punct de vedere strict informaţional un fenomen de *redundanţă*.

Tot în plan informaţional, această repetare mai are două raţiuni importante: indică genul substantivului, care nu este marcat flectival, şi în acelaşi timp trimite univoc la obiectul căruia îi aparţine însuşirea, obiect denumit de substantiv (= rol *coeziv*). Fenomenul de repetare realizat prin acordul adjectival reclamă obligatoriu *coprezenţa* în structură a cuvântului cu care se face acordul (= substantival) şi a celui acordat/«acordant» (= adjectivul). (Nu există adjectiv fără substantiv, fie prezent fizic, fie „subînţeles”.)[59]

În plan formal, acordul adjectival este expresia *atribuirii* unei «calităţi», iar aceasta/*calitatea* rămâne *constantă* în cursul întregii paradigme, adică indiferent de genul, numărul şi cazul substantivului/al numelui obiectului. În gramatica

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[55] Dacă adjectivele şi pronumele nu ar marca genul, foarte probabil nu am mai vorbi de gen gramatical nici la substantive. (Într-o limbă în care substantivul nu are gen, cum este maghiara, nici pronumele şi nici adjectivele nu au această categorie.)

[56] Ca expresie, formele diferite de gen ale articolului se motivează etimologic, perpetuând, cu schimbări fonetice, demonstrativul *ille* care le stă la bază. Vezi *ILR* 1978, p. 227 şi urm. Cuvântul *articol* (v. fr. *article*), provenit din latină (*articulus*), care, de altfel, nu avea articol, nu spune mare lucru despre rolul gramatical al acestuia (vezi Guţu 1983, sv *articulus*).

[57] Categoria care interesează aici, dar valabilă şi pentru număr, şi pentru caz.

[58] Vezi Gruiţă 1981, p. 18-38, 77.

[59] Pentru *tipurile* de acord adjectival în gen, număr şi caz, vezi Gruiţă 1981, p. 25-31.

tradiţională, funcţia sintactică generată prin acord adjectival este, la nivelul esenţei, cea de *atribut*[60], care, în română, după alte criterii, se diversifică în atribut (adjectival) propriu-zis, nume predicativ (adjectival) şi predicativ suplimentar (adjectival).

Adjectivul *repetă* deci doar categoriile gramaticale ale substantivului, nu şi funcţia sintactică a acestuia. (Cu riscul formulării unui „truism”, spunem că adjectivul „se acordă” cu substantivul în gen, număr şi caz, nu şi în funcţie sintactică.)

Notă. Prin faptul că în acordul adjectival sunt *solidar* implicate toate cele trei categorii gramaticale, care la substantiv au statut relaţional diferit (cazul = categorie relaţională, genul şi numărul = categorii nerelaţionale), ele devin, toate trei, categorii de relaţie la adjectiv, asemenea persoanei şi numărului verbului-predicat. (Prin forţa lucrurilor, acordul fiind global, el este relaţional integral.)

3.4.1.2. *Pronumele* în schimb, ca substitut al unui substantiv, îi *reprezintă* acestuia atât înţelesul lexical, cât şi categoriile gramaticale, inclusiv genul, marcate flexionar. Este ceea ce se numeşte *acord paradigmatic*/pronominal, în egală măsură *total* şi *obligatoriu*[61], asemenea celui sintagmatic, dar *nerelaţional*.[62]

În calitate de cuvânt *categorematic*[63], matrice structurantă de tip substantival, pronumele, luat în sine, nu are înţeles lexical propriu/o „substanţă” lexicală determinată, dar contextual îşi *apropriază* înţelesul substantivului reprezentat, unul sau altul. Este vorba de înţeles lexical *intermediat* de sursa referenţială substantivală.[64] Statutul de pronume se răsfrânge şi asupra categoriilor sale gramaticale, aceleaşi cu ale substantivului înlocuit, toate de *conţinut* „intermediat” şi cu acelaşi statut relaţional, respectiv: cazul – relaţional, genul şi numărul – nerelaţionale. (De aceea pronumele se comportă sintactic-funcţional ca un substantiv – aceleaşi funcţii sintactice şi repartizate pe aceleaşi cazuri.)

Spre deosebire de flectivul substantival, cel pronominal, exclusiv de tip *desinenţă*, marchează, în sincretism (cu numărul + cazul) sau separat, şi *genul*, care îi devine categorie de *flexiune*[65]. Motivaţia o găsim în faptul că pronumele, cuvânt neobiectual, neavând o substanţă lexico-semantică proprie şi «dată», căreia să-i fie inerent un gen, unul fix, îşi relevă genul prin expresia flectivului. În acest fel, genul

[60] Asemănător, acordul verbului în număr şi persoană cu un substantival în nominativ, expresie a atribuirii *procesului* (= acţiune, stare, devenire) unui *agent*, prototipic subiect, generează funcţia constantă pe care o numim îndeobşte *predicat*.
[61] Vezi, pentru întreaga demonstraţie, Gruiţă 1983, p. 18-24.
[62] Substantivul reprezentat/înlocuit de pronume nu este prezent în structură ca termen în relaţie, ci *absent*, ocupant alternativ al poziţiei şi substituibil într-unul şi acelaşi context, adică în *corelaţie*.
[63] Vezi, pentru „tipologia semantică”/tipurile de înţeles, inclusiv cel *categorial*, Coşeriu 1978, p. 180-181; Nica 1988, p. 56.
[64] Clasificarea uzuală a pronumelor (personale, demonstrative, posesive, nedefinite etc.) nu are nimic de a face cu înţelesul lexical al substantivului la care trimite, ci e una după semantica gramaticală proprie.
[65] Pronumele are gen şi, la majoritatea membrilor, *se schimbă* după gen.

pronumelui marcat desinenţial indică şi genul substantivului înlocuit, lipsit ca expresie de o reprezentare în flectivul propriu.[66]

Nota 1. Gramaticile româneşti reduc categoria genului pronominal (şi adjectival) la doi membri: masculin şi feminin. Or, consecinţă a celor două tipuri de acord în care este antrenat (paradigmatic şi sintagmatic), ambele totale şi obligatorii, nici pronumelor şi nici adjectivelor nu le poate fi refuzat *neutrul*[67], care, oricum, este un gen „aparte" în română comparativ cu neutrul din alte limbi (latină, germană, rusă etc.).

Nota 2. Consecinţă a calităţii de cuvinte neobiectuale, ci doar «pro-obiectuale», pronumele, spre deosebire de substantive, «nu se numără».

Nota 3. Făcând abstracţie de conţinutul „adresativ", la pronume, din punctul de vedere al flexiunii cazuale, vorbim (şi) de *vocativ* numai prin analogie şi substituţie cu vocativul substantival, pentru că, altfel, niciun pronume nu are un vocativ diferit desinenţial de nominativ.

Nota 4. În transmiterea informaţiilor gramaticale, cele două clase de cuvinte (substantivul şi pronumele) se sprijină reciproc în suplinirea sau atenuarea «infirmităţilor»/lacunelor lor flexionare.

3.4.2. Deşi nu este categorie de flexiune, genul substantivului, indiferent cum îl punem în evidenţă, este *baza* (constantă) pe care *se grefează* atât flexiunea cazuală, cât şi flexiunea după număr. În principiu, genul este cel care monitorizează/*condiţionează* în expresie tipologia flectivelor substantivale/a desinenţelor[68] şi, prin cofuncţionalitate, a articolelor. De aceea spunem că flexiunea substantivală este «subordonată» categoriei genului[69].

Cu alte cuvinte, genul este *implicat* în flexiunea substantivului prin *efectele* asupra organizării la nivelul expresiei a categoriilor de flexiune propriu-zisă (numărul şi cazul). Această trăsătură şi impunerea de către substantiv adjectivului (în plan sintagmatic) şi pronumelui (în plan paradigmatic), la care devin categorie de flexiune, sunt motive suficiente pentru a considera genul (şi) la substantiv o *categorie gramaticală*, eventual semantico-gramaticală, dar nu exclusiv semantică.

4. Drept **concluzii**, reţinem următoarele:

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[66] Nu intră în obiectul acestor observaţii generale şi teoretice o prezentare nici a flectivelor substantivale şi nici a celor pronominale, inventariate de orice gramatică a limbii române. (Deosebirile dintre ele la nivelul expresiei fac să se vorbească de o flexiune *substantivală* şi de o flexiune *pronominală*.)

[67] Vezi, pentru o argumentaţie în acest sens, Neamţu 2014, p. 442-450. Despre un *neutru* la adjective se vorbeşte totuşi în *GALR* I 2005, p. 146.

[68] Toate gramaticile dau inventarul flectivelor de număr (singular, plural) şi de caz (N, Ac, GD, V), de regulă în realizare sincretică, pe genuri (masculin, feminin, neutru).

[69] Vezi *GBLR* 2010, p. 65.

4.1. Flexiunea, inclusiv cea substantivală, este motivată de necesitatea marcării categoriilor gramaticale, entităţi cu expresie şi conţinut.

4.2. Termenii uzuali *declinare* (nume al tipului de flexiune), *caz* (nume al categoriei) şi *nominativ*, *genitiv*, *dativ*, *acuzativ* (nume ale membrilor categoriei) se justifică etimologic diferit prin raportare la corelaţia *formă* vs *conţinut*, respectiv: *declinare* şi *caz* trimit exclusiv la formă/schimbare formală; *nominativ*, *genitiv*, *dativ*, *acuzativ* au relativ transparentă/deductibilă trimiterea la conţinut/sens relaţional.

4.3. Cele trei categorii gramaticale şi solidare ale substantivului sunt categorii cu *conţinut propriu*, dar cu statut flexionar şi relaţional diferit (cazul – categorie de flexiune şi relaţională, numărul – categorie de flexiune, dar nerelaţională, genul – categorie de non-flexiune şi nerelaţională).

4.4. Existenţa categoriilor gramaticale substantivale motivează existenţa aceloraşi categorii gramaticale la adjective şi pronume, la care au statut diferit fie flectival, fie relaţional.

4.5. Genul (masculin, feminin, neutru), categorie fixă/de non-flexiune, firesc nemarcată în corpul fonetic al substantivului, se pune în evidenţă prin flectivele altor clase de cuvinte acordate *sintagmatic* (= adjective, inclusiv articole) sau *paradigmatic* (= pronume) cu acesta, preluându-i genul fie prin *repetare*, fie prin *reprezentare*.

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SUMMARY: In this article, the *inflectional* and *relational* dimensions of the grammatical categories of the noun are (re)examined from a theoretical and general perspective (terminological, traditional, structuralist, relational and ontological) in correlation with the relation between *phrase* vs *content*. From this point of view, the grammatical categories of the noun are all are all seen as being *primary* and possessing intrinsic content, be it relational or non-relational. They are made evident through particular endings or other categories (case and number). They can also be indicated by the endings of other classes of words (adjectives, pronouns) that are taken over through *repetition*/syntagmatic agreement vs *representation*/paradigmatic (the category of gender). The manner of 'taking over' determines the functional status of the pronoun against that of the adjective: either identical, but diversified by case, or dissimilar and not diversified by case. The difference is also maintained at the level of case 'questions': with nouns and pronouns, case questions are identical with the syntactic functions prototypically actualized, whereas adjective cases do not require any questions.
KEYWORDS: inflexion vs non-inflexion, declension vs conjugation, grammatical category, primary category, phrase vs content, noun vs pronoun, syntagmatic agreement vs paradigmatic agreement, repetition vs representation, relational vs non-relational

MULTILINGUALISM IN ROMANIA

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ABSTRACT: Romania is characterised by a rich linguistic and cultural diversity which is noticeable by the number of national minorities and regional or minority languages recognised through the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCPNM) and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML). Furthermore, the educational system in Romania, based on the mother tongue plus two languages system, supports the development of individual multilingualism as well. The purpose of the present paper is to analyse the multilingual situation in Romania by looking at the European and Romanian legislative contexts, and by examining examples of multilingual practices encountered in Romania.
KEYWORDS: multilingualism, Romania, FCPNM, ECRML, multilingual practices

1. Introduction

Romania is characterised by a rich linguistic and cultural diversity. This is noticeable both at the societal and individual level. Although according to our Constitution (Art. 13) Romanian is the only official language, this is not a reflection of the societal multilingualism encountered in Romania. In fact, the country has quite a significant number of national, regional and new minorities encountered within its borders. This diversity is supported as well by the two European documents signed and ratified by Romania: Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCPNM) and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML). However, as it will be discussed in the paper, these two documents do not cover all minorities or minority languages, thus resulting in a degree of inequality.

At the individual level multilingualism is encountered as well since the educational system promotes individual multilingualism being based on a MT+2 principle, i.e. mother-tongue plus two more international languages. As a result, when graduating high school, students have various degrees of individual multilingualism and they can continue studying foreign languages in university as well. Furthermore, members of minority communities who study in their MT study Romanian as well.

One of the results of individual multilingualism is represented by multilingual practices. Individuals who know two or more languages (to various degrees) have a tendency to use all their linguistic repertoires in order to accomplish their communicational purpose. Although at times frowned upon, this is a natural phenomenon since language is characterised by fluidity and this fluidity is translated, by younger generations especially, into language use and identity as well. Thus, through their use of their linguistic repertoires individuals tend to create a new identity for themselves.

Being characterised by both societal and individual multilingualism, Romania has taken steps to promote and maintain diversity. The application of the European legislation and the educational system are examples to this end. The present paper deals with analysing the multilingual situation in Romania by discussing the legislative context and the multilingual practices encountered in the country.

2. The European legislative context

Language is seen as a fundamental human right and as an important characteristic in defining identity. As a result, in many parts of the world "language rights are often among the demands behind which ethnic groups rally when they challenge states for a recognition of their distinct identities" (Hogan-Brun & Wolff 3). Therefore, it is no wonder that, in order to avoid such conflicts, debates on language and diversity have been a constant presence in the public discourse.

After WWII, the international community turned towards individual human rights, with documents such as *The Charter of the United Nations* or the *Universal Declaration on Human Rights* referring to language as a human right. However, little protection is offered to languages used by only a few within larger states (Hogan-Brun & Wolff). At the European level the trend was similar, with documents such as the FCPNM and ECRML focusing on group rights. Nevertheless, even though the ECRML is notably important because "it is the first legally binding document for the protection of minority languages and clearly states the areas in which states have an obligation to take action on behalf of speakers of minority languages" (Hogan-Brun & Wolff 4), both documents exclude immigrant minority languages.

However, the existence of such norms does not ensure their immediate embrace by all states and nations. For instance, France's signing of the ECRML was accompanied by a declaration stating that

> [i]n so far as the aim of the Charter is not to recognize or protect minorities but to promote the European language heritage, and as the use of the term "groups" of speakers does not grant collective rights to speakers of regional or minority languages, the French Government interprets this instrument in a manner compatible with the Preamble to the Constitution, which ensures the equality of all citizens before the law and recognize only the French people, composed of all citizens, without distinction as to origin, race or religion.(as cited in Hogan-Brun & Wolff 4)

As it can be noticed from this fragment, the ECRML is open to interpretation and offers each country the freedom to choose the manner in which they apply it. Thus, France – which is one of the countries that have not ratified the ECRML – considers that the Preamble of their Constitution is enough to ensure equality between its citizens. Furthermore, according to this declaration, the existence of minority languages within the French territory is denied (Hogan-Brun & Wolff). In the same vein, France has not yet signed the FCPNM because the French State

Council considers that the document is contrary to the principle of equality found in the Constitution (Ferle & Šetinc 13).

The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. It was adopted in 1994 by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe and was enforced in 1998. Out of the 47 members of the Council of Europe, 39 have signed and ratified the document, 4 signed it but did not ratify it, while 4 neither signed nor ratified it.

The importance of the FCPNM stems from the fact that it is "the first international treaty with a multilateral, general protection regime for minorities" (Benoit-Rohmer as cited in Henrard 50). Furthermore, it proves that for a proper protection of human rights and, specifically, linguistic ones, there needs to be an interrelation between individual human rights and minority rights. Consequently, the FCPNM takes up, in certain articles, individual human rights of the *European Charter for Human Rights* that are important for minorities (e.g. freedom of expression, freedom of thought, conscience and religion) and the right to use one's minority language both in public and in private mediums.

By taking into consideration that the situation of minorities can differ from country to country and, as a result, different approaches might be required, when drafting the FCPNM, and especially when establishing its principles and objectives, the Committee opted for more general formulations (Pamphlet no. 8). Thus, the FCPNM does not offer a list that contains the rights of national minorities, but rather comes up with a series of the State's obligations. In order to respect the proposed objectives, the States have to adopt appropriate legislation and policies that better fit their needs and circumstances.

However, when formulating the articles, the Committee used general terms and phrases such as "as far as possible", "where such a request corresponds to a real need" or "where appropriate", which weaken the rights that are guaranteed by the FCPNM. This flexibility offered by the FCPNM does not mean that the States are released from the obligations mentioned in the document. However, at the same time, due to such vague formulations, States seem to not be obligated to necessarily undertake positive measures.

An issue raised by the FCPNM is the determination of to whom it applies, considering that it does not define the notion of "national minority". Due to this inability to reach a consensus regarding this definition, the decision made, as mentioned in the Explanatory Report, was that the implementation of the principles from the FCPNM is to be made through national legislation and appropriate government policies. However, this freedom in choosing how to define national minorities has led to the exclusion of non-citizens and migrants from the provisions of the FCPNM.

Regarding its provisions, the FCPNM proclaims in its articles the fundamental principles of non-discrimination and equality, and the States are to "undertake adequate measures to promote [equality], in all areas of economic, social, political and cultural life" (Art. 4, par. 1&2). Throughout the rest of the FCPNM, the provisions mentioned cover a wide range of issues, some of which require the undertaking of appropriate measures by the State. Thus, when ratifying it, all States agree to certain provisions, such as: to promote the conditions necessary for members of a national minority to maintain and develop their culture and identity, and to protect them from forced assimilation (Art. 5); to encourage tolerance and intercultural dialogue, and promote mutual respect, understanding and co-operation among people living on the same territory (Art. 6); to recognise the right to use a minority language in public and private (Art. 10); to recognise the right to officially use names and surnames in the minority language (Art. 11); to recognise the right to learn their minority language, to be taught in that language where there is sufficient demand, and to manage their own private education (Art. 13&14). Besides these provisions that need to be followed by the signatory States, there is also one that is for national minorities to follow, namely to "respect the national legislation and the rights of others, in particular of persons belonging to the majority or to other national minorities" (Art. 20).

As it can be noticed, the FCPNM offers provisions meant to promote and maintain the language and culture of national minorities, and it promulgates non-discrimination and tolerance. However, by referring solely to national minorities it, in fact, discriminates against migrant minorities. Although this freedom given to the States could mean that they might place migrant minorities under the term of "national minorities", the choice is quite subjective since it depends on who decides which minority should be a national one and which should not.

The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. According to Craith (56), the early stages of the ECRML can be found in a 1986 public debate on the subject of regional and minority languages. At this time, a Committee of Experts was tasked with drafting the charter for Europe's regional and minority languages, which was adopted in 1990, while two years later it received the form of a Convention. Although the decision was not unanimous within the Council of Europe (CoE), in 1998 the Charter came into force after being ratified by the required five member states. Unlike the FCPNM, "the ratification of the Charter is a more intense undertaking, as it formally requires states to adopt certain measures for the promotion of designated languages in sectors such as education, justice, public service and the media" (57). However, the ECRML offers a certain degree of freedom as well since the signing of the document does not require an immediate expansion of its terms to all regional and/or minority languages, states having the option of increasing the number of languages later on. So far, out of 47 members of the CoE, 25 have signed and ratified the ECRML, 8 have only signed it, while 14 have not signed it.

Unlike the FCPNM and other charters and conventions, the ECRML is quite unusual since it is dedicated entirely to languages rather than individuals or groups (Craith). This is rather clear from Art. 1 of the ECRML, where it is mentioned that by "regional or minority languages" the Charter means those languages "traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and [which are] different from the official language(s) of that State". Similarly to the

FCPNM, this definition does not include dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants. This is made even clearer in Art. 1, par. c, where it is stated that "non-territorial" refers to "languages used by nationals of the State which differ from the language or languages used by the rest of the State's population but which, although traditionally used within the territory of the State, cannot be identified with a particular area thereof." Although this would be the case of Yiddish and Romania, the Explanatory Report mentions that these two languages could be recognised as national or regional minorities since they are traditionally used on the territory of certain states by its citizens. As a result, similarly to the FCPNM, the ECRML as well offers states the freedom to choose which minority or regional languages are to be recognised and which part of the Charter should apply to the chosen languages.

Since the Charter excludes the languages of migrants and non-Europeans, it can be stated that it ignores Europe's true linguistic and cultural diversity. To date, although the desirable norm would be equality among all languages, most policies have been differentiating between minorities and languages. Thus, certain minorities are more entitled to recognition than others. An explanation for this would be that the strategies used by states make use of different typologies which prioritise national and indigenous minorities, so that their national unity and homogeneity would not be affected. Furthermore, unlike national or regional minorities "immigrant groups have not consistently demanded self-governing status within nation-states [and] [w]hile many seek political affirmation of their cultural significance, they do not necessarily aspire to self-determination" (Craith 50). It should be mentioned as well that, although the Charter gives signatory states the freedom to choose the regional and minority languages to be protected, it requires a differentiation between languages as well. According to the Explanatory Report, when ratifying the Charter, all countries have to choose from the options in Part II and III "according to the situation of each language" and not arbitrarily. Thus, this can mean that "the larger the number of speakers of a certain language and the more homogeneous the regional population, the stronger the option which should be adopted" (Blair as cited in Henrard 15) from the wide range of norms that go from weak to very strong.

As previously stated, the ECRML has two parts that include provisions meant to be taken into consideration in the process of ratification. By accepting the application of Part II formed from Art. 7 (par. 1, from a) to j)), states agree, among others, to: recognise regional or minority languages as an expression of cultural wealth; respect the geographical area of each regional or minority language; ensure the promotion of regional or minority languages; provide appropriate forms and means in order to facilitate teaching and study of the regional or minority languages at appropriate stages; promote research on and study of regional or minority languages in universities or equivalent institutions. Part III, on the other hand, refers to measures to promote the use of regional and minority languages in public life. As a result, it refers to domains of education (Art. 8), for judicial authorities (Art. 9), for administrative authorities and public services (Art. 10), for access to the media

(Art. 11) and of cultural, economic and social activities (Art. 12&13). Thus, states agree to: make education in regional or minority languages available at all levels of education; offer TV or radio programmes in the regional or minority languages, encourage the creation of at least one channel (TV or radio) and of the publication, on a regular basis, of newspapers in the languages in question; promote and facilitate cultural initiative in regional or minority languages.

As it can be noticed from the provisions, unlike the FCPNM, the ECRML has clearer requests and it is more specific in its purpose. On the other hand, although working with the term "minority", this Charter does not define it. This shows the difficulty encountered in defining such a complex term, considering that there can be variation in its interpretation. However, by offering states the freedom to choose to which minority language it would apply, the ECRML takes each state's discretion quite far (Benoit-Rohmer as mentioned in Henrard 51).

3. The Romanian legislative context

The application of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. The FCPNM was signed and ratified in 1995 through Law 33/1995. According to the opinion regarding Romania given by the Committee of Experts of the Framework Convention 2001, there are 16 national minorities that are considered to be covered by the document, namely Hungarian, Roma, German, Ukrainian, Russian-Lipovan, Turkish, Serbian, Tatar, Slovak, Bulgarian, Jewish, Croatian, Czech, Polish, Greek, and Armenian. The importance of the FCPNM stems from the fact that it is the first international treaty that focuses on the general protection of minorities. In Romania, there are several laws and decrees that, together with certain articles from the Constitution, have as a central point the rights that are recognised by the FCPNM. According to Chiriță and Săndescu, some examples would be: Official Decree no. 137/2000 and Emergency Decree no. 31/2002 for Art. 4 (equality before the law); Official Decision no. 111/2005 for Art. 5 (maintaining the culture and the essential elements of identity); Law no. 215/2001, Official Decree no. 1206/2001, and art. 82, par. 4 from Law no. 504/2002 for Art. 10 (use of minority language in private and public life); Law no. 500/2004 and art. 91 from Law no. 188/1999 for Art. 11 (use of name and surname in the minority language; display of signs, inscriptions, and street names in minority language); art. 123 from Law no. 85/1995 for Art. 13 (educational institutions in the minority language); and art. 118 from Law no. 85/1995 for Art. 14 (studying in the minority language). Certainly, there are other articles from the Constitution that contain provisions mentioned in certain articles from the FCPNM.

As one can observe after the signing of the FCPNM, Romania formulated and promulgated national laws meant to promote and protect national minorities, and respect the provisions of the Convention. However, even though these national laws respect judicial acts, there are still some deficiencies. For instance, up to the present moment, Romania does not have an internal law for national minorities, merely a project-law (Law no. 502/2005) regarding the status of national minorities in Romania that has not yet been approved and implemented.

The application of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. The ECRML became applicable after the promulgation of Law no. 282/2007, which was meant to ratify it. Being given the freedom to choose the minorities that benefit from the Charter, Romania decided to recognise twenty minority languages. Furthermore, the same freedom applied when deciding which ones will receive a more general protection and which will benefit from an enhanced protection. As a result, the first ten languages are Albanian, Armenian, Greek, Italian, Yiddish, Macedonian, Polish, Romani, Ruthenian and Tatar. These languages benefit from Part II of the Charter, which means that the state recognises these languages as an expression of cultural enrichment, respects their geographical area, and facilitates studies and research in these areas in universities. Moreover, the state takes upon itself to eliminate any exclusion or discrimination and to take into consideration the necessities expressed by the groups that use these languages (Art. 7). The next ten languages are Bulgarian, Czech, Croatian, German, Hungarian, Russian, Serbian, Slovakian, Turkish and Ukrainian. In the case of these minority languages, both Part II and III of the Charter apply. As a result, these languages have as well articles that refer to measures for the use of regional or minority languages in the public life, i.e. in education, in the judicial system, in public administration, in the media and in cultural, economic and social activities.

It should be mentioned here that, although the Explanatory Report gives Yiddish and Romani as examples for non-territorial languages, Romania has chosen to recognise them as minority languages. This shows once more that, due to a vague formulation, there is quite an extended freedom for signatory states. Furthermore, although it promotes non-discrimination and equality, Art. 1 from the ECRML can itself give way to discrimination for, as in the case of Romania, some non-territorial languages are recognised while others are not, even though they fall under the same category if we consider the territorial principle.

4. The situation of minorities in Romania

The legislative context in Romania shows that it has a very rich linguistic diversity, as a result of the multiple linguistic repertoires found within its territory. However, the languages recognised through the ECRML represent only one part of this diversity, especially if we take into account the 2011 census (published in 2013). According to the results published by the National Institute of Statistics (NIS), there are twenty-one declared ethnic groups and twenty declared MTs– unlike other countries Romania includes in its census a question about one's mother-tongue as well.

According to the census, the ethnic minorities present in the results are the sixteen ones recognised by the FCPNM with the addition of Italian, Chinese, Csango, Macedonian, and Romanian. In regards to the MTs, there are eighteen minority languages from the ECRML (minus Albanian and Ruthenian) with the addition of Chinese and Romanian. Although the results support Romania's vast linguistic diversity, the MTs and ethnic groups taken into consideration are still quite limited since there are 18,524 individuals who were put under the category of

‘Other’ for ethnicities and 14,834 put under the same category for MTs. Considering these high numbers, the census should be extended in order to include them as well, so that a proper account of the existing degree of multiculturalism and multilingualism could be attained. Moreover, what remains is the question of why some languages and ethnicities are mentioned in the census while others are not, even in the case of those recognised by the two European documents. One reason, mentioned by the NIS, might be that the languages that have fewer than 18,000 speakers are included under the ‘Other’ category. However, there are thirteen languages mentioned in the census that have fewer than 18,000 speakers, with seven of them having fewer than 7,000 speakers and three of them having fewer than 800 speakers. Thus, this differentiation between minorities and minority languages is not necessarily related to the European legislation adopted by Romania. A clearer example for this is the introduction of Chinese in the census while not including Albanian and Ruthenian, which, unlike the former, are recognised as regional minority languages through the provisions of the FCPNM. However, it should be mentioned that, since Chinese represents a new minority, its inclusion in the census shows openness towards recognising these new minorities and minority languages.

It is true as well that having a larger number of minority speakers officially accounted for, might have as a result a requirement from their speakers towards official recognition and this might raise issues for authorities However, if diversity and equality are desired, all languages and minorities should be accounted for, especially in order to create adequate linguistic policies. Furthermore, a census should not be limited to only certain languages while excluding others, for the results can give way to public discourses of discrimination and intolerance.

5. Moving the discussion forward: multilingual practices in Romania

With such a diverse cultural and linguistic background, multilingual practices are encountered often among the population. For instance, the Romanian majority is generally characterised by individual multilingualism. On the one hand, there are several varieties of Romanian so that Romanians in general have several repertoires that they use according to the type of interaction. For instance, in formal interactions standard Romanian is the norm, while in informal ones individuals generally use a more informal variety (e.g. Moldavian Romanian, Transylvanian Romanian). On the other hand, the linguistic repertoires of individuals are enriched during their school years as well, since throughout the twelve years of pre-university studies, students learn Romanian as their L1 but also a second and third foreign language, which can be chosen from among English, French, German, Russian, Spanish, Italian, Greek, Japanese, Portuguese or Norwegian (Saramandu & Nevaci). This wide range of languages is found in university as well, students being able to either continue improving an already known language or learn a new one, such as Swedish, Finnish, Danish or Chinese.

Out of all the languages one has access to, English still remains, for the present moment, the most commonly used among multilinguals. This might come from the fact that it is the most encountered one by individuals (e.g. on the Internet), it is the most required one (being considered a necessity and a common ground when interacting with speakers of other languages), and, considering how widespread it is, it could be considered as easier to learn. As a result, most individuals who are multilingual have English among their linguistic repertoires. This is one of the reasons why, nowadays, using words borrowed from English (e.g. *hi*, *hey*, *hello*, *cool*, *damn*, *ok*) has become common practice among Romanian speakers. This practice is most common among the younger generations, since they have had and still have a higher access to different linguistic repertoires. Thus, they started creating their own identity and language by making use of all the linguistic resources that they have at hand. Switching between two or more languages or linguistic repertoires, both in speaking and writing, shows a high degree of fluidity and flexibility in using all of their linguistic resources when communicating. This new identity, which could be characterised as *metroethnicity* (Otsuji&Pennycook 240), is expressed through different encodings which can consist of abbreviations or through a combination of linguistic repertoires. This can be observed in the following examples taken from a previous study (Cîmpean, 'The Encodings') done on the encodings of adolescent and young adults' language use:

(1) Hey! Sorry dar plănuiam dinner and a movie cu colegii de apart…eventual mâine?/Hey! Sorry but I was planning dinner and a movie with my roommates…maybe tomorrow?
(2) Hey. U called today. Que paso?/Hey. You called today. What happened?
(3) Really? Cool. Mai sunt și alții?/Really? Cool. Are there others?

The given examples represent Short Text Messages between native-Romanian speakers. The examples portray cases of both inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching through the use of several linguistic repertoires.

Multilingual practices are not however present only among the Romanian majority. Members of minority communities are considered multilingual from the start since, if studying in the Romanian system, all of them have to learn Romanian as well, beside their MT. As a result, most often they will use one language or another according to with whom they interact. For instance, in a previous study (Cîmpean, 'Multilingual Practices'), my native-Italian informant stated that he used Romanian with native-Romanian speakers, Italian with Italian speakers and Neapolitan with his family and friends from back home. Further multilingual practices can be noticed as well in multilingual families. For instance, in another study on language ideologies (Cîmpean, 'Language Ideologies'), informants from bilingual backgrounds would use one language with one parent, while another with the other parent and relatives (e.g. the case of a Dutch-Romanian informant).

The multilingual practices that take place in Romania can be noticed as well in the number of bi- and multilingual publications. For instance, there are nineteen minority associations and unions that have publications which contain articles in both Romanian and their MTs, and in some cases English as well. As a result, there are publications in all the languages recognised by the ECRML, save for Tatar. In addition, Romania has undertaken measures so that minority students could study in their MT, both at the pre-university level and the university one (as is the case of Babeş-Bolyai University).

As previously mentioned, multilingual individuals have a tendency to switch between languages. This might be a result of the fact that many individuals only have a truncated knowledge of certain languages (Blommaert) and, as a result, individuals sometimes use all the resources at hand in order to achieve a communicational purpose. Nonetheless, it should be stated that, especially in formal encounters, using only one language is generally a requirement, even in spoken language, since some still consider language mixing as a sign of deficiency in one language or another. However, it should be borne in mind that this view of things does not take into consideration the actual practices of speakers. Furthermore, multilingual practices are not just those that include two different languages but also those that include two or more varieties of the same language. Thus, it could be stated that virtually all individuals will inevitably switch between varieties (e.g. standard/non-standard) at one point or another.

6. Final Remarks

As one can see, the situation regarding minorities and minority languages is a complex issue within the European Union. Although more than one treaty has been passed to bring about a sense of equality among diverse cultures and linguistic repertoires, the high degree of flexibility with respect to how these treaties are applied leaves room for significant interpretation from one country to the next. Two main issues are represented by the lack of a definition for national minorities and a disregard for immigrant minorities.

Romania is a culturally and linguistically rich country and in order to promote this diversity it has both signed and ratified two European documents, the FCPNM and the ECRML. However, only twenty minority or regional minority languages and sixteen minorities have been recognised, although the last census has shown that there are more. Furthermore, the ECRML differentiates between minorities, with some receiving more recognition and rights than others. Thus, although this document is meant to create equality between minority languages, it allows a sense of inequality as well. Furthermore, in order to have a clearer view on the degree of societal multilingualism, the next census should include a wider array of both ethnicities and MTs.

In addition to having a rich societal multilingualism, Romania is characterised by individual multilingualism as well. Through its educational system, Romania promotes the studying of at least three languages, which has as a result multilingual practices among its inhabitants. However, individual multilingualism is not achieved only through formal education since multilingual practices involve varieties of the same language (e.g. Romanian) as well. As a result, it can be concluded that most, if not all individuals are multilingual to various degrees.

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COMPLEX COLOUR EXPRESSIONS IN ROMANIAN

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ABSTRACT: The present paper uses an experimental corpus elicited in 2014 to investigate complex colour expressions in Romanian. After a brief historical overview of the genesis of the Romanian colour lexicon, the paper analyses the structures used by speakers to name intermediate hues and degrees of brightness and saturation, in order to measure the weight of analytical *vs.* synthetical strategies. Romanian is overall considered to be more conservative and more synthetical than other Romance languages: among other things, one would expect it to exhibit a preference for suffixation rather than composition in the colour domain. However, the comparison to similar French and Occitan data shows Romanian to be morphologically as analytical as French, and partially divergent from its family, due to the presence of (probably) Balkanic strategies of deriving and naming colour.
KEYWORDS: colour terms, derivation, composition, Romanian, experimental studies

1. Introduction

Colour terms are a wide field of inquiry, especially for linguistics and neurology. Since the seminal study of Berlin & Kay (1969), one path of analysis in linguistics has been the genesis of *basic colour terms*, cross-linguistically or inside a single language. According to this and subsequent studies, basic colour terms are monomorphemic, or at least primary, context-independent and semantically opaque. These terms develop following a (semi-) universal path (see Kay & Maffi 1999 for further refinements to stages I-V):

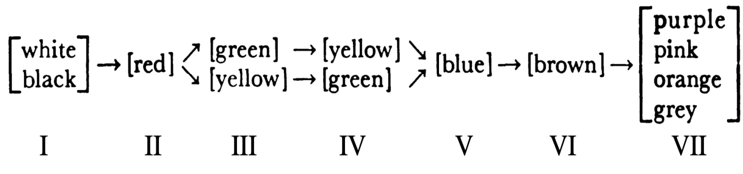

Fig. 1. ***Evolutionary path for colour lexicons,*** **apud** ***Kay & McDaniel (1978)***

Technically, a "colour" is described according to *hue* (variation in light wavelength, which is decoded as yellow, green, etc.), *brightness* (intensity of light), and *saturation* (intensity of hue, measured as distance from pure white). White and black are non-colours, as they represent the global presence or absence of light. However, languages treat them as colours. Basic hues are named up to Stage V in the above model, while Stages VI and VII exhibit derived terms naming intersections of hues, i.e. colours that are equally distant from two foci (purple, orange), and degrees of saturation of a specific hue (pink, grey). Brightness and saturation can (and are, generally) expressed as modifiers to a basic hue term (e.g. *light green*, *bright red*). Names for derived hues appear in a less predictable order than basic colour terms: for instance, purple and brown were found in some languages at early stages, contrary to what was assumed in the above model (Kay et al. 1991). Orange usually appears after purple (McLaury 1997), and purple has more terms than orange in the World Colour Survey corpus (Dowman 2007).

According to all these researches, lexicons of basic colour terms at stage VII count 11 or, rarely, 12 items (Russian and Hungarian being long-discussed cases of systems of 12 basic colour terms). Basic colour terms never disappear: once a distinction is made in the colour domain, names can be replaced, but "a category once named never remains unnamed" (Kay & Maffi 1991: n.7). New chromatic terms can be derived from realia or borrowed from another language (Dowman 2007).[1]

While many studies have focused on basic colour terms, much less attention has been paid to complex expressions of colour. For the Romance domain, let us cite Molinier (2001 and 2006) for French, D'Achille & Grossmann (2013), Grossmann & D'Achille (2016) for Italian, Villalva (2016) for Portuguese, and the comparative study of Grossmann (1988). Most of these, like the Romanian studies mentioned below, are interested in morpho-syntactic and historical issues, but less on semantics, and they are rarely corpus-based.

The present paper is a preliminary exploration of a Romanian experimental corpus of colour names. Before analysing the corpus, I will briefly consider the historical genesis and present-day situation of the basic chromatic lexicon of Romanian, and will compare it with other Romance languages. The corpus analysis will focus mainly on complex colour descriptions: their structure, their quantitative importance in the corpus and their correlation to semantics. The starting assumption is that Romanian favours synthetical strategies for naming intermediate, complex colours (i.e. derivation) over analytical strategies, such as compounding, in line with the more conservative, less grammaticalised position of this language inside the Romance family (Bach, Kopecka & Fagard 2019).

2. Corpus and method

Data used for the present paper was elicited in the framework of the Evolution of Semantic Systems (EoSS) project of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen (http://eoss.nl/aims/). The Romanian corpus was recorded during the spring of 2014 in Cluj, using a standardised protocol (Majid, Jordan & Dunn 2011).[2]

[1] One of the most important critiques to Berlin & Kay's approach was that it ignored contact phenomena. Another critique was that colour was conceived out of context, whereas in usage colour lexicons can vary immensely (Dubois & Grinevald 1999).

[2] The interviews were conducted by Dr Melania Duma and Dr Cristiana Papahagi; the transcript was made by Dr Melania Duma.

In a preliminary inquiry, five random persons were asked to name as many colours as they could think of; the 12 most frequent names thus obtained were later used in Task no. 2 (focal colour). These were, by rank and frequency: *roșu* ‘red’, *galben* ‘yellow’, *albastru* ‘blue’, *negru* ‘black’, *verde* ‘green’, *gri* ‘grey’, *maro* ‘brown’, *violet* ‘magenta’, *alb* ‘white’, *mov* ‘purple’, *portocaliu* ‘orange’, *roz* ‘pink’.

In the main test, 20 participants (equal number of males and females) aged 18-24, not professionally involved with colour terms (i.e. not studying arts or chemistry, for instance), answered a set of three questions concerning colours. In Task no. 1, they were showed 84 Munsell chips arranged in a fixed random order.

In the kit, 4 chips were achromatic, and the remaining 80 represented 20 equally spaced hues at four degrees of brightness. Participants were asked to give, for each Munsell chip, the first colour expression that came to their mind, but not to give long descriptions. They were allowed to use the same word more than once during this task.

In Task no. 2, participants were asked to point, on a Munsell chart containing the same 84 colours, the best example of each of the colour terms elicited from other speakers in the preliminary inquiry.

Finally, Task no. 3 was a test for red-green and for blue-yellow colour deficiencies. Only one Romanian participant was tested positive to red-green deficiency, and his answers were discarded.

The corpus under scrutiny consists of the full responses to Task no. 1, 1596 colour expressions, or 84 chips x 19 participants.

As far as I am aware, this is the only experimental corpus of Romanian colour terms used out of context. Therefore, caution is needed in comparing the data to previous studies on Romanian colour terms, which used dictionaries or specific types of texts. I will also compare my conclusions to the analysis of the French and Occitan corpora elicited in the framework of the same project (Bach, Kopecka & Fagard 2019).

3. Brief historical survey of colour terms in Romanian

According to Dworkin (2016), Latin had names for all the Hering primary colours, although not all were basic terms; all were inherited by at least one Romance language, and some of them were later replaced by borrowed terms. Blue seems to be the least stable: it had many, mostly infrequent names in Latin, which probably explains why they were not long-lived in the Romance languages; even in Romanian, blue underwent a lexical renewal.

This overview is a synthesis from Marian (1882), Istrate (1970), Ciobanu (1972), Bidu-Vrănceanu (2008: §6) and Baltă (2011).

Romanian texts up to the middle of the eighteenth century exhibit very few colour terms, and very scarcely. These are mainly the Latin inherited terms for primary colours: *alb*, *negru*, *roșu*[3], *verde*, *galben*, *vânăt*[4], along with the Hungarian-based derivative *mohorât* (dark red or brown). Some derivatives of these terms (e.g. *roșîu* 'reddish') and some internal creations (e.g. *cenușiu* 'grey' < *cenușă* 'ash') are equally early.[5] *Albastru* (< Lat. *alabaster*, originally meaning grey, cf. Dworkin 2016) was attested in the sixteenth century, but only by the end of the eighteenth century did it become frequent, and has replaced *vânăt* since then.

Many new colour names appear in the first half of the nineteenth century. They can roughly be grouped in:

a) borrowings from Turkish and/or Greek: *civit* 'indigo', *pembé* 'pink', *lahani* 'cabbage-green'...
b) derivatives on a Turkish/Greek basis: *nărămzat* 'orange', *ghiviziu* 'brown', *fistichiu* 'pistachio-green', *vișiniu* 'dark red' (attested by the end of the eighteenth century, maybe borrowed as a derivative, cf. Mod. Greek *βυσσινί*, Alb. *vishnjë*), *portocaliu* 'orange' (cf. Mod. Greek πορτοκαλί, Alb. *portokalli*)...
c) internal derivatives: *gălbui* 'yellowish'[6], *trandafiriu* 'light pink'...[7]

Only around 1900 do dictionaries record colour terms borrowed mainly from French, but also from Italian and German, or with mixed origin: *maro*, *bleumarin*, *bordo*, *indigo*, *turcoaz*, *azur*. However, these terms were probably in use long before this date. Some of these borrowings competed in meaning with transparent native derivatives (e.g. *gri* for *cenușiu*), or with Turkish/Greek borrowings. With the notable exception of *vișiniu* and *portocaliu*, most of these were replaced (*civit*, *ghiviziu*...). *Fistichiu* underwent a semantic restriction, and today it means

[3] < Lat. *russeus* (red-haired) or *roseus*, or a convergence of the two (Dworkin 2016).

[4] < Lat. *venetus*, originally a colour of the *auriga* in the circus (Grossmann & D'Achille 2016), was probably used for light blue, and had the same meaning in Old Romanian; today, it indicates a shade of mauve and is used in very few contexts (cf. derivatives: *vânătă* 'aubergine', *vânătaie* 'bruise').

[5] Derivative suffix *-iu* was supposed to originate in Lat. *-ivus* and/or *-ineus*, under influence of Turkish *-i*; however, in combination with a nominal basis, with the meaning of resemblance (specifically in colour), only the later Turkish *-i* qualifies. See also the numerous borrowings from Turkish containing this suffix: *lahani, mușchi* 'colour of steel', *turungi* 'orange', *ghiulghiuli* 'rose pink', *cemeni* 'colour of grass', etc. Tonic long *-i* regularly evolves into the *-iu* diphtongue in Romanian.

[6] Derivative suffix *-ui* probably comes from Lat. **-ulia* > fem. *-uie* > masc. *-ui*; it only combines with adjective bases, and denotes an approximation in colour or taste (Istrate 1970).

[7] Cross or concurrent forms such as *gălbiu/gălbui* 'yellowish' are attested in old texts (Ciobanu 1972), but generally suffix *-iu* is used to derive names for particular shades, while *-ui* denotes an approximation of a colour, and is not used with nominal bases.

'extravagant', while *cenușiu* is mainly used in the metaphorical sense of 'gloomy, uninteresting', not as a chromatic term (Scurtu 2014).

Deriving colour names from *realia* nouns + specific suffix seems to be a Balkanic feature, since it is not attested in other Romance languages, but is common at least in Greek, Turkish and Albanian, as can be seen from the examples above.

In Modern Romanian, according to Bidu-Vrănceanu (1970), there are 16 suffixes that can be used with colour names to indicate an approximation: 12 of these seem to be living, if not productive (more than one term each), and 5 other suffixes are used for deriving colours from *realia* nouns. In the first category, the most frequent suffixes seem to be *-iu, -ior* (also diminutive), *-ui* and *-el* (also diminutive), but the author did not provide a statistical analysis; in the second – only *-iu* seems productive. The productivity of *-iu* as a derivative for colour terms was also noted by Gheorghiu (1968) and Istrate (1970), who used dictionaries and literary corpora. However, studies on contemporary non-literary corpora conducted by Bidu-Vrănceanu (1973), Ciobanu (1979) and later by Dimitrescu (2002 and 2011) and Chelaru-Murăruș (2011) indicate a decline in the use of derivatives with *-ui* or *-iu* in the chromatic domain, and a preference for composition, conversion, or borrowing without suffixation (as in older stages of Romanian – see *siniliu*, *azuriu...*).

According to Ciobanu (1979), the decline in use and productivity of colour suffixes in contemporary Romanian is part of a wider tendency to lose inflection in the nominal domain. Indeed, chromatic suffixes create adjectives able to inflect; compare *un cer albăstrui* 'a bluish sky' – masculine, and *o rochie albăstruie* 'a bluish dress' – feminine. Many borrowed terms (French *maro*, *indigo...*, Turkish *pembé...*) ended in a tonic vowel which was incompatible with these suffixes or with the inflectional ones, and thus remained invariant; by analogy, more recent borrowings ending in consonant also remained invariant (*roz*, *mov*) and were not added a chromatic suffix.[8] Finally, some of the borrowed terms are nouns in apposition in their original language, and are used as such in Romanian: *roz somon* or simply *somon* 'salmon'. Overall, the Romanian colour lexicon was renewed in the last century with invariable terms, so that the latter are overwhelming compared to inflectable terms.

4. Structure of the EoSS RON colour answers: simple *vs.* complex expressions

Globally, simple descriptions of colours were the most numerous, and represented almost 70% of answers.

[8] Marian (1882) and Ciobanu (1979) record rare cases when borrowed terms took a colour suffix: *griu*, *kakiu*, or they could take agreement: *flori roze* (Bacovia, 1930) – feminine plural.

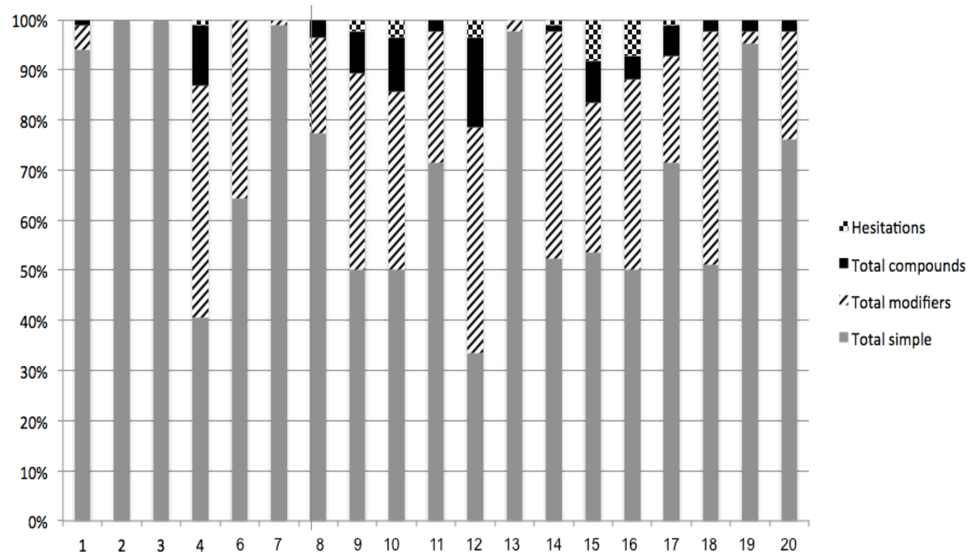

Fig. 2. ***Structure of answers to Task no. 1, by participant***

There were discrepancies among participants, with four of them using (almost) exclusively simple terms, and eight using at least half of the time complex structures; these discrepancies do not correlate with any variable in the sociolinguistic profile of participants (gender, mother tongue, etc.), and should be considered individual idiosyncrasies.

No Romanian speaker used exclusively simple terms and compounds, but some only used simple and modified expressions. Therefore, it appears that, when a particular shade does not correspond to a simple colour name, naming strategies range on an availability scale as follows: simple colour term > modified colour term > composition > complex expression.

Simple colour names attested in the corpus were (between brackets the number of tokens):

a) the 6 inherited basic colour terms: *alb*, *negru*, *roșu*, *galben*, *verde, albastru* (no *vânăt* answer);
b) simple terms borrowed from French: *gri*, *roz*, *maro*, *mov*, *violet*, *lila*, *țiclam*, *turcoaz*, *vernil*, *bleu*, *bleumarin*, *crem*, *bej*, *coral*, *oranj, ocru*, *kaki*, *bordo*, *grena*, *indigo*, and one term borrowed from English: *pink* (1);
c) conventionalised terms formed by analogy, from *realia* nouns: *muștar* 'mustard' (2), *somon* 'salmon' (1);
d) colour names derived from *realia* nouns with specific suffix: *portocaliu* (33), *vișiniu* (18), *cărămiziu* (5), *purpuriu* (4), *cafeniu* (3), *muștariu* (2), *azuriu* (1)[9].

[9] They are considered simple terms, although morphologically complex, because they designate a particular shade, are used in all contexts by all speakers, and have only the chromatic meaning.

5. Modified colour terms

Strategies for modifying a colour term in Romanian fall mainly in three categories: derivation with a suffix expressing approximation, adding a brightness/ saturation adjective, and overt nominalisation (approximation).

In line with the observations of Bidu-Vrănceanu (1973 – a quantitative study of scientific texts), and of Dimitrescu (2011 – on a corpus of fashion catalogues), synthetical derivatives are the least frequent in my corpus, too.

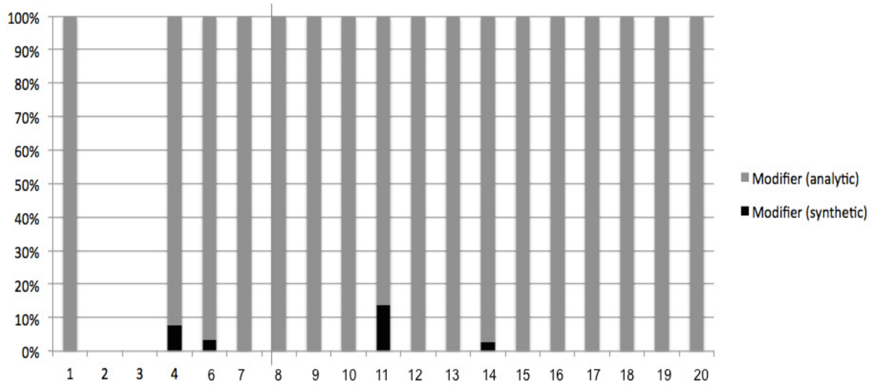

Fig. 3. ***Proportion of synthetical (suffix) vs. analytical (adjective) modifiers, by participant***

The only derivatives attested in the corpus were:

a) with suffix *-iu* and colour name: *maroniu* 'brownish' (6 times, of which 2 as the second term of compounds), *movuliu* 'magenta-ish' (1 time, in a compound);
b) with suffix *-ui*: *gălbui* 'yellowish' (4 times, only 1 as single answer), *albăstrui* 'bluish' (1 single, 1 in compound), *verzui* 'greenish' (3 times single, 6 times in compounds);
c) with suffix *-at*: *roșcat* 'reddish' (twice, same participant, as single answer).

Dictionaries register many other derived colour terms with *-iu*, but not *movuliu*; the only derivatives in *-ui* attested in dictionaries are the three used in my corpus, too; *roșcat* is a lexicalised term, usually used for hair colour ('redhead'). These derived forms thus appear well established in language, but, in themselves, the suffixes are not productive.

The main colour-modifying adjectives in Romanian concern brightness: *deschis* 'light' and *închis* 'dark'. Both originate in past participles of action verbs, *via* metaphorical transfer: *deschis* is the participle of *a deschide* 'to open (door, eyes…)', *închis* – of *a închide* 'to close'. Their chromatic meaning was attested as early as the seventeenth century, although the adjective *întunecat* (< *a întuneca* 'to darken') once competed with *închis*, and is used as a colour modifier by Marian

(1882). Both brightness modifiers were frequent in my corpus: *deschis* – 183 occurrences, *închis* – 162, used by all participants but three; overall, they represented more than 91% of the answers involving an analytical modifier.

Other, less frequent, modifying adjectives concern saturation[10]: *intens* 'intense' and *aprins* 'intense' (< *a aprinde* 'to light (fire), to kindle') for [+intensity], *pal* 'pale' and *șters* 'pale' (< *a șterge* 'to wipe, to erase, to wash out') for [-intensity]. The first ones in each couple are probably borrowings or calques, since they do not correspond to the autochtonous strategy (metaphorical transfer; past participle > adjective), as do *aprins* and *șters*. Saturation modifiers were less frequent in the corpus, with 18 *pal*, 14 *aprins*, 7 *intens*, 4 *șters*. To these one may add *crud* 'not ripe', which was used 9 times. Other, rarer modifiers were *puternic* 'strong' and *murdar* 'dirty' (twice each), and *fosforescent* 'fluo' (once).

Saturation modifiers seem less general in meaning than brightness modifiers, which appeared in the EoSS corpus with almost all simple colour terms. On the contrary, saturation modifiers were very selective: *crud* only accompanied green; *aprins* was used mainly with compatible, warm hues (orange, yellow, red); *pal* was used 12/18 times with *roz*, thus forming a frozen collocation, probably borrowed as a whole from French.

Saturation modifiers also appear less general in use: *intens* was only used by Participant 4, *aprins* and *pal* were both used by the same 3 participants; only 3 others used *verde crud*.

In addition to these forms, I must mention the accidental use (once each) of modifiers indicating the 'normal' saturation or brightness: *mediu* 'medium', *simplu* 'simple'. They probably appeared as a series effect, after several answers involving a modifier.

A recurrent discussion in all Romance languages concerns the morphological status of complex expressions made of a colour name and a modifying adjective; based on the agreement criterion, the main question is if the colour name is treated as an adjective or as a noun. The present data, elicited out of context, does not allow to decide if, by uttering a description of this kind, speakers had in mind a noun determined by an adjective or a compound made of two adjectives. In contemporary Romanian, brightness and saturation modifiers regularly transform the colour adjective into a noun; compare: *o rochie roșie* 'a red dress' – adjective in the feminine form, and *o rochie roșu închis* 'a dress [of] dark red' – noun. In earlier stages of the language, however, both colour name and modifier used to bear agreement and behave as a compound made of two adjectives.[11]

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[10] They can combine with brightness modifiers, which proves that they express a different variation of colour (*contra* Molinier 2006 who claims that "adjectives for general characterisation of colour" cannot combine with each other). Such combinations in the EoSS corpus are: *mov deschis șters* 'pale light purple' and *albastru foarte deschis pal* 'very light pale blue'.

[11] Interestingly, Villalva (2016) observes the reverse evolution in Portuguese, where very frequent combinations of colour name (invariant) + brightness adjective are gaining agreement: *olhos azuis claros* 'bright blue eyes' (masculine plural).

When overt nominalisation appeared in the present corpus, it probably originated in the ellipsis of the noun *fel* ‘kind, sort’ (one participant even used the complex construction *un fel de turcoaz mai deschis* ‘a kind of lighter turquoise’). Its meaning is approximation of colour, and it generally appeared in complex answers; in 7 out of the 17 cases, however, nominalisation concerned a simple colour term: *un verde* ‘a [kind of] green’.

6. Composition

Several strategies of compounding colour names are attested in Romanian (Dimitrescu 2002), and they were all used in the EoSS corpus, but very unevenly: most participants apparently had a favourite strategy and used it consistently all along the interview.

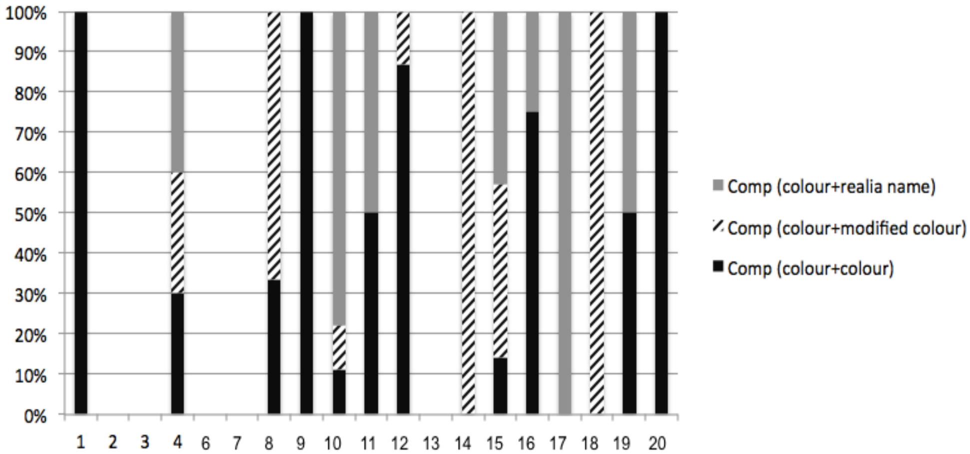

Fig. 4. ***Types of compounding, by participant***

The most frequent strategy overall was to combine two basic colour terms (e.g. *roz portocaliu* ‘pink orange’, *albastru turcoaz* ‘blue turquoise’), or to use the associative preposition *cu* (*galben cu verde* ‘yellow with pink’), or the preposition *spre* ‘towards’, thus imagining a colour space in which hues “move” (*verde spre albastru* ‘green towards blue’, *roz mai spre portocaliu* ‘pink a little towards orange’). Explicit coordination, which is not a documented way of compounding colour names in Romanian, was used only once: *mov și albastru* ‘purple and blue’.

A second way of compounding was adding a *realia* noun to a basic colour term: *verde iarbă* ‘green [like] grass’, *galben lămâie* ‘yellow [like a] lemon’, etc.; some of these compounds are borrowed as a whole from French (*roz bonbon* ‘candy pink’) or calques (*albastru petrol* ‘oil blue’ < Fr. *bleu pétrole*).

The least frequent strategy was to combine a basic colour term and a derived term intended as an approximation: *verde albăstrui* ‘bluish green’, *galben verzui* ‘greenish yellow’, etc. This strategy was recorded for French and Occitan in the similar corpus, but very seldom.

7. Complex descriptions

Complex answers were surprisingly rare (only 24/1596). They implied the use of descriptions (*verde de armată specific* 'specific green of the army', *culoarea pielii* 'colour of skin'), or hesitations (*mov, violet, violet* 'mauve, purple, purple'), or rephrasing (*albastru, de fapt indigo era* 'blue, in fact, it was indigo'). Most of them exhibited a combination of strategies, such as derivation, compounding, rephrasing: *verde maroniu, kaki* 'brownish green, kaki', or *ţiclam sau roz aprins* 'cyclamen or intense pink'.

8. Discussion and comparison

Overall, answers for the Romanian colour naming task had recourse to the following strategies:

STRATEGY	*N* = 1596
Simple terms	70% (1115)
Modifying expressions	24,2% (387)
of which synthetical derivatives/*N*	0,5% (8)
Compounds	4,4%
Complex descriptions	1,5%

Fig. 5. ***Naming strategies in the EoSS RON corpus***

When compared to the analysis made by Bach, Kopecka & Fagard (2019) using the similar corpora of French and Occitan, Romanian appears, surprisingly, closer to French than to Occitan (which is supposedly more synthetical):

NAMING STRATEGIES[8]	FRENCH (*N* = 1680)	OCCITAN (*N* = 1680)
Simple terms	70.1% (1178)	44.3% (744)
Compounds	7.9% (133)	7.9% (132)
Modifying expressions	19.8% (333)	21.0% (353)
of which derived terms	–	*1.0% (17)*
Complex descriptions	2.1% (36)	26.8% (451)

Fig. 6. ***Types of colour naming strategies in French and Occitan EoSS data, apud Bach, Kopecka & Fagard (2019: 218)***

Simple terms were used in Romanian as frequently as in French, but they are different in nature, since analogy as a means to create simple colour terms out of *realia* names accounted for 30% (French) and 44,2% (Occitan) of the corpora, and only for 0,27% of simple terms in Romanian. This is clearly not a productive strategy for Romanian! On the other hand, Romanian exhibits a strategy that is unknown to other Romance languages, by creating colour names from *realia* nouns + specific suffix; however, these represented only 6% of simple answers in Romanian (token), which would suggest that the strategy is not productive anymore, but some established terms are still in use. In terms of type, derived names only represent 20% of colour names in the Romanian corpus (as little as inherited terms), while 60% are borrowed terms.

The proportion of complex descriptions accounts for the stability of form-meaning correspondence, hence, for the degree of standardisation and of knowledge of the standard by speakers. From this point of view, Occitan stands apart, and Romanian was expectedly close to French.

The main difference lies in the proportion of modifying expressions and compounds: the former are more numerous in Romanian than in Occitan or French, and the latter are far less numerous. However, synthetical modifiers are less frequent in Romanian, in terms of type and token, than even in Occitan.

Thus, overall, the Romanian corpus under scrutiny partially infirms the initial assumption that Romanian is less analytical than French, but confirms a global historical tendency noted in the literature (loss of inflection). Romanian exhibits more synthetic strategies for naming and deriving colour terms than French (considered the most grammaticalised and analytical of Romance languages), but the resulting terms are rare in current speech. They appear to be relics of former strategies, now frozen, but well established in use.

Although the semantic aspect is not the aim of this paper, I shall mention a striking correlation that appeared in the analysis of Romanian colour expressions. Two colours stand apart, in terms of both type and token: green and blue. They were used as the basis for 26 (green) and 21 (blue) different non-simple expressions. The next most productive colours were yellow (17 expressions) and pink (13 expressions). In terms of token, constructions based on green represent 33% of all non-simple answers, those based on blue – 24%; the next most frequent were constructions based on pink, hardly reaching 10%. When confronted with a difficultly assignable shade, Romanian speakers appeared to think first of green or blue, and then modified them, combined them with another colour, or corrected themselves. Bach, Kopecka & Fagard (2019) noted that the same two colours, green and blue, gave the most numerous compounds in French and Occitan. On the other hand, green and blue also cover the largest areas on the chromatic chart for Romanian (30 and 27 chips respectively, while the next colour, *mov*, only covers 17 chips).

It must still be ascertained whether the special position of green and blue in terms of frequency, variety of constructions and chromatic area is particular to Romance languages or applies to other languages as well, and could thus represent a universal.

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METAFORELE BIBLICE ÎNTRE LUMI FICȚIONALE ȘI INTENȚIONALITATE NONFICTIVĂ

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ABSTRACT: Studiul propus abordează, din perspectiva semanticii lumilor posibile/ficționale și a teoriei referinței, mecanismul creativ al metaforelor biblice. Intuițiile biblice tind să conceptualizeze și să legitimeze, *in nuce*, lumi explicative despre cosmos, viața terestră sau dinamica societății umane, în baza unei intenționalități nonfictive, generatoare însă de lumi ficționale. Acest paradox discursiv se dovedește cu atât mai productiv cu cât decalajul dintre intenție și referențialitate se adâncește progresiv, conducând la interpretări cu potențial ridicat de ambiguitate. În această ordine de idei, considerăm util un demers explicativ, de natură să permită decelarea plenitudinii de semnificații și sensuri proiectate, în esență, ca reflectări lingvistic inteligibile ale unei cunoașteri transcendente pure.
CUVINTE-CHEIE: metaforă, narațiune biblică, referință, lume ficțională, intenționalitate

1. Argument. Premise conceptuale

În acest articol ne propunem să dezbatem problema statutului paradoxal al metaforelor biblice, prin care sunt construite lumi ficționale "de graniță", în sensul în care intenționalitatea lor întemeietoare este una nonfictivă, de natură empiric-pragmatică. Tema aleasă aruncă o lumină asupra conceptualizării metaforice în narațiunea biblică, oferind premisele construirii unor lumi explicative alternative, în încercarea de a oferi variante/ipoteze teoretice privind geneza Universului, dinamica materiei, dezvoltarea vieţii şi a inteligenţei pe Terra, evoluția antropologică a umanității etc.

Cercetarea noastră va fi ancorată în cadrele conceptuale ale semanticii referențiale modale, ale semanticii lumilor ficționale, ale teoriei obiectelor şi, respectiv, în cele ale semanticii cognitive, cu delimitările şi luările de poziţie necesare. În cadrul semanticii cognitive, metafora este considerată drept cea mai puternică formă a subiectului creator uman de a structura şi de a interpreta lumea experienţei. Pe baza structurării lumii şi a cristalizării ei în concepte nodale, omul conturează efectiv premisele unor lumi explicative care fac din interpretare o activitate infinită.

Însă interpretarea implică deja un nivel superior al procesului metaforic, nivel apropriat creaţiei efective de lumi în care se articulează referința, activând nuclee metaforice care servesc la interpretarea lumii şi la construirea unor lumi explicative posibile, validabile prin diverse strategii, inclusiv de natură pragmatică. Întregul discurs biblic captează intuiţii extrem de puternice ale fiinţei umane, în proiectarea sacralităţii ca dimensiune supra-esenţială. Lumile multiple care converg în spațiul referențial al factualității biblice implică înțelegerea și aplicarea unor concepte-cheie care guvernează cultura umană: divinitatea, spațiul, timpul, existența și nonexistența, nivelele de realitate/conștiință, naşterea, moartea etc.

2. Conceptul de Dumnezeu și problema referinței

În discursul biblic, cuvântul are multiplă funcţionalitate: serveşte la crearea lumii, deţine calitatea de mesaj divin, şi, nu în ultimul rând, constituie un mijloc de instituţionalizare a comandamentelor divine. În prima carte a Bibliei, *Facerea*, cuvântului i se atribuie un rol creator al lumii reale şi, ulterior, în cel al naşterii şi dezvoltării fiinţei umane. Dimensiunea integratoare a cuvântului rezidă în posibilitatea lui Dumnezeu de a crea, prin rostire, universul, pentru ca ulterior să efectueze un transfer parțial de putere către om, ființă inteligentă destinată să numească obiectele și viețuitoarele inferioare lui, să le confere practic o identitate conformă unei tipologii intuitive mentale determinabilă în contactul/interacţiunea cu mediul. Însă omul tinde să își depășească mereu condiția, astfel încât îi dă un nume (chiar o pletoră de nume) Creatorului.

O problemă deconcertantă se pune chiar în cazul conceptului de Dumnezeu: se referă acesta la o entitate reală sau la una ficțională? În calitate de designator rigid, trebuie să fie guvernat de un set de proprietăți intensionale care să îi valideze extensiunea. Parsons (212-217) tratează problema pornind de la distincția proprietate nucleară vs. proprietate extranucleară, aplicabilă existenței. Astfel, existența devine o proprietate transcendentală, extranucleară. Implicit, dacă prin Dumnezeu înțelegem *ființa supremă descrisă în Biblie*, tratată ca obiect nativ narațiunii biblice, existența sa devine validată în cadrul narațiunii, însă invalidabilă în realitate, prin incompletitudine (Parsons 216) și inconsistență referențială. Dimpotrivă, dacă prin Dumnezeu înțelegem *zeitatea existentă în Biblie*, în lumea reală acest obiect poate sau nu să existe, iar descripția definită poate sau nu să atribuie referință (Parsons 216). În orice caz, verbul *a exista* nu constituie strict o predicație nucleară, cu specificare și validare în realitate, ci una extranucleară. Nici atașarea unor etichete determinatoare (precum perfect, atotputernic etc.) nu este relevantă, întrucât fie descripția va fi una pur nucleară, conducând la eșecul validării prin incompletitudinea obiectului care să îi satisfacă condițiile de existență în realitate, fie descripția va fi una parțial extranucleară, conducând la eșecul validării că există sau nu un obiect să o satisfacă (Parsons 212-213).

De exemplu, dacă, în vorbirea cotidiană, conceptului de Dumnezeu nu i se poate atribui un conţinut referenţial aproximabil pe baza experienţei imediate, specifice lumii actuale, locutorul este obligat, în aceste condiţii, să întreprindă un salt imaginativ pentru a-şi putea configura referentul. Acest efort determină subiectul vorbitor să-şi reformuleze permanent coordonatele unui proiect de realitate. Dincolo de recurgerea la descripții definite de tipul: *Creatorul cerului și al pământului, al tuturor celor văzute și nevăzute* sau la supralicitarea omnipotenței divine (Kripke *Naming* 153-154), sunt preferate inclusiv formule antropomorfizante de tipul: *Tată*, *Rege*, *Păstor* etc. (Soskice 68-69; 78). Despre reprezentările antropomorfice ale lui Dumnezeu argumentează Aaron (26-27; 94; 133; 136-139; 148; 154; 183; 191). Astfel de formule nu fac decât să ateste proiectarea unor proprietăți esențiale ale ființei umane asupra unui concept de ființă supremă. Încă în sec. V-VI e.n., Dionis Pseudo-Areopagitul, în lucrarea *Numele divine*, pe filieră neoplatonică, respingea un atare procedeu, postulând că Dumnezeu nu poate fi numit prin astfel de etichete fără a i se altera, conceptual vorbind, esența divină, care poate fi definită doar în termeni negativi prin raportare la cunoașterea pozitivă (Roll 1920).

Dumnezeu este definit, *grosso-modo*, drept conştiinţa absolută, din care emerge totalitatea existenţei. Problema delicată apare atunci când ne întrebăm cum a apărut conceptul de Dumnezeu în diverse limbi particulare. Altfel spus, care este resortul ce a determinat explozia conceptuală a dimensiunii de sacru în conştiinţa umană. Specificările ulterioare dau consistenţă lumilor credinţei, dar emergenţa primă a noţiunii în mintea umană rămâne un mister. Labirintul ipotezelor ne plasează între perspectiva ineistă a lui Chomsky, în conformitate cu care acest concept ar fi înnăscut, și cea a dobândirii conceptului în interacțiunea cu mediul cultural tradițional. Prima ipoteză face din conceptul de *Dumnezeu* o entitate semantică primitivă, formatând și asigurând suportul posibilităților de atribuire a unei descripții și referințe ulterioare. Intuiția sacrului, preexistentă latent în însăși realitatea primordială a ființei umane, creează, pe linii divergente, forme combinabile și recombinabile, fiind dificil însă a i se determina natura tendințelor disociate. Conform celei de-a doua ipoteze, modelarea culturală a conceptului se realizează în elaborare succesivă, ca extensie fundamentală a factorului uman, conceptualizând atât impulsul intuitiv care o determină, cât și denotația acestuia.

Ideea de sacru este omniprezentă în conștiința umană. Această permanență a formelor de conceptualizare a sacrului nu reprezintă decât schița unei mișcări de interconectare, în matrici generative, a unor idei care apar spontan la suprafaţa vorbirii, activând deschiderea lumii întru fiinţă şi deschiderea fiinţei spre lume. Acest fapt dovedeşte, în primul rând, că nu există manifestări ale culturii care să nu conţină în stare rudimentară, latent sau virtual, caracterele esenţiale ale sacrului. Referinţele la Dumnezeu, îngeri etc. ţin nu doar de textul biblic, ci şi de tradiţia lingvistică a unor comunităţi. Dumnezeu este o entitate generică, ce încorporează şi atribute anterioare creştinătăţii, implică desfaceri din textul biblic (sub forma intertextualităţii reintegrate discursiv, inclusiv în dezbateri de natură științifică), dar şi o deconstrucţie în limba ca atare; de aceea, nu credem că se poate vorbi de unul şi acelaşi conţinut semnificaţional pentru fiecare ocurenţă a termenilor în diverse sintagme ori expresii. Prin urmare, vorbim de o relativitate în interiorul limbii însăşi, în măsura în care medierea culturală exercitată de textul biblic nu poate stopa recursul la contaminarea perspectivelor creştine cu elemente conceptuale precreştine.

Alte concepte, precum *înger* (concept generic, supraordonat altor concepte care structurează o ierarhie: *heruvim*, *serafim* etc.), *chivot*, *efod* etc. referă la ființe sau obiecte prin care lucrează energiile divine, dar existența fizică a acestora, în lumea experienței, este, evident, chestionabilă. Conceptele biblice sunt dezvoltate, în dimensiunea lor modal-referențială, prin procedee metaforice, Dumnezeu fiind contextualizat și asociat preponderent cu schema imagistică a focului, a luminii orbitoare. Să urmărim câteva exemple:

(1) [după ieşirea din Egipt a evreilor] Domnul mergea înaintea lor, ziua într-un stâlp de nor, ca să-i călăuzească pe drum, iar noaptea într-un **stâlp de foc**, ca **să-i lumineze** pentru ca să meargă şi ziua şi noaptea (Cornilescu, Biblia sau Sfânta Scriptură, Exod 13.21)
(2) Moise s-a suit pe munte şi norul a acoperit muntele. Slava Domnului s-a aşezat pe muntele Sinai, şi norul l-a acoperit timp de şase zile… Înfăţişarea slavei Domnului era ca un **foc mistuitor** pe vârful muntelui, înaintea copiilor lui Israel (Exod 24.15-17)
(3) Deasupra cerului care era peste capetele lor, era ca o piatră de safir, în chipul unui scaun de domnie. Pe acest chip de scaun de domnie se vedea **ca un chip de om**, care şedea pe el. Am mai văzut iarăşi o **lucire de aramă lustruită ca nişte foc**, înăuntrul căreia era omul acesta şi care **strălucea** de jur împrejur. Astfel era arătarea slavei Domnului (Ezec. 1.26-28)

Toate aceste reprezentări, asociate unor fenomene fizice experiențiale, coagulează ideea de energie transcendentă, constituindu-se în metafore care servesc și la fixarea unei anumite concepții despre ființa divină. Există alte numeroase expresii fixe relaţionate cu conceptul de Dumnezeu, în jurul cărora se creează nişte contexte lexicale şi textuale specifice. Spre exemplu, sintagma *Împărăţia lui Dumnezeu* e relaţionată, în general, cu verbe de acţiune (venire, respectiv intrare – Egger 130), fapt care îi conferă *semnificaţia unei realităţi dinamice, care erupe, sau a unui ambient la care omul trebuie să ajungă* (Egger 130). Similar, o metaforă a Noului Testament precum *Eu sunt Calea* (din *Eu sunt Calea, Adevărul şi Viaţa*) deschide o perspectivă multiplu interpretativă asupra posibilităţilor omului în faţa experienţei copleşitoare a sacrului. În fond, metafora funcţionează ca nod exploziv al sensului, coagulând tendinţe implicite/subiacente atât la nivelul viziunii intuitive (dinamica spaţio-timpului ca ghem multidirecţional, ca ordine implicată), cât şi la nivelul atomizării discursive (înlănţuirea semnificantelor şi a semnificatelor din câmpuri lexicale ce gravitează în jurul ideii de călătorie, de devenire, de procesualitate deschisă pentru viitor). Practic, respectivul nucleu va determina expansiunea textuală a unor întregi module din Noul Testament, orientând interpretarea spre natura absolută a revelaţiei divine.

Dacă ne raportăm și la problema numelor proprii în ficțiuni precum miturile sau legendele, în conformitate cu Parsons (207), nu există un răspuns simplu de formulat: când ne referim la Noe, de exemplu, ne referim la o persoană reală pe care se bazează legenda potopului și a salvării speciilor sau la un obiect ficțional inexistent în realitate, ci specific exclusiv narațiunii? În privința numelui Dumnezeu, Kripke (56) îl citează pe Quine (*Mathematical Logic*), care susține că acest nume este un nume primitiv, în accepțiune logic-formalizatoare. În acest caz, propoziția "God exists" ar putea fi echivalată cu un predicat "god *x*", fiind în mod necesar adevărată. Kripke pune sub semnul întrebării identitatea și, în sferă extinsă, a naturii ficționale a unor zeități, inclusiv biblice (*Reference* 78). Pe de o parte, dacă prin Dumnezeu înțelegem o "entitate mitică", atunci, în lumea reală, Dumnezeu există ca entitate mitică. Dacă, dimpotrivă, îl înțelegem ca "entitate reală", acest al doilea sens nu va putea genera propoziții adevărate (Kripke 99), fiind neidentificabil pe cale ostensibilă (Oltean 103). Ar fi interesant de teoretizat chestiunea dacă Dumnezeu este numele propriu al zeității sau o descripție definită asociată acesteia (Kripke 26-27). În conformitate cu natura ficțională a unor astfel de entități, Currie preferă utilizarea sintagmei de *nume ficționale* (127).

Sintetizând, conceptul de Dumnezeu funcţionează ca suport referenţial, angrenând simultan diverse predicabile necesare într-o entitate unitară. Se subînţelege, aşadar, forţa acestui concept în economia conştiinţei umane, în calitate de raţiune primă a dezvoltării unor convingeri care transcend înțelegerea pur obiectivă a lumii experienței. Astfel, Dumnezeu, ca bază și impuls spre conceptualizare, devine un nucleu metaforic servind la o versiune de interpretare a lumii experienței și la construirea unor lumi explicative alternative în raport cu teoriile oficiale sau, în orice caz, cu teoriile strict validabile în baza experienței obiective.

3. Narațiunea biblică în perspectiva teoriei lumilor posibile/ficționale

Narațiunea biblică, în calitate de "manual" axiomatic, însumează o culegere de texte care sunt lipsite de dimensiunea intenției de a crea ficțiune, generând scenarii considerate ca factuale/întemeiate pe experiență, chiar dacă verbele de atitudine propozițională (Oltean 79) abundă în narațiunea biblică. Pornind de la premisa că narațiunea biblică se constituie în modele referențiale ficționale, dacă le raportăm la esența factualității, prin prisma teoriei referinței și a semanticii lumilor posibile. Făcând abstracţie de contextul socio-istoric în care au fost redactate aceste texte, căutăm, cu precădere, să identificăm mecanismul semantic și logico-formal prin care ele se impun drept modele referențiale aparte în cadrul general al creației de lumi ficționale. Biblia operează cu o sumedenie de concepte care țin de natura experienței umane. Spre exemplu, timpul este înțeles atât ca dimensiune fizică, ordonatoare a vieții terestre și cosmice, cât și ca dimensiune metafizică, rezultantă a experiențelor de ordin spiritual. Biblia conține numeroase referințe la fenomene de distorsiune/manipulare a timpului fizic, călătorii în trecut sau în viitor, cu sau fără afectarea timpului fizic.

Proiecțiile imaginative ale autorilor Bibliei compun, astfel, un univers ficțional aparte, în care diferite lumi posibile/alternative interferează, grație unui complex mecanism generativ și interpretativ. O interpretare din perspectiva referențialității devine cu atât mai dificilă, cu cât faptele relatate, considerate azi mitice, erau și sunt în continuare crezute de numeroși indivizi și, în același timp, considerate incredibile de alți numeroși indivizi, ceea ce ar conduce la încadrarea lor în categoria unor eșecuri de atribuire a referinței la obiecte reale mai degrabă decât unor referințe reușite la obiecte ireale: *genuine failures of reference to real objects rather than as successful references to unreal ones* (Parsons 207).

Pentru autorii biblici, toate evenimentele relatate, fie ele trecute sau viitoare, sunt nonficționale. Informațiile și descrierile oferite sunt adevărate, însă nonverificabile. Biblia tinde să fie interpretată, în pofida intenției auctoriale, drept o relatare *blatantly impossible* despre călătoria în timp etc. Bazându-ne pe Gregory Currie, în procesul de interpretare: *we should attribute to the narrator a belief in contradictory things, for instance, in the possibility of squaring the circle or incoherent time travel* (Currie 87; Oltean 184). Prin urmare, conceptul de *maximal account* (Parsons 175 și urm.) se aplică și la situația narațiunii biblice. Date fiind aceste considerații, suntem nevoiți să testăm dacă narațiunea biblică poate fi captată într-un cadru mai larg:

> According to Parsons, for example, we understand fictional texts by extrapolating the meaning of the sentences being read and constructing an integrated account, which is gradually modified and expanded during the reading, leading to a final result, the maximal account. We infer the maximal account from the reading of texts by virtue of "some principle of total evidence... based on what they say, together with what we know about their situation and about the world". (Pavel 30)

Receptorii narațiunii biblice se confruntă cu o situație paradoxală: Biblia este destinată a prezenta niște fapte declarate ca reale, însă nu și a le dovedi în perspectivă experiențială. Receptorii sunt orientați înspre acceptarea faptelor, prezentate ca atare, fără nicio urmă de îndoială. Dar, în același timp, narațiunea biblică orientează receptorii, aproape de fiecare dată, în orizonturile îndepărtate ale posibilului și chiar ale imposibilului logic. Timpul trecut al verbelor deschide o dimensiune posibilă a lumii actuale, care, de fapt, e nonactuală. De asemenea, există nenumărate expresii ale modalității sau de natură declarativă, care, asociate cuantificatorilor existențiali, generează o validare sub raport autopragmatic (Oltean 140). Prin utilizarea cuantificatorilor existențiali, dimensiunea semantic-modală a narațiunii biblice dobândește noi valențe. Cuantificatori de tipul *acela*, *cine*, *oricine*, *toți cei ce* etc. îngobează, în fapt, orice persoană dispusă să accepte ca veritabile evenimentele și recomandările biblice. Într-un enunț precum: *Adevărat, adevărat vă spun vouă că cine ascultă cuvintele Mele și crede în Cel ce M-a trimis pe Mine are viață veșnică și la judecată nu va veni, ci s-a mutat din moarte la viață* (Ev. Ioan 5.24), cuantificatorul existențial *cine*, corelat cu verbul *a spune* (la persoana I singular, timpul prezent), cu rol performativ, în cazul de față, și cu verbul de atitudine propozițională *a crede* instaurează o perspectivă a verificării autopragmatice (Oltean 140-141). Utilizarea operatorilor de negație, prin asocierea cu expresii ale modalității, restaurează perspectiva modală, nu anulează efectul macropragmatic: *Nu pot Eu să fac de la Mine nimic; precum aud, judec; dar judecata Mea este dreaptă, pentru că nu caut voia Mea, ci voia Tatălui Meu, care M-a trimis* (Ev. Ioan 5.29-30). Autorii apelează la simțul comun al receptorilor, cu intenția de a induce ideea verosimilității sau a autenticității contraponderii referențiale a discursului lor. Utilizând numeroase scenarii, ei extind sfera analitică a reprezentării în cadrele fluctuante ale ambiguității metaforice (Aaron 30-32; 125-128). Scenariile tind să modeleze o metodă liminară în scopuri pur analitice, garantând un grad ridicat de credibilitate și investind forță imaginativă. Scenariile au un mare impact asupra oricărei ființe umane. Posibilitățile deschise de scenariile biblice sugerează, în manieră intuitivă, o configurație universală în termenii determinismului aprioric. Sub acest raport, toate scenariile biblice sunt compatibile cu lumi ale experimentului. Încă din *Cartea Facerii* (verbul primordial este *a se face*, verb generator de lumi), evenimentele biblice se înscriu pe linia unui experiment auctorial, extrapolând lumi posibile și lumi ficționale guvernate de forță analitică, explicativă. Desigur, există numeroase episoade în care reprezentările se întemeiază pe impresii/presupoziții (*se vedea* ***ca*** *un chip de om*; *înfățișarea acestor roți și materialul din care erau făcute* ***păreau*** *din crisolit* etc.). La nivel metaficțional (Oltean 106), analizând narațiunea biblică în calitate de narațiune ficțională, considerăm că scenariile la care apelează autorii Bibliei evidențiază valoarea intrinsec logică a afirmațiilor lor. Cu alte cuvinte, scenariile ar da seamă de caracterul nonficțional al enunțurilor, urmărind instituirea unor convingeri în mintea receptorilor. Aceste convingeri, exprimate în propoziții conținând verbul *a crede* cu valoare declarativă, spre exemplu, vor fi validabile prin interpretare *de dicto*, transferând un set de proprietăți asupra lumilor construite dinspre lumea actuală. Vorbim de o modalitate inteligentă de canalizare a gândurilor în vederea pregătirii conștiinței pentru a genera răspunsuri emoționale din partea receptorilor. În acest fel, receptorii devin mai deschiși, mai disponibili în a trata faptele relatate drept evenimente reale:

> The ontology of fiction needs objects that look closer to those of the everyday universe than to mathematical entities and yet cannot be literally admitted to the real world, like unrealized projects and utopias. It is precisely the closeness of fiction to the empirical world that worries philosophers and contributes to what Richard Routley once called the "reality fixation" of analytical philosophy. (Pavel 31)

Acest cadru obiectual ar fi constituit de afirmațiile autorilor biblici, care reiau sau parafrazează enunțări (care încapsulează inclusiv propoziții evenimențiale) ale:

(1) entităților divine ficționale;
(2) altor indivizi umani;
(3) lor înșiși, ca "martori" la evenimente etc.

În acest mod, autorii creează un veritabil labirint de lumi posibile, construind un univers paradoxal structurat pe intenționalitatea de validare referențială, dar și pe propoziții cu referențialitate ambiguă, pe entități ficționale avansate cu proprietăți transcendente. Accesibilitatea unui astfel de labirint de lumi se dovedește un impas:

> Accessibility and alternativeness formally represent the intuition that some states of affairs are possible relative to the real ones while others are not. We have access to possible alternatives but are cut off from impossible worlds. (Pavel 44)

Pe parcursul relatărilor biblice, ne confruntăm cu ambiguitate constantă raportată la conceptul de timp. Relativitatea lui – *Pentru Domnul, o zi este ca o mie de ani şi o mie de ani sunt ca o zi* (1 Petru 3.8) – implică relativitatea întregii materii: *Pe ce cale se împarte lumina?* (Iov 38: 34). În conformitate cu perspectiva teoretică oferită de Lewis, lumea actuală și, implicit, lumile posibile atașate acesteia depind covârșitor de descoperirile din fizică. Pentru a putea acoperi posibilitățile în discuție, este evident că: *our modal opinions do change, and physicists do a lot to change them* (Lewis 189). Autorii susțin autenticitatea evenimentelor prezentate, în toate cărțile care compun Biblia. Toate aceste cărți nu reprezintă altceva decât încercarea de revelare a unui adevăr personal, de rezolvare a unui puzzle din fragmente memoriale și imaginative, astfel încât receptorii să surclaseze eoni de mister. Imaginea globală a timpului, așa cum apare reprezentată în scrierile biblice, este una contradictorie.

Însă lucrurile pot fi privite din perspective multiple. Dacă o civilizație mult mai avansată (presupunând că există...), dintr-un anumit motiv sau cu un anumit scop, le-a implantat în subconștient toate experiențele, acestea devenind amintiri ale unor evenimente considerate ca fiind experimentate ca reale? În această situație, ar trebui să atribuim valoarea de adevăr 1 lumilor care fac obiectul confesiunii lor, având în fundal conștiința că faptele sunt ficționale prin raportare la lumea actuală, cu specificația că autorii nu au intenția de a ne induce în eroare etc., ci, fiind de bună credință, nu își dau seama de situația lor reală, anume starea mentală artificial indusă. În interpretarea de dicto, toate enunțurile ar primi valoarea de adevăr 1, toate fiind adevărate în toate lumile posibile. În interpretarea *de re*, setul de enunțuri ar primi valoarea 0, atâta vreme cât suntem informați de confuzia care planează asupra autorilor. De fapt, este destul de dificilă atribuirea unei valori de adevăr acestor enunțuri în interpretarea *de re*. Aceasta deoarece nu suntem îndreptățiți a priori să atribuim valori de adevăr setului de enunțuri care alcătuiesc narațiunea biblică atâta timp cât nu putem verifica efectiv dacă faptele prezentate au avut loc sau nu. Deși am tinde să considerăm ca valide informațiile prezentate, fiindcă autorii ne avertizează despre caracterul nonfictiv al Bibliei și "mergem pe încredere", încât evenimentele să fie reale (= să aibă corespondență de 1 la 1 în lumea actuală), fundalul factual ne împiedică să le interpretăm corect în termeni de vericondiționalitate. În fapt, toate scenariile biblice, în conexiune cu cele din cărți apocrife și cu adăugirile tradiției creștine ar fi, în această situație, efectul unei regresii hipnotice colective. Imixtiunea unor obiecte și entități ficționale în structura de suprafață a discursivizării se vădește cu atât mai pregnant:

> Contradictory objects indeed occur in fiction, sometimes only marginally but sometimes centrally, as in Borges' metaphysical stories or in contemporary science fiction. The presence of contradictions effectively prevents us from considering fictional worlds as genuine possible worlds and from reducing the theory of fiction to a Kripkean theory of modality. Contradictory objects nevertheless provide insufficient evidence against the notion of *world*, since nothing prevents the theory of fiction from speaking, as some philosophers do, about impossible or erratic worlds. Contradictory worlds are not so remote as one might expect. Not only is physics still divided between the theory of relativity and quantum mechanics, not only is light simultaneously made up of particles and waves, but also our everyday worlds host such impossible entities as individual psyches, desires, dreams, and symbols. Consistent worlds originate in a strong idealization, and our commitment to coherence is less warranted than it appears. After all, humans lived in notoriously incongruous universes long before these became more or less cohesive. (Pavel 49-50)

În această ordine de idei, visele, viziunile, stările de transă colectivă, efectele psihologice ale rugăciunii, memoria cuvintelor reprezintă întrebări fundamentale despre fiinţa umană şi experienţa sacralităţii, la care ştiinţa caută încă răspunsuri pertinente. În această ordine de idei, pornind de la afirmaţia lui Kant despre spaţiu şi timp că sunt „forme a priori ale sensibilităţii", forme prin care omul nu poate cunoaşte „lucruri în sine", încadrarea fenomenelor parapsihice (destul de frecvente în narațiunea biblică), spre exemplu, ar fi independentă de contingențele universului spaţio-temporal; aparţinând unei aşa-numite esenţe mentale pure, ele s-ar afla în anumite raporturi pe care organismele umane propriu-zise nu le pot cunoaşte, de unde se formulează ipoteza asupra unui „suflet suprauman", a unui „suflet al Universului" care le coordonează, în speță Dumnezeu. În privința diferențelor dintre necesitatea fizică și necesitatea logică, sub acest raport, a se vedea Kripke (34-35). Lewis (273-290) argumentează, discutând problema halucinațiilor veridice, faptul că subiectul se autopoziționează/situează în setul de lumi alternative dorit, imaginat etc. Această situare în interiorul unei lumi fabricate pe bazele unei cauzalități de percepție alterată (deformări ale retinei, sugestii hipnotice) poate caracteriza inclusiv experiențe vizuale modelate contraintuitiv. În aceste situații, adecvarea (*matching*) percepției la experiența vizuală se distinge printr-un mod diferit de articulare a informației, precum și de finalitatea asignată (dorință, închipuire, necesitate compensatoare etc.). Totodată, Biblia oferă o sinteză unică de narațiune mitic-legendară și vise sau viziuni profetice. Combinarea visului cu narațiunea face și mai dificilă compoziția referențială. Visele emerg la un nivel subconștient, fiind fragmentări și deformări ale percepției, cărora li se oferă interpretări a posteriori (cf. Parsons 208-209).

O întrebare suplimentară se impune: poate fi încadrată Biblia în genul utopic/ distopic? Intenționalitatea auctorială infirmă acest lucru, însă, în anumite lumi posibile, compatibile cu convingerile anumitor receptori, ea poate fi considerată drept o stranie utopie/distopie, prin ignorarea remarcilor intenționale și a fundalului experiențial factual. În această situație, putem vorbi de diferența dintre "being fiction" și "being regarded as fiction" (Oltean 70-71). Fiecare individ modulează lumea actuală prin piese eterogene. Realitatea devine astfel un construct, un puzzle concret-abstract ale cărui piese provin din nivele diferite de conștiință. Noțiunile de accesibilitate și de recentrare a universului (Ryan, *Possible Worlds, Artificial Intelligence, and Narrative Theory*; Ryan, "Possible Worlds and Accessibility Relations: A Semantic Typology of Fiction") pot constitui cadrele veritabile de interpretare și de analiză a narațiunii biblice. Lumea narativă biblică devine centru textual, în raport cu care lumea reală și toate lumile posibile devin alternative. În acest mod, lumea narativă constituie cadrul-ancoră pentru ca lumile posibile, inclusiv lumea reală, să-și poată dezvolta valoarea semantică. Timpul reprezintă un factor fundamental, prin intermediul căruia am putea accesa nenumărate dimensiuni paralele, prin aceasta modificând conturul realității actuale. Dacă am putea accesa, mental sau fizic, o lume din trecut, în care să schimbăm unul sau mai multe evenimente menite să schimbe configurația viitoare a lumii actuale, am modifica, practic, întreaga lume actuală, nu în esența ei, ci la nivelul conturului evenimențial. Transformarea ar afecta starea de fapte la un nivel local, nu la nivelul structurii și al funcționării ei globale. În conformitate cu această teorie, ceea ce ar fi fost posibil într-o lume trecută alternativă devine actual, iar ceea ce am experimentat ca actual în lumea actuală ar deveni o simplă posibilitate între alte posibilități. Ficțiunea biblică este disimulată, subminând în acest sens statutul ontologic al lumii actuale. Dar aceasta nu ar modifica esența sau natura lumii actuale. Ar duce exclusiv la o situație paradoxală, la o reconfigurare a stării de lucruri. Dacă lumea actuală este constituită dintr-un puzzle de lumi alternative, atunci oricare dintre lumile posibile atașate celei actuale ar funcționa pe același tipar fundamental. Există, desigur, nivele diferite la care interpretarea ar putea atinge o abordare ontologică graduală:

> If possible worlds existed somewhere in a mysterious hyperspace, then indeed it would go against our intuitions to assume that Dickens just obtained access of the cluster of Pickwick-worlds and faithfully described them. At least one philosopher of modal logic, David Lewis, has defended the view that all possible worlds, together with all the objects that populate them, are as real as our own world. But this form of possibilism is an extreme position, which offends our most common intuitions. Usually philosophers assume that possible worlds are not genuine concrete entities that could be inspected were we to possess the adequate telescope; they are abstract models, and may be thought of either as actual abstract entities or as conceptual constructions. (Pavel 49)

Propunerea autorilor biblici este însă de a transcende lumea actuală a narațiunii a ajunge într-o lume imposibilă, *Împărăția lui Dumnezeu*, care este doar parțial conectată la lumea narativă. Natura ficțională a Bibliei devine astfel extrem de puternică, întrucât tinde să încapsuleze lumea actuală și să o facă să pară drept fictivă ("amăgire"). Discuții interesante pot lua naștere din acest punct al teoretizărilor (argumentul creierului în borcan etc.). Limitându-ne la sumara analiză efectuată, conchidem că, dacă luăm în considerare macroteoria actelor de vorbire, vom înțelege intenționalitatea subsidiară a cărții. Încercarea autorilor este aceea de a induce receptorilor o anumită stare sufletească, o anumită susceptibilitate, la nivel subliminal, și de a-i convinge în privința veridicității faptelor prezentate. Putem recunoaște, la tot pasul, strategii prin care cititorul este condus la un nivel paradoxal de interpretare. Mecanismul perceptual limitat ne forțează însă la o perspectivă prudentă asupra stărilor de fapt. Inclusiv conceptul de Dumnezeu dovedește incompletitudine referențială (Parsons 212-213). Cercul vicios este creat tocmai la specularea golurilor din cunoașterea noastră comună, prin încercări de umplere a lor cu înțelepciune divină.

În privinţa nucleelor sale metaforice, naraţiunea biblică întemeiază şi conturează lumi explicative, fapt care e în acord cu intenţia celor care au scris fragmentele (Biblia e gândită şi drept o carte de înţelepciune, adică de "ştiinţă"). Dacă unitatea sa de concepţie se află în impulsul intenţional care o determină, natura ficţională a textului biblic trebuie căutată în progresia intuiţiilor originare, care se divid tot mai mult în actul ficţionalizării. Sensul textual, alimentat prin atribuirea de valori și proprietăți care țin de intenționalitatea nonfictivă, nutrește, la rândul său, paradoxul discursiv al referențialității ambiguu-ficționale. Întreg acest proces subiacent transpune sentințele biblice în postulate validabile referențial a priori, la nivelul unei repoziționări subiective în raport cu realitatea experienței, al validării valorilor de adevăr prin evaluarea interpretativă *de dicto*, al utilizării unor cuantificatori existențiali sau verbe existențiale, al exprimării unor atitudini propoziționale și a unor credințe sau convingeri, toate compatibilizate cu generarea unei reacții emoționale astfel încât receptorii să accepte veridicitatea conținuturilor referențiale. Scenariile implicate (geneza, potopul, apocalipsa etc.), tehnica povestirii în ramă (cu încapsularea unor ample seturi de enunțuri evocative), labirintul lumilor posibile tind să susțină această interpretare. Pe de altă parte, fenomene precum manipularea timpului sau călătoriile în timp reprezintă fapte nevalidabile experiențial. Coroborate cu unele aspecte inferențiale sau referențiale factuale și cu intenționalitatea nonfictivă, ele compun un amalgam interpretativ paradoxal. Că această carte este destinată influențării, persuasiunii receptorilor în privința considerării faptelor prezentate ca reale o dovedește teoria infailibilității biblice (fiind insuflată de spiritul divin, nu poate conține falsuri, întrucât Dumnezeu nu poate minți...). Ficțiunea se configurează în realități modale, recentrând realitatea astfel încât să îngreuneze descoperirea complexităților ascunse ale designului său, generând, transsubiectiv, lumi explicative alternative conceptualizate metaforic.

4. Remarci finale

Putem trasa câteva remarci concluzive: prima, distincția dintre nivelele de accesibilitate și universul ficțional recentrat, care s-ar impune ca explicație pertinentă a narațiunii biblice; a doua, înțelegerea cunoașterii drept procesualitate modală, nu doar în privința sistemului nostru de convingeri (tradiție, perspective moderne, ipoteze, predicții etc.), ci și sub aspectul calității ei de funcție mentală sau de acte mental înlănțuite, în esență. Lumea ficțională integrează întregul univers și interconectează întreaga cunoaștere privind lumea actuală și lumile posibile/alternative. Mai mult, lumea imposibilă a Împărăției lui Dumnezeu este extrapolată într-un câmp vag al imaginației creatoare. Există numeroase lacune în câmpul cunoașterii noastre, de vreme ce nu există ființă umană care să atingă omnisciența atribuită divinității drept calitate intrinsecă. De aceea, umplerea golurilor implică un permanent balans între două realități distincte: lumea ficțională, devenită actuală, și lumea actuală, devenită ficțională. Narațiunea biblică își generează obiectele prin atribuirea unui statut ontologic paradoxal, la limita dintre ficțiune și nonficțiune. Mecanismul semantic presupune, în esență, crearea de realități alternative pornind de la un nucleu generator care aparține unei lumi ficționale și de la angajarea unei intenționalități nonfictive.

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SUMMARY: Our study focuses on the creative mechanism of Biblical metaphors, from the viewpoint of possible/fictional world semantics and reference theory. The Biblical intuitions tend to conceptualize and to legitimate explanatory worlds regarding Cosmos, terrestrial life, or the human society dynamics, on bases of a nonfictive intentionality, which however generates fictional worlds. This paradox of discourse proves itself to be more and more seminal on the extent that the gap between intention and reference becomes progressively deeper. This fact gives rise to interpretations with high levels of ambiguity. Therefore, we try to explain the meaningful completeness that has been projected mainly as linguistically linguistic intelligible reflections of a pure transcendent knowledge.
KEYWORDS: metaphor, Biblical narrative, reference, fictional world, intentionality

THE WOLF BEFRIENDED THE LAMB: ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE ROMANIAN WORD *CU*

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ABSTRACT: The paper investigates the various roles that the Romanian word *cu*, classed as a preposition, may have and the ways in which it is translated into English. *Cu* (< Lat. *cum*) is one of the most frequent Romanian words, having multiple values, made evident by the lexico-syntactic information offered by the context in which it appears. Like all prepositions, it has no syntactic autonomy, serving as a link between two syntactic units in a sentence or clause and establishing grammatical relations of subordination between them. *Cu* may be used to establish connections at the textual level as well. Sometimes, it is both required by the grammar of the language, particularly after certain verbs or adjectives and contributes to the meaning of the sentence, assigning various thematic roles to the term that follows it (modal, temporal, causal, instrumental, etc.), which are revealed by the context. *Cu* may also assume the role of a conjunction, marking either relations of coordination or of subordination. It may have several English prepositions as equivalents, but there are also instances when English makes use of no preposition or resorts to a different phrase structure or word order; various types of shifts may occur in the translation, in order to preserve the meaning of the source text.
KEYWORDS: roles of the Romanian preposition *cu*, English equivalents of the Romanian preposition *cu*, translation of Romanian prepositions into English

1. Introduction

Most grammars divide the lexical inventory of a language into two categories. The open category comprising notional words – nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and interjections – is considered principal, while the closed category, in which functional, grammaticalized words – prepositions, conjunctions and articles – are included, is regarded as secondary.

Though seemingly fulfilling a less important role than that of notional words, functional words prove to be almost equally important in constructing and conveying a message, hence their vital role when this message is transferred from one language into another. This article focuses on the intricacies of translating into English one of the fifteen most frequent Romanian words (Avram 2001: 264) – *cu* (< Lat. *cum*), classed as a preposition.

Before we proceed to detailing on these intricacies, we deem it useful to briefly review what is generally characteristic of prepositions from a syntactic and a semantic point of view, as it is these two perspectives that will be taken into consideration in our study.

From a syntactic point of view, prepositions lack autonomy. They cannot function independently within a clause, but accompany a head word (most often a nominal) on which they impose grammatical restrictions, especially as far as case is concerned (Cenac 2009): e.g. accusative – *M-am dus la școală./I went to school.*; genitive – *Au luptat împotriva turcilor./They fought against the Turks.*; dative – *Vorbește asemenea lui./She speaks like him.* Topic restrictions do not operate in Romanian, as all prepositions in this language precede the word they govern, the only exception being the preposition *de* in phrases which are the equivalent of the adverb *foarte/very* in the structure of the superlative degree of adjectives and adverbs: e.g. *extraordinar de frumoasă/extraordinarily beautiful*; *extrem de inteligent/extremely intelligent*. This is not the case in English, where prepositions may occur in pre-position, but may also be stranded, depending on the type of clause (*wh*-questions, relative clauses, passives): e.g. *The keys are on the table.*; *Who(m) are you looking at?; This is the place she talked so highly about; The pacient was operated on.*

Semantically, there are prepositions which have a grammatical, relational meaning only, i.e. they are "simply required by the grammar of the language […], merely have a connective value […] and make no contribution to the sense of the sentence" (Pârlog 179): e.g. *She is the mother of five children./Este mama a cinci copii./N-am văzut pe nimeni./I saw nobody.*

Others have a transparent, "vectorial meaning" (Chiorean 49, our transl.), that "guide[s] the textual sense of the message" (Chiorean 28, our transl.), contributing to its meaning considerably. See, for example, the change of meaning triggered by the use of different prepositions in otherwise identical sentences like: *Soarele a ieșit după ploaie./The sun came out after the rain. – Soarele a ieșit înainte de ploaie./The sun came out before the rain.* and *Pune cartea pe masă./Put the book on the table. – Pune cartea sub masă./Put the book under the table.*

A third category of prepositions includes the semi-lexical ones – those that impose a certain syntactic restriction on the term they govern (i.e. these will necessarily be used in a particular grammatical case, most often in the accusative, as a prepositional object) and, at the same time, reinforce its textual sense: e.g. *Studenții beneficiază de taxe reduse./The students benefit from discounted fees.; Testul a fost alcătuit conform cu cerințele./The test was made up according to/ in accordance with the requirements.*

2. Meanings of *cu* at clause and sentence level

2.1. Cu *expressing association*

Cu may fulfil a copulative function, i.e. it may behave like a copulative conjunction, its associative meaning being sometimes reinforced by the conjunction *și* (*and*) or by adverbs like *împreună, laolaltă* (*together*). It may connect:

a) subjects

(1) Mama cu tata se duc la piață vinerea./Mum and dad go to the market on Fridays.
(2) El (și) cu mine avem alte păreri./He and I have other opinions.
(3) Doi (și) cu doi fac patru./Two and two make four.
(4) Eu (împreună) cu el mergem la petrecere./I together with him go to the party.

In examples (1) to (4), the second subject, preceded by the preposition *cu*, is in the accusative; this is obvious in the case of personal pronouns which have different forms for the nominative and the accusative (e.g., in (2), the accusative of the first person singular personal pronoun *eu*, is *mine*). In English, its equivalents are obtained by transposition, i.e. a change of morphological class – a class shift: in sentences (1) to (3), *cu* is translated as the conjunction *and*, the associative meaning of the Romanian preposition thus becoming more evident. In sentence (4), a rank unbound translation occurs when the simple preposition *cu* is translated as the complex preposition *together with*. This is the required equivalent both for *cu* and for *împreună cu.* In the latter case, however, the technique used is that of word-for-word translation.

Cu may connect two subjects in the deep structure of a clause, where the second subject behaves like a prepositional attribute of the first. It is this first element that fills in the subject slot in the surface structure. The translation into English of such multiple subjects connected by *cu* requires the omission of the preposition, present in Romanian, while the first subject, which is absent from the surface structure of the Romanian clause, as it is implied in the verb form, is obligatory in the target language clause:

(5) Am venit cu toții.(= Noi cu toții am venit.)/We ø all came.

b) attributes to subjects expressed by nouns, usually derived from verbs

(6) Plimbarea lui Ion cu prietenul său a fost plăcută./John's walk with his friend was pleasant.
(7) Discuția mea cu părinții a avut loc vineri./My discussion with my parents took place on Friday.

In examples (6) and (7), the English preposition *with* is the direct, word-for-word equivalent of the Romanian preposition *cu.*

c) objects

(8) Amestecă zahărul cu gălbenușele./Mix the sugar with the yolks.
(9) L-am văzut [pe el] (împreună) cu prietena lui./I saw him (together) with his girlfriend.

(10) Le-am trimis un cec împreună cu urările mele de bine./I sent them a cheque together with my good wishes.

If word-for-word translation is possible in cases illustrated by sentences (8) to (10), it is not in examples (11) and (12): *cafea cu lapte* becomes, via modulation, *white coffee* in English, while the equivalent of *pâine cu unt* is the binominal *bread and butter*, that involves transposition or a morphological class shift (the preposition *cu* is translated as the conjunction *and*):

(11) Dorești cafea cu lapte?/Would you like white coffee?
(12) Mănâncă pâine cu unt./He is eating bread and butter.

d) predicatives

(13) Cele două persoane invitate sunt mama cu tata./The two invited persons are mum and dad.

Though in Romanian variation between the preposition *cu* and the conjunction *și* ('and') is possible in such cases, in English, their only equivalent is the conjunction *and*.

e) prepositional objects

The associative meaning of *cu* is obvious when, as a semi-lexical preposition, it introduces objects that complete the meaning of verbs implying the idea of reciprocity, connection, getting/being together or getting/being in connection with. Most often in these situations, it is translated either as *with*, using different English prepositions or as a non-prepositional object.

The Romanian verbs that require the prepositional objects may be either reflexive:

(14) Te-ai aliat cu dușmanul?/Have you allied yourself with the enemy?
(15) Cu cine te însoțești?/Who do you keep company with?
(16) Compania lor s-a contopit/ unit cu o companie de software./Their company merged with a software company.
(17) Se înrudește cu noi./He is related to us.
(18) S-a deprins cu noi./He got used to us.
(19) S-a îmbrăcat cu haine groase./She got dressed in warm clothes.
(20) Lupul s-a împrietenit cu mielul./The wolf befriended ø the lamb.
(21) S-a căsătorit cu Maria./He married ø Maria.

or non-reflexive:

(22) Trebuie să interacționăm unul cu altul./We must interact with each other.

(23) Unchiul locuiește la țară împreună cu celelalte rude./My uncle lives in the countryside together with my other relatives.
(24) Am combinat verde cu galben ca să colorez cercul./I mixed green and yellow to colour the circle.

Sometimes, a translator may have two options to render into English the Romanian prepositional object that completes the meaning of this type of verbs, be they reflexive or non-reflexive: either a non-prepositional object or a modulated prepositional one:

(25) S-au reunit cu familia în Ajunul Crăciunului./They joined ø their family on Christmas Eve./They got together with their family on Christmas Eve.
(26) Seamănă cu tatăl lui./He resembles ø his father/He looks like his father.

f) clauses

(27) A venit și a plecat întotdeauna cu oricine a vrut./She always came and left with whomever she wanted.
(28) Mă duc cu oricine mă invită./I shall go with whoever invites me.
(29) S-au aliat cu cine avea șanse să câștige războiul./They allied themselves with those who had chances of winning the war.
(30) S-a deprins repede cu orice avea de făcut ca nou angajat./He got quickly used to whatever he had to do as a new employee.

Cu may function associatively when it introduces a clause (usually a free relative clause in the deep structure). The English equivalent of *cu* in these cases is usually the preposition *with*.

2.2.* Cu *expressing a characteristic or possession

Cu may indicate that something or somebody has a certain characteristic or is in possession of something. Together with the noun following it, it forms an attribute. The preposition itself may most often, though not always, be translated directly as its English equivalent *with*:

(31) Casa mea are un balconul cu flori./My house has a balcony with flowers.
(32) I-am cumpărat o jucărie cu baterie și o carte cu poze./I bought him a toy with battery and a book with pictures.
(33) Ieri am purtat o jachetă cu glugă./Yesterday I wore a jacket with a hood.
(34) Este un copil cu multe talente./He is a child of many talents.
(35) Acesta e un cuvânt cu mai multe origini./This is a word of multiple origins.

In example (32), one may have a choice between a word-for-word translation of the head noun and its attribute preceded by the preposition *cu*, as indicated above, and a translation where the whole phrase is contracted into a non-prepositional one, and the word order is reversed, a structure shift taking place; in *a battery operated/powered toy*, we also have transposition through expansion:

(36) I bought him a battery operated toy/ a battery powered toy and a *picture book*.

The same choice is available in cases like:

(37) un om cu barbă/a man with a beard/ a bearded man;
o fată cu părul blond și cu ochi albaștri/a girl with fair hair and blue eyes/a fair-haired, blue-eyed girl

It is not available in (38) and (39), where it is compulsory to transpose the *cu* + noun attribute, following the head noun, into an attribute expressed by an adjective that precedes the head noun (here again, translation into English presupposes both a class and a structure shift):

(38) Este un copil cu talent./He is a talented child.
(39) Fratele meu e un om cu noroc./My brother is a lucky man.

However, if in (38) *talent* were modified by an adjective, no shift would be necessary: E un copil cu un talent remarcabil, neobișnuit./He is a child of remarkable, unusual talent.

2.3. **Cu** *expressing content*

Cu may suggest the idea of content. The range of translation options is not as wide as when it expresses possession or characteristics, the only choice available being that between its direct equivalent – *with*, and a different English preposition, sometimes used interchangeably:

(40) Butoiul cu bere este în pivniță./The barrel with beer is in the basement.
(41) A dispărut o cutie cu bijuterii scumpe./A box with expensive jewelry has disappeared.
(42) În birou am un raft cu cărți./There is a shelf with/of books in my study.
(43) Te rog, dă-mi un pahar cu vin./(Give me) a glass of wine, please.

2.4. **Cu** *expressing manner*

2.4.1. Manner proper

Very often, the preposition *cu* carries a manner meaning. The prepositional phrase it forms together with the words it precedes may have the following syntactic functions:

a) adverbial of manner proper

(44) Conduce cu viteză mare./He drives with great speed./He drives ø very fast.

(45) A așteptat cu răbdare./She waited with patience./He waited ø patiently.
(46) Deschideți cutia cu grijă./Open the box with care./Open the box ø carefully.
(47) Lucrează cu atenție./She works ø carefully.

As can be seen in examples (44) to (46), the adverbial containing *cu* may be translated literally, or the prepositional phrase may turn, by transposition (class shift) into an adverb of manner in English. There is no such choice in (47), where only the use of a one-word adverbial, expressed by an adverb, is possible.

b) predicative adjuncts

(48) A plecat cu inima grea./She left with a heavy heart.
(49) A ieșit cu capul gol./He went out ø bare-headed.
(50) Stătea cu gura căscată și cu mâinile-n șolduri./He stood ø agape and with arms akimbo.
(51) Vorbea cu ochii strălucind de bucurie./She was talking ø her eyes sparkling with joy.

The translation of *cu*, which together with the following noun forms predicative adjuncts, is similar to that of an adverbial of manner proper of which it is part: it is either rendered by its direct English correspondent *with*, or the place of the whole predicative (preposition + noun) is taken by a single word (a compound or a predicative adjective), a class shift thus occurring. Additionally, as exemplified in (51), the preposition may be absent in the translation and the content words will be used in an absolute participial construction – this would be an instance of transposition or class shift as well.

c) predicative

(52) E cu neputință./It is ø impossible.
(53) Fii cu băgare de seamă!/Be ø careful!

In cases like (52) and (53), transposition is the translation solution: the English equivalents of the Romanian prepositional predicatives are non-prepositional – the Romanian nouns preceded by *cu* are translated as adjectives.

2.4.2. Measurement

The preposition *cu* may link an adverbial of manner that expresses measurement of some kind to its head verb. Most often in these cases, its corresponding English prepositions are *by* or *at*:

(54) Inflația a crescut cu 2 la sută./Inflation went up by 2 per cent.
(55) A doborât recordul de anul trecut cu trei secunde./He broke last year's record by three seconds.

(56) Merele se vând cu kilogramul./Apples are sold by the kilo.
(57) A condus cu 100 de kilometri pe oră./He drove at 100/h.

When measurement involves comparison, the preposition is deleted in English; the rest of the English equivalent structure matches the Romanian structure expressing the measurement itself and the quality that is measured:

(58) Este cu doi metri mai lungă./It is ø two metres longer.
(59) Este cu doi ani mai mare./He is ø two years older.
(60) Drumul e cu câțiva metri mai lat./The road is ø several metres wider.

In Romanian, the adjective expressing the quality that is measured, syntactically a predicative, may also be placed immediately after the copulative verb, before the prepositional phrase expressing the measure itself: *Este mai lungă cu doi metri./Este mai mare cu doi ani./Drumul e mai lat cu câțiva metri.* This change of word order in the Romanian clause does not, however, call for a structure shift in English and for translations different from those given in examples (58) to (60).

2.4.3. Accumulation

Cu may link two identical nouns in binominals indicating (slow, continuous) accumulation. In this case, its English equivalent is the preposition *by*:

(61) A citit ziarul foaie cu foaie./He read the newspaper page by page.
(62) A economisit ban cu ban./He saved money cent by cent.
(63) Adaugi ulei picătură cu picătură./You add oil drop by drop.

Accumulation may be paralleled with the idea of progressive increase of a state, quality, quantity, etc. in comparative constructions containing a clause of manner:

(64) Cu cât e mai lung drumul, cu atât devine mai obositor./ø The longer the way is, the more tiring it becomes.
(65) Cu cât e mai multă lume, cu atât mai veselă e petrecerea./ø The more people there are, the merrier the party is.

The equivalent constructions in English are characterised by a fixed word order – "the + comparative + subject + verb". The conjunction phrase and its correlative (*cu cât ... cu atât*) are absent in the translated sentences.

2.4.4. Comparison, equality, likeness

Cu suggests comparison, equality or likeness and its function is that of semi-lexical preposition in a prepositional object noun phrase:

(66) Această sală este mai potrivită cu funcția ta./This room is better suited to your position.
(67) Ochii tăi sunt la fel cu ai ei./Your eyes are the same as hers.
(68) Este aidoma cu al tău./It is (just) like yours.
(69) Caietul tău este identic cu acesta./Your copybook is identical with/to this one.

The word-for-word translation of the preposition *cu* as *with* is the exception rather than the rule in these contexts, as, more often, its English equivalents are the prepositions *to* (e.g., *analog*, *contrar*, *similar*, *corespunzător*, *egal*, *potrivit*, *proporțional cu*/*analogous*, *contrary*, *opposed*, *similar(ly)*, *corresponding*, *equal*, *suited*, *proportional to*), *as* (*la fel cu*/*the same as*) or *like* (e.g., *aidoma*, *asemănător*, *asemenea cu*/*like*), there being few cases when *with* and *to* are interchangeable (*identic cu*/*identical with/to*).

2.4.5. Instrument

When *cu* precedes a noun that indicates the instrument used for performing the action denoted by the verb, it is most frequently translated directly, as *with*:

(70) Am tăiat prăjitura cu cuțitul./I cut the cake with the knife.
(71) Este scris cu stiloul./It is written with a fountain-pen.
(72) Traduc cu dicționarul./I translate with a dictionary.
(73) Am văzut cu ochii mei./I saw it with my own eyes.

However, in the case of verbs of movement followed by "*cu* + noun" indicating the means by which the movement is performed, the English language uses the preposition by:

(74) A venit cu taxiul./He came by taxi.
(75) A plecat cu trenul./He left by train.
(76) Se deplasează des cu avionul./He often travels by plane.

There are phrases in Romanian that contain *cu* preceding the instrument (denoting a part of the body), whose equivalents in English are one-word verbs. Thus, transposition or class, rank-bound shift from a multi-word lexical unit to a single-word takes place when translating these Romanian phrases into English:

(77) La plecare, i-a făcut cu mâna din autobuz./On leaving, he waved at her from the bus.
(78) De câte ori mă vede, îmi face cu ochiul./Everytime he sees me, he winks at me.
(79) Nu da cu piciorul în gard!/Don't kick the fence!

Syntactically, a noun preceded by *cu* that denotes an instrument may be an attribute as well. When this is the case, the translation into English of the

Romanian preposition is done either by using a different preposition than *with*, as in (80) or through transposition involving structure shift, i.e. the preposition is deleted and the attribute is placed before its head noun – its usual position in English (as in (81)):

(80) Mi-a plăcut călătoria cu trenul./I liked the travel by train.
(81) E campion la săritura cu prăjina./He is a pole vault champion.

2.5. **Cu** *expressing time*

Cu occurs in various time-related expressions or it may precede nouns with a temporal reference, whose syntactic function is that of an adverbial of time. They may express:

a) simultaneity

(82) Riscul de a te îmbolnăvi crește (odată) cu vârsta./The risk of getting ill increases with age.
(83) Am aterizat odată cu el./I landed at the same time with him.

b) duration

(84) Așteaptă de obicei cu orele./They are usually waiting for hours.
(85) Era mereu plecat cu săptămânile./He was always away for weeks.

c) limited time

(86) Sunt plătiți cu ora./They are paid by the hour.
(87) Este angajat cu anul./He is hired by the year.

d) succession in time

(88) S-a vândut foarte bine an cu an./It sold very well, year by year.
(89) Implicațiile în viața de zi cu zi sunt profunde./The implications in our day-to-day life are deep.

e) measurement in time

(90) L-am întâlnit cu cinci ani în urmă./I met him ø five years ago.

f) starting point in time

(91) Voi fi mai puțin ocupată începând cu luna iunie./I will be less busy starting with the month of June.

Examples (82) to (91) demonstrate that, like in many of the cases discussed so far, a similar semantic value of the preposition *cu* in contexts that vary does not guarantee its translation with the same English word. As can be seen in these examples, its equivalents may be its literal translation as *with* or the prepositions *by* and *for*. No preposition is necessary in the target language when the phrase denotes measurement in time.

2.6. **Cu** ***expressing cause***

Cu may be placed before a noun and forms a phrase together with it that functions as an adverbial of cause (the semantic value of the preposition is 'because of', 'as there is/are'). The English equivalent of *cu* in this instance is its direct correspondent – *with*:

(92) Cu seceta asta, s-au uscat toate florile./With this drought, all the flowers have withered.
(93) Am înghețat cu frigul ăsta./I froze with this cold.
(94) Cu numai două zile până la conferință, nu mă pot relaxa./With only two days to the conference, I can't relax.

2.7. **Cu** ***expressing concession***

The prepositional noun phrase containing *cu* may also express the idea of concession, the meaning of the preposition in this case being 'despite/in spite of', 'although', taken over by its direct equivalent – *with*:

(95) Cu tot ajutorul familiei, n-am reușit să termin./With all my family's help, I wasn't able to finish.
(96) Cu toate greșelile ei, nu pot fi supărată pe ea./With all her mistakes, I can't be angry with her.

3. Meanings of *cu* at textual level

In the previous sections, we have discussed the meanings of the preposition *cu* at clause or sentence level. However, there are a number of contexts in which it no longer connects elements within a clause or clauses within a sentence, but rather the prepositional phrase of which it is part to the whole text before it, thus functioning as a textual connector. This phrase is usually, though not always, a pragmatic idiom, i.e. a rather fixed, standardized linguistic formula used on specific occasions and recognized as such by the speakers of a certain language.

The meaning of the preposition *cu* at textual level is not as immediately obvious as it is when it occurs within a clause or sentence, since, in order to interpret it, one needs to make inferences based on both one's knowledge of the contexts in which standardized linguistic formulas are used (if the case may be) and of the text (in its close proximity or beyond) to which it connects.

3.1. **Cu** *expressing manner*

Cu may be said to generally indicate manner at textual level.

When it is part of pragmatic idioms employed to conclude letters, either formal or informal, the implicature is 'I conclude by expressing my gratitude/love/ respect, etc.'. A cumulative nuance is added to the conclusive phrases starting with *cu*, if one considers them to also indicate that, in addition to what has been previously said in the text, gratitude/ love/ respect, etc. is expressed:

(97) […] Cu drag/dragoste, […]/[…] Love, […]
(98) […] Cu stimă/respect (al dumneavoastră), […]/[…] Respectfully (yours), […]

In (97), the translation of *Cu drag* into English is done by deleting the preposition and preserving the equivalent noun for *drag/dragoste – love.* In (98), the translation solution is transposition, as the preposition is deleted and a class shift is operated – the Romanian noun *stimă/respect* is replaced by an adverb – *respectfully*, optionally followed by the possessive pronoun *yours*, an equivalent of the Romanian pronoun of politeness *al dumneavoastră* (which is not compulsory in Romanian either).

Manner proper is expressed by the pragmatic idiom *Cu plăcere*, in the adjacency pair:

(99) - Mulțumesc. - Cu plăcere./- Thank you. - You're welcome/- Thank you. - My pleasure.

The implied meaning of the answer to *Thank you* is something like 'I have done what you are thanking me for with pleasure, love, etc'.

Its fixed form is rendered into English by fixed formulas as well. Of the two indicated in (99), *My pleasure* is closer in meaning and form to the Romanian original, though it presupposes transposition – the absence of the preposition and its replacement by the possessive adjective *My*; the noun *plăcere* is preserved as its English direct equivalent *pleasure. You're welcome*, the other translation variant for *Cu plăcere*, involves modulation of the original message, and thus, indirect translation.

3.2. Meanings of **cu** *between the clause and the textual level*

Apart from the cases when it is the component of fixed linguistic formulas, *cu* may occur at textual level in replies to questions, before nouns, making up phrases whose semantic function is to complete the implicit part of these replies with additional information. In this case, *cu* fulfils the same role it would fulfil at clause and sentence level if the head word these phrases modify were present within the boundaries of the same text unit:

a) association

(100) Vei repara mașina? (Împreună) cu John./Will you repair the car? (Together) with John.
(101) Vrei să faci temele? Cu tata./Would you like to do your homework? With my father.
(102) Ați fost la festivalul de jazz? Cu toții./Did you go to the jazz festival? We all did.
(103) Ai amestecat făina? Cu trei ouă./Did you mix the flour? With three eggs.

b) a characteristic or possession

(104) Porți o jachetă nouă? Cu glugă./Are you wearing a new jacket? With a hood.
(105) I-ați cumpărat o carte? Cu poze./Have you bought her a book? With pictures.
(106) Ai cunoscut o fată la petrecere? Cu ochi albaștri./Have you met a girl at the party? ø Blue-eyed.

c) content

(107) A dispărut vreo cutie? Cu bijuterii./Has any of the boxes disappeared? With jewelry.
(108) Ce butoi ai dus în pivniță? Cu bere./What barrel have you taken to the basement? With beer.

d) manner

(109) Cum a condus Mary până la gara? Cu viteză mare./How did Mary drive to the railway station? With great speed.
(110) Ai văzut hoțul furând pâinea? Cu ochii mei./Have you seen the thief stealing the bread? With my own eyes.
(111) Au citit noua ta carte? Pagină cu pagină./Have they read your new book? Page by page.
(112) A fost doborât recordul de anul trecut? Cu două secunde./Has last year's record been broken? By two seconds
(113) Cum sunt plătiți studenții? Cu ora./How are the students paid? By the hour.
(114) De obicei, stă mult la coafor? Cu orele./Does she usually stay long at the hairdresser's? For hours/Hours on end.
(115) E mai mare decât fratele ei? Cu doi ani./Is she older than her brother? ø Two years older.

e) cause

(116) Ai răcit? Da. Cu iarna asta!/Have you caught a cold? Yes. With this winter!

f) concession

(117) Mai ești supărat pe sora ta? Nu. Cu toată nepăsarea ei./Are you still mad at your sister? No. With all her carelessness.

The ways of translating *cu* having these meanings have been discussed at large in section 2 above.

4. Conclusion

Our analysis has revealed that the preposition *cu* may take on various semantic roles both at clause, sentence and textual level. In various syntactic configurations, it may indicate association, a characteristic or possession, manner (manner proper, measurement, accumulation, comparison, identity, likeness, instrument), time, cause and concession.

In all the instances discussed, *cu* contributes to the meaning of the smaller or larger text units to which it belongs, guiding the way they should be interpreted. In some cases, it plays the role of a lexical-semantic preposition, i.e. it both carries meaning and is required by the grammar of the language. Thus, among the words obligatorily followed by *cu* in Romanian are:

a) adjectives and adverbs that express:

- equality, likeness: *analog, asemănător, contrar, similar, corespunzător, egal, proporțional cu/analogous, contrary, opposed, similar(ly), corresponding, equal, proportional to*; *potrivit, conform cu/according to/in accordance, in keeping, in agreement with; identic cu/identical to/with; aidoma, asemenea cu/like, alike, the very image of*;

- simultaneousness: *simultan, concomitent, contemporan, împreună cu/ simultaneous, concomitant, contemporary, together with; paralel cu/parallel to/with*;

b) demonstrative pronouns and adjectives that express identity, similarity: *același, aceeași, aceiași, aceleași cu/the same as*;

c) reflexive verbs and their corresponding nouns that imply the idea of association: *a se alia, asocia, însoți, amesteca, contopi, corela, certa, răfui cu/to ally, associate, blend, merge, correlate, quarrel with*; *a se învecina, a se înrudi cu/be neighbours with, border upon, be related to*; *a se căsători, împrieteni, întâlni, a semăna, a se asemăna, a se uni cu/befriend, marry, meet, resemble, join ø*;

d) other reflexives: *a se deprinde, a se obișnui cu/get/become used/ accustomed to.*

As can be seen from these examples and from those previously commented upon, the preposition *cu* is not always translated literally, by its direct equivalent *with.* Often, its equivalents are other prepositions: *at*, *by*, *in*, *like*, *of*, *to* or the conjunction *and*.

Cu and the term it governs are sometimes translated by transposition, involving:

- class shift: e.g. *Lucrează cu atenție* (PNP)./*She works carefully* (adv.); *Este cu neputință* (PNP)/*It is impossible* (adj.); *ochii privesc cu mânie* (PNP)/*eyes glare (verb)*; *A da cu piciorul (verb + instrument)*/*to kick (verb)*;

- structure shift: e.g. *Viața de zi cu zi* (post-modifier)/*our day to day life* (pre-modifier);

- both class and structure shift: *fată cu ochi albaștri* (PNP, post-modifier)/ *blue-eyed girl* (adjective, pre-modfier)*; om cu noroc* (PNP, post-modifier)/*lucky man* (adjective, pre-modfier);

- explicitation + structure shift: *jucărie cu baterie* (PNP, post-modifier)/*a battery operated/powered toy* (adj.P., pre-modifier);

- intra-system shift: *a fi cu capul pe umeri* (definite article) – *have a (good) head on one's shoulders* (indefinite article).

This rather wide variety of ways of translating the Romanian preposition *cu* into English makes it quite difficult for Romanian EFL learners to become able to use its equivalents correctly. Swan, for example, recommends that, if a non-native wants to be able to use English prepositions correctly, each expression be learned separately, which, in its turn, is not an easy task either (483). Though there is so much variation in the way prepositions are used in general, establishing the possible correspondence existing between Romanian prepositions and their English counterparts and analysing the translation procedures applied may help to better acquire the latter. Our article will hopefully ease this task.

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THE LANGUAGE OF ONLINE NEWS: CORONAVIRUS HEADLINES

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ABSTRACT: Language is used in order to establish and then change the nature of the relationship between discourse participants and the nature of the activity type in which they engage. The participants, by their use of language, contribute to making and changing their context. This paper looks at how some dimensions identified by scholars in the study of online discourse are reflected in the discourse of online news.
KEYWORDS: language, context, communication, coronavirus, online

1. Introduction

Computer mediated communication seems to have taken over the world. Smartphones, tablets, laptops, and a number of other devices are among the first choices in interactions with our peers. Newspapers have gone out of print to find a new life in the world wide web. More and more information is being exchanged in the social media. This has meant, on the one hand, an easier access to all sorts of news. On the other hand, the quality of information seems to have become more difficult to check. A wealth of sources nearly always means there will be huge amounts of information.

News is meant to report upon and inform the public of important events. The quality of news is determined by the characteristics that support such a purpose. News has to be accurate, interesting, relevant, and accessible. An important component of news are headlines, as they give readers a general idea of what they are going to read, attract readers' attention and generate interest in the story. They may also show hidden meanings behind the words and phrases used by writers. Headlines may be deceiving, sometimes they contain words that do not match the content of the article. Some editors prefer sensational headlines to attract the public, with political news appearing to make much use of sensationalism. Journalists' approaches are subjective and this influences the way they present and write headlines and the news content itself.

The purpose of this study is to discover what discursive devices and forms of rhetorical strategies are used in news headlines. A secondary purpose is to see what insights can be generated from these findings.

2. Theoretical considerations

Crystal (2004) identified four dimensions in the process of studying online language use – a sociolinguistic one, an educational perspective, a stylistic and an applied dimension. Fowler, Kress and Hodge (1979), as well as Fairclough (1995) also studied the facets of media language. Van Dijk (1985) proposes a framework for the organisation of news, focusing on topic and news schema, while Schegloff (1996), among others, discusses the issue of relevance. According to van Dijk (op.cit.), media texts are characterised by the recurrent patterns of structural elements. The notion of semantic macrostructure should also be mentioned here, which denotes the overall global meaning, typically expressed through intertextual elements, such as headline, lead in media discourse.

On the reason why we study media language, Bell (1991) proposes the following: media is readily accessible as a source of data; the media use certain language features in a very specific way; the media play a role in affecting language in the wider society; media language mirrors the wider society and culture; media language affects attitudes and opinions in society (through how it presents people and matters); media language seems easier to collect than other types of texts; media language can tell us things about media and about language. Cotter (2003) notes that research on media is often the registration of the presence of bias or how power relations work in society, while Wodak and Busch (2004) suggest that media texts depend on intertextual relations with many other genres through quotes or direct references. Wodak and Busch (ibid) state that the media produce and reproduce social meanings.

3. Methodology

The data analysed in this paper was collected in the month of March, in the year 2020. The headlines we selected come from online news sites across the world. It can be seen that there is a huge focus on the hottest topic of the moment: the coronavirus pandemic. The sources of the headlines are indicated in each case in brackets. After the data collection, we looked at the types of discursive devices that can be identified in the headlines. We then had a close look at the language used in the headlines: vocabulary, its meanings and uses – in an attempt to see what ideologies these headlines may reveal. The method applied is Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough & Wodak 1995). We also considered the argument that „language is like flight: an all-or-nothing behavior" (Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 181).

4. Analysis

In the following, we are going to look closely at some of the headlines selected. Most of them, regardless of the country they refer to, contain at least one reference to the virus that is causing so many problems all over the world:

(1) Coronavirus in Romania: President to decree state of emergency as of Monday. What does this bring? (https://www.romania-insider.com/)

In Romania, the headline above describes the general expectations, based on previously held information about what could happen when the number of infections exceeds 100. There has been much debate online, in TV shows, in the social media about what steps are going to be taken and this newspaper headline hints at some clarification and the implications of what is going to follow. The use of the present tense in both of the information sequences is aimed at maintaining a serious and official tone. The choice of the verb *bring* gives the question an evaluative value, pointing towards the causal relation between the decree and the expected outcomes after the state of emergency is declared.

Italy, Spain, France, and Germany are among the countries that are heavily affected by the coronavirus outbreak. News headlines cover social phenomena occurring in all these countries, as well as in Romania, among others. The selected headlines below make reference to the measures being taken, as well as transmit instructions to the public:

(2) Coronavirus: Supermarkets ask shoppers to be 'considerate' and stop panic buying (bbc.com)
(3) Coronavirus: Spain and France announce sweeping restrictions (bbc.com)

In a non-European context, measures taken are very similar to those on our continent, with people who are thought to have been exposed to the virus being tested, regardless of their position. Elliptical sentences convey key information by making use of direct reference to the organization whose members are affected, while the second example contains a sequence of pieces of information on the same topic, relating to different aspects. The first sequence informs the public of the results of the President's coronavirus test and the news report continues with the status of travel in airports.

(4) Two New York State Assembly members among state's coronavirus cases (cnn.com)
(5) Trump Tests Negative; Long Waits at U.S. Airports for Inbound Passengers (New York Times)

In China, the first wave of infections seems to have passed, but the number of cases coming from other countries is on the rise:

(6) In China, new coronavirus cases from overseas exceed local cases for 2nd day (globalnews.ca)

While most countries are imposing travel restrictions, the perspective seems to be one where all travel will be banned. The use of adjectives specifically tailors the announcement for the inhabitants of Canada, and the possibility to travel seems to be narrowed down as the pandemic develops by the classifying adjective *commercial.* The time sequence is ambiguous, the horizon being defined by the time adverb *still*, which leaves room for personal subjectivity in both conveying and interpreting the message.

(7) Canadians abroad urged to return home while ‘commercial options still available’ (globalnews.ca)

In England, after very few announced measures, local communities seem to be taking their fate in their own hands, as implied by the Lancanshire newspaper:

(8) School closes over coronavirus fears (https://www.lep.co.uk/news/transport/lancashire-news-live-coronavirus-latest-traffic-and-travel-plus-all-todays-breaking-news-saturday-march-14-2020-1840656)

Immediacy and the direct reference to fear make this simple headline very effective.

The following group of headlines make use of vocabulary to describe measures and situations, roles and responsibilities of individuals and countries in the effort to stop the quick spreading of the deadly virus. All areas of life seem to be influenced to a certain extent by this outbreak:

(9) Coronavirus quarantine enforced for all people entering Australia, lockdowns on the table (www.abc.net.au)
(10) Mumbai police bans any kind of tour organized by private operators (economictimes.indiatimes.com)
(11) Africa does not need to 'burn down the house' to defeat COVID-19 (www.aljazeera.com)
(12) Spain imposes Italy-style lockdown in bid to contain coronavirus (www.aljazeera.com)
(13) Coronavirus represents ‘biggest challenge to tourism since World War II’ (mexiconewsdaily.com)
(14) IOC to hold coronavirus crisis talks with sports bodies (www.timesofindia.com)

Even the Royal Family appear to have a special protocol for emergencies. Prince Harry and his wife visited England without their young son, while the Palace has made plans for quarantine:

(15) Queen leaves Buckingham Palace with plans for coronavirus quarantine (www.foxnews.com)

The writers’ lexical choices, including the use of quoted words mostly from officials or from members of the public help to paint an accurate picture of the general state of mind. The use of present tense seems to be a formal requirement, as opposed to the already existent feeling of urgency of matters pertaining to the pandemic. In this case, the use of the present simple does very little to convince the readers of the novelty of events. What could trigger readers' interest more appear to be the short quotes, as in this period, people seem to be in need of clarifying information, as well as of a sense of togetherness in case of the readers whose views appear to be represented by the news headlines. The quotes also provide readers with a credible account of the situation. They are likely to engage readers both affectively and cognitively, therefore capturing their attention. Evaluative language and reference to the elite (such as: the Queen or the US President) also stir readers' interest.

5. Hints at ideologies

Critical discourse analysis views language as creating an ideology and is concerned with revealing and scrutinizing those agendas in language that might be ideological. Ideology mainly refers to the beliefs, attitudes and values which may form the perceptions of groups and individuals. In journalistic writing, objectivity is considered to be imperative, so headlines are supposed to be impartial and balanced. In the aforementioned examples, we encounter three types of ideologies: neutral ((4) and (6)) subjective ((1), (2), (3), (13)) and misleading ((7), (15)).

6. Conclusions

In this paper we looked at a number of headlines from some major news portals all over the world. The discursive strategies used by news writers are revealed: lexical choices, intensification of the message with the help of adjectives and quotes, role labels, agencies, countries and events. In addition, we briefly mentioned the ideologies: neutral, subjective, misleading. Based on these results, it is recommended that we continue to analyse the phenomena noticeable in news headlines to include other topics. In future research, articles could be analysed to expose the style of writing and the content of the articles.

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MÉTA-GENRES DANS L'ESPACE VIRTUEL

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RÉSUMÉ: Cette étude se penche sur les activités métalinguistiques des utilisateurs de la Toile, et regarde de plus près les commentaires postés sur les divers aspects du langage et de ses emplois, tels : la propriété des termes et expressions, les niveaux de langue, le respect des règles grammaticales, la cohérence des discours dans les *posts* des utilisateurs, etc. Le corpus observé (notamment des forums et commentaires) a révélé quelques nouveaux genres méta-communicatifs émergeant dans l'espace virtuel – textes dont devrait se réclamer une linguistique populaire virtuelle (*e-folklinguistics*), appartenant à des scripteurs allant de non spécialistes (profanes) du langage vers des linguistes experts. Nous considérons que de telles sources sont aussi intéressantes pour des études cognitives, vu qu'elles semblent rendre compte du *lexique mental* des utilisateurs.
MOTS-CLÉS: activités métalinguistiques virtuelles, e-genres émergents, e-folklinguistique, lexique mental, grammaire mentale

Le constat à l'origine de notre recherche est celui de l'émergence de toute une série de *nouveaux genres méta-discursifs* dans l'espace numérique, genres que nous nous proposons de signaler, ne serait-ce qu'en partie, ci-dessous. Plus précisément, il s'agira d'un bilan des activités métalinguistiques menées par les internautes, activités de plusieurs types, dont, principalement, des commentaires concernant des aspects de la langue et de son utilisation : la propriété des termes et des expressions, les niveaux de langue, le respect des règles grammaticales, la cohérence des discours postés par les utilisateurs, etc. Nous le ferons après une brève revue des études déjà menées en la matière, afin d'en pouvoir délimiter quelques types textuels comme manifestations d'une *linguistique populaire dans l'espace virtuel*.

1. Recherches actuelles

Nous avons retenu des recherches sur les pratiques méta-communicatives des internautes chez Osthus (2003), Vicari (2009), Paveau (2012), Marcoccia (2012), Jacquet & Rosier (2014), Calabrese & Rosier (2015), Pop (2013-2017), et autres. Ces linguistes attirent l'attention sur

> les amateurs de la langue qui font partie d'un grand discours métalinguistique [et sur le fait qu'] il ne faut être ni linguiste ni Académicien pour juger sur le bon usage et les normes. Il suffit de se brancher sur Internet. Pour les gardiens - ou les contestataires - de la norme l'Internet a une double dimension. D'un côté, il présente une nouvelle plate-forme pour les

activités dites de défense du français[1] [1], de l'autre côté l'Internet lui-même a suscité d'importants travaux normatifs surtout dans le domaine de la terminologie » (Osthus 2003). Il s'agit, pour l'ensemble, d'« un renouveau du discours normatif sur la langue grâce à la toile. (Osthus 2004, apud Rosier s.a. : 9)

Rappelons que ces discours profanes sur la langue, même avant l'Internet, ont reçu le nom de « linguistique populaire » (*folklinguistics*, Vicari 2009), avec, notamment, plusieurs pratiques métalinguistiques sur le *lexique*. Notre recherche va appuyer ce constat, et mettra en relief le fait que les activités métalinguistiques de ce type peuvent plus facilement rendre compte des *systèmes linguistiques mentaux* des scripteurs (lexique et grammaire), dont les métadiscours sur les réseaux sociaux rendent implicitement ou explicitement compte. (Sur la constitution et l'émergence des lexiques mentaux, v. notamment : Changizi (2009), Aitchison (2011), Pasamonik (2011), Conti (2015), Wierzbicka (s.a.)).

2. Méthodologie

Notre corpus de discours métalinguistiques sur Internet a été obtenu :

- d'un côté à l'aide d'une recherche par des expressions-clé comme : *Que signifie… ? Ça veut dire quoi… ? Qu'est-ce que cela signifie ? Comment tu parles ?*, que les internautes lancent pour obtenir des réponses sur l'utilisation de mots / expressions du français ou d'autres langues. Les réponses sont des explications d'emplois lexicaux, grammaticaux, pragmatiques, etc.;

- d'un autre côté, en glanant sur le forum *ABC de la langue française* qui propose des débats sur une collection de thèmes appelés: *sens des mots*, *règles*, *écriture*, *réflexions*, *histoire de la LF*, *pratiques argotiques et familières*, *jeux de mots*, *Internet et informatique*, *parler pour ne rien dire*, *le conditionnel dans les récits de presse*, *origine des expressions*, *emplois corrects de prépositions*, *tournures*, etc.

Sur la somme des résultats identifiées sur Internet, nous avons choisi de sélectionner ici quelques activités métalinguistiques et méta-discursives que nous avons regroupées en deux catégories : celles concernant *le système linguistique et ses normes* (La « métalangue virtuelle », sous 3.), et celles concernant les *formes discursives-textuelles* (« Méta-genres virtuels », sous 4.).

Ces constats nous ont obligée à valider l'appartenance de ces activités à une *folklinguistique virtuelle* (5), vu les catégories d'internautes non spécialistes qui y participent. C'est, incontestablement, une forme nouvelle de linguistique populaire, qui s'avère beaucoup plus accessible aux utilisateurs et aux chercheurs que les formes considérées classiques, antérieures à l'ère numérique.

[1] [1] À titre d'exemple on peut nommer le site de l'association *Défense de la Langue Française* (D.L.F.) http://www.langue-francaise.org. Une sélection de sites internet relatifs aux questions normatives se trouve sur la page personnelle de Dietmar Osthus:
http://eo.yifan.net/users/i/d.osthus/norme.htm. (note reprise à cet auteur)

3. Une « métalangue virtuelle »: les normes en débat

Rosier (s.a.) semble être la première à considérer ces internautes «amoureux de la langue» comme catégorie de « linguistes profanes », concédant en même temps qu'il s'agit d'utilisateurs insuffisamment instruits:

> il n'est pas rare, et ce n'est qu'un paradoxe apparent, que les internautes tout en avouant leur amour 'maltraitent' (pour reprendre un vocabulaire qui leur est spécifique) la langue: fautes d'orthographe, coquilles, erreurs de syntaxe ne sont pas absentes de ces déclarations d'amour. (p. 4)

Nous montrerons par notre corpus qu'il s'agit, pour les internautes, d'une maîtrise variable de la langue dans des *posts* se prétendant la plupart du temps normatifs. Il est intéressant de noter que les utilisateurs empruntent différentes formes de discours métalinguistiques, tels, au niveau du lexique, les commentaires et ajustements sémantiques sur les discours des autres : *précisions par synonymies, explications méta et définitions, stratégies de catégorisation validant ou invalidant une acception, question-réponses plus ou moins élaborées, glossaires improvisés* et même certains *récits (petites biographies linguistiques)* ou des considérations mixtes, très complexes, toutes issues des expériences des utilisateurs avec leur langue.

Ainsi, l'exemple (1) est un cas d'*intervention corrective* sur le sens d'une tournure française (*vouloir aller avec*) jugée mal utilisée:

(1) que je sois sûre de vouloir aller avec==> *tournure à éviter* si possible... faut toujours préciser de qui on parle "avec lui" avec le garçon" […]; *sinon ca fais un peu "objet"* ^^' (sic !)[2] (CFJ) (repris à Pop 2015)

Or, il apparaît aussi que ce mode de rédaction emprunte largement au style de la «cyber-langue» générale (tout en minuscules, abréviations, émoticônes), à l'oral (*faut toujours préciser, ça…*), à la ponctuation de l'écrit (guillemets, points de suspension, point-virgule, tous en emploi approximatif), au discours du professeur ou des guides « parlons correctement », etc. Ce qui attire l'attention sur des formes composites de textes, une *hybridation de langage normatif avec des styles non formels*. Or, c'est une évidente et permanente particularité de ces nouveaux genres.

À part ces interventions correctives, de vrais *petits dictionnaires virtuels* apparaissent souvent en germe sur Internet, où sont donnés des équivalents inter-linguistiques, des synonymes diastratiques, diatopiques, diachroniques, etc. Comme dans l'exemple (2) ci-dessous:

(2) OMG = OMD (Oh mon dieu !) (Meees vieux !, en québecois) (morbleu ou sapristi en vieux françois) (http://www.memoclic.com/forum/92787-ca-veut-dire-quoi/) (repris à Pop 2013)

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[2] Nous gardons intacte l'orthographe des textes repris sur Internet.

D’autre part, des *forums de discussion* sur les mots « laids » ne sont pas rares non plus, prenant même, sur la Toile, la forme d’un « dictionnaire des mots moches » : *Dicomoche* http://www.dicomoche.net/. Certaines remarques y concernent de nouveaux registres de langue, comme le *simglish* en (3) ci-dessous:

(3) Le simglish n'est pas du franglais: le simglish est du n'importe quoi. Ce qu'on appelle les faux-amis pour les traductions semblent être une mine d'or pour ceux qui tiennent à faire croire qu'ils sont très à l'aise dans la langue de la puissance dominante. On a vu ainsi l'acteur Gérard Depardieu connaître de sérieux ennuis aux USA pour avoir déclaré en son anglais approximatif avoir prêté assistance à un viol (il avait dit : "i assisted").
(http://www.dicomoche.net/documents/simglish.htm)

Enfin, une catégorie d’internautes s’en prend aux journalistes et en « traque volontiers les écarts linguistiques » (Jacquet & Rosier 2014 : 11), tout en qualifiant leur façon d’écrire de « langue massacrée par la télévision » : lexique (belgicismes, anglicismes), syntaxe, conjugaison, prépositions, prononciation, genre, orthographe, expressions, typographie, etc. – tout y est, avec une évidente intention normative. Mais ces normes sont souvent « individuelles », donnant la mesure des expériences et des perceptions subjectives de la langue chez les internautes.

Les activités identifiées ci-dessus concernent le *système linguistique* (la « langue virtuelle » à proprement parler), mais d’autres activités des internautes sont génératrices de *formes discursives* nouvelles ou de *genres émergents*. Certain(e)s n’ont pas échappé aux descriptions des linguistes. Nous en passons en revue quelques-un(e)s sous 4. ci-après.

4. « Méta-genres virtuels »

Ainsi, plusieurs genres nouveaux ont pu être identifiés sur la Toile: *le Twitter*, *les forums*, *les commentaires*, *les chroniques*, etc.

4.1. Les tweets « méta »

Paveau (2012), par exemple, repère *Twitter* comme « genre de discours en cours de stabilisation », mais aussi, de façon plus ponctuelle, le sous-genre des *tweets « méta »*, où « l’on commente les formes » ou « on ironise sur les fameux 140 signes ». Et où plusieurs activités spécifiques déjà « apprivoisées » par les utilisateurs ont généré un champ lexical distinct, avec des créations lexicales comme : « *tweeter, retweeter (RT), live tweeter (LT)*, envoyer un *« direct message » (DM)* et se livrer à […] des *pratiques discursives culturelles* (i.e. correspondant à la culture du réseau Twitter) » (p. 2). Tout un système de communication semble ainsi prendre contour, dont certaines formes sont du *type méta-communicatif* qui nous intéresse ici.

4.2. Les forums méta

Marcoccia (2012), quant à lui, apporte des considérations consistantes sur le genre *forums de discussion* et sur ses normes, tout en identifiant 3 types de commentaires méta: *méta-communicatifs*, *méta-discursifs* et *métalinguistiques*.

En plus, dit Osthus, pour les forums de discussion « il ne faut pas de légitimation pour participer », et c'est « un des traits caractéristiques qui les distinguent des cercles plus clos comme les commissions de terminologie ou bien les associations Loi 1901 ayant pour but la défense du français » (Osthus 2003 : 1). C'est bien cette distinction qui fait la différence entre la linguistique « sérieuse » et la « linguistique populaire ».

Ainsi, le forum *fr.lettres.langue.francaise* devient un vrai « médiateur entre linguistes, fanatiques de défense du français, simple amateurs de langue et usagers du français ». On y voit les internautes recevoir eux-mêmes des questions de terminologie sur le « web » (la Toile), le « webmaster » ou les « sites web » (Osthus 2003). On peut alors dire qu'il s'agit, avec les forums, d'un *hyper-genre méta* qui, tout en proposant différents thèmes de débat linguistique, se manifeste sous la forme de plusieurs sous-genres (voir sous 5. ci-dessous).

4.3. Les commentaires méta

Le genre *commentaire* tout court est présent sur plusieurs réseaux, étant souvent employé de façon abusive, vu que les plateformes offrent des espaces ouverts, pour la plupart anonymisés et accessibles à tout un chacun. Et le sous-genre *commentaires méta* a émergé facilement parmi d'autres, par le soin de ces « gardiens de la langue », soucieux des dérives linguistiques sur la Toile. Parmi d'autres, Calabrese et Rosier (2015) expliquent l'émergence de ces « dispositifs participatifs » par le fait que :

> la Toile permet à la norme de se dire et de se redire sous des formes inédites, car elle permet à de nouveaux genres d'exister et dans ce sens elle renouvelle la langue et rend poreuses les frontières entre le discours d'expert et le discours non expert. » (p. 123) [permettant à] tout internaute [de] commenter et [de] se présenter lui-même comme un connaisseur. (p. 133)

Ce que l'on constate, en effet, c'est que des lecteurs attentifs et instruits vont juger non seulement les contenus, mais souvent aussi *la manière d'écrire* des journalistes. Comme ci-dessous, dans une remarque désobligeante :

(4) USA : une victime de viol se bat pour que le coupable ne puisse pas voir leur enfant [titre]
Commentaire : Je ne sais pas ce qui m'horrifie le plus : le drame vécu par cette mère ou le nombre de fautes contenues dans l'article... (lefigaro.fr 24.9.2013)

4.4. La chronique linguistique

Un genre proche du commentaire, parfois fusionnel avec ce dernier, est considéré par Jacquet et Rosier (2014) une sorte de « chronique linguistique moderne », qu'il faudrait, elle aussi, considérer comme constitutive de la linguistique populaire:

> par la chronique, tout un imaginaire de la langue fait d'histoire, de grammaire, d'étymologie, d'esthétique, de normes subjectives s'est perpétué. Nous posons que c'est notamment par le commentaire aujourd'hui que cet imaginaire continue de se propager et de se (re)constituer […] ; le commentaire est une des formes possibles de régulation des normes […] et de renouvèlement d'une forme d'interventionnisme linguistique *en interaction* (p. 114).

Notons que cet « imaginaire de la langue » concerne ce que les cognitivistes appellent *lexiques mentaux*, *grammaires mentales*, etc., issus des expériences personnelles des locuteurs. Connaissances qui sont partielles et subjectives, mais qui, par les utilisateurs de l'Internet, sont posées dans la plupart des cas comme « normes ».

On peut alors facilement conclure que l'espace virtuel est devenu un vrai dépositaire d'informations d'une linguistique populaire nouvelle – une « folk-linguistique virtuelle », car élaborée par des utilisateurs Internet plutôt non spécialistes.

5. *Vers une « folk-linguistique virtuelle »*

Le genre *chronique* ci-dessus invoqué est peut-être un des phénomènes les plus révélateurs d'une *folk-linguistique virtuelle*, une linguistique théorique en grande mesure, avec des utilisateurs endossant parfois de vrais rôles de linguistes : *e-lexicologues*, *e-phonéticiens*, *e-grammairiens*, *e-stylisticiens*, *e-pragmaticiens*, etc.

On peut en effet voir la façon dont ces linguistes populaires de notre ère numérique arrivent à produire des genres proches des genres linguistiques « sérieux », et reconnaissables comme tels: *glossaires, articles de dictionnaire, explications sémantiques, étymologiques, phonétiques* et *graphiques*, allant jusqu'à de vraies *« petites grammaires » normatives* (cf. Pop 2018).

Nous avons détaché ci-dessous quelques cas de figure de ces nouveaux discours méta : certains proches des dictionnaires « sérieux » (*e-genres lexicographiques et phonétiques*, sous 5.1. et 5.2.), d'autres, proches des grammaires (*e-genres grammaticaux*, sous 5.3.).

5.1. E-genres lexicographiques

Les textes qui émergent comme *genres lexicographiques* sont des *posts* imitant, par leurs utilisateurs virtuels, les structures des vrais glossaires et dictionnaires. Nous avons choisi ci-dessous deux cas de figure les illustrant : un *glossaire-lexique des jeunes* (5.1.1.) et un *article de dictionnaire* (5.1.2.).

5.1.1. Glossaires virtuels : le cas des lexiques des jeunes

Il s'agit de listes de mots plus ou moins élaborées, avec des équivalents interlinguistiques (à la manière des dictionnaires bilingues) ou avec des synonymes (diastratiques, diatopiques, diachroniques, à la manière des dictionnaires monolingues).

Dans l'exemple (5), le texte, parodiant d'abord les études sur l'argot (c'est *une étude menée dans les cours de récrés*), propose ensuite une liste de mots/expressions avec leurs gloses, liste considérée provisoire par la *rédac(tion)*, car attendant d'être complétée par les internautes:

(5) Comment tu parles? Traduction! Posté le 24/10/2011 par La rédac - On en parle

Une étude menée dans les cours de récrés vient de révéler **les nouveaux mots qui sont employés par les "jeunes"**. À toi de nous dire si tu es d'accord avec cette liste de nouvelles expressions branchées, et **si tu sais ce qu'elles signifient ?!**

VOICI LES RÉPONSES !

- **Bolos**: beauf, coincé, ringard…
- **Fraîcheur**: fille qui se prend pour une star (maquillage, mimiques, style…)
- **Le mytho**: le menteur
- **J'avoue**: oui, c'est vrai, je suis d'accord…
- **Vit'fait**: oui, sans plus…
- **Populaire**: qui est aimé par plein de gens (sur facebook notamment…)
- **Pécho**: verlan de choper on peut être chopé en classe entrain de tricher ou "choper un garçon" c'est à dire l'embrasser).
- **Le seum**: avoir la haine, les nerfs…
- **bête**: vachement, le must (il a une bête de vélo : il a un vélo mortel !)
- **En mode**: en mode fatigué, en mode amoureux… pour dire dans quel état on est.
- **Des barres!** remplaçant de LOL. Se taper des barres, c'est bien rigoler!

Tu as d'autres mots ou expressions à nous faire partager ? la rédac a hâte de connaître *ton langage secret !*

(http://www.leblogdejulie.com/on-en-parle/comment-tu-parles/)

Notons là aussi le phénomène d'hybridation du genre linguistique *glossaire* par les particularités participatives, propres aux *posts*, générant un type nouveau, de *glossaires ouverts*.

5.1.2. « Articles » de dictionnaires : définitions du sens commun et échanges

De la même façon, des *définitions* du sens commun élaborées en ligne acquièrent sur la Toile le caractère d'*échange* (questions – réponses) entre les membres d'un réseau/d'une discussion. Leur forme explicative contient, pour les mots en débat : *significations, utilisations* et *comparaisons* considérées pertinentes par les auteurs des *posts*, comme en (16) ci-dessous :

(6) **Sujet : La signification de "rigoler"**

Bonjour,

Je voudrais savoir la signification du verbe "rigoler". Où est-ce qu'on peut utiliser ce mot? Dans quelle situation? Est-ce que vous avez des exemples d'usage que vous pouvez partager avec moi.
Merci beaucoup en avance!
2 Ylou 05-10-2015 12:14:00
Membre
Déconnecté
De : **Grenoble**
Inscrit : **05-03-2015**
Messages : **1 405**
Re : La signification de "rigoler"
Allez-voir ci-dessous :
http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/rigoler
3 trevor 05-10-2015 17:20:10
Membre
Déconnecté
De : **Pays de Galles**
Inscrit : **21-06-2010**
Messages : **1 624**
Re : La signification de "rigoler"
Cela n'a rien à voir, mais *rigoler* [ʀigɔle] me rappelle toujours le verbe anglais « to wriggle » [ˈrɪgəl] (d'origine germanique), trad. générale « se trémousser », c'est pour dire qu'il m'indique toujours un mouvement gigotant du corps. Intéressant, non ? Enfin, pour moi, c'est intéressant.
(http://www.languefrancaise.net/forum/viewtopic.php?id=2487)

On observe le caractère complexe et composite de cette élaboration d'amateur, avec:

- une structure dialogale (*cela n'a rien à voir ; Intéressant, non ?*);
- des traces subjectives (*me rappelle ; il m'indique ; pour moi c'est intéressant*);
- des tournures orales (*c'est pour dire*),

mais aussi la compétence de l'internaute de reproduire une composition rappelant le prototype des articles de dictionnaire (du moins en partie), avec :

- des transcriptions phonétiques pour la prononciation *[ʀigɔle]*;
- des étymologies (même si populaires) : *« to wriggle » [ˈrɪgəl]* (*d'origine germanique*);
- une traduction générale – qui peut équivaloir au sens dénotatif, propre ;
- des connotations ou sèmes secondaires (*il m'indique toujours un mouvement gigotant du corps*).

Le tout est un mélange de dialogal-monologal qu'on retrouve dans presque toutes les formes participatives des discours sur Internet.

Un tel mix de styles se fait évident aussi dans l'exemple (7), qui, tout en gardant une structure en question-réponse et des marques de subjectivité, essaie d'endosser une structure de *glossaire* :

(7) *Svp, ca veux dire quoi* ptdr ? *merci?*
ca m'agace de pas savoir alors *une petite réponse svp*
merci

coucou toi
pété de rire
mdr = mort de rire
lol = je m'éclate intérieurement
(http://www.memoclic.com/forum/92787-ca-veut-dire-quoi/)

On y remarque une particularité dialogale supplémentaire de ces cyber-textes: d'abord, pour la *question*, le souci de clore *l'intervention* comme « unité » complète, contenant un acte principal (la question), un acte subordonné (la justification), une reformulation de la requête et un acte de remerciement ; pour la réponse, son ouverture par un acte rituel de salutation (*coucou toi*), avant la brève élaboration du glossaire en structures d'équivalences (*mdr = mort de rire*, etc.). Le résultat en est un *échange complet*, formé de deux constructions à ouverture (et clôture) obligatoire(s), signalant à chaque fois, car *in absentia*, le nouvel intervenant.

5.1.3. Discours lexicologique plus ou moins pro

L'exemple (8) est un commentaire personnel sur le sémantisme du mot *modérateur*, mal connu d'un utilisateur. Il s'agit d'un internaute intéressé par l'origine de ce mot en français et qui, pour trouver des explications, consulte les dictionnaires de référence, donne son opinion sur le bon choix du mot et sait en proposer d'autres à sa place, considérés plus appropriés pour le concept en cause. Le membre de ce forum ouvre ensuite le débat sur ce mot considéré récent, par un appel à participation :

(8) yd 17-12-2014 13:14:37 Dernière modification par yd (17-12-2014 13:18:33)
Membre
Déconnecté
Inscrit : **04-02-2011**
Messages : **2 623**
Sujet : D'où avons-nous sorti ou ressorti « modérateur » ?
Bonjour.
J'ai découvert le substantif modérateur en arrivant sur Internet, et jusqu'alors je ne l'avais jamais rencontré. La page du TLFi me laisse sur ma faim, se référant à un ancien usage (1416) qui me paraît avoir été complétement oublié en

français jusqu'à l'époque Internet, à l'exception de l'usage dans des Églises protestantes au Canada francophone.
C'est en apprenant cet usage dans une Église protestantes du Canada que j'en suis venu à m'interroger sur l'usage de ce mot sur nos forums ; jusqu'ici j'avais adopté le mot avec quelques réticences, mais sans approfondir.
J'aurais bien mieux compris *régulateur*, ou mieux, *arbitre*, ou *juge arbitre*, que *modérateur*, qui me fait penser à une mise en conformité avec des normes plus ou moins auto-proclamées et à géométrie variable.
Je ne sais si des discussions ont déjà eu lieu ; si nécessaire je ferai des recherches, mais je voulais surtout connaître le sentiment de chacun.
(http://www.languefrancaise.net/forum/viewtopic.php?id=2487)

L'ensemble de ce texte est un exemple intéressant d'implication dans la problématique des néologismes et des choix terminologiques d'une langue par un locuteur se situant à mi-chemin entre les profanes et les professionnels du lexique. Son discours peut être rapproché de l'*exposé d'un étudiant* et donne en même temps des détails pertinents sur l'expérience linguistique d'un locuteur et sur un parcours dans la constitution de son lexique mental.

5.2. Commentaires phonétiques et standardisation

Dans l'exemple (9), un membre du groupe lance une question sur la prononciation d'une expression en verlan pour laquelle il formule lui-même des règles phonétiques. Les associations qui lui viennent à l'esprit, considérées des contre-exemples, l'oblige à demander l'avis d'autres utilisateurs :

(9) **András 06-05-2015 09:48:07**
Membre
Déconnecté
Inscrit : **08-05-2013**
Messages : **14**
Sujet : Le e "ducca"
Bonjour à vous,
Pour dire "c'est louche" en verlan j'opte pour deux sortes de prononciation: c'est chelou et c'est ch'lou. Quant à ce dernier, je pense que c'est correct aussi puisqu'il s'agit de la chute facultative de e muet. Comme par exemple maintenant ou maint'nant.
Étant donné que c'est un mot verlan j'ai des doutes quand même parce qu'on a besoin de tous les éléments (syllabes) des mots pour être compris...
D'avance merci de vos éclaircissements.
(http://www.languefrancaise.net/forum/viewtopic.php?id=2487)

Ce cas de figure pourrait expliquer l'état d'insécurité linguistique, si courant parmi les profanes. Mais s'agissant d'un mot d'argot dont la prononciation ne semble pas s’être stabilisée, ce discours rappelle aussi les *débats de type standardisation.* À un évident niveau « amateur ».

5.3. E-genres grammaticaux ou « petites grammaires »

Plusieurs textes reflètent des connaissances et des sentiments plus ou moins stables quant aux structures grammaticales d’individus qui se posent des questions ou qui y répondent dans l’espace virtuel. Nous avons choisi comme exemples ce qu’on pourrait prendre pour des « petites grammaires » sur des règles d’emploi.

Ainsi, les exemples 10 et 11 ressemblent aux *rubriques « Dites / Ne dites pas… »*, destinées aux utilisateurs qui maîtrisent mal les formes grammaticales. Il s’agit, pour l’un (10), de l’emploi de *c’est* vs *ce sont*, pour l’autre (11), du choix entre les prépositions *à* et *chez*.

(10) **Sujet : C'est ou ce sont ?**

Bonjour,

en général, on dit "Ce sont" lorsque l'énumération qui suit commence par un nom au pluriel. "C'est" lorsque cette énumération commence par un singulier. Mais lorsque la phrase débute par un nom singulier, je m'interroge et je trouve pluriel choquant.

Exemple:

M. Dugenou, ce sont trois victoires en grand prix, deux podium en championnats et deux sélections en équipe de France.

J'écrirais plutôt "M. Dugenou, c'est trois victoires, deux podiums, ...". considérant que "c'est" s'accorde davantage avec M. Dugenou qu'avec l'énumération de son palmarès.

Qu'en pensez-vous ? Existe-t-il une règle précise lorsque "c'est" est précédé d'un nom singulier ?

Merci

(http://www.languefrancaise.net/forum/viewtopic.php?id=2487)

Ces textes peuvent être pris pour des manifestations individuelles de *systèmes linguistiques mentaux*. Il semble en être ainsi de la norme d’emploi élaborée en (10) sous forme de petite « grammaire mentale » : des règles de grammaire suivies d’exemples. L’amateurisme se trahit par la mauvaise connaissance du sujet, et la subjectivité par les nombreuses marques personnelles (*je m’interroge ; je trouve ; j’écrirais plutôt ; considérant que…*) :

(11) Thomas111 15-11-2015 13:01:10

Membre

Déconnecté

Inscrit : 19-11-2014

Messages : 47

Sujet : se voir à/chez Charlie

Quelle préposition est-ce que je devrais utiliser dans la phrase suivante: *Est-ce qu'on pourrait se voir à/chez Charlie ?*
Les deux prépositions soulignées m'étaient venues à l'esprit mais, peut-être, il en faut encore une autre. «Charlie» est le nom d'un café (établissement) où on peut boire un boisson sans alcool, manger du gâteau, lire un journal ou bavarder avec les amis. Je veux utiliser la phrase dans un SMS.
Merci, T

Abel Boyer 15-11-2015 18:34:58
Membre
Déconnecté
Inscrit : 19-11-2011
Messages : 3 810
Re : se voir à/chez Charlie
Comme Charlie est un prénom, "chez" me paraît plus naturel, mais "à" serait sûrement possible.
Rendez-vous chez Lipp, chez Bébert, chez Tante Yvonne.
Rendez-vous à la Brasserie des Amis, aux Deux Magots, au café de Flore.
(http://www.languefrancaise.net/forum/viewtopic.php?id=2487)

Notons en (11) que le doute avoué annule la validité de la règle précédemment formulée, et lance le débat par une question adressée aux éventuels utilisateurs plus avisés. On y voit se formuler des règles mentales (*m'étaient venues à l'esprit*), approximatives, et l'instabilité linguistique des utilisateurs (leur vrai tourment par rapport à une norme, et ce, même pour écrire un sms !). La réponse attendue n'est pas plus claire non plus, laissant la vraie grammaire en suspens.

Mais ce qui intéresse ici n'est pas tant l'aspect de la bonne connaissance de ces règles, mais la façon dont ces « p'tit profs »[3] que sont ces « donneurs de règles » formulent leurs textes *en imitant les vrais genres linguistiques – dictionnaires ou grammaires*. Bref, l'Internet offre actuellement une source inépuisable pour de nouvelles recherches en linguistique populaire par ces formes génériques « vulgaires » issues de discours « sérieux ».

6. Conclusion

Nous avons pu constater et brièvement formuler après ces observations que la Toile s'avère être une terre fertile pour la naissance de nouveaux « genres populaires » – *folk-genres numériques à caractère métalinguistique.* On a pu identifier et énumérer plusieurs *méta-genres* électroniques ayant, par leur caractère improvisé (cf. aussi la revue *Pratiques* nos 139-140 : 10), un très intéressant « gradient de scientificité » non encore suffisamment décrit.

[3] http://www.languefrancaise.net/forum/viewtopic.php?id=2487

L'hypothèse qui semble aussi se confirmer est que ces textes reflètent les représentations mentales des utilisateurs sur la langue – matière riche et intéressante pour la linguistique cognitive et les *imaginaires linguistiques* –, mais en même temps des représentations mentales de *genres méta* que ces utilisateurs non linguistes ont acquis pendant leur expérience d'apprentissage des langues.

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SUMMARY: This research refers to the meta-linguistic activities carried out by internet users, and is mainly considering commentaries about various aspects of the language and its use, such as: properties of the terms and expressions, level of the language, observance of grammar rules, coherence of the discourses posted by web users, etc. The corpus used (esp. forums and comments) has revealed a few new meta-communicative genres emerging in the virtual space, texts belonging to *e-folklinguistics*, with authors ranging between non-specialist users of language to expert linguists. Last but not least we believe that such sources are valuable to cognitive studies because they reveal the *mental lexicon* of the users.
KEYWORDS: virtual meta-linguistic activities, emergent e-genres, e-folklinguistics, mental lexicon, mental grammar

ON THE EVENT STRUCTURE OF INCHOATIVE VERBS

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ABSTRACT: Alexiadou et al. notice that English inchoatives ban agents, instruments, causers and causing events introduced by the preposition *by*, but license causers and causing events headed by the preposition *from.* The authors suggest that these prepositional phrases are licensed by structural layers that contain the relevant semantic features: passive Voice licenses *by*-PPs in English, whereas a causative event head vCAUS allows the attachment of *from*-PPs. Nonetheless, it has been claimed in the literature that *from*-PPs do not represent a strong argument for the presence of a causative event in inchoatives since English unergatives and statives can be modified by these phrases (Levin; Horvath & Siloni; Rákosi). The Romanian data discussed in this paper seems to point in the same direction as *de la* "from"-PPs can modify non-causative predicates in this language.
KEYWORDS: inchoative verbs, causative event, causer PPs, English, Romanian

1. Introduction

The causative alternation displayed by verbs of change of state that show transitive (causative) and intransitive (inchoative) variants (1a, b) has received various analyses in the literature that can be broadly divided into derivational and non-derivational accounts.[1]

(1) a. John broke the window.
  b. The window broke.

Within the derivational branch, some accounts hold that in languages like English the intransitive is basic being embedded in the transitive (Dowty), while others argue that the transitive represents the basis from which the intransitive is formed (Levin & Rappaport Hovav; Reinhart; Chierchia; Koontz-Garboden).

By contrast, non-derivational approaches reject the derivation of one variant from the other, positing one event in inchoatives and causatives (von Stechow; Alexiadou et al.; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou). For instance, drawing on the comparison between passives and inchoatives in English, German and Greek, Alexiadou et al. propose that change-of-state verbs are decomposed into a root, a Cause component and Voice. The inchoative and the causative alternate share one

[1] The transitive alternate in the causative-inchoative alternation carries the meaning "cause to V-intransitive" (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 79).

event head vCAUS verbalizing the root, while the latter contains an additional Voice projection introducing the external argument (Kratzer), as represented in (2).

(2) a. [Voice [vCAUS [root]]]
b. [vCAUS [root]]

In English the postulation of an event head vCAUS in inchoatives stems from an alleged parallel with passives.

To begin with, Alexiadou et al. point out that English lexical causatives can have various types of external arguments (see also Levin & Rappaport Hovav; Reinhart, among others): agents (3a), causers (3a), causing events (3b) and instruments (3c).

(3) a. John/the earthquake broke the vase.
b. Will's banging shattered the window.
c. A stone broke the window.

The licensing of these semantic types in the passive within *by*-PPs (4a, b) is mediated by the presence of an implicit external argument.

(4) a. The window was broken by John/by the storm/with a stone.
b. The window was shattered by Will's banging.

On the other hand, agents, instruments, causers or causing events introduced by the preposition *by* cannot show up with inchoatives (see the unacceptability of (5a, b, c)), as, by common assumptions, these lack an implicit external argument.

(5) a. *The window broke by John/with a stone.
b. *The window broke by the storm.
c. *The window shattered by Will's banging.

However, inchoatives seem to license causers and causing events headed by the preposition *from* (6a, b), although agents and instruments are illicit in this context (6c).

(6) a. The window cracked/broke from the pressure.
b. The window cracked/broke from the explosion.
c. *The door opened from Mary/from the key.

If we turn to Romanian, we notice that just like in English passives differ from inchoatives regarding the licensing of adjunct phrases.

Firstly, in pairs of alternating verbs the transitive variant allows all kinds of external arguments: agents, causers, instruments and causing events (7).

(7) *Ion/ furtuna/ piatra izbitura lui Petru*
Ion storm.DET stone.DET banging.DET DET.GEN Petru
a spart geamul.
AUX.3SG break.PST window.DET
'Ion/the storm/the stone/Petru's banging broke the window.'

The passive form can license agents, causers and causing events introduced by *de (către)* "by"-PPs, and instruments attached by *cu* "with"-PPs, as can be seen in (8).

(8) *Geamul a fost spart de către Ion/ de furtună/*
window.DET AUX.3SG be.PST break.PST of towards Ion by storm
cu o piatră/ de izbitura lui Petru.
with a stone by banging.DET DET.GEN Petru
'The window was broken by Ion/by the storm/with a stone/by Petru's banging.'

The inchoative bans the occurrence of agents, causers or causing events within *de (către)* "by"-PPs, or instruments introduced by *cu* "with"-PPs (9).

(9) **Geamul s- a spart de către Ion/ de furtună*
window.DET SE AUX.3SG break.PST of towards Ion by storm
cu o piatră/ de izbitura lui Petru.
with a stone by banging.DET DET.GEN Petru
'*The window broke by Ion/by the storm/with a stone/by Petru's banging.'

Nonetheless, *de la* "from"-PPs are licit with inchoatives provided that they contain non-agentive causers and causing events (10a), but not agents or instruments (10b).

(10) a. *Geamul s- a spart de la presiune/ explozie/ furtună.*
window.DET SE AUX.3SG break.PST from pressure explosion storm
'The window broke from the pressure/explosion/storm.'
b. **Uşa s- a deschis de la Ion/ cheie.*
door.DET SE AUX.3SG open.PST from Ion key
'*The door opened from Ion/the key.'

Against such distributional facts, Alexiadou et al. claim that while *by*-PPs indicate an implicit external argument in passives, *from*-PPs point to an implicit causer in inchoatives. In other words, the licensing of these adjunct PPs is mediated by structural layers carrying the relevant semantic features: in the English passive the licensing of *by*-PPs with unrestricted denotation is due to Voice [-AG],[2] whereas the addition of *from*-PPs with causer denotation is facilitated by the event

[2] Voice [-AG] encodes a thematically unspecified external argument encompassing agents, instruments, causers and causing events (Alexiadou et al.).

head vCAUS in inchoatives. In Romanian the distribution and denotation of adjunct phrases seems to support this account with *de (către)* "by"-PPs licensed by Voice [-AG] and *de la* "from"-PPs hinging on vCAUS. Nevertheless, this conclusion is weakened by the occurrence of these adjuncts with non-causative predicates, as will be discussed in the following section.

2. Causer PPs licensing across predicates

The line of argument in Alexiadou et al. is maintained in Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou although the latter work mentions some problematic examples of Greek unergatives modified by causer adjuncts. However, they argue that an NP within a *from*-PP is a genuine cause if it can occupy the subject position in a periphrastic causative headed by verbs carrying the meaning "cause" or "make". Therefore, although Greek unergatives can be modified by *from*-PPs denoting emotions, as in (11a), these cannot be subjects of periphrastic causatives given the ungrammaticality of (11b).

(11) a. *I* *Maria* *xoropidikse* *apo* *hara.*
DET Maria jump.PST.ACT APO happiness
'Maria jumped from happiness.'
b. *?*I* *hara* *ekane* *ti* *Maria* *na* *horopidiksi.*
DET joy make.PST DET Maria SUBJ jump
'*?Happiness made Maria jump.'

Investigating the reliability of *from*-PPs as a diagnostic for an implicit causer in inchoatives, Levin analyzes the distribution of *from*-PPs with English unergatives. She argues that the English equivalent of the Greek sentence in (11a) is attested (12a), but the periphrastic causative is also not fully acceptable (12b).

(12) a. She jumped from happiness.
b. ?? Happiness made her jump.

Nonetheless, Levin provides attested examples of unergatives modified by *from*-PPs denoting emotions, which are fully acceptable as subjects of periphrastic causatives ((13)-(15)), and thus qualify as genuine causes.

(13) a. Family members believe Raymond Pelzer simply ran from fear. An officer shot the unarmed man.
b. Fear made him run.
(14) a. Plus, if you wiggled from boredom, the plastic made horrible noises.
b. Boredom made you wiggle at family dinners.
(15) a. She giggled from embarrassment/nervousness.
b. Embarrassment/nervousness made her giggle.

As far as Romanian is concerned, we carried out a survey which tested the acceptability of unergatives modified by emotions introduced by *de/de la* "of/from"-PPs. Moreover, given Levin's assumption that an NP within a PP is a cause as long as it can be the subject of a periphrastic causative sentence, we also tested the acceptability of emotion subjects of such periphrastic sentences. 33 native speakers of Romanian, aged 20-50, agreed to rate the sentences displayed in Table 1 on a five-point Likert scale, where 1 stands for "Completely unacceptable", 2 means "Almost unusable", 3 signifies "Debatable", 4 is "Almost perfect" and 5 signifies "Perfect". Table 1 presents the mean acceptability rating calculated for each sentence, which is the weighted mean.

Table 1. ***Descriptive statistics of the results of the test for the acceptability of emotion causes introduced by de/de la "of/from"-PPs to Romanian unergatives***

Sentence	Mean
1. Ea a sărit în sus de fericire. 'She jumped of happiness.'	4.66
2. Ea a sărit în sus de la fericire. 'She jumped from happiness.'	1.57
3. Fericirea a făcut-o să sară. 'Happiness made her jump.'	3.12
4. El a fugit de frică. 'He ran of fear.'	4.78
5. El a fugit de la frică. 'He ran from fear.'	1.42
6. Frica l-a făcut să fugă. 'Fear made him run.'	4.15
7. Băiatul se clătina de plictiseală. 'The boy wiggled of boredom.'	4
8. Băiatul se clătina de la plictiseală. 'The boy wiggled from boredom.'	2.18
9. Plictiseala îl făcea pe băiat să se clatine. 'Boredom made the boy wiggle.'	3.84
10. Ea a chicotit de jenă/nervozitate. 'She giggled of embarrassment/nervousness.'	4.33
11. Ea a chicotit de la jenă/nervozitate. 'She giggled from embarrassment/nervousness.'	1.87
12. Jena/Nervozitatea a făcut-o să chicotească. 'Embarrassment/Nervousness made her giggle.'	3.78

These results show that emotions are preferably introduced by *de* "of"-PPs rather than by *de la* "from"-PPs to Romanian unergatives. In the glossed examples, the mean ratings of the sentences in Table 1 are rounded to the nearest whole number and are assigned one of the following representations: "1. Completely unacceptable" receives "*", "2. Almost unusable" is represented by "?*", "3. Debatable" takes "??", "4. Almost perfect" takes "?" and "5. Perfect" receives no mark.

Thus, unergatives modified by *de* "of"-PPs were considered perfect ((16a) and (17a)) and almost perfect (cf. "?" in (18a) and (19a)), while unergatives taking *de la* "from"-PPs were deemed completely unacceptable (cf. "*" in (17a)) and almost unusable (cf. "?*" in (16a), (18a) and (19a)).

On the other hand, the cause status of emotion entities seems to be warranted by their acceptability as subjects of periphrastic causatives headed by *a face* "make": the periphrastic causative in (16b) comprising the subject *fericirea* "happiness" is considered to be debatable ("??"), whereas the periphrastic causatives in (17b), (18b) and (19b) are deemed almost perfect ("?").

(16) a. *Ea a sărit în sus de/ ?*de la fericire.*
she AUX.3SG jump.PST in up of from happiness
'She jumped of/from happiness.'

b. *??Fericirea a făcut- o să sară.*
happiness.DET AUX.3SG make.PST CL.3SG.ACC SĂ jump.SUBJ.3SG
'??Happiness made her jump.'

(17) a. *El a fugit de/ *de la frică.*
he AUX.3SG run.PST of from fear
'He ran of/from fear.'

b. *?Frica l- a făcut să fugă.*
fear.DET CL.3SG.ACC AUX.3SG make.PST SĂ run.SUBJ.3SG
'?Fear made him run.'

(18) a. *Băiatul se clătina ?de/ ?*de la plictiseală.*
boy.DET SE wiggle.IMPERF.3SG of from boredom
'The boy wiggled of/from boredom.'

b. *?Plictiseala îl făcea pe băiat să se clatine.*
boredom.DET CL.3SG.ACC make.IMPERF.3SG PE boy SĂ SE wiggle.SUBJ.3SG
'?Boredom made the boy wiggle.'

(19) a. *Ea a chicotit ?de/ ?*de la jenă/ nervozitate.*
she AUX.3SG giggle.PST of from embarrassment nervousness
'She giggled of/from embarrassment/nervousness.'

b. *?Jena/ nervozitatea a făcut-*
embarrassment.DET nervousness.DET AUX.3SG make.PST
o să chicotească.
CL.3SG.ACC SĂ giggle.SUBJ.3SG
'?Embarrassment/nervousness made her giggle.'

The Romanian data shows that while emotions are causes of sorts, having in view their acceptability as subjects of periphrastic causatives, they may depart from the types of causes we focus on in this paper given their licensing within *de* "of"-PPs rather than *de la* "from"-PPs.

Going back to Greek, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou argue that emotion NPs within *from*-PPs are not genuine causes because natural forces and causing events are excluded from these PPs in the context of Greek unergatives (20a, b).

(20) a. **I* Maria xoropidikse apo to sismo.*
DET Maria jump.PST.ACT APO DET earthquake
'*Maria jumped from the earthquake.'
b. **I Maria xoropidikse apo to spasimo ton piaton.*
DET Maria jump.PST.ACT APO DET breaking DET dishes.GEN
'*Maria jumped from dishes breaking.'

Nonetheless, this restriction does not apply to English where unergatives can take adjuncts denoting natural forces (21a, b, c, d) and causing events (21e) realized by *from*-PPs.

(21) a. Leaves rustled from the wind/breeze.
b. Water sparkled from the sun/moon.
c. The lights flickered from the thunderstorm.
d. After he took off her blindfold, she blinked from the light.
e. The dog yelped from the blow. (Levin 9)

The sentences in (21) comprise verbs of emission (*rustle*, *sparkle*, *flicker*, *yelp*) and a verb of involuntary body process (*blink*), which pass unergativity diagnostics like the lack of participation in the causative alternation, internally caused meaning, etc. (Levin & Rappaport Hovav). According to Levin, unergatives with animate subjects rarely occur with *from*-PPs since these subjects are potential agents with control over the event, thus banning an additional causer. When the animate subject entity lacks volition or control, adjunct causers are possible, as in the case of *blink* and *yelp* above.

Similarly, Romanian unergative verbs with animate subjects can take *de la* "from"-PPs when these subject entities do not have control over the unfolding of the event (22a, b, c, d).

(22) a *Tuşeşte de la fum.*
cough.PRS.3SG from smoke
'He coughs from the smoke.'
(http://xlostproduction.sunphoto.ro)
b. *Mereu avea ochii roşii şi strănuta*
often have.IMPERF.3SG eyes.DET red and sneeze.IMPERF.3SG
de la praf dacă nu lua tratament.
from dust if not take.IMPERF.3SG treatment
'His eyes were often red and he sneezed from the dust if he hadn't taken his medicine.'
(https://cossasblog.wordpress.com)
c. *Am mai lăcrimat de la ceapă.*
AUX.1SG more water.PST from onion
'My eyes watered from the onion.'
(http://crazymothercooker.blogspot.ro)

d. *A* *tresărit* *de la* *foielile* *mele.*
AUX.3SG startle.PST from fidgets.DET my
'He startled from my fidgeting.'
(http://alpinet.org)

Moreover, in English adjuncts realized by *from*-PPs can modify stative predicates (23) (Levin; Rákosi). The same situation obtains in Romanian, as shown in (24). The occurrence of *from*-PPs with adjectives, which lack a verbal component, convincingly argues against the necessary licensing of *from*-PPs by an event head.[3]

(23) a. The wooden slats were already warm from the sun.
b. His skin was brown from the wind and the sun.
c. She was somewhat tired from the journey.
d. He looked at my clothes, all creased and still damp from the night's activities.
e. He was fresh from the shower. (Rákosi 191)

(24) a. *Părul* *meu* *este* *umed* *de la* *ploaie*.
hair.DET my be.COP.3SG damp from rain
'My hair is damp from the rain.'
(https://www.wattpad.com)
b. *În clipa* *în care* *părinţii* *mei* *mi-* *au*
in moment.DET in which parents.DET my CL.1SG.DAT AUX.3PL
văzut *picioarele* *vinete* *de la* *lovituri,* *au* *decis* *să*
see.PST legs.DET blue from hits AUX.3PL decide.PST SĂ
nu *mă* *mai* *lase* *la antrenamente.*
not CL.1SG.ACC more let.SUBJ.3PL at training.PL
'When my parents saw my blue legs from the hits, they decided not to let me train anymore.'
(http://www.ziaresireviste.ro)
c. *Apele* *sunt* *tulburi* *de la* *ploaie*.
waters.DET be.COP.3PL puddled from rain
'The waters are puddled from the rain.'
(http://www.rapitori.ro)

In short, predicates that have not been claimed to be causative can license *from*-PPs whose denotation patterns with the denotation of *from*-PPs modifying inchoatives. Thus, *from*-PPs introducing agents are illicit whether they occur with inchoatives (25a), unergative verbs (25b) or adjectives (25c).

[3] The NPs within these adjuncts can be subjects of periphrastic causatives both in English and Romanian.

(25) a. *Vaza s- a spart de la Ion.
vase.DET SE AUX.3SG break.PST from Ion
'*The vase broke from Ion.'

b. *Copilul a plâns de la Andrei.
child.DET AUX.3SG cry.PST from Andrei
'*The child cried from Andrei.'

c. *Mâna ei este vânătă de la Petru.
hand.DET her be.COP.3SG blue from Petru
'*Her hand is blue from Petru.'

(25) a. **Vaza*	*s-*	*a*	*spart*	*de la*	*Ion.*
vase.DET	SE	AUX.3SG	break.PST	from	Ion
'*The vase broke from Ion.'					
b. **Copilul*	*a*	*plâns*	*de la*	*Andrei.*	
child.DET	AUX.3SG	cry.PST	from	Andrei	
'*The child cried from Andrei.'					
c. **Mâna*	*ei*	*este*	*vânătă*	*de la*	*Petru.*
hand.DET	her	be.COP.3SG	blue	from	Petru
'*Her hand is blue from Petru.'					

Since *from*-PPs with uniform denotation are licensed across non-causative predicates, it seems unjustified to claim that *from*-PPs require a causative component in inchoatives, whereas they supply a causal entity to unergatives and stative predicates. It is more plausible that *from*-PPs add a causer to the predicates they modify (Levin; Horvath & Siloni), and are not licensed by vCAUS in English and Romanian inchoatives. As a matter of fact, Schäfer argues that inchoatives do not necessarily involve a vCAUS head, their causative meaning being read off from the syntactic structure, from an event head v complemented by a state (Hale & Keyser; Marantz). On this view, inchoatives are naturally compatible with causers although they do not contain an implicit causer or causative head.

On the other hand, we can definitely conclude that the non-dependence of *from*-PPs on causative predicates questions the reliability of this test as a diagnostic for a causative event in inchoatives (Levin; Horvath & Siloni; Rákosi).

3. Conclusion

This paper investigated the tenability of *from*-PPs as a diagnostic for an implicit causative event or causer in inchoatives. The occurrence of these phrases with inchoatives, unergatives and statives, and their uniform denotation across these predicates in English and Romanian reveal that *from*-PPs do not necessarily hinge on a causative head. In this context, their ability to track down a causative event in inchoatives has to be reconsidered.

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THE ACQUISITION OF TENSE FEATURES IN L1 ROMANIAN

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ABSTRACT: The present paper investigates child language acquisition, particularly the acquisition of Tense features in the case of children who speak Romanian as a first language (L1). The theoretical framework adopted follows the principles of economy, simplicity, and elegance, proposed by the Minimalist Program, in explaining the acquisition process during specific stages of development. The limited, universal, cost-free operations put forward by the program in licensing derivation are to explain the emergence of formal features, and/or the use of default structures in early grammars, marking specific milestones in the evolution of speech productions in children. Syntactic asymmetries, feature interpretability, and the complexity of computation in checking Tense and *phi*-features, at interface level are addressed in the present study, aiming to achieve optimal description at syntactic and morphological level.
KEYWORDS: first language acquisition (L1A), Universal Grammar (UG), continuity hypothesis, asymmetries, Minimalist Program (MP), uninterpretable feature (*u*F), Tense feature, *phi*-features

1. Introduction

To start with, the present research adopts a minimalist framework in describing and explaining acquisition processes in first language acquisition (L1A) in the case of children who speak Romanian as L1. The interpretation of the selected experimental data adopts a continuity approach to L1A, supported by experimental studies that credit continuity approaches to L1A. The investigative principles are aligned to the core framework of generative grammar in describing how languages work, with a minimalist interpretation on structure development. To continue, the investigation is narrowed down to relevant examples directly impacting acquisition processes in child Romanian. The existence of a qualitative body of linguistic evidence offers great support and works as a gateway towards understanding language and how it works. Significantly, one of the particulars of this systematic investigation regards the minimalist interpretation of functional categories (FCs) and how they emerge during the first developmental stages in the speech productions of monolingual children (Chomsky 1995).

One must note that children acquire languages in a short period of time and the available input is rather limited. The new research direction, aligned to the Minimalist Program (MP), posits that any explanation must be sought in the new evolutionary findings that address language under an extended framework, together with the perceptual and cognitive systems. On this note, Piaget's (1970) contribution and legacy with regards to cognitive theories contributed to the domain of LA with the proposed four stages of development associated with mental representations and conceptualization, which gradually emerge in children. As a result, the next four stages are generally accepted, namely, the pre-linguistic stage (0-12 months), followed by babbling, then the single word stage (SWS), the early multi-word stage (EMWS), ending with the late multi-word stage (LMWS).

Given the paradigm shift attested in the 50s (Chomsky 1959), data-driven structuralist (Vygotsky 1978) and behaviourist directions of research (Skinner, 1957) registered shortcomings and insufficiencies in explaining input-output relations. Thus, language learning (LL) could no longer be explained in terms of imitation, reinforcement, or algorithmic processes, as children were able to generate beyond experience, the limited primary linguistic data (PLD). The poverty of stimulus argument (PoS), known as the logical problem (Hornstein & Lightfoot 1981), or Plato's problem (Chomsky 1988), addresses the use of finite means in infinite ways. Connectionist models (Bates, 1999) and models stemming from the interpretations on general intelligence theories (Smith & Tsimpli 1995, 2010) claim general adaptability of mechanisms. In this context, nativist arguments, supported by empirical evidence, argue in favour of UG emergence and continuity in LA, in terms of specificity, resourcefulness, and provision of core sets of elements.

2. Arguments in favour of a nativist approach to L1A

For a better understanding of the theoretical framework, it would be beneficial to continue with an enumeration of the main nativist arguments, so as to build a strong account on the effects of theoretical implications onto the empirical results selected for this experimental investigation. As such, the innate character of the faculty of language (FL), under a UG framework (Chomsky 1959), posits that children can generate beyond the limited data. As language is not acquired via imitation, the PoS remains one of the strongest arguments from an evolutionary perspective, supported by the hypothesized Critical Period (CP) and the stages of development, the attested periods of sensitivity in language bearing relevance in the domain of child language acquisition. Brain functions and areas associated with memory, syntax, and morphology, the role played by critical periods in the LA process, FL, with its biological features, as a system equipped with universal operators contribute to the optimization of the process. In this setting, any necessary conditions are found at interface level in association with phonetic and semantic properties of the sensory-motor (S-M) and conceptual-intentional (C-I) systems, permitting an optimal interplay in terms of economy, elegance, and relationship with other systems (Chomsky 1995, 2000).

In essence, one must look beyond the lexicon-syntax interrelations and assume the role played by semantics, pragmatics, and discourse factors. FL is placed on the evolutionary spectrum, in a principled way, together with other cognitive capacities, better explaining, as illustrated by the examples examined in this paper, that universal operators, such as Merge, must be associated with proper licencing in derivation in L1A. Such theoretical proposals are reflected in children's way of reacting to corrective feedback, under the assumption of UG availability from the onset of acquisition, and are also visible in the milestones marked by children on their quest to acquiring target-like structures.

Syntactic representation, under the minimalist approach, must be understood in algebraic sense, as arguments are assigned value and are highly specific. If natural languages are associated with string concatenation and have a combinatorial power, children are assumed to acquire full competence in a short period of time, early child grammars conveying uniformity in terms of stages of linguistic development, with variation from one individual to another. Following the proposals posited in the MP, in the domain of L1A, algorithmic variability was measured and interpreted in typically developed (TD) children and in children that suffered from various impairments (there are many research studies (Rice & Wexler 1996) conducted along these guidelines). Thus, the knowledge of language translates into sound computation observable in TD children, together with the progressively growing lexicon, the innate characteristics of the mechanisms attributed to language as an instinct (Pinker, 1994), or as discrete infinity (Chomsky 2005), a predetermined mechanism of the mind permitting effortless syntactic creativity, as children are endowed and biologically predetermined to acquire language (Chomsky 1975).

3. Functional categories and theoretical approaches to L1A

Regardless of the approach adopted in researching the domain of LA, it is generally accepted that children mark specific milestones in L1A, conferring a universal character to the LA process, this way, supporting the claim that syntax is universal and the mappings and variations in languages are driven by morphology and phonology. According to strong continuity accounts in L1A, child and adult grammars are uniform and operate the same way. Particularly, children are able to compute and generate structures, in adult manner, from onset. Proponents of continuity approaches to L1A (Wexler 1994, 1998) support the theoretical premises, the experimental data aiming to demonstrate that children have full competence from the onset of L1A (Poeppel & Wexler 1993). However, weak continuity, maturational accounts posit that UG principles and their availability are conditioned by specific stages of development. There are acquisitionists who propose a hybridized theoretical approach, combining elements associated with strong continuity and maturational accounts (Tsimpli 1992/1996; Tsimpli & Ouhalla 1990), aligned to macro-parameter proposals (Borer 1984). According to such views, FCs are assumed to undergo a maturation process and not UG principles. Another approach, which is more radical, inquires upon the availability of UG from onset (Radford 1990), and assumes the existence of a pre-functional stage in L1A, questioning the availability of T-systems or C-systems from onset, in early grammars.

The directions presented in the previous paragraph attempted to find answers to processes such as the emergence of UG principles, UG innateness, and the logical problem of L1A, which made possible the assumption of various accounts in providing valuable insights, by launching syntactic and semantic theoretical inquiries associated with acquisition mechanisms in early grammars. The very nature of the emergence of FCs in early grammars is an intricate process, as has been the UG perspective, and, to this day, it is a topic of reference vehemently debated among acquisitionists. Different theoretical accounts postulated hypotheses and generated research programs which aimed to explain language properties and the availability of operators, in child grammars, as opposed to target-like adult grammars. Nevertheless, in light of a minimalist account of LA, a weak or strong continuity approach revolves around a theory of UG and must be aligned to the Strong Minimalist Thesis (SMT) in solving interface conditions and using Merge as a recursive universal operator (Chomsky 1995).

As stated before, some acquisitionists adopt a pre-functional stage to L1A, a stage that precedes the optional infinitive stage (OI), with a split in derivation. To further develop, a Merge over Move (MoM) possibility was proposed, Move being delayed as much as possible in the PF/LF interpretation in the acquisition process. According to this view, syntactic features are postponed and emerge during the second stage of L1A, gradually, due to specific computation and maturational constraints (Radford 1990; Galasso 2016). Other acquisitionists assume Move as possibility from onset, still, being aware that some specific features would not be interpretable early on (Wexler 1994, 1998). From this perspective, if morphological features are abstract, movement must be operable and functional in order for the features to check. In the case of the verbal domain, under the MP account, lexical items (LI), after being retrieved from the lexicon, are assumed to be fully inflected, consequently, they should have *phi*-features associated with Agree and Tense. As it can be observed, there are several outlined directions when it comes to continuity hypotheses in L1A. A great body of researchers support the strong continuity hypothesis (Wexler 1994; Poeppel & Wexler 1993), while others posit that FCs emerge gradually, features are checked gradually, as well, and emerge during specific stages of development, a maturational approach to L1A being hypothesized this way (Radford 1990).

4. A minimalist perspective on functional categories

From an evolutionary perspective, FCs are part of UG, explaining the functionality of the systems in relation with the domain of L1A, and the role they play in *narrow syntax*. In order to get a clear view of the processes, a detailed description is necessary. For this reason, FCs play an important role at LF, as a primary interface, and at PF, as a secondary interface. Under MP, in derivation the structure does not crash as the principle of full interpretation (FI) does not allow it. A thorough analysis of the two systems, representational and derivative, reflects the core differences between the two. In this sense, the MP framework is to be construed as simplified, parsimonious and economical (Chomsky 1995). The axiomatic proposals to derivation are the universal operators Merge and Move explained in terms of dynamic elegance (Fukui 1996). Under such conditions, variations are reduced to the minimum, syntax has to constantly look for optimality, and, conclusively, movement has to meet the Last Resort Condition (Chomsky 1995). Unlike the theoretical approaches that promote a data-driven learning of language, a recursive grammar, using simple universal operators, such as Merge, an asymmetric operator, explains the way structures are acquired during specific stages of development, carrying an explanatory force in the analysis of inner mechanisms.

If children are assumed to operate minimally and only out of necessity, such an interpretation would explain the way syntax emerges in children and how structures or the resulting syntactic objects are interpreted at phonological and semantic level. Another concept that shifted the theoretical ground was the phase proposal (Chomsky 2001), which became the foundation of the *Strong Minimalist Thesis* (SMT) (Chomsky 2005), as an expression of cyclicity in computation. If the child has all the representational tools needed to generate structures, the assumption that FCs emerge at different stages could be supported, but it still needs to be seen in what way.

The definition of features under the minimalist framework has been a subject of discussion among syntacticians. The strength and the value of the feature is associated with *i*F and *u*F (Chomsky 1993, 2000, 2001). As such, a properly licenced derivation will converge if *u*Fs are checked against *i*Fs for matching purposes, all the copies undergoing deletion before *Spell-Out* (Chomsky 2001). In this case, a cost-free operation specific to syntax is needed. Without Agree, *i*F and *u*F would not be matched. This description is necessary and aims to ease and possibly solve the tension between the syntactic and morphological elements. In accordance with the MP, *u*F can be transferred at phonological level, an adjacent level, for there might be a possibility of realization.

The new minimalist account proposes the association of features of phase heads with specific structural interpretations (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2008), the main sequences being Complementizer, Tense, *light* verb and verb (C-T-*v*-V), where features are attracted to higher positions. Therefore, C, T and *v* become loci of featural derivation, and the sets of *phi*-features become instrumental to this approach. Phase heads are the driving force of derivation and all the *phi*-features (*i*F/*u*F) are in the heads of the phase, as a result, matchings are looked for in the searching space (Chomsky 2005, 2007). In sum, phase theory serves L1A theories in explaining idiosyncrasies and aspects that are language specific, as well as the differences between child and adult structures.

The theoretical descriptions addressing the morphological and syntactic tension between the elements entering derivation in the process of L1A are quite complex and interpretations diverse. From one generative framework to another, the lexicalist-syntactic debate gained more ground in favour of a syntactic approach to morphological mappings in languages. In a more detailed and retrospective fashion, Perlmutter's proposal (1988) of split morphology, with derivation at lexical level, and inflection at syntactic level can be set against the assumption made by Halle & Marantz (1993), namely that both sides of morphology, derivational and inflectional, undergo transformations, while

Chomsky (1970) argues in favour of a split derivation between the lexicon and syntax (language idiosyncrasies being associated with derivation). Under the new minimalist proposal, elements are selected fully inflected from the lexicon in order to enter derivation and check features for licensing purposes (Chomsky 1995).

With this in mind, a closer look needs to be taken at the agreement mismatches evidenced in speech productions, chiefly in languages with highly inflected systems. Still, such underextended, deficient structures are not to be perceived as the result of cognitive inabilities in TD children, but rather as stages of linguistic development, the computation of formal abstract features carrying a heavier load. If we assume that lexical objects are fully inflected when they enter derivation, in light of the new minimalist proposal, the operations available to children become the driving force, and, as reflected in the examples below, if Move is an economic operator conditioned by Last Resort (Chomsky 1995), it is predicted to support the assumption of gradual emergence of FCs in particular languages, with cross-linguistic specificity.

5. Empirical data analysis

In what follows, a closer look is taken and the probed empirical data. The examples selected for the present study are part of my PhD thesis investigating the acquisition of FCs in monolingual Romanian children (Tărău 2019). Therefore, a brief description of the corpus and of the methodological approach is required. The empirical data aimed to solidify arguments in favour of a nativist perspective on L1A. The quality of the data was given by the dimension of the corpus and the number of subjects observed. In the present inquiry, the focus is on empirical data specific to the early multi word stage (EMWS) and the examples were selected from the files of four TD children who speak Romanian as L1. The speech productions were recorded in familiar settings, on a weekly basis, and were conducted by caregivers, the investigator being one of the caregivers as well. As a result, common patterns were observed during the investigation of the productions. Moreover, similar and sometimes identical functional traits could be traced, contributing to the conceptualization of the theoretical approach. Having recorded the children on a weekly basis, over several months, substantial speech productions were retrieved. The process ended up being complex, as it addressed many critical aspects, from the emergence of structures, to possible evidence of innate tacit knowledge manifested in children during different stages of L1A. Any assumptions of paradoxical situations, where the results of the data interpretation would be influenced by the investigator were avoided (Labov 1972). All the targeted participants were monolingual TD children and were addressed by pseudonyms to protect their identity. The corpus became an authentic and reliable source for language analysis as any forms of over-normalization and/or under-normalization were eschewed.

The occurrences selected for the present inquiry are specific to EMWS in child Romanian and explain derivation from a minimalist perspective. As noted before, there are several interpretations among acquisitionists as to which mechanisms are employed during the initial stage, as well as the operators that are activated. In this analysis, movement is assumed to be activated by features searched for in the generated space, which need to be matched against head features in higher positions for derivational purposes. Moreover, in the case of child Romanian, operation Move is assumed to emerge early on due to the surfacing of fully inflected forms from onset and it is an aspect that should be briefly addressed under a continuity approach to language acquisition, be that weak or strong. There are studies conducted that inquire upon the surfacing of fully inflected forms in early grammars (Avram & Coene 2005, 2011). If lexical items (LI) retrieved via Numeration are fully inflected and enter derivation in order to check their features, the structures converge. Matters become more complex as morphology is associated with language specificity and children are assumed to select the properties and use them in derivation accordingly. The Minimalist Program proposes the transfer to the representational levels, PF and LF, as well as the accessibility of morphological knowledge before *Spell-Out* (Chomsky 1995). Such mechanisms need proper explanation in L1A.

The examples illustrated below support assumptions regarding the acquisition of *u*Fs in L1, with focus on the highly abstract [person] feature. There are studies in child Romanian that inquire upon the acquisition of Tense features, as well as studies regarding the existence of an optional infinitive stage (OI) in child Romanian (Avram & Coene 2005, 2011). Although 3rd person singular forms were recorded at early stages in the above-mentioned studies, a closer investigation of structures was required to better explain adult-like and/or non-adult like structures generated during the first stages. The examples identified in the corpus used for this investigation support the assumptions of emergence of fully inflected forms. Therefore, it must be seen if during the early stages of L1A, the realis property is really acquired by the child or if the structures are formulaic. In assessing the biological age of the children, paired with variation recorded from one subject to the other, it is difficult to map the biological age onto specific stages of development, as a few months can make a major difference during the acquisition process. It is also challenging to associate specific structures to age limits in children, as there is variation among them. Even so, given the degree of variability, children mark the same milestones in acquisition, and in the way *phi*-features are checked during the EMWS in child Romanian. As previously stated, all the children that participated in the study are TD and no signs of speech impairments or delays have been signalled.

In the analysis, the focus is on *realis* mood features as they emerge in speech and on the interpretation of the default structures used by children during specific stages. Romanian is a highly inflected language and syncretism is a language feature which, at points, can generate ambiguity in interpretation at PF or LF. As a result, it can become problematic in interpretation and can lead to premature semantic interpretation in child language, if not enough information is available to the child. As a result, different kinds of mismatches can be attested during the early stages and some specific patterns can be pegged in the process. As a result, adopting an analytical approach is salutary in highlighting the patterns and analysing them morphologically and syntactically. The child will always use economy and simplicity and will look for what is available nearby, all for the purpose of generating elegant structures with minimal means.

On a practical note, in explaining how patterns were identified and interpreted, a closer look must be taken at the manifestations of the verb *a ridica* 'lift', with [+person] and [+number] as illustrated in (1). Feature checking and matching in derivation could be associated with the pattern explained below, where 3rd plural forms will be overextended to the 1st singular form for a limited period of time. To clarify, several examples were attested in Ela's speech productions, particularly for the verb *a ridica* 'lift', but there were other noteworthy examples, such as structures with the verb *a mușca* 'bite' or *a desena* 'draw', as supporting evidence for feature choices during this stage of language development. If we look at the speech productions, it is difficult to predict whether the emerging form is a *realis* or *irrealis* mood, particularly, a modal bare structure (Avram 2011), although the parent constantly uses the modal forms in speech with high frequency. However, our attention is drawn towards the use of [person] feature in this particular case.

(1) Chi: *Că(r)țile* *mele.* *Ela* ***(ri)dic**.* *Ela* *male* ***(ri)dic**.*
book.PL.DET CL.1SG.F.GEN Ela lift.PRES.1SG Ela big lift.PRES.1SG
'My books. Ela lift. Ela big lift'
Mom: *Poți* *să* *le* *ridici?*
can.PRES.2SG SĂ they.ACC lift.PRES.2SG
'Can you lift them?'
Chi: *Ela* *male* ***(ri)dic**.*
Ela big lift.PRES.1SG
'Ela big lift.' (Ela 2,09)

Tense as a syntactic feature must have phonological realization given by specific markers. The sets of examples intend to explain how Tense features enter derivation and shed light onto the importance of the mood marker and its role. To be more precise, the recorded segments were on average from 2;04 to 3;05, with some degree of variation in terms of the stage of language development registered by each subject, and they all marked the same milestones. In detailed fashion, with a 5-month difference between Ela and Oti, the former being older, it was observed that the latter was more advanced if progress is traced based on stages of language development. There were some participants who, as predicted, were well into the full realization of the specific syntactic objects with the associated [+/- interpretability] of *phi*-features, providing data in the direction of our analysis, namely, the trajectory of [person] and [number] features and their checking process in derivation while moving to higher positions.

To further support the argument and explain the acquisition process, examples (2), (3), and (4) illustrate how syntactic objects enter derivation in early grammars. For example, a look at the occurrence *copiii cântă* 'the children sing', in

Standard Romanian, reflects that features are checked by matching the *phi*-features via operation Agree, a cost-free innate operation associated with UG. The features are then deleted after checking and matching, and the result is the one visible after *Spell-Out* (Chomsky 1995). At a closer look at the speech productions, it can be observed that children produced non-target patterns with feature mismatches, such as *copiii *cânt* 'the children sing'. One possible explanation would be that via movement not all uninterpretable *phi*-features were checked and deleted in the PF, and if *u*Fs are transferred via *Spell-Out* to PF, as a result of not being deleted in the LF after checking, the structure would be assumed to crash (Chomsky 1995). However, during the early stages of acquisition, such structures could be associated with morphological knowledge, with specific features of the inflectional paradigm, features that are abstract and require a longer period to enter derivation properly. It does not mean that the syntax of the child is not sound, the explanation would rather be associated with the way children can access their knowledge at specific stages, by means of default forms, available hierarchically and locally, to be used at intermediary stages. As presented, there are syntactic patterns mapped morphologically and phonologically for specific *u*Fs. Such findings could make room for a common trait in the case of morphological features and their mapping, or lack thereof, at the PF level. Therefore, the final goal is for any features that could affect PF, via movement, to occur before Spell-Out. Movement is cyclic and the child will always go for the shortest move out of economy reasons. Another possible explanation could be that the transfer to LF and PF was made too early. During the first stages, under continuity hypothesis to L1A, it is assumed that premature transfers to phonetic and semantic levels occur; as such non-adult like structures can be pegged at structural level. The assumption is that the child does not yet have all the necessary data available and accessible to him/her, or opts to operate with default forms before establishing the parsing mechanisms for the specific structure.

(2) Chi: *Tot* ****cânt*** *bu-hu-hu.*
keep sing.PRES.1SG bu-hu-hu
'*I keep singing bu-hu-hu.'
Mom: *Tot* *cântă* *bu-hu-hu.*
INTENSIFIER sing.PRES.3SG bu-hu-hu
'It keeps singing bu-hu-hu.' (Oti 2;4)

(3) Chi: *Da.* ****Cânt*** *puișolul.*
yes sing.PRES.1SG chick.DET
'Yes. *I sing the chick.'
Mom: *Da,* *cântă* *așa,* *cântă.*
yes sing.PRES.3SG like this sing.PRES.3S
'Yes, it sings like this, it sings.' (Ela 3;0)

(4) Mom: *Ce* *fac* *copiii* *atunci* *când* *ascultă* *muzică?*
what do.PRES.3PL children then when listen.PRES.3PL music
'What are the children doing when they listen to music?'

Chi: *Dansează* *și* *tot* ****cânt.***
dance.PRES.3PL and INTENSIFIER sing.PRES.1SG
'They dance and *I sing.'
Mom: *Dar tu ce faci când asculți muzică?*
but you what do.PRES.2SG when listen.PRES.2 music
'But what are you doing when you listen to music?'
Chi: ***Cânt****.*
sing.PRES.1SG
'I sing.' (A 3;06)

The empirical data provide qualitative syntactic information regarding the process of feature checking in the case of the *phi*-feature bundles which require heavier computation, especially in contexts where PF realization are not visible. Moreover, with forms emerging fully inflected in child Romanian, one would have difficulties in tracing a clear line between formulaic structures and genuinely authentic 3rd person singular forms. The present analysis shifts focus to the *phi*-feature interpretation and the manifestations in the PF, after *Spell-Out*, as there are specific patterns that are visible and can affect the interpretation or the readability of the selected structures. In order to further develop upon the predictions made above, an examination of the paradigm for the *realis* Indicative mood, in Standard Romanian, is required to better explain the evolution and the specific patterning, with the attested mismatches during the EMWS in child Romanian. In the case of the verb *a cânta* 'to sing' or *a mușca* 'to bite', in Standard Romanian, the syncretic forms are for 3rd person singular and plural. Given the available data, we should take a closer look at the non-adult structures generated by children, so as to explain the syntactic mechanisms that drive the derivation and the temporal licencing of such structures. To be more specific, in Romanian the Tense features corresponding to the present Indicative mood contribute to expressing temporality and modality. The Tense and Mood features are supported by discourse markers as well as pragmatic inferences. In addition, the paradigmatic syncretism, specific to Standard Romanian, is another aspect that contributes to the complexity of structure interpretation during EMWS, in L1A. The examples provided below continue to support the assumptions made above.

(5) Mom: *Ce fac copiii la grădiniță?*
what do.PRES.3PL children at kindergarten
'What are the children doing in kindergarten?'
Chi: ****Desenez****.*
draw.PRES.1SG
'*I draw.'
(6) Mom: *Desenează. Ce mai fac?*
draw.PRES.3PL what INTENSIFIER do.PRES.3PL
'They draw. What else are they doing?'

Chi: ***Se*** ***joc***.
CL.REFL.SG.ACC play.PRES.1SG
'*I play.'

(7) Mom: *Ce fac la locul de joacă?*
what do.PRES.3PL at ground.DET for play
'What are they doing at the playground?'
Chi: ***Se*** ***joc***.
CL.REFL.SG.ACC play.PRES.1SG
'*I play.' (Tudor 2;11)

In the same fashion, some of the syntactic objects that resulted via merger (reference is made to the merger of mood marker *să* at this point) pose problems in computation resulting in feature mismatches during the EMWS, i.e. *a mânca* 'to eat', [to listen] a asculta 'to listen', *a cânta* 'to sing', *a zbura* 'to fly' and *a intra* 'to enter', *a pica* 'to fall' etc.

(8) Chi: *Acolo nu* ****pic*** *înăuntru. Aicea plin găulele*
there NEG fall.PRES.1SG inside here through hole.PL.DET
ătea ****pic***.
this.PL.F fall.PRES.1SG
'There they don't fall inside. Here they fall through these holes.' (Tudor 2;10)

(9) Mom: *Înotau în apă?*
swim.IMPERF.3PL in water
'They were swimming in the water?'

(10) Chi: *Da.* ****Înot***. *Tot așa, tot așa.*
yes swim.PRES.1SG INTENSIFIER this INTENSIFIER this
'Yes. *I swim in the water like this.' (Oti 2;04)

(11) Chi: *Nu* ***mu(ș)că***.
NEG bite.PRES.3SG
'They don't bite.'
Mom: *Nu, că sunteți prieteni.*
NEG CONJ be.PRES.2PL friend.PL
'No, because you are friends.'
Chi: *Cățeii nu* ***mu(ș)că***.
dog.PL.DET NEG bite.PRES.3SG
'The dogs don't bite.'
Mom: *Nu.*
'No.'
Chi: *Cățeii mici nu* ****mu(ș)c***.
little dog.PL.DET small.PL.M NEG bite.PRES.1SG
'The little dogs *I don't bite.' (Ela 3;01)

Such verbs are assigned to specific classes, and since similar forms were observed in the corpora, the investigation must go a little bit deeper. If occurrences where the 3rd person singular and plural mismatches are analysed, they could be associated with problems in the acquisition of Tense features. The assumption is that children have tacit knowledge, but the mapping of *u*Fs at PF is problematic at this stage, and given the MP principles of economy and simplicity, *default* forms are used in the merger resulting into a new syntactic object (Chomsky 1995).

6. Conclusion

To sum up, as reflected in the first part of the present study, the debates among acquisitionists regarding UG availability during different stages of language development in children has been a complex matter. Following the directions set by continuity approaches to L1A, studies reflected that children reach full competence in a short period of time, exhibit sound syntax, and manifest an explosion at lexical level, all marked progressively through the linguistic developmental stages, and, more importantly, are able to map semantically and syntactically in an effortless way. The substantive minimalist proposal, from a methodological perspective, was outlined as a simplified program principled in parsimony, stipulating that any explanatory means must be simplified and economical, thus serving the purpose of the proposed L1A framework. The acquisition of specific features, highly abstract and with specific assignment in derivation, was reflected in the patterns resulted from the qualitative data selected explaining acquisition processes in monolingual children who speak Romanian as L1, following the line of inquiry of a minimalist programmatic proposal.

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A SEMANTICS OF THE LANGUAGE OF FASHION

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ABSTRACT: The present paper constitutes an attempt to analyze the language of fashion from a semantic perspective. Building on Roland Barthes' semiotic approach in *The Language of Fashion*, the paper will open new pathways towards understanding how the language of fashion operates semantically in today's socio-dynamic context. The areas of particular interest for this course of research will focus on the lexical register as well as on the discourse of fashion, raising a series of controversial, yet interesting questions such as: can we talk about a linguistic system of fashion taste and expression? Are there any similarities between the discourse of fashion and other more consecrated discourses such as the artistic discourse, aesthetics, even literature? Just like any other construction of the human mind, fashion and its means of propagation are based on language, providing a semantic approach with a sufficiently complex playground to explore and conquer.
KEYWORDS: semantics, linguistic system, fashion system, fashion discourse, language of fashion

1. Introduction

The present article explores a semantic approach to fashion, namely its language, how it unfolds and what it conveys, as well as its relation to fashion imagery and the manner in which all these elements form a coherent and structured message, a united whole in the workings of the industry and in the mind of the receiver. In order to provide a more specific scope for this study, the chosen field of analysis within the broader understanding of fashion and all its possible ramifications will focus on two subsets within the field, the language of fashion in fashion magazines and the language of fashion in social media outlets.

The particular choice of focus areas on the two subsets mentioned above is first and foremost motivated by methodological purposes, the written discourse of fashion magazines offering an ample playground for the present analysis, while the social media ramification is also able to illustrate areas of discourse paired with imagery creating an ideal environment for further accessing the depths of a possible semantics of fashion discourse. In addition, the two subsets offer a high degree of actuality, both representing those channels of expression that are not only the most viable for today's realities, but also, in a way, the most natural channels of expression when it comes to fashion and its very own message.

Such an endeavor has been attempted before by Roland Barthes in his work *The Fashion System* (1967). An approach of this nature to fashion discourse is therefore not new or innovative, but the insertion of the social media element in the mixture may provide additional areas of interest from a semantic perspective and it will further develop the theoretical background which sends back to Barthes and his famous piece of work.

2. A Language of Fashion or Fashion as a Language

It is quite natural to assert that communicating through fashion is a natural manifestation of human behavior. Leaving aside the sociological perspective by way of which the choice of clothing is a manifestation of social status or of an assumed self-image that the individual wishes to convey to society, in the spirit of Roland Barthes, a parallel can be drawn between natural language and the language of fashion. According to this approach, language does not refer merely to the verbal dimension, but it also includes a system of signs through which people relate to the world around them (Boero 2015). As such, it can result that the language of fashion can function as an autonomous system, an idea supported also by Barthes, a language in its own right, having its own internal rules and operating similarly to the natural language.

Perhaps it would be useful to consider the idea from which Barthes himself (1967) starts, depicting the duality of image clothing and written clothing. Image clothing, as the name also clearly indicates, refers to a photographed instance of a particular item of clothing, while written clothing refers to the description of the image, the caption if you will, in which that particular item of clothing is described. Taking this type of interpretation and letting it work its way within an actual fashion related context, we could simply resort to the context offered by a fashion magazine of today's times. A good example in this case would be the picture of a garment in a magazine, a shirt in this particular case, accompanied by the description *horsebit print silk-twill shirt*, to which the magazine adds *groove into the trend with this eye-catching button down*. Relating to this kind of context, Barthes (1967) would argue that, in fact, we are dealing with two different garments, one which is presented in the shape of the picture or the photograph, an instance he refers to as "image clothing", and one which unfolds by way of description or language, this being the "written garment".

The point that needs to be made out of this kind of distinction is that neither of the elements can be separated from the general category to which they belong. Fashion photography may be a category different from any other types of photography such as news photography, snapshots, travel photography, but it is still imagery. In the same way, the written descriptions that accompany such images within the fashion discourse cannot be considered as not being themselves instances of language. Taking this demonstration as a solid starting point, it can easily be stated that fashion in itself is language, but at the same time a language of fashion, as a separate entity, stemming from language, has been developing as well, a type of language that bears its own particularities, its own sets of rules, its own symbolic and perhaps artistic nature, while nonetheless maintaining its legitimacy among other language registers.

An argument to support this idea of fashion being in fact a language in its own right is, as Boero (2015) also notices, its internationalization. In most magazines, as well as across most social media outlets, this essential feature becomes apparent when fashion items are described with generous insertions of specific French and English terminology, irrespective of the original language in which these descriptions are written. It seems that, to a certain extent, fashion has developed its own sub-technical language and even technical language with specific lexical items from the most common languages of international use, thus becoming widely spread and available to most receivers. Good examples of such terminology would be words such as: *jeans*, *denim*, *smoking*, *blazer*, *chic*, *city chic*, *design*, *designer*, *combo*, *midi*, *mini*, *max*, *influencer*, *buyer* etc. It has become virtually impossible for a fashion magazine to avoid the use of such lexical items in their most common renditions of fashion-related content. In the Romanian franchises of international fashion magazines and not only, these terms are a frequent and regular occurrence. So, one would encounter a text such as the following: *Hot combo: pulovere călduroase și jeanși* (Hot Combo: warm sweaters and jeans - Harper's Bazaar Romania), but you would have a similar manner of expression in the Italian equivalent of the same fashion magazine: *Il classic Blue di Pantone è il colore che invita allo shopping calmissimo* (The classic Pantone blue/navy blue and the color that invites to the calmest type of shopping - Harper's Bazaar Italy) or in an entirely Norwegian fashion website: *Seks damer som kan freshe opp Insta-feeden din* (Six ladies who can freshen up your Insta-feed - Minmote.no).

Interestingly enough, all of the examples mentioned above have not only borrowed the terminology from English (there are also cases, though not exemplified here, that make use of French words as well), but they have also internalized them. In the example taken from the Romanian magazine the word *jeans* has received the plural inflection in the same way a natural Romanian word would have. The process of internalization goes even further in the example taken from the Norwegian website. Here, we have the case of the expression "*freshen up*", which has been transformed into its Norwegian verbal equivalent of "*freshe opp*". In addition, quite similarly, the English noun "*Insta-feed*" has received the postclitic definite article *en*, being thus treated as any Norwegian noun in the masculine, the masculine being the gender that is directly assigned to the great majority of words that are borrowed from other languages.

Fashion as a language is therefore more and more present in the linguistic environment and its essential feature of internationalization is becoming all the more important because of the social media phenomenon, which facilitates the language internalization process and makes the terminology widely available to a large amount of receivers, ultimately propagating not only fashion trends, but fashion as an independent form of language. Moreover, what social media exposure manages to do is a far more vivid pairing of Barthes' "written clothing" and "image clothing". In fact, if anything, social media is the kind of environment which exhaustively makes use of pairing the visual and the scriptic in a way so similar to the manner in which Barthes envisioned it.

3. Conveying Meaning through the Language of Fashion

Having established that fashion has its own language and that this language transcends linguistic borders becoming, in a certain sense, a multicultural tool of conveying meaning, it would be appropriate to focus on just how meaning is conveyed through fashion language and to discern whether there are particularities worth disseminating in the various patterns fashion language displays.

Indeed it is possible to distinguish between different registers of fashion language, which are conditioned by topic, target receivers, cultural approach, especially in the written publications, whether in print or digital, and social media as a separate pillar, where the scriptic is embedded in the visual, which brings about a metaphorical manifestation of language through imagery. Distinctions in the manner in which fashion as a language conveys meaning can be identified from one profile publication to another, but also, quite frequently, between the different columns of the same publication. Such differentiations are not at all uncommon and their existence is justified by the intended target audience, more specifically pertaining to a specific gender, age group, psychological profile, pool of interests etc. Boero (2015) also notices that in those columns or magazines addressed to a wider audience, a simpler, more concise language prevails. A couple of instances can be provided in what follows in order to more thoroughly illustrate this pattern of manifestation. As such, in the most accessible fashion column in Harper's Bazaar, which is considered to be a high-end fashion magazine, one can identify the following examples of simplified fashion language:

> "Finding the perfect present for the stylish women in your life is no easy feat—but we're here to make the process a little easier this holiday season. From personalized jewelry to glam loungewear essentials and beyond, we rounded up all the best holiday gifts to give any chic woman on your list this season." (February 18th, 2020)

> "Any wardrobe staple can start to feel tired after a while—yes, even your jeans. Black jeans, in particular. The closest bottoms you can wear that feel as easy as leggings but still count as real pants, black jeans are the closet essential you reach for most days, especially amid a gloomy, cold winter." (January 29th, 2020).

Being a high-end magazine, even these simplified examples taken from *Harper's Bazaar* may seem a bit more intricate than other examples of simplified fashion language which could occur in less complex profile publications such as *Glamour*, a sample of which is included below:

> "We've found a whole load of designer clothes with up to 50% off (including Gucci and Stella McCartney!" (February 21st, 2020)

The difference in levels of language complexity is more than obvious between the two publications and it is reflected in the criteria mentioned above. The amplitude of this type of language is reflected in more complex renderings which, for the most part, link fashion to other less vanity-inflicted fields such as philosophy, cultural topics, taboo topics, editorial features and social trends. This is an area which can truly come to the defense of fashion as a language since here we have instances of metaphorical expression, intertextual references in a type of discourse that crosses over towards the literary, the artistic.

> "For the first Moschino catwalk show in New York, Jeremy Scott, creative director, explored all the stylistic nuances – from uptown chic to Lower East Side grunge – in order to create a fashion style that is appropriate for any occasion in the city that never sleeps." (Harper's Bazaar, December 13th, 2019)

In the example above, which is a translation of an article paragraph found in the Romanian version of Harper's Bazaar, there are clear indications of a more intricate language profuseness. To begin with, the manner of expression is more elevated and there are several instances of specific fashion terminology used in English, one of the terms used by the Romanian magazine being partly French (*chic*), such as: *uptown chic*, *grunge* (which in the Romanian text is inflected with the definite article, thus becoming *grunge-ul*), even the proper noun *Lower East Side* is preserved as such in order to more vividly depict an iconic area of New York.

That fashion has its own specialized language has already been established, however, there are a few more features so specific to its nature that they bring on further valences, connecting the language of fashion with other artistic fields such as music or the cinema. Boero (2015) also notes that:

> "The language of fashion is also changing, alongside rapidly changing fashion trends, together with the close connection it has always maintained with the world of entertainment (particularly with music and cinema). The constant enrichment of the vocabulary is also due to the changing of social trends, and the proliferation of variants (often geographically and culturally characterized) of the same item of clothing (…)." (Boero, 310)

In *The Poetry of Fashion Design* (2011), by oscillating between Barthes' semiotic interpretation of clothing and Derrida's deconstructivist view on poetry, Paz Diman attempts an interpretation of fashion design and subsequently the manner in which it conveys meaning through an artfully constructed language. The result, in the author's choice of words, would be a selection of individual worlds, the work of those designers who do not create fashion, but poems that clothe the body. Such an approach places fashion in the realm of artistic expression, its imagery is closely intertwined with imagistic works of art, while the descriptions accompanying these creations denote poetically through a language of their own. Such a language, as Boero (2015) also observes, has developed a set of rules that have become specific to its nature: it reduces the use of adjectives and descriptions, it prefers connections with means of expression such as music, cinema and art, it prefers acronyms to phrases which contain several foreign and, we might add, internationalized terms, all of these features transforming it into a sectoral language spread by way of various media channels.

If we were to compare the language patterns in Paz's work with the language samples above, the differences in manner of expression would be clearly individualized. On the one hand, the language would bear more resemblance to the examples taken from the more complex fashion magazines, while, on the other hand, the manner of expression gains in complexity, there is an integration of fashion within art and aesthetics, and specific fashion language terminology is still maintained.

> "Labeling the work of Aldo Lanzini is a complicated task. Combining design, fashion and art, the designer is an ace with the crochet hook, which he uses to create garments, toys and masks that are independently based on good humor. In his pieces the main concept is the creative process without knowing the end result: almost like a schizophrenic grandmother who cannot stop knitting. (…) Theatricality and skill at the service of the needle that never ceases to amaze: the latest crochet revolution born in Italy." (Paz, 16)

Paz's interplay with "image clothing" and "written garment" is utterly artistic. At an imagistic level, clothing becomes a metaphor rather than a utilitarian artifact, while the written descriptions that accompany it are themselves artistic renderings, depicting not factual textures, but states, moods, mirroring inner feelings or even attitudes. Their value would be just as aesthetic as the image of a white summer dress fluttering in the sun in a romantic literary work, where the focus is not on the garment itself, but rather on the symbolism it conveys.

3.1. Conveying Meaning through Social Media

There appears to be a change in the structure of the language of fashion when the latter is employed across social media channels. While a certain degree of complexity is achieved in traditional high-end fashion publications, where the fusion with other artistic fields such as art, cinema, to a limited extent even with literature, can be readily noticed, there is a general tendency towards simplification when it comes to the social media outlets. Thus, while the complexity of the notion of fashion as a language is better reflected in specialty publications, be they digital or otherwise, the language of fashion existent in the social media becomes simplified in order to reach a wider and more diversified public. Therefore, it becomes a language meant for everyone, brief, less complex in a bid to lose complexity and gain accessibility.

Taking into account the context of communication, the shift in the nature of the language of fashion present in social media presents the features of what one could identify as "momentary language". This approach is justified by understanding that most interactions that occur in this environment are brief, pertaining strictly to the present. Even for the nature of a specialized language such as is the case with the language of fashion, this translates into briefer manner of communication with the core message concentrated in a sentence, more similar to a slogan. In social media, language is used together with visual support and acts as a conveyer of meaning together with what is artistically rendered by way of photography.

Considering the increasing number of interactions in the virtual environment, within which social media is one of the most popular tools for communicating a new, more concise meaning, one could consider the idea that also the language of fashion gives way to a new type of language altogether and a new manner of communicating meaning, by way of a visual metaphor reinforced by written content.

4. Conclusion

Fashion can be understood to have a language of its own. It is a specialized language used on an international scale making use of common technical elements pertaining to each language in particular, but also of internationalized elements that are acknowledged and recognized world round. The particularities of such a language can be observed and understood in more detail in the manner in which it unfolds, either in written and digital specialized publications, or in the brief and visually assisted instances encountered mostly in social media. Nevertheless, the language of fashion maintains an artistic nature as well, a nature which can be accessed by relation with other artistic fields such as the cinema, art and even literature.

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COMMUNICATION AND LANGUAGE POLICIES IN THE MEDICAL FIELD*

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ABSTRACT: This paper discusses the importance of having clear language policies in the medical world. It distinguishes between the two types of medical communication - dyadic and triadic. The paper then focuses on triadic communication and on the implication of having a doctor-patient interview mediated by a third party.
KEYWORDS: medical language policy, dyadic communication, triadic communication, medical interpreting, migrants

Communication lies at the basis of every human interaction. Of all the components of human communication, language is the one that conveys meaning in a most direct and unequivocal form. This raises a problem in the 21st century in what concerns doctor-patient communication within the context of the ever increasing globalisation. If a doctor wishes to practise in a different country, he or she will have to provide proof of competency in the official language of the state in which they intend to pursue a career. This is, however, not the case when it comes to patients. Due to an increase in mobility – either because of socio-economic reasons or for leisure pursuits – there are higher chances for a person to need medical assistance while travelling or living abroad. Therefore, doctors are more likely than ever before to be faced with language barriers when it comes to their daily routine.

What happens when patient and doctor do not share the same native language? Two of the most likely options are finding a common language – probably one which is not the mother tongue of either one of them – or finding someone to mediate their conversation. This paper analyses the manner in which languages are integrated in the field of medical education. There are two possible instances in which communication skills are taught to students at most medical universities: as part of the core curriculum – communication in the official language of the state and as part of the extended curriculum – communication in a modern language.

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1. Communication skills in the medical field

The interview is fundamental for all consultations of mentally competent and conscious patients. Doctors rely on it to discover basic and vital information in order to be able to make a diagnosis and establish the appropriate course of treatment. Furthermore, medical professionals who work directly with the patient (general practitioners, clinicians, nurses, dentists, etc.) are faced with going through an impressive number of interviews throughout their careers. Some researchers believe that in the case of doctors, the number ranges from 120,000-140,000 (Lipkin et al., 65), while others go up to around 200,000 (Kurtz et al., 14). Even the lowest estimation is an impressive number and emphasises the need of teaching communication skills in an extensive and efficient manner during the formative years of future professionals, no matter the number of interviews they will perform throughout their career.

There are two central aspects of doctor-patient communication: medical professional-centred aspects and patient-centred ones. The former include diagnosis and treatment plan, while the latter revolve around the needs, expectations and fears of the patient. The skills needed to accomplish all of these aspects in a consultation require a great amount of instruction and practice for the students. (Hess et al.)

Future medical professionals need to acquire a set of communication skills which would aid them in their daily routine. They need to be able to express themselves in various situations. I would classify these into two major categories at first, according to the type of receiver in the scheme of communication. One would be when they need to communicate with other medical professionals and the other with patients or with their patients' family members. The first instance would be the simplest one, since there is or should be no need to take care of the way in which they encode the message, i.e. they would be able to use as much medical vocabulary as they want. The situation becomes a lot more complicated when the receiver is someone who has no medical background. In this case, the transmitter has to be skilful enough to adapt their vocabulary to the receiver's level of comprehension. In my experience of working on role-playing speaking tasks with students, this is one of the most difficult aspects of communication for them. They have problems in selecting the simplest option for one particular concept. This might be due to the fact that they are exposed to highly specialised terminology on a daily basis.

The interviewer must obtain the necessary information regarding the medical and social background of the patient, but also provides the latter with the chance of expressing concerns about their past or present medical conditions. (Boyd & Heritage, 151-152)

Even if most data comes from studying medical doctors, and less from other professionals in the medical fields, it would be safe to assume that this notion is applicable not only to doctors, but also to pharmacists, nurses, dentists and any other medical professionals who need to communicate with patients. The importance of being able to conduct a patient interview is of paramount importance for the success of any medical interview.

Communication is of such great importance in the medical field that when done effectively, it leads to a higher patient satisfaction, a better compliance with instructions and treatment, and not as many requests for referrals by the patients. (Ferguson & Candib) Furthermore, when patients feel like "partners in the medical dialogue, rather than as mere reporters of symptoms, they become more willing to ask questions or express concerns, and they are more likely to receive useful information about their illness and therapeutic plan." (Angelelli, 16)

Therefore, if the healthcare provider is not able to make the patient properly understand the diagnosis, instructions and treatment plan, their communication fails. On the other hand, if the former manages to properly deliver his message, the medical encounter will prove to have been successful and efficient.

1.1. The native speakers

Medical professionals are extensively trained to deal with situations in which communication takes place between native or proficient speakers of the same language. When this is the case, the consultation becomes much simpler from a linguistic point of view, since there are no language barriers to interfere with the conveying of meaning from one interlocutor to another.

Nonetheless, performing a successful interview requires a lot from the part of the professional. They must be "objective, precise, sensitive, specific, and reliable when making observations about the patient's illness." (Coulehan & Block, 3)

Coulehan and Block continue to describe each of the principles stated above. The following represents a brief overview of their considerations, along with supplementary information when needed. (Coulehan & Block, 4-44)

The principle of objectivity entails that the medical professionals need to put aside any preconceptions that would interfere with them observing exactly what the patient intends to express, and not what the professionals would believe to be the case. Their preconceptions can be related to chronic illnesses of the patient, age or gender-specific medical conditions. This entails that the practitioner would ignore symptoms the patient mentions that might lead to finding the proper diagnosis.

Precision involves linguistic skills to a greater extent, since it requires the interviewer to have the ability to formulate questions in such a manner that he would elicit very precise answers from the patient regarding their symptomatology.

Sensitivity and specificity are principles that are more closely connected to medicine, in that a symptom can be sensitive, i.e. common for many patients, but also for several medical conditions, whereas specificity means that a symptom is strongly linked to a certain condition, but there are few patients who present with that particular symptom.

Reliability is also referred to as reproducibility, meaning that the same results should be achieved by several interviewers. This is, at times, obstructed by the patients themselves, who could change the manner in which they present their symptoms as they keep repeating them to various medical professionals, or they might forget or remember a piece of information that might not seem important from their perspective, but could be crucial from the one of a trained professional.

Therefore, when it comes to communication between native speakers, precision is the principle that requires more language skills than the rest. This means that the interviewer is able to elicit more accurate data by asking the appropriate questions. Communication is very much facilitated when both interlocutors have the same native language, since there are no difficulties in understanding one another, as long as the medical professional uses lay terms and not a highly specialised vocabulary when speaking to the patient.

1.2. The non-native speakers

In the present-day world, people tend to interact more than ever before. Human interaction is generally facilitated by language, but there are instances when language becomes a barrier for proper interaction. When it comes to healthcare, there are many cases in which patients and medical practitioners might have problems in understanding one another. Legislation generally ensures language proficiency for the non-native professional by requiring proof of language competency, but what do legal frameworks do for patients who do not speak the same language as their doctors or nurses?

There are countries that have clear legislation intended to protect the welfare of the patient, but there are still many places around the world that have not yet taken to solving this particular problem. Third party professional interpreters are rarely used in order to facilitate communication between patient and doctor or other members of a hospital staff, even if the legal framework of a country supports the idea of using interpreters. This fact has several causes: hospitals might not have full-time interpreters who can work on shifts, thus ensuring permanent and quick services for patients. This is generally not cost-effective at all, since most hospitals do not need interpreting services on a daily basis. Members of medical staff seem to prefer to ask family members who come with the patient to offer help in communication either because they do not have an interpreter available, or they are faced with time constraints for waiting for a professional to arrive. (Phelan 2018, 68-69)

2. Language interpreting in a medical environment

Ingrid Kurtz, interpreter and historian of the profession, gives an outline of the history of interpreting and its importance in her acceptance speech of the Danica Seleskovitch Prize. She starts talking about the use and importance of interpreters starting from the Ancient Egypt of the third millennium BC, going through Ancient Rome and Greece, the Aztec Empire, etc. Generally, interpreters were used in one of the following situations: trade, military, diplomatic and political meetings, spreading religion, conquering and discovering. (Kurtz 2012)

In the case of medicine, the need for interpreters is a rather recent occurrence. Research has been founded particularly on the needs in terms of healthcare of migrants and large, somewhat enclosed ethnic groups. In the ethnically-diverse

United States, most research is based on Latin-Americans and Asian-Americans, who tend to live in more enclosed communities, thus making it more likely for the patients to be less than proficient in English. The smaller, more scattered ethnic groups are not faced with the same problem, since they must interact with native speakers of English on a daily basis. This exposes them more to the natural language, meaning that they will unavoidably acquire better skills in English. In Europe, the linguistic scenario is diverse due to several factors. First and foremost, there are more nations with clearly delimitated legal, natural and socio-cultural borders, which have created, over the span of centuries, several distinct languages. Secondly, Europeans tend to move more within the member states of the Union due to fewer and fewer legal restrictions than several decades ago. Europeans tend to settle in other countries within the European Union, not only to travel for business or leisure. Lastly, due to the recent socio-political events of the Middle East, there are many immigrants coming to Europe and further adding to the linguistic diversity of the old continent. A lack of interpreters may cause several problems for the medical process. First, patients might try to avoid seeking medical services. When they have no other choice, they will go to a doctor and one of the following scenarios will happen: they will try to find a bridge language or will try to find someone – a family member or a member of their linguistic/ethnic community – to mediate communication for them. If we take into consideration the first scenario, the outcome of the consultation depends exclusively on the language level of both interlocutors. If the patient makes use of someone close to them to act as their interpreter, the problems become more intricate. For instance, the 'interpreter' might overestimate their level of the language used by the doctor, therefore misinterpreting information in both directions, which could have serious consequences: either a misdiagnosis will be given by the medical professional, or treatment and follow-up instructions will not be accurately given to the patient. On the other hand, even if the ad hoc interpreter is very skilled both in the source language, as well as in the target one, the patient might be reluctant to disclose all the medically-relevant information to someone who is not a medical professional simply because they might be embarrassed. (Phelan 2012, 333-336)

The right to health and healthcare cannot be denied, but the language barrier could make the process of providing healthcare more difficult, or even impede it altogether. Therefore, solutions must exist when such a situation arises.

2.1. Training medical interpreters

One of the safest solutions to the aforementioned problem is using an interpreter to facilitate communication between the medical professional and the patient. But how skilled are the interpreters who are available for this task? Is there enough need for medical interpreting in order to justify specialized training programmes at an undergraduate or graduate level?

The most acclaimed pursuit of interpreters has been conference interpreting, as opposed to community interpreting which entails the provision of services in legal, administrative and healthcare contexts. (Ertl & Pöllabauer 2010)

Ertl and Pöllabauer (2010) offer a brief overview of the situation of training interpreters for medical purposes and find that it is anything but standardised – training programmes vary greatly in terms of duration, content, qualifications, etc.

Community interpreting courses can range from 'orientation courses' (20 hours) to full academic courses that span over several years. "The shortest courses tend to be non-language-specific, covering only issues relating to ethics and role. Longer courses include language-specific practical classes where students are exposed to simulated situations." (Hale, 168)

This could help in contouring an answer to the question I stated in terms of there being enough need for medical interpreters. Of course, the demographics of every state or region are the main reason for a need or lack thereof of such a specialised profession. Countries that have large ethnic minorities are more likely to have such training programmes, irrespective of the form in which they are presented – full academic degrees, or specialisation courses offered by a range of institutions, from employers to professional organizations, to universities. (Niska 2005)

2.2. Triadic medical communication – companions and interpreters

Communication needs at least two people in order to exist. This minimum requirement is also the traditional setting and probably the most frequent instance within the healthcare system. It is the ideal setting in order for the message to be delivered without any hindrance from one participant to the other.

Nonetheless, in a medical setting, there are many situations in which a third person appears in this generally dual relationship. The third participant in the conversation is the parent or legal guardian in the case of paediatric consultations, various family members for elderly patients, friends or family members in the case of oncology consultations. In a review of studies regarding triadic consultations in the case of adult patients, Laidsaar-Powell et al. (3-13) found that there are generally no hindrances when a companion is involved in the consultation. There are instances in which the companion can even prove useful offering emotional support for the patient (e.g. in oncological consultations) or providing the doctor with additional information about the medical history of the patient (mostly in elderly patients in need of help and in the case of passive, uncooperative patients). Therefore, these categories of companions for adults generally do not affect and even facilitate communication between the doctor and patient. However, there are situations in which a third party affects change in a consultation, either in regard to its duration (extending it by approximately 20%), or in regard to the flow of information from patient to doctor and vice-versa. Some patients prefer not to disclose some information in the presence of a companion and they also prefer that some information be not disclosed by their doctor in front of the third party. Therefore, triadic consultations can affect the principle of doctor-patient confidentiality.

There is a particular category of triadic consultations, that in which the companion is an interpreter. In the study Doctor–patient communication in primary care with an interpreter: Physician perceptions of professional and family interpreters (Rosenberg et al., 286-292), the authors present interesting results obtained after analysing 24 consultations that took place in the presence of an interpreter. 12 facilitators were ‘lay interpreters’ – 10 family members and 2 strangers and the rest were professional interpreters – all of whom were “assigned through the Quebec Agence de la Santé et des Services Sociaux and had received 45 h of training and passed formal competence testing.” (Rosenberg et al., 287)

The study showed some common grounds in situations using both types of interpreters – namely the fact that there is delay between giving and receiving information, which does affect the physician’s train of thought in the medical process. Perhaps even more importantly, the doctor-patient relationship was hindered even to the extent that some doctors felt that it did not exist at all. Patients seemed to form a relationship with their interpreters rather than with their doctors because they were the only ones they could directly communicate with. Doctors were able to see the interpreters more like “translating machines”, but the patients were not able to do so. Doctors do feel more confident when it comes to information provided by the professional interpreter. This is due to the fact that they believe that professionals are more likely to be objective and accurate in their rendition of the information provided by the patients, most likely because of their previous training. Family members, on the other hand, can give their own view of the patient’s symptoms or situation, since they have a strong connection with the patient. However, the physicians were concerned about the extent of the information provided by both types of interpreters. Furthermore, the physicians felt that their patients were, in general, more willing to disclose sensitive personal information through their professional interpreters than through other people due to their obligation to maintain confidentiality. The doctors participating in the study were, in some instances, pleased to have family members as interpreters because they could offer more information about the patient, much like in the situation of companions to consultation presented above. (Rosenberg et al., 288-291)

A triadic setting is clearly not ideal when it comes to doctor-patient communication, but which is the better alternative: using a professional interpreter or a lay one? It is difficult to answer such a question because there are many variables to take into account. These variables could be put into two major categories: linguistic proficiency and objectivity. The former category encompasses the interpreter’s ability to translate and transmit information from one communicator to the other in terms of accuracy and completeness, their ability to render para-verbal components to their translation and also their role as cultural mediator. Objectivity concerns the ability of the third person to pass on the information as it is given by the patient without offering their own input on the subject.

3. Language and healthcare institutions

There was a time when language barriers in public institutions were not so noticeable since ethnic and, therefore, language diversity was not so great.

Healthcare providers were very unlikely to be faced with a patient who did not speak the same language as they did. Nowadays the situation must be discerned from an entirely different perspective. Western countries have been faced with the need to provide adequate care for immigrants who do not speak the official language(s) for several years now.

The field of language management has seen various attempts of governments to break down the language barrier in different public institutions. This is because of the fact that many Western countries have been faced with the necessity to provide access to health and legal institutions for immigrants for some time now.

Spolsky (126-128) claims that in the late 2000s the United States were faced with finding solutions to improve the quality of medical services in terms of language interpreting. It was thought that this might lessen the number of deaths related to medical errors. One of the solutions was to eliminate family members from the range of possible interpreters to be used in an examination. This meant that the remaining options were rather limited. The limitations were not brought on by a lack of choices, but were rather hindered by their economic impact. The New York State Department of Health gave guidelines for hospitals to make use of "bilingual hospital staff, interpreters, volunteers, and telephone language assistance lines" and to have versions of important forms in common languages, as well as mentioning the patient's preferred language on their chart. (Spolsky, 127-128) In theory, this model of language management seems to be a good one, but Spolsky (127) also points out that "in December 2005, Denver Health reported it was spending more than $1 million to provide interpreting services in more than 160 languages. Representatives of managed care plans in California estimate that it will cost $15 million to provide qualified interpreters in place of the children commonly used." This is certainly not a cost-effective solution for the health budget of any state.

Priebe et al. (2011) have researched the difficulties of providing medical care for immigrants in 16 European countries. The study was based on interviewing hospital staff – practitioners (doctors, nurses, psychologists, physiotherapists), social workers and managers or administrative personnel. The staff presented various concerns about treating immigrants, documented or not.

First and foremost, they reported problems regarding language barriers: inability to understand their patients or their patients' misunderstanding them and vice-versa. They were concerned that their patients had to undergo more extensive physical examinations and more diagnostic tests if their language proved to be a barrier in communication. Furthermore, problems arose even when they had family members acting as *ad hoc* interpreters. One complaint was that they could not discuss personal intimate problems with their patients when a young child or grandchild was the person mediating the medical interview. This seems to be a frequent case when it comes to immigrants. The reasons could be that the child in question was either born and raised in the country where his family settled, or simply because being exposed to a foreign language, he acquired it at a much faster pace than the adults. Another major concern of the medical staff was that family members might "be selective in what they translate, summarising or even censoring the communication between the patient and the doctor." (Priebe et al., 5)

Several other issues were reported by the participants to the study. Out of these, one is particularly interesting and linked to the patient's linguistic universe. Doctors have reported that different nations can have different understandings and representations of an illness. A doctor from Denmark talks about a patient of his from Somalia. The woman presented with back pain. The conventional treatment – medication was not what this particular patient expected to receive from the doctor. As far as she understood her body and the concept of pain, the latter was just air moving around inside her which needed to be let out. Therefore, she expected the doctor to perforate her shoulder so that the cause of her pain could escape her body. (Priebe et al., 6) Of course, this type of major cultural differences can be expected to be found in Europe only in the case of migrants who come from outside the old continent or the Americas, Australia and so on. Nonetheless, chances are increasingly higher for such encounters to take place. In cases such as this, the role of the interpreter is even more important since he or she must also be highly knowledgeable in the culture of the patient. Therefore, the interpreter would have to also play the part of a cultural mediator.

Such an event raises another concern regarding the training of professional medical interpreters. Apart from being highly skilled in medical terminology, they should also be well versed in the culture of the patient in order to ensure cultural mediation as well. In the previously mentioned case, the doctor stated that "even with an interpreter it was very difficult to explain so we had to find my anatomy book and show [...] her problem with the back was with muscles and that there was no air here. She kind of understood though she did not look completely convinced, but she took the pills and it helped." (Priebe et al., 6)

According to this study, doctors perceive cultural awareness as being very important in their practice. This is evidently due to the fact that patient satisfaction and compliance are improved if the patients feel that their doctors were not only professional, but also respectful towards them. Some of the respondents to this study viewed experience and training as being beneficial for their ability to properly relate to migrant patients. Having a member of the staff who comes from the same culture as some of their patients would prove very useful to make them more aware of the various needs of their patients. Furthermore, they suggested that university courses in migrant culture and also specific diseases which they might have would be very useful for the training of medical practitioners. (Priebe et al., 8-9)

Therefore, medical professionals are in need of solutions that would provide the necessary tools to offer adequate care to their patients. There are two main solutions to managing this language barrier: – using translators and improving the medical professionals' foreign language knowledge. However, improving the status quo can only be done through a clear medical language policy, which is something that governments around the world need to elaborate.

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THE PAST TENSE IN COLLOCATION WITH TIME ADVERBIALS (A CONTRASTIVE APPROACH)

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ABSTRACT: The interpretation we shall commend tries to explain the meaning of the past tense in collocation with time adverbials, the aspectual properties of the past tense and 'perfect compus', their co-occurrence restrictions with various types of time adverbials, and the semantic correlates of various combinations of the past tense and adverbials of time and frequency. We will also offer an account of how the constituents of the combination past tense – time adverbial can contribute systematically to the meaning of the complete sentences within whose structures they figure.
KEYWORDS: collocation, semantic interpretation, aspectual properties, time reference, semantic unity

The area covered by the past tense is most interesting for contrastive purposes. It is most difficult to find one to one equivalences because Romanian has three tense forms against two in English (perfect compus, imperfect, perfect simplu vs. past tense and past tense continuous). On the other hand, one Romanian tense corresponds to two English forms (perfect compus vs. present perfect and past tense). The ambiguity exhibited by the 'perfect compus' can be seen from the fact that in the tense-system it occupies two distinct positions. A comparison with English makes this ambiguity even more obvious. The Romanian tense collapses the major uses of the English tenses which belong to different subsystems: the English present perfect and the English past tense belonging to the past subsystems.[1]

Romanian grammarians have interpreted the aspectual value of anteriority of the 'perfect compus' as an order formula. An action completed before the moment of speech is a past action. The evolution of this tense is thus from an aspectual form indicating anteriority to an order form indicating past time. This development manifests itself in the capacity of the 'perfect compus' to co-occur with all the adverbs indicating definite past time: *He came yesterday/A venit ieri.* From the

[1] Diachronically speaking, in early Romanian this tense was, like the English present perfect, an aspectual form indicating the result of an activity expressed by a transitive verb: *Am scrisoarea scrisă – Am scris scrisoarea/I have written the letter.* The second form in Romanian was then generalized for both transitive and intransitive verbs, the result being what is generally called the resultative value of the 'perfect compus' (see Alexandra Petrovanu-Cornilescu, *Towards…,* p. 67)

point of view of its temporal structure, the ‘perfect compus’ becomes a chronological synonym of the ‘imperfect’ and the ‘perfect simplu’ as well as the English past tense. As for the distance from the moment of report, ‘perfect compus’ can range from a distant past to a near present: *I have read a novel/Am citit un roman* means that at the moment of report the reading came to an end. This moment can be very close to the moment of speaking, but also more remote; the objective reality is of no interest to the reporter, who is merely interested in the way he considers the activity and not in the time distance between the moment of report and the activity (Iordan 1975: 136).

On the other hand, the ‘perfect simplu’ does not express anteriority; hence it does not normally occur with *already/deja.* Being non-durative, it does not normally occur with adverbials which indicate duration of the activity up to or at the moment of reference. Verbs that imply a durative activity and states are rarely used in the ‘perfect simplu’. When duration is implied, it must be limited by the object: *El bău un pahar cu apă/He drank a glass of water;* if the object does not limit the duration of the activity, the ‘perfect simplu’ is not acceptable: **El bău apă.* There exist verbs which, if used in the ‘perfect simplu’ without a limitation of the activity change their meaning. Consider: *Copilul sare (coarda)* implies a repeated activity, while *Copilul sări coarda* is assigned a repetitive reading only if an adverbial is added to limit the period when the activity takes place. Expressions that take two verbs, of which one is punctual and the other one is durative, are correct only if both verbs are in the ‘perfect compus’: *A căzut bolnav şi a zăcut.* The ‘perfect simplu’ is not correct because of the durative nature of the verb *a zăcea: *Căzu bolnav şi zăcu*. The same reason prevents the ‘perfect simplu’ to be associated with the ‘imperfect’: *Treceam pe stradă şi l-am văzut* is correct, but *Treceam pe stradă şi-l văzui* is not. Mention must be made of the fact that, in temporal clauses, we can use the ‘perfect simplu’ if the action expressed by the verb is limited by its relation to the main clause; we cannot say in an independent clause *El bău,* but we can say *După ce bău, se şterse la gură* (Graur 1955: 138).

In English the ‘perfect simplu’ is rendered by the past tense and that is why the nature of the verb does not play the role that it plays in Romanian. The English past tense is not sensitive to the nature of the verb (punctual or durative) as the Romanian ‘perfect simplu’ is.[2] Both ‘perfect simplu’ and ‘perfect compus’ function in opposition with the ‘imperfect’ and thus the opposition between the two perfect tenses is almost inexistent (Iordan 1956: 623).[3] There are very few contexts where they cannot be interchangeable. Both can function as narrative tenses. In

[2] The ‘perfect simplu’ is not employed in all dialects in Romanian. The dialects that still use it make a slight difference between the meaning of the ‘perfect simplu’ and ‘perfect compus’. The former is employed to describe a recent activity and the latter to express a more remote activity. In writing, the situation seems to be the other way round: the ‘perfect simplu’ seems to be employed for distant past.

[3] Iorgu Iordan says that the ‘perfect simplu’ marks a past activity which lasted (theoretically) a single moment, hence perfective, without relating the moment of its perfection to the present moment, while the ‘perfect compus’ relates the activity to the moment of report, presenting it as accomplished before the moment of speech.

standard Romanian the difference between these two tenses is largely statistical.[4] Through its capacity to refer to the present, the 'perfect compus' is felt to be livelier, bringing the action closer to the present. That is why this form is extensively used in dialogues where the 'perfect simplu' is excluded.

There are two elements of meaning involved in the commonest use of the past tense (Quirk et al. 1985: 183). One basic element of meaning is: 'the happening takes place before the present moment', which means that the present moment is excluded: *I lived in London for ten years/Am locuit la Londra zece ani*, makes it clear that I no longer live there. Another element of meaning is: 'the speaker has a definite time in mind'. This specific time in the past is characteristically named by an adverbial expression accompanying the past tense verb: *Years ago this town was a beauty spot/Cu ani în urmă acest oraş era o frumuseţe; He arrived the day before yesterday/A sosit alaltăieri.*

The meaning of the indefinite time adverbials also fits the meaning of the simple past tense (Zdrenghea 1996: 136). Adverbials that express 'limited duration' are usually expressions built-up by a temporal preposition and a temporal noun: *for a day*, *for a moment*, *in one hour*, etc. Durative prepositions have a durative verb, but the meaning of the noun can be either durative or punctual: *The performance lasted for three hours* or *The performance lasted until midnight.* On the other hand, punctual prepositions require a punctual verb and either a punctual or durative temporal noun: *They both arrived at noon* or *Anne finished her assignment within three hours.*

Predications that involve DURATION may collocate with punctual time expressions. In this case the predication is assumed to begin at the time indicated by the adverbial: *Anne had dinner at six.* The meaning of the dates (Thursday, etc.) that can refer either to single or to repeated events force an interpretation of repetition: *He played football on Sunday.* In Romanian this reading requires the 'imperfect'. The 'perfect compus' is employed only if a sigle reading is forced by the definite adverbial (*last Sunday*): *He played football last Sunday/A jucat fotbal duminica trecută*.

A sentece containing a stative verb and a *for*-phrase time specification will have only a single reading: *He loved Anne for three years/A iubit-o pe Ann trei ani.* The stative nature of the verb indicates that repetition fails to characterize the predication. The *for*-phrase temporal adverbial with accomplishments gives an ambiguous meaning between a repetitive reading and a reading in which the adverbial delimits the duration of the result-state which the single act indicated by the verb produces: *They jailed Robin Hood for four years/L-au întemniţat pe Robin Hood patru ani.* Achievements allow only *in*+phrase time adverbials: *He reached the top of the mountain in half an hour/A ajuns în vârful muntelui într-o jumătate de oră*.

The meaning of the 'perfect compus' and the 'past tense' is also compatible with adverbials that indicate time frequency (*again*, *once*, *twice*, etc.). Within this

[4] However, they can be contrasted precisely in contexts which presuppose [+ANTERIORITY] and [+DURATION]: *Am scris deja scrisoarea/Scrise deja scrisoarea* but **Scrise scrisoarea.*

class we distinguish adverbials that indicate a single occurrence: *He lied to me once only/M-a minţit doar o singură dată*. *Once* in the numerical sense may be combined with both a simple past and a past perfect, but with the meaning 'once upon a time' it takes the simple past tense form only: *I once thought he would marry her/Cândva m-am gândit că se va căsători cu ea*.

Adverbials that express time frequency with more than one occurrence do not differ too much from the ones that express single occurrence. The only difference is that they contribute to the combined meaning a concept of repetition in addition to the one of limitation: *John met Mary at the airport on six occasions/John a aşteptat-o pe Mary la aeroport de şase ori.* The meaning of the 'perfect compus' and the simple past tense accept collocation with adverbials indicating usual or continuous occurrence: *normally, always, regularly,* etc.*: He often visited him at his residence in California/L-a vizitat deseori la reşedinţa lui din California.* These adverbials do not have in the description of their meanings a mark indicating limitation and that is why they are usually accompanied by an adverbial of definite time specification: *He often visited him at his residence in California last summer/Vara trecută l-a vizitat deseori la reşedinţa sa din California.* No element of definition is present when the past tense combines with *always* and *never: He always said that Ann would marry him/El întotdeauna a spus că Anne se va căsători cu el; Maisie was never a good friend/Maisie n-a fost niciodată o prietenă bună.* The fact that these adverbials do not require any definite specification is accounted for by the possibility of their collocation with a present perfect the meaning of which is clearly indefinite. A combination with the simple past tense is more idiomatic, and the reference to 'now', which is implied in the perfect, will often be felt to be unnatural and unnecessary.

The meaning of statives comes in conflict with the meaning of adverbials of frequency: *John often thought that Mary was a nice girl,* but if *think* is used actively, the combination is possible: *John often thought of Mary/John s-a gândit deseori la Mary.* There is a compatibility between the meaning of the simple past tense and the meaning of a combination between an adverbial of frequency and an adverbial of indefinite time indicating limited duration: *Mary worked daily for two hours to prepare her talk at the Convention/Maisie a lucrat zilnic două ore ca să-şi pregătească discursul la Conferinţă.*

With the 'perfect compus' and the 'past tense', the difference between 'state' and 'event' is less significant than it is with the present tense (Palmer 1967: 189). Indeed, as the past tense applies only to completed happenings, everything it refers to is in a sense an 'event', an episode seen as a total entity. There is nothing in the past corresponding to an indefinitely extensive present state, insofar as whole lifetimes or even whole eras of civilisation may, in historical retrospect, appear as complete, unitary happenings, as in the example suggested by Leech (1971: 10): *William Barnes was born, lived and died in his beloved country of Dorset/William Barnes s-a născut, a trăit şi a murit în ţinutul iubit Dorset.* Thus for the simple past tense there is no clear-cut contrast between 'event' and 'state' uses, corresponding to that between the instantaneous and unrestrictive presents. There is, however, a distinction to be drawn between the unitary past and the habitual past, describing a repeated event. In Romanian this distinction is marked by the use of the 'perfect compus' for the unitary past and the 'imperfect' for the habitual past. In English the simple past is used in both instances: *I met him after the war/L-am întâlnit după război* (unitary past); *In those days I enjoyed a game of tennis/Pe atunci mai făceam câte un meci de tennis.*

A distinction must be drawn between past events happening **simultaneously** and past events happening in a **sequence**. The events happening simultaneously are rendered in Romanian by the 'imperfect' and in English by the 'past tense': *He enjoyed and admired the poems of Eminescu/Îi plăceau şi admira poeziile lui Eminescu*. The events happening in sequence are expressed in Romanian by the 'perfect compus' and in English by the 'simple past': *He said good-bye and left/A spus la revedere şi a plecat.* The sentence *He enjoyed and admired the poems of Eminescu* does not alter its meaning if the order of the verbs is reversed, but an alteration of the order of verbs in *He said good-bye and left* suggests an alteration of the order in which the action took place: **He left and said good bye.* Sometimes, as in *He shaved and listened to the radio/S-a ras şi a ascultat radioul* it is not clear in English whether the happenings are meant to be at the same time or one after the other. In Romanian the use of the 'perfect compus' marks sequence and the use of the 'imperfect' marks simultaneity: *Se rădea şi asculta radioul.* However, with these verbs there is no clear-cut distinction between 'sequence' and 'simultaneity'. If the Romanian sentence *S-a ras şi a ascultat radioul* seems to indicate clearly unitary activities in a sequence, the sentence *Se rădea şi asculta radioul* is ambiguous between habitual activities occurring simultaneously or in a sequence. When the happenings have only a brief duration, however, it is more natural to regard them as stages in a sequence, especially in narrative contexts.

Other temporal relations between two consecutive past tense forms are possible if overtly signaled by a conjunction or adverbial expressions, or if made clear by our knowledge of historical precedence (Leech 1971: 90): *Their party came in sight of the mountain top three hours after ours actually reached it/Grupul lor a ajuns în vârful muntelui la trei ore după ce am ajuns noi.* The verb of the first sentence actually signals a time later than the second. English and Romanian do not forbid this arrangement, although good style in English more frequently dictates the opposite ordering, or the use of the 'past perfect'.

A special development of the normal past meaning, both in English and Romanian, is the use of the past tense, in some contexts of everyday conversation, to refer to the present; reference is made, in fact, to the feelings and thoughts of the persons involved in conversation: *‚Did you look for me', asks John. ‚Yes, I hoped you would give me a hand to move the piano upstairs', answers Jimmy/‚M-ai căutat', întreabă John ‚Da', răspunde Jimmy, ‚speram să mă ajuţi să duc pianul la etaj'.* The subject of this exchange would probably be the present wishes of Jimmy, despite the use of the past tense. The present and the past are broadly interchangeable in this context; but there is quite an important difference of tone. The effect of the past tense is to make the request indirect and therefore more polite (Leech 1971: 11). We may explain the polite connotation here as a hint that the speaker is no longer necessarily committed to the feelings mentioned; that he is quite prepared to change his own attitude in the light of that of the listener. The present tense in this situation would seem rather brusque and demanding – it would make the request difficult to refuse without impoliteness. The past tense, on the other hand, avoids confrontation of wills. Politeness also extends to the original question *Did you look for me?* The logically expected present tense might have peremptory overtones, and would seem to say: *Oh, it's you, is it? You always want something/Oh, iarăşi tu? Tot timpul vrei ceva.* (Leech 1971: 11) This usage is comparable with the use of the past to point a contrast with an unspoken present alternative: *I thought you were leaving (...but now I see you're not/Credeam că ai plecat)...dar acum văd că nu.* Here the non-present element of the past tense is emphasized, and the definite element is supressed; there is nothing in such sentences to say precisely when the speaker had the attitude or opinion mentioned.

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