THE STORY OF OBSTRUENT + LIQUID ONSET CLUSTERS IN THE ENGLISH CREOLES OF SURINAM

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1. The evolution of obstruent + liquid (henceforth OL) onset clusters in the English-based creoles of Surinam has been a matter of some dispute in the literature. Thus, Smith (1987:346) states that the best way to account for the reflexes of English CLV..., i.e. Sranan CrV..., Saramaccan CVV..., Ndyuka CVV..., Aluku CVV..., would be to "assume that the original Proto-Sranan pattern involved epenthesized clusters". An identical position had been defended earlier by e.g. Voorhoeve (1961:103) and Alleyne (1980:45–46). Unepenthesized OL onset clusters in earlier stages are posited by e.g. Sebba (1982) and, more recently, by Aceto (1996).

In this paper I take a new look at empirical data from the creoles at issue. Data from earlier stages of these languages are examined in light of the principles and caveats discussed in Rickford (1991) and Avram (2000).

The paper is organized as follows. In sections **2** to **6**, I proceed to a quantitative analysis of the reflexes of OL onset clusters in early Sranan, early Saramaccan, early and modern Aluku and modern Kwinti. Ndyuka is discussed in **7**. Section **8** summarizes the conclusions.

The following abbreviations are used: D – word of Dutch origin; E – word of English origin; E/D – word of English or Dutch origin; P – word of Portuguese origin. All examples are listed in the system of transcription used in the sources mentioned. OL onset clusters are counted regardless of the reflex of the original obstruent (e.g. /t/ for /θ/) or liquid (/r/ for /l/ or /l/ for /r/). "New cluster" designates a cluster, not occurring in the etymon, obtaining from e.g. syncope or metathesis.

2. Early Sranan (1718–1798)
Included here are attestations until the end of the 18th century.
2.1 Herlein (1718), in Arends and Perl (1995)
Unepenthesized reflexes of: /pl-/ - 4 forms (2 words): 2 E; /br-/ - 1 P; /tr-/ - 1 E; /dr/ - 3 (3 words): 2 E, 1 D, /kl-/ - 1 E, /gr-/ -1 P.
Retention rate of clusters= 100%
New cluster: /tr-/ - 2 (2words): 1 E, 1 E/D.
2.2 van Dyk (ca. 1765), in Arends and Perl (1995)
Unepenthesized reflexes of: /pl-/ - 10 (5 words): 3 E, 2 D; /pr-/ - 2 (2 words): 1 E, 1 D; /bl-/ - 6 (4 words): 2 E, 2 D; /br-/ - 15 (8 words): 5 E, 3 D;

/fl-/ - 1 D; /fr-/ - 6 (2 words): 4 E, 2 D; /θr-/ - 1 E; /tr-/ - 9 (6 words): 4 E, 2 D; /dr-/ - 5 (3 words): 2 E, 1 D; /kl-/ - 7 (4 words): 3 E, 1 D; /kr-/ - 11 (6 words): 3 E, 3 D; /gl-/ - 2: 1 E, 1 D; /gr-/ - 8 (5 words): 2 E, 2 D, 1 P.

Epenthesized: *kondere / konderi* (E *country*) 'country', *hangere / hangeri / hangerie* (E *hungry*) 'hunger; hungry' and *ogeri* (E *ugly*) 'evil'.

Retention rate of clusters= 93.48% of all forms, 94.22% of all words.

New clusters: /bl-/ - 1 E; /br-/ - 1 E; /tr-/ - 10 (6 words): 6 E; /kr-/ - 2 (2 words): 2 E.

2.3 Fermin (1765), *apud* Smith (1987)

Unepenthesized reflexes of: /pl-/ - 2 (1 word): 1 E; /bl-/ - 1 E; /tr-/ - 1 E; /kr-/ - 1 E.

2.4 Nepveu (1770), in Arends and Perl (1995)

Unepenthesized reflexes of: /pl-/ - 4 (3 words): 3 E; /fl-/ - 1 E; /tr-/ - 2 (2 words):1 E, 1 D; /dr-/ -6 (4 words): 3 E, 1 D; /gl-/ -1 E; /gr-/ -3 (3 words):

1 E, 2 P.

Retention rate of clusters= 100%.

New clusters: /br-/ - 5 (4 words): 3 E, 1 D; /tr-/ - 3 (3 words): 1 E, 1 D, 1 E/D; /dr-/ - 1 D; /gl-/ - 1 D; /gr-/ - 1 D.

2.5 Stedman (1777), *apud* Smith (1987)

Unepenthesized reflexes of: /pl-/ - 1 E; /bl-/ - 1 E; /br-/ - 1 E; /tr-/ - 2 (2 words): 2 E; /dr-/ - 1 E; /kr-/ - 1 E.

2.6 Schumann (1781), *apud* Bruyn (1995)

Unepenthesized reflexes of: /pl-/ - 1 E; /pr-/ - 1 E; /bl-/ - 2 (2 words): 1 E, 1 D; /br-/ - 3 (3 words): 1 E, 1 D, 1 P; /θr-/ - 1 E; /tr/ - 3 (3 words): 3 E; /kl-/ - 2 (2 words): 2 E; /kr-/ - 1 E; /gl-/ - 1 E; /gr-/ - 1 P.

New clusters: /br-/ - 2 (2 words): 2 E; /fr-/ - 1 D; /tr-/ - 1 E/D; /dr-/ - 2 (2 words): 1 E, 1 D.

2.7 Schumann (1783), *apud* Bruyn (1995)

Unepenthesized reflexes of: /pl-/ - 6 (4 words): 4 E; /pr-/ - 1 E; /bl-/ - 6 (4 words): 3 E, 1 D; /br-/ - 4 (4 words): 4 E; /fl-/ - 6 (4 words): 3 E, 1 D; /tr/ - 3 (3 words): 3 E; /dr-/ - 3 (3 words): 2 E, 1 D; /kl-/ - 7 (3 words): 3 E; /kr-/ - 1 E; /gl-/ - 1 E, /gr-/ - 5 (5 words): 5 E

New clusters: /pl-/ - 1 P; /br-/ - 1 E; /gr-/ - 1 D

2.8 Weygandt (1798), *apud* Smith (1987)

Unepenthesized reflexes of: /pl-/ - 7 (6 words): 5 E, 1 D; /pr-/ - 1 E; /bl-/ - 5 (5 words): 4 E, 1 D; /br-/ - 5 (4 words): 4 E, 1 D; /fl-/ - 4 (2 words): 1 E, 1 D; /fr-/ - 1 E; /tr-/ - 2 (2 words): 2 E; /dr-/ - 2 (1 word): 1 E; /kl-/ - 5 (3 words): 3 E; /kr-/ - 1 E; /gl-/ - 1 E; /gr-/ - 3 (3 words): 3 E.

New clusters: /br-/ - 1 E; /tr-/ - 2 (2 words): 2 E; /gr-/ - 2 (1 word): 1
D

Table 1: OL onset clusters in early Sranan (6 sources)

Herlein 1718	Van Dyk -1765-	Nepveu 1770	Schumann 1781	Schumann 1783	Weygandt 1798	etymon; gloss
plasje *plesje* *plesse*	*plessi*	*plesi* *pleisi*	*plesi*	—	*pleesie* *presie*	(E *place*) 'place'
ples	—	*plessie*	—	*plîs* *prîs*	*pliesie*	(E *to please*) 'to please'
—	—	—	*kondre*	*kondre*	*kondree*	(E *country*) 'country'
—	—	*fleij*	—	*flei* *frei*	*fley* *frei*	(E *fly*) 'fly'
—	—	—	—	*fludu* *frudu*	*fludu* *frudu*	(D *vloed*) 'flood'
—	*frede* *fredi* *vredi* *vreedi*	—	—	*fredde*	*frédee*	(E *afraid*) 'afraid'
trou	*troe* *tro*	*troe*	—	*tru*	—	(E *true*) 'true'
draei	*drey* *dry*	*dreij*	—	—	—	(E *dry*) 'dry; thirsty'
drinkje	*drinki*	*drinki*	—	—	—	(E *to drink*) 'to drink'
klosse by	*klossi by*	—	—	*klossi by* *krossi by*	*klosie by* *krosie by*	(E *close by*) 'near by'
grande	—	*grandi*	—	—	—	(P *grande*) 'big'
—	—			*hangri*	*hangrie*	(E *hungry*) 'hunger; hungry'
—	—	*ogri*	*ougri*	*ougri*	*ogrie*	(E *ugly*) 'evil'

Table 2: New OL onset clusters in early Sranan (6 sources)

Herlein 1718	Van Dyk -1765-	Nepveu 1770	Schumann 1781	Schumann 1783	Weygandt 1798	etymon; gloss
—	—	—	—	*abra*	*abra*	(E *over*) 'over'
—	—	*membre* *membri*	*membre*	*membre*	—	(E *remember*) 'to think'
—	—	*tembre*	—	—	—	(D *timmer-*) 'carpentry'
—	—	—	*tafra*	—	—	(D *tafel*) 'table'

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—	*doctre*	*datra*	—	—	*datra*	(E *doctor*)'doctor'
—	—	—	—	—	*gotroo*	(E *gutter*) 'ditch'
watre	—	*watra*	*watra*	—	—	(E/D *water*) 'water'
—	—	*nangla*	—	—	—	(D *nagel*) 'nail'
—	—	*ningre*	—	*ningre*	*nengre*	(D *neger*) 'Negro'

Except for 3 words in van Dyk (cca 1765) – all occurring without an epenthetic vowel in other contemporary sources, epenthesized OL onset clusters do not occur in the earliest records of Sranan. For the period 1718–1770, for the records analyzed entirely (Herlein 1718, van Dyk cca 1765, and Nepveu 1770), the retentioan rates amount to quite impressive averages: 97.83% of all forms, and respectively 98.07% of all words.

The absence of epenthesized OL onset clusters is conspicuous, but cannot be attributed to a flawed transcription. Indeed, the various writers do otherwise note phenomena such as the confusion of the liquids /l/ and /r/, the occurrence of paragogic vowels or the the deletion of /s/ in reflexes of etyma with /s/-initial onset clusters. It is rather unlikely that they would have all, and almost consistently, failed to transcribe epenthetic vowels.

Sranan thus appears to have allowed OL onset clusters throughout its recorded history. The OL onset clusters in Sranan reflexes of etyma with such clusters do not obtain from later "syncope of the vowel of the unstressed syllable" as claimed by Alleyne (1980).

3. Early Saramaccan (1778–1805)

For Portuguese origin of words I have consulted Ladhams (1999), while their West African origin is established on the basis of Aceto (1999).

3.1 Schumann (1778), *apud* Donicie and Voorhoeve (1962)

Unepenthesized reflexes of: /pl-/ - 8 (7 words): 3 E, 2 P, 2 D; /pr-/ - 4 (3 words): 2 E, 1 P; /bl-/ - 4 (2 words): 2 E; /br-/ - 16 (11 words): 4 E, 6 P, 1 D; /fl-/ - 7 (5 words): 1 E, 1 P, 2 D; /fr-/ - 4 (4 words): 2 E, 1 P, 1 D; /tr-/ - 14 (10 words): 6 E, 4 P; /dr-/ -9 (8 words): 5 E, 3 P, 1 D; /kl-/ - 2 (1 word): 1 E; /kr-/ - 8 (7 words): 4 E, 1 D, 2 P; /gl-/ -1 E; /gr-/ -12 (11 words): 5 E, 6 P.

Epenthesized: *bulù / nbulù* (E *brow*) 'forehead'; *-tiri* (E *tree*) 'tree', and *oter* (P *outro*) 'other'. Note, however, the occurrence of variants with unepenthesized clusters: *nblu*, *-tri* and *otro*, respectively. One other exception, *tiepa* (P *tripa*) 'guts', is most likely a misprint.

Retention rate of clusters= 96.7% of all forms, 94.56% of all words.

New clusters: /pl-/ - 3 (3 words): 1 E, 2 P; /pr-/ - 9 (8 words): 1 E, 2 D, 1 E/D, 4 P; /bl-/ - 1 P; /br-/ - 5 (5 words): 4 E, 1 P; /fl-/ - 1 P; /fr-/ - 3 (3 words): 1 E, 1 D, 1 P; /tr-/ - 9 (8 words): 3 E, 1 E/D, 4 P, /dr-/ – 6 (6 words): 2 E, 3 P, 1 D; /kr-/ - 6 (6 words): 1 E, 2 P, 1 D, 1 Efik/Igbo/Yoruba, 1 Efik/Yoruba; /gl-/ - 1 D; /gr-/ - 3 (3 words): 2 P, 1 D.

3.2 Riemer 1779, in Arends and Perl (1995)

Unepenthesized reflexes of: /pl-/ - 10 (8 words): 4 E, 2 P, 2 D; /pr-/ - 2 (2 words): 1 E, 1 P; /bl-/ - 5 (3 words): 3 E; /br-/ - 18 (12 words): 5 E, 6 P, 1 D; /fl-/ - 8 (2 words): 1 E, 1 P, 3 D; /fr-/ - 3 (3 words): 2 E, 1 P; /θr-/ - 1 E; /tr/ - 18 (11 words): 7 E, 4 P; /dr-/ - 12 (8 words): 4 E, 3 P, 1 D; /kl-/ - 4 (2 words): 2 E; /kr-/ - 11 (10 words): 5 E, 2 P, 2 D, 1 Twi; /gl-/ - 1 E; /gr-/ - 14 (10 words): 5 E, 5 P.

Epenthesized: *bulû* / *nbulu* (E *brow*) 'forehead', *-tiri* (E *tree*) 'tree', and *oter* (P *outro*) 'other'. Note again the unepenthesized variants *nblu*, *-tri*, and *otro* respectively.

Retention rate of clusters= 97.2% of all forms, 96.05 of all words

New clusters: /pl-/ - 3 (3 words): 1 E, 2 P; /pr-/ - 8 (7 words): 1 E, 4 P, 1 D, 1 E/D; /bl-/ - 1 P; /br/ - 4 (4 words): 4 E; /fl-/ - 1 P; /fr/ 3 (3 words): 1 E, 1 P, 1 D; /tr-/ - 10 (8 words): 3 E, 4 P, 1 E/D; /dr-/ - 7 (7 words): 2 E, 3 P, 2 D; /kr-/ - 6 (6 words):1 E, 2 P, 1 D, 1 Efik/Igbo/Yoruba, 1 Efik/Ibibio; /gl-/ - 1 D; /gr-/ - 3 (3 words): 1 P, 2 D.

3.3 Maroon letter (1789), *apud* Smith (1987)

Unepenthesized reflex of: /br-/ - 2 (1 word): 1 E

3.4 Maroon letter (1790), in Arends and Perl (1995)

Unepenthesized reflexes of: /br-/ - 3 (3 words): 1 E, 1 P, 1 D; /tr-/ - 1 E; /kr-/ - 1 D; /gr-/ - 1 E.

Retention rate of clusters= 100%.

New clusters: /br-/ - 2 E.

3.5 Maroon letter (1791), in Arends and Perl (1995)

Unepenthesized reflexes of: /pl-/ - 1 E; /bl-/ - 1 E; /br-/ - 1 E

Retention rate of clusters= 100%

New clusters: /br-/ - 2 E; /tr-/ - 1 E.

3.6 Wietz (1805), *apud* Voorhoeve (1961), Smith (1999)

Unepenthesized reflexes of: /pr-/ - 1 P; /tr-/ - 2 (2 words): 1 E, 1 P; /kr-/ - 1 E; /gr-/ - 1 E.

New cluster: /kr-/ - 1 E.

Table 3: OL onset clusters in early Saramaccan (6 sources)

Schumann 1778	Riemer 1779	letter 1789	letter 1790	letter 1791	Wietz 1805	etymon; gloss

praija	*praija*	—	—	—	*praija*	(P *espraiar*) 'to scatter'
pre	*pre*	—	—	*preh*	—	(E *play*)'play
blakka *brakka*	*blakka* *brakka*	—	—	*blakka*	—	(E *black*) 'black'
brára	*brara*	*brala* *brara*	*brara*	*brara*	—	(E *brother*) 'brother'
kubri	*kubri*	—	*kubri*	—	—	(P *cubrir*) 'cover'
tranga	*tranga*	—	*tranga*	*tranga*	—	(E *strong*) 'strength'
kontri	*contri* *kontri*	—	*contri*	*contri* *contri-*	*kondre*	(E *country*) 'country'
tripa	*-tripa*	—	—	—	*tripa*	(P *tripa*) 'guts'
tru	*tru*	—	—	*troe*	—	(E *true*) 'true'
kre	*kreh*	—	—	*kreh*	—	(E *cry*) 'to cry'
skrifi	*skrifi*	—	*schriffi*	—	—	(D *schrijven*) 'to write'
krukkutu	*krukkutu*	—	—	—	*krukkutu*	(E *crooked*) 'wrong'
grang	*grang*	—	—	*grang*	—	(P *grão*) 'great'
hangri	*hangri*	—	*hangri*	*hangri*	—	(E *hungry*) 'yearning'
grun	*grunn*	—	*grond*	—	*grun*	(E *ground*) 'ground'

Table 4: New OL onset clusters in early Saramaccan (5 sources)

Schumann 1778	Riemer 1779	letter 1790	letter 1791	Wietz 1805	etymon; gloss
bríbi	*bribi*	*bribi*	—	—	(E *believe*) 'belief'
dübri	*dübri*	*dubri*	*dubri*	—	(E *devil*) 'devil'
membre	*membre*	—	*membre*	—	(E *remember*) 'to think'
watra	*watra*	—	*watra*	—	(E/D *water*) 'water'
kruttu	*kruttu*	—	—	*krottu-*	(E *court*) 'court'

Voorhoeve (1961:105) claims that since "at present some interconsonantal vowels may be shortened considerably especially when a vowel of the same quality follows [...] I think that the translator failed to hear these shortened vowels". However, Schumann (1778), for one, appears to have been aware of the occurrence of variants with epenthetic vowels, as shown by Aceto (1996:27). Moreover, as shown above, OL onset clusters are independently recorded in (at least) five other sources.

Smith (1987:346) states that "the recorders' knowledge of the source languages conceivably played a role" in the transcription without epenthetic vowels. However, Schumann (1778), Riemer (1779) and Wietz (1805) listed forms with OL onset clusters irrespective of the source language, i.e. English, Portuguese or Dutch. Also, their knowledge of the source languages did not prevent them from noting e.g. paragogic vowels or the

simplification of /s/-initial onset clusters via /s/ deletion. Finally, why would Schumann (1778) and Riemer (1779) "fail" to transcribe the "missing" vowel in *akra* (Efik/Igbo/Yoruba *akara*) and *bakkra* (Efik/Ibibio *mbakara*), since, in all likelihood, they did not speak the respective source language(s)?

As for the authors of the so-called Maroon letters (1789, 1790 and 1791), they were native speakers of Saramaccan. Therefore, they would not be expected to consistently omit to write the alleged epenthetic vowel.

In conclusion, in early Saramaccan OL onset clusters appear to have been permitted at least until 1805. Incidentally, this is a tentative *terminus post quem*, more precise than Aceto's (1996) "post-1778 period", for the anaptyx into the OL onset clusters and subsequent liquid deletion.

4. Aluku

4.1 1877 (Bilby 1993)

Unepenthesized reflexes of: /pl-/ - 1 E/D; /br-/ - 1 E; /gl-/ - 1 E/D; /gr/ - 1 E.

New clusters: /tr-/ - 1 E/D; /dr-/ - 1 D; /gr-/ - 1 D.

4.2 1890 (Bilby 1993)

Unepenthesized reflex of: /gr-/ - 1 E.

New cluster: /tr-/ - 1 E/D.

4.3 Kumanti

I also include forms from Kumanti since, as shown by Bilby (1993: 32) "[s]ome of the cult languages spoken by Aluku mediums [...] display [...] unepenthesized clusters".

Unepenthesized reflex of: /θr-/ - 1 E.

New clusters: /fl-/ - 2 (1 word): 1 E; /gr-/ - 1 E.

Table 5: OL clusters in early Aluku and in Kumanti

Aluku 1877	Aluku 1890	Aluku 1891	Kumanti -1987	etymon; gloss
planca	—	—	—	(E/D *plank*) 'board'
broco	—	—	—	(E *broke*) 'to break'
—	—	—	*tróta*	(E *throat*) 'throat'
—	—	*krassi-*	—	(E *across*) 'blocked'
—	—	—	—	(E *cry*) 'to cry'
glasi	—	—	—	(E *glass* / D *glas*) 'glass'
—	*gromm groom*	—	*gron*	(E *ground*) 'ground'

Table 6: New OL onset clusters in early Aluku and in Kumanti

Aluku 1877	Aluku 1890	Kumanti -1987	etymon; gloss
watra	*-watra*	—	(E/D *water*) 'water'

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hondro	—	—	(D *honderd*) 'hundred'
neugré	—	—	(D *neger*) 'Negro'
—	—	*tígri*	(E *tiger*) 'jaguar'

In addition, "the speech of Aluku mediums possessed specifically by *yooka* (human ghosts, many of them ancestral)" is also "*typically* [emphasis added] peppered with [...] unepenthesized CL [= consonant liquid] clusters" (Bilby 1993:33).

Evidence from Kumanti and Bilby's remarks about the language of *yooka*-possessed Aluku mediums are relevant for the past history of OL onset clusters since these "varieties of possession speech – particularly those associated with ancestral spirits – have been shown to retain archaic forms that have been lost, or have survived only marginally, in normal speech" (Bilby 1993:33).

4.4 Modern Aluku (Hurault 1983)

During his fieldwork in 1952, Hurault records the following two instances of unepenthesized OL onset clusters: /tr-/ - 1952 *kõndre* (E *country*) 'tribe; village', and /kr-/ - 1952 *krei* (E *cry*) 'to cry', the latter competing with the variant with an epenthesized cluster *kᵉrẹi* (Hurault 1983). These forms no longer occur thirty five years later (see Bilby 1993).

The occurrence in present-day cult languages of obstruent + /r/ onset clusters and attestations from 1952 corroborate evidence from records of late 19th century Aluku. The evidence currently available thus points to the fact that Aluku must have started out with OL onset clusters.

5. Modern Kwinti (Smith and Huttar 1984)

Unepenthesized reflexes of: /pl-/ - 1 D; /bl-/ - 3 (3 words)1 E, 2 D; /dr-/ - 1 D; /kr-/ - 1 E; /gl-/ - 1 E/D; /gr-/ - 1 E/D.

New cluster: /pl-/ - 1 P.

Smith and Huttar (1984) admit that the case of Kwinti poses problems for the assumption that OL onset clusters were initially epenthesized. Importantly, they also discard (later) Sranan influence.

Therefore, Kwinti too seems to have allowed OL onset clusters throughout its history.

6. The distribution of OL onset clusters

To provide a general picture of the distribution of OL onset clusters in the English-based creoles of Surinam I have set out in Table 7 and 8 forms recorded in at least two varieties, indicating also their first attestation.

Table 7: OL onset clusters attested in at least two varieties

Sranan (first)	Saramaccan (first)	Aluku (first)	Kumanti (-1987)	Kwinti (1981)	etymon; gloss

plata	—	—	—	plata	(D *plat*) 'flat'
blaw	—		—	*blá:u*	(D *blauw*) 'blue'
blakke -1765-	*blakka brakka* 1778	—	—	*bláka*	(E *black*) 'black'
bromki	—	—	—	*blomíki*	(D *blommetje*) 'flower'
broke-1765-	*brokko* 1778	*broco* 1877	—	—	(E *broke*) 'to break'
kondre 1781	*kontri* 1778	*kõndre* 1952	—	—	(E *country*) 'country'
drie-1765-	*dri* 1778	—	—	*drí*	(D *drie*) 'three'
kry -1765-	*kre* 1778	*krei* 1952	—	—	(E *cry*) 'to cry'
kriekie 1798	*kriki* 1778	—	—	*klíki*	(E *creek*) 'creek'
glasi -1765-	—	*glasi* 1877	—	*glási*	(E *glass*/D *glas*) 'glass'
grasi	-*grasi* 1778	—	—	*grási*	(E *grass*/D *gras*)'grass'
gron -1765-	*grun* 1778	*groom* 1877	*gron*	—	(E *ground*)'ground'

Table 8: New OL onset clusters attested in at least two varieties

Sranan (first)	Saramaccan (first)	Aluku (first)	Kumanti (-1987)	Kwinti (1981)	etymon; gloss
prasará	—	—	—	*pla:sá:*	(P *paliçada*) 'stockade'
watre 1718	*watra* 1778	*watra* 1877	—	—	(E/D *water*) 'water'
*hondro*1783	*hondre* 1778	*hondro* 1877	—	—	(D *honderd*) 'hundred'
ningre 1770	*ningri* 1778	*neugre* 1877	—	—	(D *neger*) 'Negro'
tigri	—	—	*tígri*	—	(E *tiger*) 'jaguar'

7. Early Ndyuka

Modern Ndyuka does not allow OL onset clusters, and the liquid has been deleted, as can be seen from the examples in Huttar (1972) and in Huttar and Huttar (1994). Ndyuka also has a significant number of lexical items from West African languages (Huttar 1985), many of which have a CVCV syllable structure. Under the circumstances, Ndyuka looks like a good candidate for a creole that may have always had a canonical CVCV syllable structure, as claimed, for instance, by Aceto (1996).

On the other hand, Aluku has been shown (in **4**) to have allowed OL onset clusters, while Kwinti (see section **5**) still has such clusters. Since both Aluku and Kwinti are offshoots of Ndyuka (second half of the 18th century), this would indicate that Ndyuka itself initially allowed OL onset clusters. If so, vowel epenthesis and subsequent loss of the liquid, now in intervocalic position, must have occurred rather late, after the end of the 18th century.

Some circumstantial evidence is provided by the fact that Ndyuka still had a liquid in reflexes of OL onset clusters until as late as the first half of the 20th century: e.g. *galan* (P *grão*) 'big' 1920 (Dubelaar and Pakosie 1988) and *dili* (D *drie*) 'three' 1930 (Bilby 1993). Loss of intervocalic /l/ therefore appears to be a relatively recent phenomenon. This conclusion is supported by the fact that some Ndyuka forms still have variants with

intervocalic /l/. Thus, while Alleyne (1980: 46) only lists *baáki* (D *braken*) 'to vomit', Huttar and Huttar (1994) also give the variant *balaki*.

Therefore, Ndyuka has not always had a canonical CVCV syllable structure, as is widely assumed. Incidentally, if in late 18th century Ndyuka OL onset clusters were indeed still permitted, contact with Ndyuka cannot have been the reason why Saramaccan evolved to a CVCV syllable structure, as suggested by Aceto (1996).

8. Conclusions

The findings of this paper can be summarized as follows:

8.1 OL onset clusters, including clusters not occurring in the etyma, are attested in at least some of the English creoles of Surinam: early Saramaccan, early Aluku, and, most likely, early Ndyuka, and are still allowed in Sranan and Kwinti.

8.2 The phonetic realization in the source language (English, Dutch or Portuguese) of the OL onset clusters is not a factor favouring or disfavouring their retention in the emerging creoles.

8.3 The canonical CVCV structure appears to be a later development in Saramaccan (see also Aceto 1996), Aluku and, most likely, Ndyuka.

8.4 The canonical CVCV syllable structure has not always been typical of the so-called "radical" creoles, such as Saramaccan, as assumed by e.g. Parkvall (2000).

8.5 Quantitative analyses of syllable types based exclusively on contemporary varieties (e.g. Stolz 1986, Ericsson and Gustafson-Capkova 1997) are misleading since they ignore the diachronic perspective.

8.6 More generally, the findings lend support to the hypothesis of gradual creolization.

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THE CHALLENGE OF NEUROLINGUISTIC PROGRAMMING

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One of the fields that have been drawing an increasing level of interest lately is human communication. Communication is the catchword of the day, and many models have been designed to explain and to improve human communication. Neurolinguistic Programming is just one of these models, and it arguably teaches one how to be a successful communicator. Though quite challenging in its applications, the model seems to me vulnerable from an ethical point of view. On the other hand, I believe that it cannot apply everywhere in the world, because it proposes broad generalisations that ignore the element of culture.

First of all, what exactly does Neurolinguistic Programming, or NLP, in its common abbreviation, suppose? Neurolinguistic Programming studies the structure of human experience and human excellence, and it is a way to model people to get outstanding results. It developed in the 70's in the United States, in Santa Cruz University, California. Its founding fathers were John Grinder, a psycholinguist, and Richard Bandler, an IT specialist. They authored a book called "The Structure of Magic," published in 1975, which mainly deals with language and its use for therapy and for effective communication.

As the name suggests, one of the basic assumptions of NLP is that we can programme our mind to respond in a desired way to stimuli from inside us or from the environment. Neurolinguistic Programming, therefore, operates in a similar way to Pavlov's conditioning. The stimulus that triggers about a certain behaviour is called an anchor. Anchors can be established while actually experiencing a feeling that one wishes to reiterate, or when remembering the particular circumstances and re-experiencing the feeling. When one needs to re-enter that state, it is enough to produce the anchor: this will instantaneously bring about the desired state or behaviour.

NLP is a theory and a practice that offers to teach techniques and tools to improve personal skills in using verbal and non-verbal language. In other words, it reinforces one's understanding of language processing so as to use it more fully in establishing and maintaining relationships. It starts from semantics and then moves to pragmatics, to how one can use language to influence the others.

The practical applications of NLP span various fields, going from education, business and coaching to sports, therapy, etc. In this paper I shall mainly focus on the applications in business, namely in negotiations, selling, advertising and management.

NLP comprises three basic models that deal with the use of language: the Meta Model, the Milton Model and the Metaphor Model. The Metaphor model is used mainly for therapeutical purposes. I will, therefore, mention it just briefly. What is worth remembering about it is that it is based on story telling. Unlike the common view of metaphor as a poetic or rhetorical embellishment, NLP's view of metaphor is closer to that of Lakoff, as a process by which we make sense of the world.

The Meta Model is a development of Chomsky's generative theory. It starts from the observation that daily speech operates at the level of surface structure sentences. Because of linguistic and psychological processes such as omissions, generalisations and distortions (Popescu, 2003:128), the full deep-structure messages remains uncovered.

Omissions are a way of modelling experience that allows one to ignore certain data, to select information. "His reaction quite upset me!" and "I paid more for the gas that I bought at the seaside" are examples of omissions. In the first case the real emotion is not specified (what does "upset" really mean?), whereas in the second, the element of comparison is missing (more than what, or more than where?).

Generalisation is a process by means of which a particular case is turned into a rule. On the surface structure, this process becomes apparent in the use of impersonal pronouns or in the use of universal quantifiers: "They say brushing one's teeth too hard is actually unhealthy" and "Nobody ever understands me."

Distortions are achieved mainly through three processes: nominalisation (turning a verb, or another part of speech, into a noun, e.g. education, love, development, happiness, etc), divination (a kind of mind reading, emerging from some people's real or supposed capacity to foretell or guess, e.g. "Well, I know what you're thinking of") and falsifying cause-effect relations (a fake cause as a link to a real effect).

All of these processes can damage communication and there are risks lingering behind them. In the case of distortions, for instance, the potential risk that will impair communication is that what one speaker considers unimportant and therefore deletable, might be of significant importance for the other interlocutor(s). Generalisations, on the other hand, are dangerous in that they overlook the particulars of a situation; they are imposing and very simplifying. Distortions, just like the other two, increase

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the level of ambiguity in language and prevent the genuine expression of mental or emotional processes.

The Meta Model attempts to dig up what is left unsaid, to uncover the deep structure and thus identify real causal relationships and underlying reasoning or feeling processes. It tries to recuperate what has been deleted, to deconstruct oversimplifying generalisations and to mend distortions.

Mastery of this model is very efficient in business negotiations and in sales. People omit, generalise and distort differently, and this model helps clarifying proposals or arguments, as well as solving customer complains. If a speaker says "Dealing in guns is profitable," for instance, someone who is familiar with the Meta Model would ask: "Profitable for whom?". Or, when a potential client says "The price is too high," the question to disambiguate the message would be "By comparison to what is the price too high?"

Another field in which the Meta Model can be applied is management. One of the basic functions of management is to set objectives. A common belief of management is that "if you can't say it well, you can't do it well." The Meta Model can be successfully applied to set well-defined objectives, that break down tasks into small steps.

The second model that I mentioned above, the Milton Model, runs counter to the drive of the Meta Model. Whereas the latter aims to clarity and transparency in language, the former seeks to create ambiguity and vagueness. It was named after Milton Erickson, a famous hypnotherapist and it finds its main application in psychotherapy, where patients interpret vague terms and fill in gaps of meaning, thus offering the therapist the possibility to diagnose and help them recover.

But apart from that, the Milton Model is also used in a very subtle way in advertising. Quite often, advertising slogans are artfully vague in how they phrase their promises. The targeted audience is stimulated to interpret the slogan according to their own frame of reference or expectations, and to give it a meaning that they find appropriate.

Here are some examples of advertising slogans in tourism industry:
"Just another day in paradise"
"Holidays of an entirely different nature"
 "If you're expecting just another beach holiday, you'll Hav'a culture shock in Tel Aviv Jaffa" (Morgan, Pritchard, 2001:50-210).
In these examples, "another day in paradise," "an entirely different nature," "just another beach holiday," all have different meanings to different people. They interpret these messages according to their needs, expectations and experience, and thus they more or less persuade themselves that the product offered is what they really want.

Another application of NLP in business is in the field of selling. Just like advertising, selling involves persuasion. In this case persuasion works on a more direct level because, except for products ordered via the internet, the selling and buying process supposes human contact. NLP rightfully argues that one can better communicate one's messages, and increase persuasion, by calibration (i.e. deciphering states of mind and emotions behind body language) and by mirroring the interlocutor.

There are various channels through which people communicate. One of the basic tenets of NLP is that we cannot *not* communicate. As numerous scholars of communication have revealed, what is not said in the interaction actually communicates more than words. We receive information from the environment through the five sensory channels. However, some persons mainly perceive through sight, others through hearing and others through smell, taste or touch. It is very relevant, then, to identify what someone's main sensory channel is, and match one's communication strategy with the prevailing communication processes of the interlocutor. What is sought to be achieved through this is to elicit "yes" answers. Once a "yes" answer has been obtained it is much easier to obtain the consent to buy.

The clues to identify the dominant sensory channel are provided by body postures, eye movement, and by the language that people use. A visual person has a superficial and quick breathing, a sharp voice, and his or her eyes move upwards. An auditory person has an ample breathing, speaks in a moderate rhythm and moves the eyes slowly to the sides. A kinaesthetic (a person whose main sensory data are provided by touch, smell or taste) has a deep breathing, a voice that carries, a slow rhythm of speaking, and he or she moves the eyes downwards (Cudicio, 1994:23-24).

As far as language is concerned, someone for whom information is mainly provided by the eyes will use "predicates" (words and expressions) such as to see, to foresee, to take a bird's eye view, at first sight, obviously, clear, visible, perspective, point of view, illustrate, picturesque, horizon, colour, etc. For a person whose major sensory channel is the auditory one, the predominant predicates are to hear, to say, to sound, to ring a bell, to emphasise, sound, note, musical, etc. Last but not least, a kinaesthetic will use expressions such as to feel, sensitive, to contact, to stay in touch, to get in touch, sensation, insensitive, etc.

To communicate effectively, skilful sales agents will pay attention to the clues sent off by a potential customer's body language. They will identify, on the basis of these and on the basis of the linguistic expressions that the potential customer uses, what his or her prevailing channel of

communication is, and calibrate their own verbal and non-verbal language so as to be in tune with that of the client.

In *Persuasion Engineering*, Richard Bandler and John La Valle (2000) provide a very telling example of how this mirroring technique can work. A woman who enters a furniture showroom, after being greeted by the sales person, Linda, tells the latter: "I'm just looking right now, you know, just shopping around, for a new kitchen. I'm not sure where I'm going to buy it, yet, I'm just looking." The shop assistant rightfully identifies that the person before her is a visual, and uses visual language when replying her: "Well, you, like me, don't look like someone who just settles for any old thing. I mean, it looks to me that your kitchen is very important to you. And I wouldn't sell you just any old kitchen, so what's your new kitchen going to look like because we only will sell you the kitchen that will thrill you each and every time you look at it!". The woman starts telling Linda: "I need to have lots of storage space for my pots and pans, I have lots of different pots and pans, you know. And I need counter top space to work on. I want wood cabinets, maybe oak, and I want the doors to the appliances to match the cabinets. I also want indirect lighting and I'd also like to have some built in items, you know, like a mixer, the instant hot water thing. Yeah, those would be really nice." Linda, then, mirrors her message back, faithfully preserving the modal expressions used by the potential client: "OK, let me see if I got this right. You need lots of storage space, you need counter space to work on, you want wood cabinets, maybe oak, and the appliance doors to match the cabinets. You want indirect lighting and you'd also like to have some built in items in your new kitchen." The woman was thrilled to hear that Linda really understood what she wanted and did not try to talk her into buying something else. She has already become willing to buy: "You've got it! (…) You know, I've been looking for some time now and you're the first person who understands exactly what I'm looking for. (…). Do you think you can help me build my new kitchen?" (Bandler, La Valle, 2001:66-67).

Bandler calls this interaction influence. And so it might be. However, who can draw the line between influence and manipulation? In *Persuasion Engineering* Bandler defines persuasion as helping people make the right decision. Yet who has the right to establish what might be right for someone else? Does not the claim to know what is right, or good for someone else, sound like manipulation?

On the other hand, in the above mentioned book, Bandler also teaches that a salesperson's objective is to "induce a wanton buying state" (2001:126) in the client. This might be acceptable for good quality products

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that are just being introduced, so that the customers could become acquainted with them. But if one manages to use such techniques to sell poor quality products, I doubt that this is wholly ethical. And I have serious doubts that the idea to always elicit "yes" responses is ethical. There are cases when we have to establish boundaries, when we have to decide for ourselves what we find acceptable and what we do not.

I believe that another issue that points to flaws in the NLP system is calibration. Calibration, as intimated earlier, is the process of reading a person's unconscious and non-verbal responses to detect what his or her interior states are. However, body language is not the same across cultures. An unconscious smile means agreement in a Western culture, but it might mean confusion, or simply politeness, in Oriental cultures. Similarly, the eye accessing clues that NLP practitioners focus on so as to define what sensory system someone generally uses cannot always be accessible. The Japanese look down most of the time, and their gestures often follow a ritual whose meaning escapes an outsider. It is hardly possible then, for a Westerner, to read an Oriental's body language.

Let us not forget that NLP originated in the USA. To me, this model is very much related to the American dream of success. There have been NLP trainings in Romania, in Bucharest and in Iasi, from what I know. However, I have not heard of any of the trainees who has become successful as a result of learning NLP.

The main reason why I think NLP will not work wonders in Romania is related to culture, an element which NLP overlooks. NLP sees the human being as fully in charge of personal destiny. This "master of destiny" perspective is foreign to the Romanian view, which is a fatalistic one, at least for the adult and ageing generations. "It wasn't meant to be" and "So God willed it" are common explanations that they give to failure. The situation, however, is different with the young generations, who are either struggling to become more self-confident or willing to try their chances elsewhere.

To conclude, NLP is challenging in how it uses verbal language and body language to communicate and persuade. However, this is not a universal model. There are unconscious gestures that one makes and which cannot be traced down to mental or emotional processes but to cultural rituals. In another line of thought, there are various ethical issues that should be considered when applying NLP techniques, because there is a very thin line between influence and manipulation.

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ACHIEVING UNDERSTANDING THROUGH IRONY AND HUMOUR
- AN ANALYSIS OF CONVERSATIONAL IRONY IN THE INTERACTION BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH AND ROMANIANS -

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1. Introduction

The present paper is based on an empirical study about three different events of human conduct – a dinner-party conversation, an English class, and gate-keeping encounters - which are interactionally constructed by Romanian participants and native speakers of English. The study seeks to answer the following research question: How do Romanians and native speakers of English (hence NS) work out together the activity type of the face-to-face interaction in which they are engaged? The aim of the question is to describe the specific dinner-party conversation, classroom data and selection interviews collected in order to understand how communication is achieved. This is done by 'single case analysis' technique, by tracking in detail the production of talk in interaction to observe how meaning is constructed in situated activities.

The analytical framework accommodates the in-depth approach to data advocated by conversation analysts (CA), with the activity type (Levinson, 1992) approach to context, which entails that participants enter interactions with general expectations about the goals of the event, and these expectations set constraints on what can be said and done. However, the existence of some overall expectations in terms of goals and social roles does not preclude the appearance of processes of negotiation, especially when participants are aware of possible culturally determined differences in their definition of the situation (or 'frame' in Goffman's terminology 1974/ 1986).

The study suggests that participants adapt rather well and negotiate together a commonly shared definition of the situation. It also suggests that it cannot be taken for granted that cultural differences remain a stable given. Aspects of cultural difference become a topical issue largely in the dinner-party conversation.

2. Data collected and research methodology

The data the present paper is based on, consist of recordings done in the house of a couple of Scottish university teachers where Romanian teachers of English and two other British native speakers were invited to a dinner-party. The sample of the data recorded is 15 minutes of talk. At the time of the recording none of the NSs of English had been in Romania for more than six months (on and off). From a cross-cultural perspective this is presumably important, if only because otherwise, they may have learned to behave in Romania in a way that is not the same as how they would have elsewhere.

Also, they have all come to Romania foremost in their capacity as professionals (teachers of English) and they are university-educated people using mostly standard English. However, they come from different cultural backgrounds: England (in the transcript, E-Ch and E-X), and Scotland (in the transcript, S-J). R-M and R-L in the transcript stand for the two Romanian teachers.

The conversation is taking place in Romania, at J's house where other Romanian teachers of English have also been invited for dinner. The boundaries of the episode (the first utterance and the last utterance in the transcript) correspond to the speech intelligibly recorded, so they do not mark the opening and ending of conversation, but they have been imposed by technical rather than analytical reasons. However, within the episode, there are four main analytical units that I have identified according to the activities/topics and the participation framework.

1. The episode starts with E-X who is already in the business of recounting a personal experience (a story) about Romanians and foreigners paying different entrance fees in museums, and ascribing ethnic categorization seems to be turned into an issue by the speaker.

2. Then a new topic is proposed and ratified, and a different participation framework is established: E-X and E-Ch become addresser and addressee, while the other participants become overhearers. Both are complaining about difficulties in phoning and writing to England, and while doing so they invoke certain features of their shared identities.

In the first two sub-episodes the English participants have most of the turns, whereas the Romanians R-L and R-M contribute to the conversation only once, each of them with one question.

3. Then a new topic is introduced by R-M (a Romanian participant) and a different activity is initiated: asking E-X and E-Ch questions to obtain

specific information: how they are being paid for their teaching job. The analysis of the episode has shown how in ordinary conversation, though participants seem confused and there are instances of misunderstanding, this does not become an issue.

4. In line 58, when S-J joins in, a different topic is proposed and a new activity is going on, to which all five participants contribute: laughing together about Romanian cuisine. The humour identified in the episode is achieved through irony in interaction based on food dichotomies.

The fourth episode follows immediately after the questioning one, when another participant joins the group and introduces a new topic. The most striking phenomenon in this episode is the jocular tone which is set up by laughter as compared to the previous one, so the analytical focus of the episode is on the way in which participants join in the joking frame. At a closer analysis of this episode irony has been found as a strategy by which the joking tone and the subsequent participation structures were established. Thus, the focus is on a discursive strategy seen in its interactional context.

3. Laughing together
This section will deal with the relationship between verbal irony and humour in talk-in-interaction. The previous episode of the dinner-party conversation ends in general laughter while S-J, the Scottish participant comes in from the adjoining room where a number of guests have been talking. If the analysis of the previous episode has shown that there seems to be a confusion at the transactional level of language, in this episode humour seems to be one way in which participants construct mutual understanding and an apparent satisfactory pattern of interaction. As we will see in the analysis, there is a shift of frame, from the rather serious business of questioning to a joking frame to which all participants rapidly accommodate. The attuning takes place at the level of 'laughing together' set by an ironic situation. The analysis of the episode will focus on how participants create social co-operation, by turning a potentially ironic statement into straightforward non-serious talk.

DP 58-85
59→   S-J: tried er er a <u>cookery</u> book about vege<u>tarian</u> <u>Romanian</u> FOOD
60   (*):   ohh
               [laughter]
→   E-Ch: it's just <u>loads</u> isn't it the <u>vegetables</u> that they make.
       S-J: oh <u>lovely</u> vegetables. yes.
               I I've I mean… I've looked for a Romanian cookery book

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65		when er before I came here
		and there only one about er it was sort of 99 percent <u>meat</u> .
		[laughter]
	(*)	[unclear] so
	R-M:	<u>pork</u> <u>pork</u> and <u>pork</u>.
70		[laughter]
	R-L:	what was the one percent. what was this er the last the one percent.
	S-J:	oh polenta.
		[laughter]
→		and even the polenta had had stock <u>meat</u> stock again [laughing]
75	E-Ch:	*fasole::* / *fasole* a::nd
	(*):	/ aubergine
	E-Ch:	beans and the <u>egg</u> /plant aubergines as well
	(*)	mhm
	E-X:	I had *mamaliga* in Timişoara.
80	S-J:	That's like <u>polenta</u> isn't it.
	R-M:	*mamaliga* with MILK? or what.
	E-X:	I think it was milk, cream, egg, and cheese.
	R-M:	mhm
	E-X:	and cold.
85	S-J:	[unclear]
	E-X:	I was so <u>lucky</u> could <u>eat</u> [unclear]

The episode is initiated by S-J, who speaks while coming in from an adjoining room. She brings up the topic of vegetarian Romanian food, which might have been talked about in the other group, but it may well be that she has initiated it as a very natural topic to talk about at a dinner party.

The interesting thing is that her utterance 'I tried a cookery book about vegetarian Romanian food' creates laughter, and signals entrance into a 'joking' frame. Studies on laughter have shown two important things (Jefferson, 1979, Eggins, Slade, 1997:156-167). On the one hand, people often laugh at things that do not seem funny and 'funniness' is created contextually, talk gets to be funny because of its relationship to the social context. On the other hand, it is important to know who initiates the laughter, the initiating of it being an invitation to growing intimacy. If it is responded to with laughter it implies the listener's 'willingness to affiliate', while 'withheld laughter implies a declining of the invitation'. Laughter occurring before anything funny has been said signals entry into the humorous key. In this particular episode everybody engages in 'joking' about Romanian cuisine.

E-Ch contributes to the talk with an utterance containing an exaggeration (loads of vegetables). The way the utterance is formulated

invites agreement - 'isn't it' - appended to an assessment (Hutchby, Wooffitt, 1998:44). S-J then agrees with an evaluative comment ('lovely vegetables yes'). Then she shifts again to her initial utterance, clarifying with a metapragmatic comment ('I mean') the intended meaning of the previous utterance, that there is a divergence between Romanian food and vegetarian food, first in that she found only one book on vegetarian food and then that 99% was meat. The 'sort of 99%' highlights the divergence between the loads of lovely vegetables and the Romanian cookery books. The Romanian vegetarian food turns out to be exactly the opposite, namely 99% meat.

In line 71 R-L takes the floor with a question which she reformulates. The rewording of the question brings the one percent (reformulated as 'this' and 'last percent') of Romanian vegetarian food into salience. Notice that S-J's answer in line 72 is preceded by 'oh', marking the answer as offhand, thus showing that she takes 'polenta' as the typical vegetarian Romanian food. However, she immediately cancels this implication by saying that 'even had had stock meat' (line 74).

E-Ch's contribution starting with line 74, by supplying information about vegetables she has presumably had in Romania, marks a shift to a serious frame within which participants talk about *mămăligă,* the traditional Romanian food.

The line of interest here is line 59 (the beginning of the episode), which signals the entrance into the humorous frame. On the face of it, there is nothing funny in the meaning of the words. The funniness of the utterance may have been created by the contrast between the tone, topic and social relations created in the previous episode and the new topic raised, but it may also be the shared knowledge that there is a mismatch between Romanian food and vegetarian food. As it will be discussed below, the mismatch or divergence between the meaning of an utterance and what is communicated in a particular context is created through humour and/ or irony.

The most accepted general explanation of humour is that it arises where there is incongruity of some kind. In this explanation (cf. Mulkay, 1988, Eggins, Slade, 1997), humour is seen as involving a duality of meaning where both a 'serious' and a 'non-serious' meaning can be recognised. Because simultaneous meanings are made, interactants can claim either that the 'serious' meaning was not intended, or that the 'non-serious' meaning was not. In either case, humour enables interactants to speak off-the record, in a light-heartedness, to say things without strict accountability. In our case, the laughter the first utterance created shows that participants did not take it seriously, that is, as a literally true assertion.

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Irony, on the other hand, involves the use of nonliteral language in which the speaker means more than he/she says. Any account of verbal irony recognises that it is fundamentally implicit, not explicitly expressed and that there is an opposition involved between what is said and what is meant (Clark, Gerrig, 1984, Sperber, Wilson, 1995). The implicit nature of irony causes problems in drawing a clear-cut distinction between irony and non-irony.

Clift (1999), examining irony in conversation, proposes the adoption of Goffman's concept of 'framing' to characterise irony across its forms. Her analysis of conversational irony reveals that irony is much more subtle in its effects and greater in its range of attitudes than previous studies. She suggests that this framing is achieved by a shift of footing which 'allows for detachment, enabling the ironist to make evaluations in response to perceived transgressions with reference to common assumptions' (Clift, 1999:523). Seen from this perspective, the utterance in line 59 may be seen as an evaluation in negative terms in response to the common assumption, which is a cultural one, that Romanian traditional food is **not** vegetarian.

Thus, we may invoke Goffman's (1967) distinction between the animator of an utterance (the person articulating the words), its author (the composer of the words) and its principal (who is committed to the proposition they express) to account for the ironic utterance in line 59. In conversation, it is standardly assumed that animator, author and principal are one and the same. But the ironist effects a shift of footing from committed participant to detached observer. However, in the case of the ironist, the distinction between animator, author and principal is one that he only lays claims to, while in reality he is all three. The concept of frame to characterise irony makes it possible to capture the simultaneous presence of two dimensions of meaning (the 'inside' and 'outside' meanings, the one framing the other). Both the construction of an ironic turn and its placement in a sequence help discern the shift of footing.

Firstly, the ironist ostensibly denies authorship of what he is saying and claims to be merely the 'animator'. Usually, since there is no overt attempt to disaffiliate from what he is saying, he implicitly lays claim to the assumption that he is sincere. The shift of footing is effected in our example by intonation – the exaggerated stress on 'vegetarian Romanian food' - which frames the utterance and alters the assumption that there is such a thing as Romanian vegetarian food.

Secondly, the footing shift also creates expectations regarding the next conversational unit. The response of the addressee to recognized irony is routinely laughter (see line 61) and/or a continuation of the irony (see E-

Ch's response in line 62). E-Ch's response is a continuation of the irony in that it contains an exaggerated evaluation about vegetables in the Romanian food. They both serve to accept the footing shift, and simultaneously perform an agreement with that which is asserted by the new footing. Such agreements are responses to an implicit evaluation that the irony delivers.

However, what happens from line 64 onward, is a shift from the ironic frame to the humorous frame. The notion of footing helps the analyst distinguish between the two. Both irony and humour present us with a double perspective that invoke two incongruous worlds. Both set up expectations that they subsequently overturn. However, if in the case of irony the claimed distinction between animator, author and principal is always present, because the impossibility of the world invoked calls the sincerity of the speaker into question, in the case of humour the distinction does not hold. In our example, S-J shifts footing again in her response from the preceding irony into straight non-serious talk, the humour emerging from the incongruity between 'lovely vegetables' and the Romanian cookery book where 99% was meat. This is not an assertion from which the speaker can in actuality claim detachment since it stands for the truth of the situation (the speaker reconstructs her experience as an event). The humour resides, from now on, in the exaggeration of the evaluation of the standard assumption, that Romanian food is not vegetarian, which stands nearer the truth of the situation. Humour also enables participants to say things without strict accountability (such as, for example, that the polenta has stock meat in it).

In conclusion, the analysis of the episode has shown that:

- In contrast to the previous episode, there is sufficient understanding among them to share interpretation of what is going on;
- The shift of footing to achieve detachment allows the Scottish participant (S-J) to initiate framed evaluation of cultural food dichotomies (vegetarian food vs Romanian food)
- Since such evaluations implicate a certain category of response, namely agreement or disagreement, the analysis has shown that the response has been agreement through laughter, and continued irony;
- A shift of footing back to committed participant allows the same participant (S-J) to maintain the same topic of the discrepancy between vegetarian food and Romanian food, but to enter the much safer ground, that of straight humour

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4. Conclusion

We have seen in this paper that participants at a 'dinner-party', who start up as relative strangers sharing a professional group identity, but coming from different cultural backgrounds, construct what is called a 'conversation' in which topics are introduced, maintained, and shifted (talk about a visit to a museum, about phoning to England, about methods of teacher payment, and about Romanian food). In so doing they use cultural categories, such as Romanian food vs vegetarian food, which are resisted or invoked through conversational activities such as laughing together.

We could find evidence in the data to answer the question posed in the beginning of the chapter. Thus, we have seen that the addressor and recipients, as well as topics, changed in the course of the encounter. Starting from talk between 'foreigners' to Romania who share the same country of origin (England), the conversation switches to interaction between teachers of English, and finally gets to that among participants who all share the experience of, and joking (mocking) attitude towards, Romanian 'vegetarian' food.

The analysis has also shown that a cultural dichotomy such as vegetarian food vs. Romanian food may be collaboratively joked at, and that differences motivate participants to interact. Methodologically, the interactional CA approach combined with Goffman's notion of frame and footing has shown that it is through talk that participants invoke their social or cultural identities and they are not pre-established features, and that by frame and footing shifts participants create different participation frameworks.

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Transcription conventions

Symbol	Significance
Arabic numerals	line numbers
.	clause final falling intonation
?	clause final rising intonation
,	slight rise
(.)	short hesitation within a turn (less than 2 seconds)
(2)	inter-turn pause longer than 1 second, the number indicating the seconds
= =	latched utterances, with no discernible gap between the prior speaker's and the next speaker's talk
/	the onset of overlapping talk
CAPS	Segments, syllables, words or sequences of words that are particularly loud relative to the surrounding talk;
Underlined item	segments, syllables, words or sequences of words that have particularly strong stress relative to surrounding talk
: :	lengthened syllables or vowels
(words within parentheses)	transcriber's guesses
[words in square brackets]	non-verbal information and/or unclear passages
(*)	unidentified speaker
italics	word in Romanian

Uncertain transcription. Words within parentheses indicate the guess.

NORMS AND TRANSLATION EVALUATION

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During the past few decades, translation research has been generally focused on the description of actual translations, on the formulation of principles, but also on practical applications. The concept of norms, which is relatively new in translation studies, plays an important part at all these levels, since it is related to assumptions and expectations about correctness and appropriateness (cf. Schaffner, 1998). The present paper is concerned with the relevance that norms have in connection to the process of translation evaluation. The main idea advocated here is that any mode of translation assessment is normative in that it examines the extent to which translations conform to or deviate from norms.

The greatest problem for the process of translation research or translator training is that the notion of translational norms actually covers a wide variety of phenomena. Various types of norms co-exist at a particular point in time, each of them being influenced by the culture in which it functions and by the particular situation to which it applies. This is the reason why, before getting into more specific issues, I will discuss various types of norms as listed by the theorists who have had the most influential contributions in this respect, i.e. Gideon Toury and Andrew Chesterman.

The multiplicity of norms

First of all, Toury (1995) refers to the *"initial norm"*, which is basically the choice of the approach that will dominate when it comes to selection from alternatives. More specifically, the "initial norm" is a choice between source-text adequacy and target-language acceptability, where the translator decides *a priori* a certain hierarchy and identifies which set of norms will prevail when selecting or rejecting translation choices. If the translator's objective is the concept of adequacy to the source text, the prioritization of the source-language and source-culture norms is very likely to occur, resulting in possible incompatibilities with the target-language and target-culture norms, and in texts that contain anomalies for the target-language readers. If, on the other hand, the translator decides to give priority to the target culture and the target language, this will lead to some degree of shift or reduction of adequacy to the source text, probably on both formal and functional levels.

Toury (1995) draws attention to the fact that the priority postulated in the case of the "initial norm" is basically logical and does not necessarily coincide with any chronological order of application. Besides this type of norm, the theorist also mentions two larger groups of norms applicable to translation: *preliminary* and *operational*.

Preliminary norms have to do with translation policy in a given culture: what text types, or even particular texts, are chosen to be imported through translation into a particular culture/ language at a particular point in time, and whether or not these can be translated through an intermediate language. These are questions of social and cultural policy, and do not actually guide the translator's work. The norms conceived by Toury as "directing the decisions made during the act of translation itself" (1995:58) are called operational norms. They are textual norms, either generally linguistic, stylistic or specifically literary. In norm-theoretical terms, Toury's operational norms are primarily product norms, regulating the form of the translation as a final product (cf. Chesterman, 1997:63).

In his analysis of the translational norms, Chesterman (1997) focuses on the area covered by Toury's initial and operational norms, but from a different perspective. His basic distinction is between *expectancy* norms and *professional* norms, which correspond quite conventionally to product norms and process norms.

Expectancy norms, which represent the category of the product norms, refer to "the expectations of readers of a translation (of a given type) concerning what a translation (of this type) should be like" (Chesterman, 1997:64). These expectations are governed by the prevalent translation tradition in the target culture, on the one hand, and by the form of the parallel texts in that particular language, on the other hand. They can also be influenced by other types of factors, such as economic or ideological factors, by the power relations within and between cultures, etc. As Chesterman notes, the readers' expectations may regard text-type and discourse conventions, grammaticality, style, lexical choice, and so on.

Expectancy norms allow people to make evaluative judgements about translation. Some translations may conform to expectancy norms more closely than others. Chesterman illustrates this idea by using House's (1981) distinction between "overt" and "covert" translations. Thus, as far as the "covert" translations (e.g. business letters, manuals, advertisements, etc.) are concerned, readers in a given culture at a given time will expect them to be indistinguishable from the non-translated texts. If such translations are felt to be different from similar native target-language texts, they can be judged as unsatisfactory. For the "overt" translations (e.g. literary

translations), which are closely bound in one way or another to the source culture, the target audience will generally expect some "local colour". It is important to note that even the audience expectations concerning the fact whether a translation should be overt or covert are partly influenced by the cultural tradition in the target language, including the translation tradition itself (cf. Chesterman, 1997:65).

It must be mentioned that expectancy norms are basically validated by their very existence in the target-language community. In other words, people have certain expectations about particular kinds of texts, and, consequently, the norms embodied by these expectations are valid. However, there are situations when these norms are also validated by a norm-authority of some kind, such as a translation critic, a teacher, an examiner, a literary critic reviewing a translation, and so on. But, as Chesterman notes, the role of this authority-validation is just to confirm a norm which is already acknowledged to exist in that society: "in this sense, the norm-authorities genuinely 'represent' the rest of the society and are presumably trusted by the other members to do so" (1997:66).

Professional norms belong to the category of the process norms, i.e. they regulate the translation process itself. From the translator's perspective, the professional norms are subordinate to the expectancy norms, because "any process norm is determined by the nature of the end-product which it is designed to lead to" (Chesterman, 1997:67). The source of these process norms is represented by those members of the society who are considered to be competent professional translators, whom the society trusts as having this status, and who may further be recognized as competent professionals by other societies, too.

In Chesterman's view, the professional translation norms can be subsumed under three general higher-order norms, i.e. the *accountability norm*, the *communication norm* and the *relation norm*.

The *accountability norm* stipulates that "a translator should act in such a way that the demands of loyalty are appropriately met with regard to the original writer, the commissioner of the translation, the translator himself or herself, the prospective readership and any other relevant parties" (Chesterman, 1997:68). Therefore, this is an ethical norm regarding professional standards of integrity: translators should behave in such a way as to be able to accept responsibility for their work.

According to the *communication norm*, "a translator should act in such a way as to optimize communication, as required by the situation, between all the parties involved" (Chesterman, 1997:69). This is a social norm specifying the translator's role as a communication expert, both as a

mediator of the others' intentions, and as a communicator in his/her own right. Chesterman draws our attention that the norm does not necessarily imply a belief in an objectively fixed message that must be communicated: "the situation may be such that the intended communication is more like a shared sense of linguistic play, or an aesthetic experience" (1997:69).

Neither the accountability norm nor the communication norm is specific to the translation process. Not the same is true about the third higher-order process norm, i.e. the relation norm, which, in fact, highlights the difference between translation and other communication processes.

The *relation norm* states that "a translator should act in such a way that an appropriate relation of relevant similarity is established and maintained between the source text and the target text" (Chesterman, 1997:69). As we can see, this is a linguistic norm, which accounts for the fact that the concept of equivalence is too narrow for the wide variety of relations that actually exist between the source and the target texts. Consequently, starting from the type of text involved, from the wishes of the commissioner and from the needs of the prospective readers, the translator has to decide what kind of relation is appropriate in any particular situation. As Chesterman illustrates, certain types of texts (e.g. legal contracts) might require a translation which gives priority to a close formal similarity to the original, others might prioritize stylistic similarity (e.g. short stories, poems), others might stress the importance of semantic closeness (e.g. a scientific or technical article), and, still, others might value similarity of effect above all these (e.g. a tourist brochure, an advertisement).

The three types of professional norms discussed above are partly validated by norm authorities, such as other professionals, teachers or critics, who are accepted as having norm-validation competence. But, just like in the case of the expectancy norms, they are also validated by their very existence, by the fact that they are accepted as governing the practice actually followed by such professionals. Moreover, the behaviour which breaks these norms is usually followed by criticism, but this criticism might be rejected by the translator in question, because, as Chesterman states, "norms can always be argued about" (1997:70). In fact, he explains that the aim of his preoccupation with the translational norms is just to suggest what these norms are, and not to define how they should be universally interpreted.

Norms and translation assessment

To assess something means to examine its quality, and, according to the sense in which "quality" is understood, we may speak of two types of

assessment. Thus, if "quality" is taken to mean "nature, characteristics", then we have a *descriptive* kind of assessment. In other words, a statement is made to the effect that a given translation is of such-and-such a type, that it has such-and-such features or that it has such-and-such an effect on the target culture. But "quality" also has an *evaluative* sense and, in this sense, assessment is made in terms of how good or bad the translation is, whether it conforms to required standards, particular values, etc. It is obvious that such evaluative assessment can be either negative or positive.

Starting from these two types of assessment and in close connection to the types of norms discussed previously, Chesterman (1997:123-141) examines five models of translation assessment, each being focused on a particular type of norm. Even if these models rarely occur in pure form, they are meant to provide a conceptual framework in which different emphases in assessment can be specified and compared.

a) **Retrospective assessment**

The first model is focused on the relation between the target text and its original, i.e. on the relation norm. This relation has been given various labels in the literature of the field, the best example in this respect being the term "equivalence".

A descriptive assessment of the source-target relation will state what this relation is, usually in terms of such parameters as free vs. literal, target-audience expectations or degree of preservation of various aspects of the original text (meaning, form, style). In fact, the descriptive type of assessment allows us to make a first distinction between a relationship that seems to be as expected, that conforms to the norm, and one that is not as expected. Further on, if the relation is not as expected, the evaluative assessment comes into play. Thus, at this stage, we pronounce judgements on the source-target relationship, judgements which may be positive or negative. For example, if the assessment is negative, the translation is declared to be too free, or not free enough, or the preserved features of the original are argued not to be the ones that should have been preserved.

A good example of this kind of assessment is offered by House (1977), although this is not her only concern. Starting from Crystal and Davy's (1969) model of situational constraints, she sets up a series of functional-stylistic categories: geographical origin, social class, time, medium, participation, social role relationship, social attitude and province. Source-text textual correlates are established for these categories, and the resulting source-text profile is then compared with that of the target text. Consequently, the standard against which the translation is evaluated is represented by the source-text profile, any mismatches between the two

profiles being designated as erroneous in one way or another.

As a conclusion to this type of assessment, I will quote Chesterman, who wrote:

> "The assessment of the relation between the target text and the source text is thus subjective insofar as it is based on the opinions and expectations of the readers; but it is intersubjective insofar as such expectations and requirements exist as observable norms in a given society, and are recognized to exist as such. However, the assessment is not objective in the sense that there is assumed to be some kind of objective, absolute standard to which all translations must conform, such as 'equivalence', for instance" (Chesterman, 1997:124).

b) **Prospective assessment**

The retrospective approach to translation evaluation was heavily criticized by many theorists (e.g. Nida, 1964), who argued that it laid too much emphasis on the assumption of formal equivalence. They also pointed out that, in real life, few readers of translations actually have access to the original text, and, consequently, this model of assessment is artificial.

As a reaction to the retrospective model, Nida (1964) proposes a model of assessment based on "dynamic equivalence, i.e. not sameness of form, but sameness of effect. Chesterman (1997:128) calls this model prospective assessment, because "it looks forward from the target text to the effect this has, or is designed to have, on its readers, rather than back to the source text". The centre of attention becomes the communication norm rather than the relation norm.

Being focused on the effect that a translation is supposed to achieve, i.e. on its skopos, this model of assessment has the merit of being sensitive to the reader. However, as Chesterman notes, the prospective model raises certain problems. Thus, it is true that part of the readers' reaction is likely to be the desired one, because it is the reaction to the message content. But the readers will also have some reactions to the form of the message, and these secondary reactions were hardly part of the skopos of the translation. In other words, what we seem to have is an intended effect, plus a number of unintended side-effects. A descriptive assessment would state what these side-effects are, while an evaluative one would state that such effects point to weaknesses in the translation, because they are unintended.

It is obvious that this approach implies high demands on the standard of a translation, because not only must the effect be the intended one, but there must also be no unintended side-effects. In particular, we might claim that, if a translation is not intended to draw the attention of its readers to the form of the target text, but it actually does so, then the translation can be labelled as unsatisfactory, as not conforming to the norm.

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c) **Lateral assessment**

The prospective model of assessment has been frequently criticized on the grounds that it is generally difficult to specify what is meant by the "effect" of a text, it is not clear whether it refers to the author's intended effect or the actual effect, and it is focused on an ideal notion of reader. As a consequence, some scholars have advocated a different model of assessment, which Chesterman calls lateral. The label denotes that the emphasis is on the extent to which a particular translation fits into the set of texts already existing in the target culture, whether it bears an adequate family resemblance to them.

The norm on which the lateral model is mainly focused is the expectancy norm. Therefore, in lateral assessment, the translation is lined up not alongside the source text, nor alongside effects or reactions, but alongside authentic native texts in the target language that are of a similar type ("parallel texts", cf. Neubert, 1985). Being strictly text-based, lateral assessment is certainly more objective than either of the previous models.

Some of the expectancy norms are qualitative and refer to "good style", while others are quantitative and refer either to the distribution of the lexical and syntactic features in a given type of text, or to the frequency manifested by certain items in relation to other items (i.e. collocations). If qualitative norms are broken, this is usually manifested in an ungrammatical form, a non-native expression. If, on the other hand, quantitative norms are broken, this results in a non-typical distribution or frequency of items, differences which become obvious only after statistical analysis. However, norms, both qualitative and quantitative, are not absolute, but relative concepts, which represent ranges of acceptability from "preferred usage" through "unusual but acceptable" to "definitely unacceptable". This is the reason why, in empirical research, expectancy norms must be defined operationally, as covering a specified range of variation.

As Chesterman (1997) shows, the lateral model of assessment also raises some problems, the most important of them being related to the difficulty of finding exactly parallel texts. Moreover, if some such texts can be found, it is not always easy to show that they are themselves "typical" and, therefore, can reasonably be taken to represent a norm.

d) **Introspective assessment**

All the models of assessment discussed so far are based on criteria which may be characterized as lying outside the translator's mind. Thus, according to these models, translations should be assessed by looking at the source text, at the target-reader reactions or at parallel texts. Some theorists (e.g. Wills, 1996) have argued that the process of evaluation should take

into account the translator's own decision-making processes, and, therefore, translation assessment has turned its attention to introspective data.

The introspective mode of assessment is most closely associated with the accountability norm and starts from the idea that we need to know why a translator has made certain decisions before we can reasonably assess the results of these decisions. Although we cannot actually enter the translator's head, there are means by which some inferences can be made in this respect. The best-known one is the analysis of "think-aloud protocols" (TAPs), where translators are asked to verbalize every action and every thought during or immediately after the translation process.

At a certain point, Chesterman (1997) wonders in what way the results of such research can be relevant to translation assessment. Trying to find an answer to this question, he returns to the distinction between descriptive and evaluative assessment. Thus, as far as the assessment seeks to trace the mental decisions which precede and accompany the production of the translated text, all protocol research into translation is relevant to descriptive assessment in the introspective mode. This research does not directly constitute evaluative assessment, because, no matter what decisions a translator makes to arrive at a final product or what attitudes s/he holds, the translation will be judged evaluatively on its own merits.

In spite of these limitations, Chesterman (1997) does not overlook the importance of this model of assessment, stressing the fact that, since translators are responsible for what they do, the introspective assessment model plays a significant part in translation research.

e) **Pedagogical assessment**

The truth is that, in real life, most translation assessment is pedagogical, being carried out by teachers or professionals and being applied to translations produced by translation trainees or language students. The pedagogical model of assessment differs from the approaches presented so far in that its main purpose is not descriptive, but evaluative. On the one hand, its aim may be accreditation (i.e. to certify whether the translator has reached a predetermined standard), and, in this case, translations are done in a test situation. On the other hand, its aim may be prescription (i.e. to provide feedback that will enable the translator to improve the quality of future translations), and, then, translations are done in a learning situation.

All the translational norms are relevant to the pedagogical mode of assessment. The most frequently referred to in this respect is, perhaps, the expectancy norm: when it is broken, we usually deal with errors of expression. When the relation norm is broken, we have either an error of comprehension manifested as "wrong meaning" in some sense, or a

translation which is felt to be "too free" or "too literal". When the communication norm is broken, we get poor readability, inappropriate effects and the like. And when the accountability norm is broken, the result is a translation which is clearly careless, inaccurate or deceptive.

In all pedagogical assessment, an important problem is represented by the *error gravity*. More specifically, there must be some reason for saying that this error is worse than that one, that the general level of error in this translation places it above or below a given standard, and so on. In what follows, I will refer to the problem of error gravity in relation to each of the five types of translational norms proposed by Chesterman.

As far as the expectancy norms are concerned, Chesterman (1997) suggests six criteria of error gravity, which, however, often conflict with each other. According to one criterion, errors affecting a higher unit are worse than those affecting a lower unit. For example, an incorrect clause structure is more serious than an incorrect phrase structure. A second criterion may be generality: the breaking of a grammatical rule is more serious in the case of a rule which has very general application (e.g. verb concord in English), than in the case of one that applies in a few cases (e.g. an *ing*-form after *avoid*). A third criterion might be frequency: breaking norms applying to frequent items (English articles, for instance) are more serious than those applying to less used items. A fourth criterion could be the degree of systematicity: repeated occurrences of the same deviation would be more serious than isolated occurrences. Fifthly, generative grammarians might argue that errors traceable to earlier derivational stages should be treated as worse than those traceable to later stages (such as inflections). And a sixth criterion might be rule-boundness: the grammatical errors are more serious than the errors of lexis or of style, because grammar is more amenable to description by systematic rules.

In the case of the relation norm, one approach is to evaluate various aspects of the source-target relation separately, and evaluate the extent to which each relational aspect is in accordance with the expectations or requirements for the text type in question. Such aspects can be defined as (a) the formal relation, (b) the semantic/ stylistic relation, and (c) the pragmatic relation. Error gravity comes into play when this assessment takes into account the expected relative priorities of these various relational aspects for the translation in question. For example, in the case of many text types, the deviation from the expected pragmatic or semantic relation would be more serious than the deviation from the expected formal relation.

As far as the communication norm is concerned, research has shown that certain error-types affect the comprehensibility of the text and the

degree of irritation of the reader more than other types. The example offered by Chesterman (1997:140) is that, in English, errors in verb complementation are more disturbing than those in concord, but concord errors are worse than some types of word-order errors.

But the most serious errors appear to be those that break the accountability norm, i.e. the cases in which the translator has distorted the message, has misused technical terms, has failed to check things that do not seem to make sense, etc.

As we can see, the pedagogical assessment involves all kinds of translational norms, and also all the other types of assessment. The assessor is supposed to indicate the points in the text where some norms have been broken and further note which norm this is. However, the passages which can be evaluated positively should by no means be neglected, because, as Chesterman (1997:141) states, "in addition to drawing attention to points where these norms have been broken, it is of course also encouraging to give feedback on places where reader expectations have been exceeded, where the translation is unexpectedly good".

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ON DISCOURSE STRUCTURE IN TRANSLATION: THE CONCEPTS OF THEME AND RHEME

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1. Introduction

It has been said that a good translator relies on intuition; however, besides intuition—since this one cannot and should not always be trusted, especially in translating official or legal texts—the translator should understand the cognitive meanings and basic syntactic structures in his or her text, and be aware of its information dynamics. One of the concepts that account for the information dynamics of a text is the thematic management manifested in the theme-rheme structure. Even if thematic structures may imply theoretical sophistication in linguistics, the translator must prove an ability to analyze sentences into themes and rhemes because in this way (s)he may achieve a solid basis for text interpretation.

2. Theoretical Definitions for Theme and Rheme

The semantic organization of the sentence or clause into two parts, the 'theme' and the 'rheme' has long been dealt with in linguistics (Van Dijk, 1982; Baker, 1992; Halliday, 1994; Superceanu, 2000). The standard approach—theme as starting point of the sentence—is to call whatever comes in first position in the sentence the theme; whatever follows is the rheme. In this respect, every clause has the structure of a message: it says something (the rheme) about something (the theme). Other approaches regard theme as 'aboutness'; in other words, the theme is what the sentence is about. In this respect it acts as a point of orientation by connecting back to previous stretches of discourse and thereby maintaining a coherent point of view (Baker, 1992: 122). What is important is that all approaches account for the coherence and internal organization of a discourse either by organizing the initiation of the clause or by directing the attention of the receiver of the message to the parts the sender wishes to emphasize.

3. Thematic Management and Translation

The key insight within thematic management is that certain concepts and propositions seem more central or important to the development of discourse than other. Such central concepts and propositions provide the framework around which the details of the discourse are emplaced. Such

central concepts and propositions seem to be what is better remembered when a discourse/target language text is interpreted. Accordingly, the translator should take into consideration several three key questions: (1) *What makes a concept or proposition more central or important at clause or sentence level?* (2) *How is that centrality tied to the developing of discourse?* and the last one, which is related to the previous two questions (3) *What do I do as a translator to convey centrality/the thematic management of the source text to the reader?*

The answers to these questions may be provided by the theme-rheme analysis at clause or paragraph level, and at discourse level.

3.1. The problem of clause level (or paragraph) *theme* and *rheme*—local level of discourse. We saw that each clause in a discourse contains one key element—the theme—which is somehow the *central* referent at that moment, a *point of departure* for the clause, the referent *about which* the remainder of the clause predicates something, and whatever follows is the rheme.

Thematic analysis can be represented hierarchically; since sentences consist of more than one clause, they will have several layers of thematic structure. Each clause will have its own theme-rheme structure which may be subordinate to a larger theme-rheme structure. The below visual representation of the hierarchical nature of theme-rheme structures is meant to illustrate the point without having to go through complex technical discussions.

> The City of Los Angeles comprises 1,215 sq km (469 sq mi) and had a population of about 3.7 million people at the 2000 census. It is the largest municipality (in terms of size and population) among all the cities in Los Angeles County. It is irregular in shape because it has grown over the years through the annexation of surrounding territory and cities. The city proper is shaped like a lighted torch: its narrow handle extends north from the Port of Los Angeles to downtown Los Angeles, and its flames flicker irregularly to the north, west, and northwest. Several separate cities—such as Beverly Hills, Santa Monica, and Culver City—are partly or completely surrounded by the City of Los Angeles. The city is bisected by the Santa Monica Mountains, which run east to west.
>
> Microsoft® Encarta® Encyclopedia 2003. © 1993-2002 Microsoft Corporation.

The City of Los Angeles comprises 1,215 sq km (469 sq mi) and had a population

T1	R1	T2 (the city)	R2

T1	R1

of about 3.7 million people at the 2000 census. It is the largest municipality (in

…R2		T3	R3
…R1		T2	R2

terms of size and population) among all the cities in Los Angeles County. It is

…R3		T4	R4
…R2		T3	R3

irregular in shape because it has grown over the years through the annexation of

…R4	T5	R5
…R3		

surrounding territory and cities. The city proper is shaped like a lighted torch: its

…R5	T6	R6	T7
…R3	T4	R4	

narrow handle extends north from the Port of Los Angeles to downtown Los

…T7	R7
…R4	

Angeles, and its flames flicker irregularly to the north, west, and northwest.

…R7	T8	R8
…R4		

Several separate cities—such as Beverly Hills, Santa Monica, and Culver City—are

T9	R9
T5	R5

partly or completely surrounded by the City of Los Angeles. The city is bisected by

…R9		T10	R10
…R5		T6	R6

the Santa Monica Mountains, which run east to west.

…R10	T11 (the SMM)	R11
…R6		

Fig. 1. Hierarchical thematic analysis of a text at clause and sentence level

The above thematic analysis (Fig. 1) and its thematic representation (Fig. 2) on the next page also illustrate that it is necessary to take account of thematic structure in order to maintain a coherent point of view in communication and subsequently, translation.

The selection and identification of an individual theme of a given clause in a given text is not in itself particularly significant. But the overall choice and ordering of themes, particularly those in independent clauses, plays an important part in organizing a text and in providing a point of orientation for a given stretch of language.

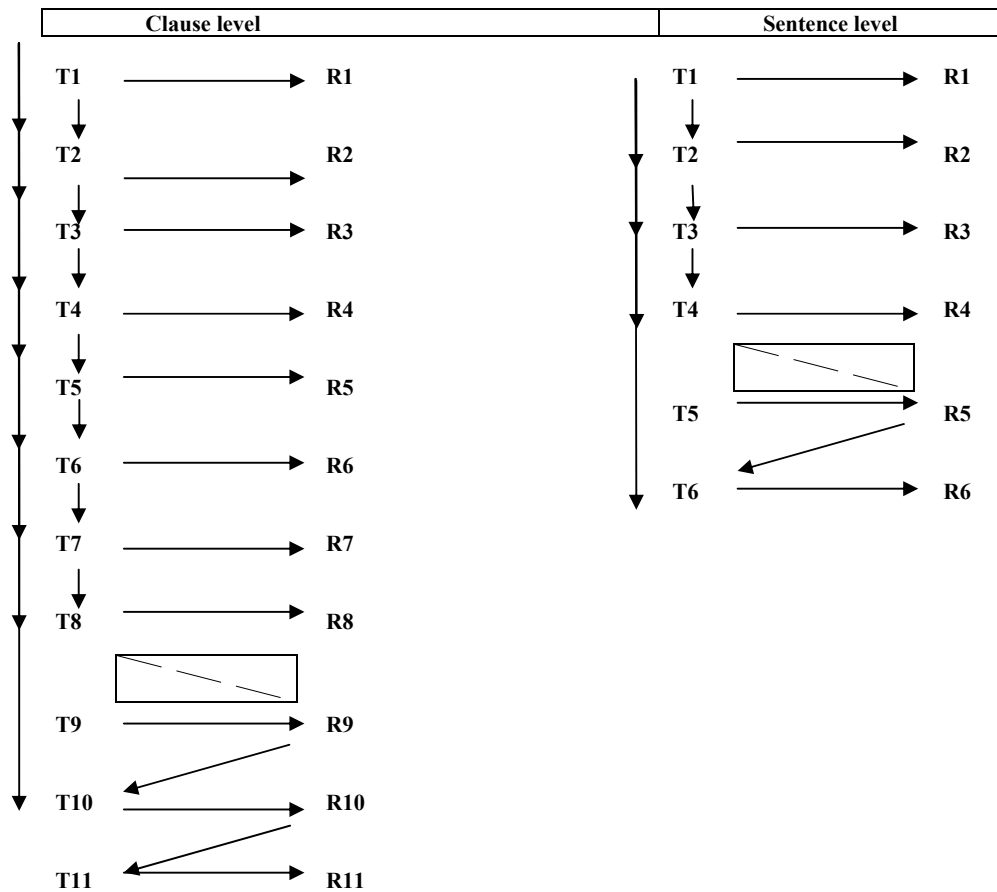| Clause level		Sentence level	
T1 ⟶ R1		T1 ⟶ R1	
T2 R2		T2 ⟶ R2	
T3 ⟶ R3		T3 ⟶ R3	
T4 ⟶ R4		T4 ⟶ R4	
T5 ⟶ R5		T5 R5	
T6 ⟶ R6		T6 ⟶ R6	
T7 ⟶ R7			
T8 ⟶ R8			
T9 ⟶ R9			
T10 ⟶ R10			
T11 ⟶ R11			

Fig. 2. Hierarchical thematic representation of a text at clause and sentence level

As early as 1884, Weil (discussed in Baker, 1992) observed that it is important for the speaker to place the listener at the same point of view as

the speaker. In this way, the listener can lean on something present and known in order to reach out to some less present and unknown. Thus, it is but natural for the translator to place the target text reader at the same point of view as the one intended by the source text writer; we consider that one way of doing this is by preserving the original source text thematic structure.

However, in trying to achieve that, translators need to be aware that the word order of a language may be different form the one of another language (German or Chinese). In addition, translators should know what the 'normal' word order is, if there is one, but at the same time, they should know that by not always obeying a particular word order there is the risk of producing changes in stress, focus, or contrast.

The thematic analysis and representation in the paragraph below (Fig.3) is an example in point:

Clubul Investitorilor	The Investors' Club
La finele anului trecut, la iniţiativa conducerii Comisiei Economice a Senatului-- respectiv a preşedintelui Dan Mircea Popescu şi a secretarului general Ion Zara, s-a înfiinţat Clubul investitorilor. *Asociaţie nonguvernamentală, cu personalitate juridică şi apolitică, clubul* se bucură de toate drepturile conferite de lege pentru promovarea unui climat favorabil afacerilor şi investiţiilor în România.	*The Investors Club* was founded at the end of last year, at the initiative of Dan Mircea Popescu and Ion Zara, president and general secretary respectively of the Senate Economic Commission. *A non-governmental, non-party political association, the club* enjoys all the rights accorded by the law for the promotion of a climate favourable to business people and investors in Romania.
T1 ⟶ R2 T2 ⟶ R2	T1 ⟶ R2 T2 ⟶ R2

Fig. 3. Thematic analysis and representation of a text at sentence level
('Clubul Investitorilor' in *Timisoara--What, Where, When*, vol. 6, no.1/2003, p.7)

At the global level, as we shall see in the next part where we shall analyze the entire article, the translator's choice of moving the rheme in front position was an acceptable one as it contributed to maintaining the global coherence of the text. However, at the local level, one can clearly see a shift in focus: thus, if in the source text the stress is on *when* and *who* founded the club, in the target text the stress is on the club proper.

If we want to get the same information flow in English and achieve the same impact on the target text reader as the one intended by the source text writer, the order in the target text should be the same as the one in the source text. There are however cases where an identical word order cannot be preserved either because the word order between languages is different (*To follow your heart you must* in Chinese) or unusual, (clefted structures, e.g., *It is x who…; What x did was to…* in French, or passives in Russian and German, e.g., *John is loved by Ann*). In these cases, the translator may use a variety of these difficult and unusual structures; this is accepted as long as (s)he uses them constantly without creating a breakdown of the thematic structure which can lead to incoherence.

3.2. The problem of higher level *paragraph* or *discourse theme—* global level of discourse. In much the same way as clause level matters are tied between them, so, too, are the units connected to yet higher-level structures. That is, in this area, one is concerned with the centrality of the significance of a referent globally. For instance, if the focus in an episode is on a particular aspect, and all the clauses in that episode deal with that aspect in theme position at global level, then the themes should not be used in rheme position because the centrality at global level would be lost. Unfortunately, in most cases the translator seldom looks beyond the local level of organization and development, and ignores the overall text or discourse or global.

In the next excerpt, the focus is set on the *measures* that are to be financed in Romania under the SAPARD programme; all relevant clauses in that excerpt deal with *measures* in theme position at global level. By repeatedly fronting the same noun, the author wanted to achieve coherence at global level and to stress the importance of those measures. This is proved by the analysis and representation of the thematic structure at the global level exemplified below:

SAPARD
Grant schemes
SAPARD is the EU programme for agriculture and rural development. Its objectives are to solve specific problems related to the processing and marketing of agricultural products and to bring them closer to the EU standards. The programme is financing both public and private investments. During 2000-2006, Romania will receive 150 MEURO/year EU Contribution plus 50 MEURO/year from the Romanian Government.

11 measures are to be financed in Romania under the SAPARD programme between 2000-2006:
Axe 1: Improving the competitiveness of agricultural and fishery processed products…
Out of the 11 measures, 6 are expected to be launched in 2003, namely:
- Improving processing and marketing of agricultural and fishery products…
The other measures could also be launched the pending on their accreditation process.
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SAPARD

Scheme de finanţare nerambursabile

SAPARD este programul UE pentru agricultură şi dezvoltare rurală- Programul îşi propune să rezolve problemele legate de prelucrarea şi comercializarea produselor agricole şi să aducă aceste două activităţi mai aproape de standardele UE- Programul finanţează investiţii atât publice cât şi private. În perioada 2000 - 2006, România va primi 150 milioane EURO pe an finanţare UE şi 50 milioane EURO pe an finanţare de la bugetul de stat al României.

În perioada 2000-2006, se finanţează *11 măsuri* în cadrul programului SAPARD:
Axa 1: Îmbunătăţirea competitivităţii produselor agricole şi piscicole prelucrate...
Din cele 11 măsuri, 6 urmează a fi lansate în 2003, respectiv:
- Îmbunătăţirea procesului de prelucrare şi comercializare a produselor agricole şi piscicole…
Este posibil ca şi *celelalte măsuri* să fie lansate, pe măsură ce sunt acreditate.

(www.infoeuropa.ro , *How to Get European Union Financing*)
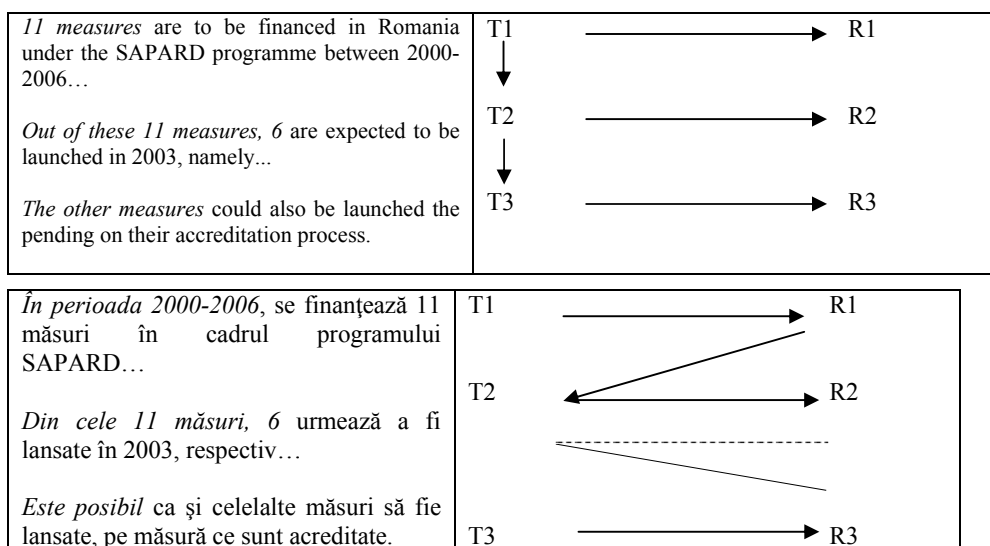
(Fig. 4. Thematic analysis and representation at global level)

As it can be seen, the source text translation has a completely different thematic structure. Even if the text reads easily and the themes and the rhemes are well interconnected, one can easily see that the translator quite happily moves themes in rheme position without any sense that (s)he might be disrupting a carefully planned pattern of theme-rheme information flow or a carefully planned thematic structure.

That discourse is usually carefully structured at global level is proved by most tourist brochures and news bulletins where themes are

usually represented by adverbials of time or place. As it can be seen in the short example below—a transcript from Euronews—the same grammatical class recurs several times throughout the presentation but with a different content:

Russia's first case of…
In Asia the World Travel Organization…
In Italy ceremony has been marked by an explosion…
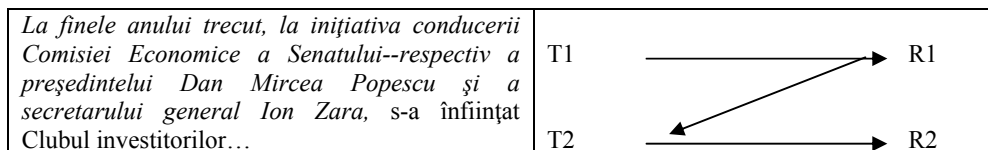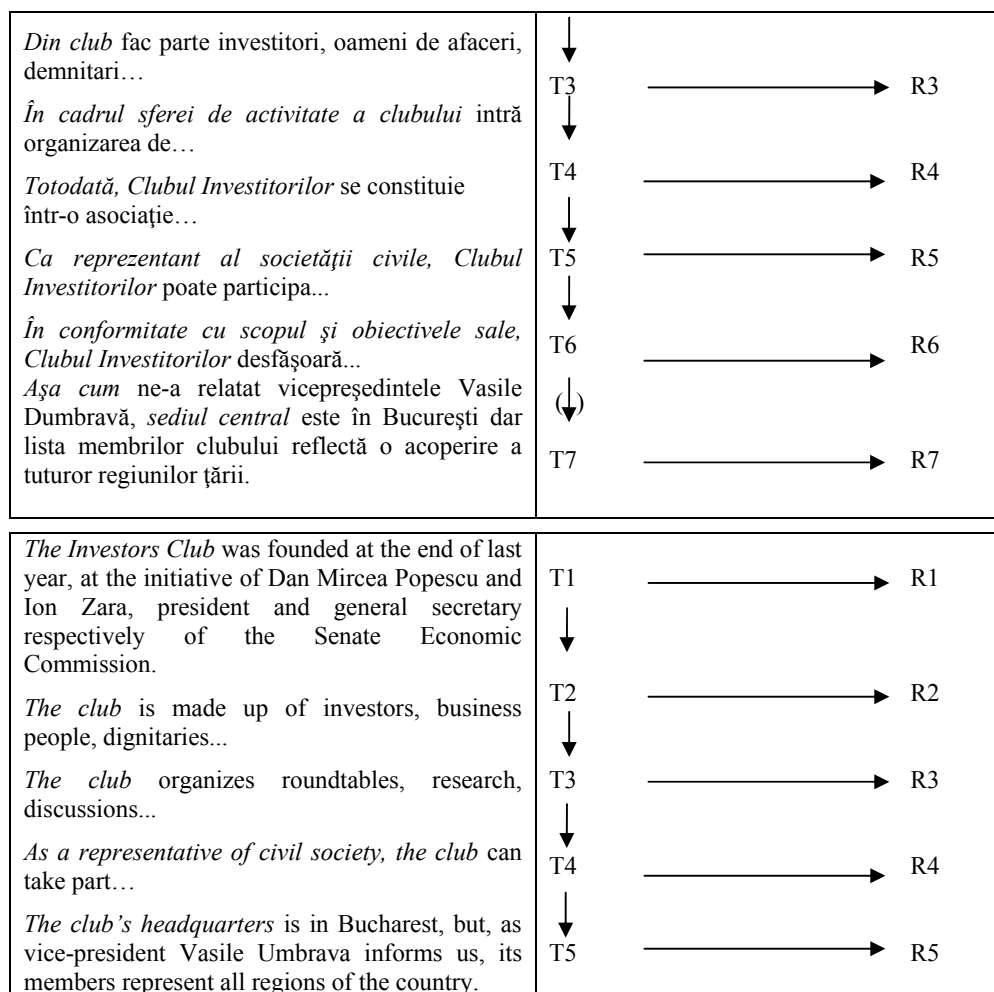*In New York* three armed men seized 11 hostages during…

(May 8, 2003—*Euronews)*

By translating the last example with *Trei bărbaţi înarmaţi au făcut 11 ostateci astăzi la New York în timpul…* though grammatically correct, would disrupt the parallelism in the thematic structure and thus lead to incoherence at the global level.

It is true that most translation takes place in real time; priorities have to be set, and anxious calculations of theme-rheme may not seem be the most important; however, if the translator wants to preserve the cohesion and coherence of the text, or to achieve the same stylistic effects intended by the writer, then (s)he should translate paragraphs in such a way that the theme and rheme of each sentence remains constant.

However, there are cases where centrality in the source text is sometimes not clearly expressed globally; in such cases, shifting rhemes in theme position, even if not a best solution at local level as we saw in a previous example (Fig. 3) might prove useful. In this way, coherence and cohesion might be achieved by recreating the target text at global level. Still, even if this solution is acceptable and sometimes preferable, one must pay attention that by doing so one does not alter the meaning of the message of the writer.

In the following thematic analysis and representation, the translator chose to front *the club* in theme position in two instances, thus focusing on the club and trying to achieve a better coherence at global level. The analysis of the translation proper, e.g. recreation of the structure of the target text—5 paragraphs instead of 7 as in the source text—choice of focus shift in the first paragraph, and shift in meaning in the last paragraph does not make the object of our analysis. For reasons of space, we do not insert here the entire article; this one together with its translation can be found in the March/May 2003 issue of *Timişoara—What? Where? When?*

La finele anului trecut, la iniţiativa conducerii Comisiei Economice a Senatului--respectiv a preşedintelui Dan Mircea Popescu şi a secretarului general Ion Zara, s-a înfiinţat Clubul investitorilor…	T1 ⟶ R1 T2 ⟶ R2

Din club fac parte investitori, oameni de afaceri, demnitari…	↓ T3 ──────────→ R3
În cadrul sferei de activitate a clubului intră organizarea de…	↓ T4 ──────────→ R4
Totodată, Clubul Investitorilor se constituie într-o asociaţie…	↓ T5 ──────────→ R5
Ca reprezentant al societăţii civile, Clubul Investitorilor poate participa...	↓ T6 ──────────→ R6
Aşa cum ne-a relatat vicepreşedintele Vasile Dumbravă, sediul central este în Bucureşti dar lista membrilor clubului reflectă o acoperire a tuturor regiunilor ţării.	(↓) T7 ──────────→ R7

The Investors Club was founded at the end of last year, at the initiative of Dan Mircea Popescu and Ion Zara, president and general secretary respectively of the Senate Economic Commission.	T1 ──────────→ R1 ↓
The club is made up of investors, business people, dignitaries...	T2 ──────────→ R2 ↓
The club organizes roundtables, research, discussions...	T3 ──────────→ R3 ↓
As a representative of civil society, the club can take part…	T4 ──────────→ R4 ↓
The club's headquarters is in Bucharest, but, as vice-president Vasile Umbrava informs us, its members represent all regions of the country.	T5 ──────────→ R5

(Fig. 5. Thematic analysis and representation at global level)

4. Conclusion

We saw that sometimes translators feel free to shift things around to their heart's content without regard to any theory. This may mean that the translators know, consciously or unconsciously, that theme-rheme order is sometimes different in English and Romanian; they don't know and don't care—unlikely sometimes given the quality of their work; or it doesn't matter what comes in as long as the sentence is comprehensible and the translation on the whole acceptable.

All the examples that we discussed proved that the concepts of theme and rheme are useful to translators if analyzed both at local and global levels; however, it would be even more useful to analyze and

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interpret thematic structures taking into account the reasons why things are put the way they are in the sentence (focus, emphasis, contrast, presupposed knowledge, sentence rhythm, sentence order, deviation from normal word order) and the various means for achieving those effects in the target language (parallelism, rhetorical questions, ellipsis), but this will be done as part of more complex forthcoming study on information distribution and thematic management in English and Romanian.

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IF-BACKSHIFTED PREDICTIVE CONDITIONAL IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN

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1. This paper represents part of a broader study of syntactical and semantic analysis of real conditional in English and Serbian. The model it embraces represents a combination of the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics, construction grammar and theory of relevance. By "conditional" I mean the sentences so labeled by grammarians (rather than logicians): complex sentences, composed of the main clause (sometimes also called *q*, or the apodosis) and a subordinate clause (*p*, or the protasis). The subordinate clause is introduced by a conjunction, the least marked of English conditional conjunctions being *if*. **If p, q** represents a formal structure of conditional sentences.

2. **Theoretical background**
Syntactical and semantic analysis of predictive conditionals presented here has been motivated primarily by Dancygier's (1998) findings concerning time and modality in conditional clauses. Dancygier argues that their meaning is determined by a number of form-meaning correlations which are construction-specific. For example, their verb forms signal important aspects of the interpretation (such as the type of reasoning involved, or the speaker's and the hearer's knowledge which constitutes the background for the reasoning), but they do so in ways that affect the whole construction, rather than one clause, and which are specific to conditionals. Thus conditionals can be best described within a framework of *Construction Grammar*, a conditional sentence being an example of a *construction*. A construction is described as a conventional pattern of linguistic structure which is paired with features of interpretation.

The main criterion in classifying *if-* constructions with respect to the use of the verb forms is the presence or absence of *backshift*. The term *backshift* should be applicable to every case of language use such that the time marked in the verb phrase is earlier than the time actually referred to. According to that criterion, all conditional sentences can be divided into two classes: *predictive and non-predictive*. Backshift is what distinguishes predictive conditionals from non-predictive ones. Let us look at the most common examples of conditionals:

(1) *If it rains, the match will be cancelled.*
(2) *If it rained, the match would be cancelled.*
(3) *If it had rained, the match would have been cancelled.*

The use of *rained* in the protasis (2) indicates the past, but in fact refers to the future, and similar backshifted use marks all the verb forms in (2) and (3). In the majority of accounts of conditional sentences the criterion of backshift is also used, but it is considered to be restricted to the cases of hypothetical past, hypothetical past perfect and hypothetical uses of verb phrases with *would* characteristic of conditionals such as (2) and (3). However, the protasis of (1) also qualifies here – the form *rains* refers to the future, but indicates the present. This also means that not every case of backshift in conditionals is hypothetical in meaning. Sentences like (1) – (3) differ from other conditional constructions in that they are representative of two kinds of patterns. First, they all have non-modal verb phrases in their protases, and they all have the same type of modal in their apodoses. Second, as we go down the list represented by (1) – (3), the verb forms in both clauses indicate going further back into the past, although this is not matched by the actual temporal interpretation. The choice of verb forms seems to be systematic, then, but the distance marked in each case (with the exception of the apodosis of (1), which is not backshifted) seems to be concerned with unassertability rather than time. Thus Dancygier (1998) suggests that (1) – (3) should be seen as representative of two kinds of backshift: the modal-erasing backshift in the *if*-clause, which she calls *if-backshift*, and the backshift affecting (2) and (3) as wholes, which she calls *hypothetical*, since the verb forms used there are called "hypothetical" in some widely known descriptions of English. In this paper I will deal only with *if-backshifted* predictive conditionals.

3. *If-backshifted* predictive conditional in English

In a sentence like (1) the assumption in the protasis is an assumption which is not itself subject to prediction, but is used, along with other relevant assumptions, in arriving at the prediction in the apodosis. With the marker of predictive modality not present in the verb phrase, the verb can only be marked with the remaining category - that of the present tense. As Dancygier (1998) points out, protasis of predictive conditionals presents assumption which is not subject to evaluation against the speaker's current knowledge and not itself predictable. On the other hand, the predictive modality expressed in the apodosis seems to be an integral part of this type of conditional construction. As Palmer (1986) shows, other expressions of futurity, such as *going to*, are extremely rare in main clauses of conditionals,

and when they appear, they are highly marked. To conclude, the use of verb forms in futurate predictive conditionals supports the constructional meaning of such sentences. What we are dealing with here are not two clauses combined at random, but elements of a construction, formally marked so as to best represent the meaning of that construction.

The backshift from future to present in the protasis is always a signal of a predictive statement in the apodosis – even if the surface form of the apodosis does not contain *will*. There are essentially two variants of such predictive sentences: in one case the apodosis does not contain any verb form that would indicate the future, in the other the apodosis uses a modal other than *will*, but with future reference. The cases of sentences in which other modals are used are much more common. It is not unusual that future events are talked about with less confidence than *will*- predictions express. In those instances modal forms like *can, may, could* or *might* are often used:

(4) *If it rains, they can / may / might / could cancel the trip.*

The sentences are still predictive at least in the sense that they talk about possible future developments on the basis of newly postulated, but not predicted assumptions. The predictions are made with less conviction, however. There are also cases in which the statement in *q* does not concern a state of affairs in the future, but is nevertheless essentially futurate. For instance

(5) *If the leaves wither in a day or two, you added too much fertilizer.*

the assumption in *p* licenses a conclusion which will, however, only be drawn in the future, upon *p* becoming true. One can say that *q* is a prediction of a conclusion, which can be recovered in paraphrases like….*you will know that you added too much fertilizer.* Similarly, in (6)

(6) *If he attacks me, I've got a gun.*

the apodosis leaves out the prediction of danger which the actual form of *q* is meant to refute. In other words, the interpretation of (6) involves an implicated prediction of danger inherent in attack, and *q* is specifically meant to cancel the implicature. This sentence can be loosely paraphrased as "*If he attacks me, you may expect me to be in danger, but (even though you expect this) I will be safe, because I've got a gun*".

Imperatives can also take predictive protases, but they can be marked only with *if-backshift*:

(7) *If the postman comes, let him in.*

Under the interpretation which sees imperatives as derived from futurate sentences with *will*, a predictive interpretation of (7) is quite straightforward, for the imperatives can then be seen as variants of

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predictive statements. But even if we argue against postulating an underlying unity of imperatives and predictions, there is enough semantic similarity between *let him in* and *you will let him in* to justify the acceptability of (7): both describe future developments which the speaker can expect to occur when the postman comes.

The protasis/apodosis relation seems to be a particularly important aspect of conditional interpretation. The presence of *if* in the construction marks the assumption in its scope as unassertable. As a result, the assumption in the apodosis, which belongs to the same mental space as the protasis, is not treated as asserted either. It seems that the only assertion that is made in a conditional construction is about the *relation* between the protasis and the apodosis. In the majority of analyses offered, the protasis of the construction is described as expressing the condition on whose fulfillment the occurence of the situation described by the main clause is contingent. This view is sometimes narrowed to what is called Sufficient Conditionality Thesis, which treats what is said in the *if*-clause as a sufficient condition for what is said in the main clause. Sufficient conditionality may hold on various levels of linguistic interpretation. Prototypically, an event or state of affairs in the protasis is a sufficient condition for the occurrence of an event or state of affairs in the apodosis. Cognitive domain in which this relation holds Sweetser (1990) calls content, real-world domain, which is the basic domain in which conditionals function. When real-world events are put in a sufficient conditionality relation, causality is the most natural interpretation to arise. That is, if an event *p* (e.g. dropping a glass) is a sufficient condition for an event *q* (e.g. the glass breaking), then saying

(8) If you drop this glass, it will break

can naturally be interpreted to mean that the act of dropping will cause the glass to break. The causal interpretation seems to be resulting from a number of factors here: the fact that a conditional implies a connection, that the connection is in the content domain, that there are also surface signals of greater grammatical integration characteristic of predictive conditionals thanks to the pattern of verb forms, that the events in question can be interpreted sequentially, and, finally, that our background knowledge supports the interpretation whereby dropping glass objects causes them to break. Temporal sequentiality is regularly involved in the interpretation of a major class of conditional constructions – the predictive ones. This is related to the fact that predictive conditionals are invariably interpreted in the content domain, as expressing relations between events or state of affairs.

4. Predictive conditional in Serbian

Domains of reality and unreality in Serbian conditional sentences are distinct both semantically and pragmatically: the distinction is reflected in the use of conditional conjunction, state of the speaker's knowledge about the relation between the reality and protasis, as well as in the use of appropriate tense or some forms of mood in the protasis. Unlike English, which can introduce conditional sentence only using the conjunction *if* or the modal *should* (meaning *in case*), Serbian has a choice of conjunctions that are divided between the domains of reality and unreality. These conjunctions are *ako/ukoliko, da* and *kad*; however, it would be wrong to conclude that it is the conjunctions only that determine real or hypothetical reading of conditionals. For a conditional sentence to have non-hypothetical reading in Serbian, the following conditions must be fulfilled:

- it is introduced by the conjunction *ako/ukoliko*
- the truth status of the protasis proposition must be unknown to the speaker, because he lacks direct evidence of the event.

The conjunction *ako* is an exponent of a special status of the assumption in its scope. As a lexical item, it is a marker of non-assertiveness and its presence in front of an assumption indicates that the speaker has reasons to present this assumption as unassertable. Besides all these conditions, very important role has the use of grammatical tenses or some forms of mood in the protasis of conditional sentence. Key role plays the relation between grammatical tense and time reference of the verb form used in the protasis. Thus, according to whether the grammatical tense in the protasis refers to the real time of the event described or not, non-hypothetical conditionals can be classified into two groups: ***predictive*** and ***non-predictive***.

Protasis of the first group always has future time reference, but the speaker never uses the grammatical tense that always has a future time reference in Serbian (Futur I) to signal it. Instead of this form present tense is used (the so called "not real present" or "future present"), most frequently the present tense of perfective verbs, that always refers to the future. The imperfective form of the verb can only be used if it is clear from the context that it refers to future. In the majority of cases the present tense with future reference in the protasis can be substituted by the Futur II (Futur Exact) which is a member of the category of mood, and is partially equivalent to the Future Perfect in English. Another possibility represents the Potential, also a member of the category of mood, which is always used to denote a slight reservation on the part of the speaker towards the likelihood of the protasis event/ condition happening (something like the inversion using

should in English). However, the Potential must not be used in the apodosis at the same time, because in that case the conditional gets a clear hypothetical meaning and becomes equivalent to hypothetical conditional introduced by the conjunction *kad.*

If the condition for the fulfillment of the apodosis refers to the future, then the apodosis must clearly refer to the future as well. The essential characteristic of this group of conditional sentences is *predicting the future development*, which means that it is quite natural for their apodoses to contain a verb form with a future reference. Thus the most frequent form is the so-called future tense or Futur I:

> *(9) Ako bude padala kiša, meč će biti otkazan.*
> *If it rains, the match will be cancelled.*

Some other grammatical tenses are also possible, but always with a future reference. For example, the already mentioned "future present":

> *(10)   Ne može da jamči za sebe ako bude morao da duže ostane*
>   *ovde.*
> *He can't guarantee for himself if he has to stay here longer.*

In some cases even the past tense, but with a future time reference (the so called "modal past tense"):

> *(11)   Ako me smesta ne poslušaš, ti si svoje završio.*
> *If you don't obey me right away, you are a dead man.*

As for the category of mood, imperative is also possible, since it always refers to the future:

> *(12)   Ako poštar bude zvonio, pusti ga da uđe.*
> *If the postman rings, let him in.*

Since Serbian modals do not have distal counterparts like English, the Potential serves as a "distancer" – hence its use in the apodosis of predictive conditional, but without hypothetical meaning; again, for the conditional to belong to the domain of reality, the Potential must not be used in the protasis at the same time:

> *(13)   Ako padne kiša, meč bi mogao biti otkazan.*
> *If it rains, the match could / might be cancelled.*

No matter which of these forms is used, the sentence always has a "future" meaning, because the speaker wants to make a prediction about a future situation. All these examples share some common properties: the time of *p* precedes that of *q* ; temporal order of events described by the clauses reflect thinking "steadily futurewards"; real – world events or state of affairs are linked by a cause – effect relation: the fulfillment of event or state of affairs in the protasis causes or enables the fulfillment of event or state of affairs in the apodosis.

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5. Conclusion

Semantic and pragmatic requirements that conditional sentence must meet in order to be classified as *if-backshifted* (or non-hypothetical) predictive conditional are identical for both languages: the speaker does not possess knowledge about the relation between the protasis and reality, or at least lacks direct evidence of the event. That is the reason why he cannot assert what is said in the protasis, so he uses the conditional conjunction, whose function in both languages is to be a signal of the unassertability of the assumption in its scope.

Both English and Serbian conditional sentences which function in content, real – world domain have the following characteristics: both protasis and apodosis have a future time reference, whereas apodosis makes a prediction based on the assumption expressed in the protasis (which the speaker does not predict); the prediction is based on the knowledge of typical cause – effect relations in the real world. Predictive statement in apodosis always refers to possible future developments, expressing different degrees of probability and using different verb forms. English and Serbian are identical in the use of present tense in the protasis: in both languages it must refer to future for the conditional sentence to function in content domain. In Serbian it is always the present tense of perfective verb, and even when the imperfective verb is used, it must have a clear future time reference.

English and Serbian show contrasts in the way they use grammatical tenses (and some forms of mood in Serbian) in conditional sentences, but these differences are the consequence of different systems of tense and mood in these two languages, and not of something that is inherent to conditional sentences only. The Potential of verbs, as a member of the category of mood, stands in contrast to the distal forms of modal verbs in English. Finally, in Serbian there is a choice between two conditional conjunctions (*ako / ukoliko*) that are equivalent to English *if*.

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EPONYMS IN ENGLISH

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1. Introduction

The term *eponym* has been used in literature to denote different linguistic phenomena: (1) a lexeme derived from a personal name; (2) the name from which such a lexeme is derived; (3) the person whose name is thus used; (4) any proper noun that has become a common noun, esp. brand-names, e.g. *xerox*, *Kleenex* (sometimes also called 'proprietary eponyms') (cf. McArthur 1992). Lexemes treated as eponyms in this paper are those that have been formed from names of people, real of fictitious, by any of the word-formation processes.

The paper will attempt to give some insight into the morphological patterns of eponymous lexemes and their semantic relationships with base words.

2. Morphological aspects

In the analysis of the corpus the following word formation processes were found: conversion, suffixation, composition, clipping, blending, acronymy and backformation. The word formation processes are given in the order of their frequency in the corpus, all of them quite productive in modern English (the distinction between frequency and productivity of a given word formation rule is based on Kastovsky 1986).

Conversion

The largest number of non-terminological eponyms in the corpus are conversions. The input units are exclusively proper nouns and, typically, conversion produces common nouns: *béchamel*, *biro*, *bobby*, *casanova*, *John Bull*, *leotard*, *macadam*, *Mae West*, *praline*, *quisling*, *raglan*, *shrapnel*, *Xanthippe*. There are a few examples where the morphosyntactic class of the input unit changes: $bork_v$, $boycott_v$, $braille_v$, $burke_v$, $guillotine_v$, $lynch_v$, $mentor_v$, $ritz_v$, $silhouette_v$, $thomas_v$, zoe_v. They seem, however, to have gone through two cycles of conversion: proper noun > common noun > verb, rather than to have been formed directly from personal names as the corresponding common nouns typically appear in their dictionary definitions.

In some cases the base is respelled: *Duns > dunce, Philbert > filbert, Macintosh > mackintosh, Plessis-Praslin > praline, Stroganov > stroganoff*.

The output units become potential input bases for further word-formation processes: *boycotter*; *dieseling, dieselize, dieselization*; *duncical, duncish, duncishly*; *lyncher*; *Jezebelian, Jezebelish*; *Jonahesque*; *mentorship*; *John Bullish, John Bullist, John Bullishness, John Bullism*; *ohmic*; *Shylockian, Shylocky, shylock*_v, *shylocker*.

Suffixation

Next to conversion, suffixation is the most productive process, particularly in scientific terminology, notably in biology, chemistry and mineralogy. The vast majority of suffixations are names of plants, bacteria, chemical substances and minerals. As such, the suffixes used to form these lexemes are of restricted productivity. Examples include: *arfvedsonite, goethite, greenockite, pickeringite, saussurite*; *begonia, dahlia, dieffenbachia, fuchsia, gardenia, macadamia*; *curium, einsteinium, rutherfordium*; *galvanize, pasteurize*.

To list but a few suffixes:

– *ite*:
- ▪ [forming nouns] minerals: *allanite, arfvedsonite, dawsonite, fergusonite, goethite, greenockite, pickeringite, saussurite*
- ▪ [n] explosives: *dunnite*
- ▪ [n] chemical substances: *austenite, lewisite*

All of the above are of the pattern: personal name + – *ite*. Most often, these are names of mineralogists, geologists or (al)chemists, but sometimes also names of mine officials, financiers, politicians, rulers (*alexandrite* < Alexander I of Russia, *willemite* < Willem I, 'the Silent', *stephanite* < Stephan, Archduke of Austria), or otherwise important people (*goethite, pinkeringite*).

–*ia*:
- ▪ [n] plants: *begonia, claytonia, dahlia, dieffenbachia, fuchsia, gardenia, macadamia*.
- ▪ [n] bacteria: *babesia, borrelia, Erwinia, listeria*

–*ium*:
- ▪ [n] chemical elements: *curium, einsteinium, rutherfordium*

–*ella*:
- ▪ [n] bacteria: *brucella, Salmonella*

–*a*:
- ▪ [n] plants: *allamanda, weigela*

–*ine*:

- [n] chemical substances: *brucine*, *nicotine*
- [adj] (characteristic) of: *Benedictine*, *Ursuline*

Some of the other productive suffixes:

–ize:
- [v] to subject to a process denoted by its originator: *boswellize*, *bowdlerize*, *galvanize*, *mesmerize*, *pasteurize*

–ism:
- [n] principles, doctrines or practices: *buddhism*, *calvinism*, *chauvinism*, *Darwinism*, *Rastafarianism*, *spoonerism*
- [n] disorders: *daltonism*, *masochism*, *sadism*

–ic:
- [adj] in the style of: *Platonic*, *pyrrhic*, *quixotic*, *Sapphic*

–esque:
- [adj] in the style of: *Jordanesque*, *Heath-Robinsonesque*, *Kafkaesque*

–ist:
- [n] supporter or follower: *Blairist*, *Rappist*

–ite:
- [n] supporter or follower: *Clintonite*, *hussite*

Composition

Composition proves, as elsewhere in English, very frequent and productive. Here are some examples: *boysenberry*, *loganberry*, *youngberry*, *sarrusophone*, *saxhorn*, *saxophone*, *sousaphone*, *daguerreotype*, *greengage*.

Clipping

Although clipping does not operate frequently on personal names (except in naming scientific measurement units), several examples have been found: *bawbee* [<Sillebawby], *farad* [<Faraday], *gal* [<Galileo], *gat* [<Gatling], *knickers* [<Knickerbocker], *strass* [<Strasser], *torr* [<Torricelli]

Blending

gerrymander [< Gerry + (sala)mander], *tarmac* [< tar + Mac(Adam)], *tawdry* [< (Sain)t Audrey], *Di-namite* [< Di(ana) + (dy)namite]

Acronymy

MiG (also *Mig*, *MIG*) [<M(ikoyan) i G(urevich)], *Todd-AO* [<(Mike) Todd + A(merican) O(ptical Co.)]

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Back-formation

   mentee < **ment$_v$* < *mentor* < *Mentor*

3. Semantic aspects

It is generally accepted that personal names have no sense but only reference (Allerton 1987). It is through the formation of eponymous lexemes that they undergo a process of 'sense-acquisition'. This process appears typically to involve metonymical and metaphorical transfer of meaning. For example, metonymy in *The plane taxied along the tarmac*; or metaphor in *She's a real Cinderella*. However, an important theoretical paradox arises. If personal names have no sense, what is it that metaphor and metonymy operate on? It seems that for a personal name or, indeed, for any proper noun, to become a common noun, it is necessary for extralinguistic knowledge to become part of speakers' *linguistic* knowledge. What members of a given linguistic community know about the person serves as a resource bank from which, in accordance with the speakers' needs, salient components are drawn to serve as building blocks of sense construction. For example, Zoë Baird was a nominee of President Bill Clinton for Attorney General accused of avoiding paying taxes on the payments made to domestic help. From her first name a verb was formed through conversion, *zoe*, with the meaning 'to accuse a person of avoiding paying taxes (esp. a person being considered for confirmation by a Senate hearing)'. It is in the early stages of the development of an eponymous lexeme that speakers are aware of its eponymous origin. However, if the lexeme becomes established, with the process of its institutionalization (see Bauer 1983) in the lexicon there's a tendency for this awareness to be gradually lost. Even if this awareness is retained, it constitutes a speaker's encyclopedic knowledge or is, at best, part of the associative meaning of the lexeme.

Metaphor proves to be less productive than metonymy. Examples: *casanova*, *catiline*, *Cinderella*, *Croesus*, *dunce*, *everest*, *houdini*, *Ishmael*, *maverick*, *mentor*, *Nimrod*, *pinkerton*, *quisling*, *Romeo*, *Shylock*, *Xanthippe*

Metonymy is extremely productive. It includes INVENTION IS INVENTOR, DISCOVERY IS DISCOVERER and similar metonymies:

- inventor, discoverer, breeder, manufacturer: *béchamel*, *colt*, *diesel*, *Granny Smith*, *herdic*, *macadam*, *mackintosh*, *McIntosh*, *praline*, *shrapnel*, *strass*, *Tom Collins*, *winchester*, *zeppelin*

A special subtype comprises tribute-paying eponyms, typically in scientific registers:

- in the honour of a scientist, e.g. all units in science that are named after scientists: *ampere*, *angstrom*, *bel*, *gauss*, *henry*, *hertz*, *joule*, *tesla*
- in the honour of an influential or respectable person: *alexandrite*, *bignonia*, *goethite*, *paulownia*, *pickeringite*, *pompadour*, *willemite*, *whewellite*

Once an eponymous lexeme is established, the original simple metaphors/metonymies may undergo further metaphorical/metonymical transfer:

- metonymy > metaphor:
  sandwich originally meant only 'two slices of bread with other food between them' (by metonymy from the fourth Earl of Sandwich) and then by multiple metaphorical transfers 'any kind of food resembling a sandwich' and 'anything resembling a sandwich' in expressions such as: *a sandwich cake, a sandwich board, a sandwich man, a sandwich course, sandwich*$_v$.
  Other examples: *Derby*, *Mausoleum*, *Pullman*, *silhouette*.

- metonymy > metonymy:
  tarmac is 'a mixture of tar and very small stones, used for making the surface of roads', named through metonymy after its inventor, J. L. McAdam. By further metonymy the meaning was extended to 'an area covered with tarmac' and yet further to 'a runway'.
  Other examples: *diesel*, *valentine*.

- metaphor > metaphor:
  the first sense of *burke* 'to murder smb. by suffocation' came into existence by means of metaphorical transfer and was later extended to 'to suppress or get rid of smth./smb. by some indirect manoeuvre'.
  Other examples: *Jehu*, *Romeo*.

The analysis of the corpus shows that the registers particularly rich in eponyms are: science, medicine, fashion, cookery and weaponry, the reasons for which probably lie in the sociolinguistic need to label new entities in these ever-improving fields. This is in accordance with the fact that most recorded eponyms entered the English language in the 19th and 20th centuries, reflecting the rapid scientific and technological development of the period. New eponyms are being formed all the time as there seems to be no restrictions on the productivity of eponymous formations. Theoretically, any personal name can be used as a common noun but many

of these never become established. They remain at the level of nonce-formations or soon fade away and as such never enter dictionaries.

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PRONOMINAL TERMS OF ADDRESS IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

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Pronominal forms of address constitute one of the three major classes of address terms, the other two are: nominal forms of address and verbal forms of address. This classification is made according to the word class the forms belong to, however there is another perspective for analyzing forms of address, namely that of reciprocity. The article presents pronominal forms of address both from the point of view of the word class in the first part and from the point of view of reciprocity in the second part.

Pronominal address terms are those pronouns or pronominal phrases used to point out who the intended recipient of the message is. Just like the other types of address, pronominal address is specific to each language and in order to be able to understand the most significant differences between English and Romanian at the level of pronominal address, we must take into consideration Brown and Gilman's study *The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity* (1960); their findings were further explained and developed by other linguists. They point out that there are languages which have two varieties of pronominal address: one set of pronouns for intimate address and another for distant, more polite address. The symbols they introduce are from Latin: *T(tu)* - for a familiar relationship and *V(vos)* – for a formal relationship. In opposition with these languages there are others which do not have the two varieties.

They explain that initially the personal pronoun *T(tu)* was used for addressing one person, while *V(vos)* was used for addressing more than one. *V(vos),* to address only one person, was used to address only the emperor of the Roman Empire, but they draw the attention to the fact that, in the fourth century, when this use appeared, there were two emperors, one of the Eastern and the other of the Western Roman Empire. So, the written documents were probably written for both of them, hence the use of the second person plural of the personal pronouns. The same address was mistakenly used later, when the Roman Empire had only one emperor. Another explanation is that any leader is the representative of a number of people, so, the emperor, expressing the wishes of his subjects, used the first person plural to refer to himself and his people, hence the collocutor reciprocated *nos* with *vos*. This more or less correct usage persisted with the

implication of respect and politeness of the speaker towards the hearer, Further insights about this are given when analyzing reciprocal and non-reciprocal address.

The above analysis of the differentiation between *T/V* pronouns is not relevant for those languages which do not have the distinction. Romanian is a Romance language, and, just like in Latin and in the other Romance languages, the distinction between *T/V* exists. In English there is a perfect identity at the level of the personal pronoun between the singular and the plural of the second person, hence the considerable difference. From the point of view of pronominal address, Romanian uses both power semantic and solidarity semantic, while English uses only solidarity semantic. However, I draw attention upon the fact that this is true for English only within the pronominal address. The possibility of expressing a difference in social status, age, gender, occupational background, in general, all those differences between speakers which lead to power semantic, is present in English at the level of nominal address.

Romanian personal pronouns

Number Person	Singular	Plural
1st	eu	noi
2nd	tu	voi
3rd	el, ea, dânsul, dânsa	ei, ele dânşii, dânsele

English personal pronouns

Number Person	Singular	Plural
1st	I	we
2nd	you	you
3rd	he, she, it	they

If compared, the two pronominal systems show a clear distinction in the second and third persons. In English the second person singular and plural is identical in form, while Romanian is one of the languages which has the *T/V* distinction.

The pronoun in the vocative is a rare occurrence both for English and Romanian. It is used when people address someone they do not know how to identify in the street, and they choose to use the informal address *you*. For example *Hey, you!// Hei, tu!* performs the function of identifying the addressee, even if this is done indirectly. Such an address would make people who hear it pay attention, the targeted subject, providing s/he is among those who hear the address, will implicitly become aware that s/he is

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addressed to. However such pronominal address is considered rude and is usually replaced by nominal addresses of the type*: sir/ madam, domnule/ doamnă.*

Another difference between English and Romanian appears in the third person singular. Address by definition excludes first or third person pronouns, but from the point of view of expressing gender and a certain degree of formality, the third person Romanian pronouns offer the possibility of indicating gender in the plural as well as in the singular, while English allows it only in the singular; in addition clearer indication about the formality or informality of the relationship between the speaker and the person can also be noticed. However, when referring to a third party, not only the choice between *el/ea* and *dânsul/dânsa* is relevant for signaling intimacy or formality, but the circumstances in which such a reference is made are also important. No matter how intimate the speaker and the third party are, an official setting may require the use of a more formal reference. But the fact, that these linguistic variants exist indicates that the Romanian speaker has felt the need to preserve them in the language and that everyday usage has confirmed their importance.

As far as the English second person pronoun is concerned, one can point out that *you* is a common form of address both for the singular and the plural, and that one is in the absolute impossibility of making the difference between the singular and the plural outside a given context. Moreover, even if, at this point, we do not analyze verbal address forms, the fact that English does not have inflectional suffixes for the second person singular and/or plural contributes to the ambiguity of the message. *e.g. You are correct.* It is impossible to decode if the message is intended for one or two persons, and from Brown and Gilman's (1960) perspective, the sentence does not give indications about the relationship of the speakers, if they have a formal or informal relationship.

Quite surprisingly, Old English had for the second person singular the pronoun *thu*; however, this form was of Germanic origin and not of Latin origin. The Accusative of thu, later *thou* was *thee*. Eventually *thou* was replaced by *you* and the opposition in meaning between singular and plural disappeared. Braun (1988) underlines that the difference in meaning is always significant only as part of the system. In the case of English, *you* would have been a polite form only as long as the opposition with *thou* existed. When *thou* disappeared, the polite connotation of *you* was lost, too. As it was mentioned before, *thou* was replaced by *you* in almost all contexts; nowadays it only has some liturgical and poetic uses. Because

thou appears in solemn liturgical speech, it brings along a connotation of formality, which in other circumstances would not have acquired.

Contrastively, although it seems to formally to fit in Brown and Gilman's (1960) theory, Romanian pronominal address functions differently; the pronoun *voi* is not used to address one individual whom the speaker respects, it is only used to address more than one person.

Even if *voi* does not have the same function as the pronoun *vos* had in Latin, Romanian has within the class of personal pronouns a subcategory, the courtesy pronoun, which has the sole function of encoding information about how formal or informal the relationship of the speakers is. Here are the Romanian courtesy pronouns:

Number Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-	-
2nd	dumneavoastră, dumneata	dumneavoastră
	dumnealui, dumneaei, dumneasa	dumnealor

Some of the courtesy pronouns even have regional variants (e.g. *dumneata: mata, matale*) as well as diminutives (*matălică,mătăluţă*), and a few have a special genitive/dative form (*dumitale, dumisale*). There is also a different degree of formality expressed by them, the second person singular courtesy pronoun *dumneata* encodes less formality than *dumneavoastră*, just as *mata* and *matale* carries information about more intimacy between the speakers.

Avram (2000) points out that language usage has established a similar degree of formality for the second and third person between the personal and the courtesy pronouns; from the less to the most polite Romanian has *tu – dumneata – dumneavoastră* for the second person singular and *el – dânsul – dumnealui* for the third person singular.

The courtesy pronoun appears sometimes in abbreviated forms: *dumneata = d-ta, dumnealui = d-lui, dumneaei = d-ei, dumneasa = d-sa, dumneavoastră = dv., dvs., or d-voastră, dumnealor = d-lor.* In a written context, on special occasions, courtesy pronouns may be appear with an initial capital letter.

Besides simple structures, Romanian has more complex phrases which include the courtesy pronouns, and they will be dealt with when

discussing pronominal form of address from the perspective of reciprocity. According to Brown and Gilman (1960) reciprocity or symmetry is another means of classifying pronominal terms of address.

The previous analysis presents pronominal forms of address from the point of view of the grammatical category they belong to, and gives a quantitative perspective to forms of address. This second part of the article analyzes the selection criteria of pronominal address terms and the way in which these forms function in everyday speech mainly from a qualitative perspective. The focus shifts from presenting equivalent terms in English and Romanian towards symmetrical or asymmetrical addresses in these two languages. This analysis is important for understanding the mechanism which determines the prevalence of one particular element over another in a certain linguistic context.

This classification is very useful for understanding why people choose a particular form of address. It explains how social status, professional hierarchy, age, gender, relationship between speakers and social context are mirrored in language usage. The classification from the point of view of reciprocity is important because it completes the perspective given by the former classification. The pronominal level, from the point of view of symmetry contains the most obvious differences between English and Romanian.

The distinction between English and Romanian for the second-person personal pronouns shows a clear difference between the two pronominal systems of address. In modern English, there is no distinction between the singular and the plural for the second person: *you* is used both for the plural and the singular. As it is mentioned earlier, the opposition between singular and plural existed in Old English and Middle English in the form of the singular *thou* and *ye,* later *you,* for the plural. But the passage of time brought the gradual leveling of the two forms, with the preservation of the plural, polite *you*. Even if *you* originally implied a polite address, today it is used both in formal and informal contexts.

Today in English it is impossible to tell, when pronouns alone are present, whether the speakers have a formal or an informal relationship, only nominal address markers indicate the degree of formality involved. E.g. *How are you? Fine, thank you.* This polite exchange, which contains only the second person pronoun *you,* neither carries no indication about the degree of formality between the two speakers, nor any mark about power or solidarity in their relationship. In this case and in all similar cases in which pronominal address is not accompanied by nominal address, the pronoun 'you' is void of politeness indicators. The possible scenarios developing

from this are: e.g. *How are you, Jane? Fine, thank you, Bill.* Here *you* is associated with the first names *Jane* and *Bill* and the relationship between the two is clearly informal and definitely reciprocal. Another association can appear between *you* and marital status forms of address followed by surnames. E.g. *How are you, Mrs. Jackson? Fine, thank you, Mr. Smith.* The speakers have a formal and reciprocal relationship. Asymmetry is also possible in a combination between first names and marital status term of address plus surnames, *e.g. How are you, Mrs. Jackson? Fine, thank you, Bill.* It is obvious that *Mrs. Jackson* holds power over *Bill.* These examples show that *you* is compatible with any kind of association, but it does not help in decoding what type of relationship unknown speakers have.

Romanian pronominal address is more complex. *Tu* is the second person singular pronoun used in informal situations, while *voi* is the second person plural pronoun. However *voi* is not used as a polite form of address, it merely renders the idea of plurality. The indication of social distance is contained within another category of address, which comprises the term *dumneavoastră*. In the sense Brown and Gilman (1960) introduced T(u) and V(ous) pronouns, for Romanian, the equivalent pair is *tu* and *dumneavoastră*, used in formal address. In this respect Romanian is different from other Romance languages, like French, which has *tu* for the singular and *vous* for the plural, a pronoun which coincides with second-person polite pronominal address. Romanian has developed a different class of pronouns called pronouns of politeness that comprises *dumneavostră, dumneata* and other regional variants like *mata, matale, mătăluţă, mătalică.* The variant *dumneata* contains a lower degree of formality than *dumneavoastră,* but still indicates a formal relationship. It may be an intermediary stage in a relationship that gradually shifts from formal to informal. The other shortened forms *mata, matale, mătălică, mătăluţă,* although more polite than *tu,* carry a great amount of affection for the addressee and indicate a rather informal relationship between the speakers.

By contrast with the English second person pronoun *you,* used both for the singular and the plural, the Romanian second person forms of address *tu* and *dumneavoastră* contain clear indicators of the formality of the relationship existing between the speakers. E.g. *Tu ce mai faci? Bine, mulţumesc. Dar tu?* Romanian *tu* indicates here that the speakers have an informal, reciprocal realationship. E.g. *Dumneavoastră ce mai faceţi? Bine, mulţumesc. Dar dumneavoastră? Dumneavoastră* indicates here that the speakers have a formal, reciprocal relationship. A mixture of *tu* and *dumneavoastră* would point out that one of the speakers is in a position of power over the other. E.g. *Dumneavoastră ce mai faceţi? Bine, mulţumesc.*

Dar tu? The examples are similar in content with the English ones, however the Romanian sentences do not need the addition of the nominal address to give information about the degree of formality, as it is necessary in the case of English. These three patterns of informal reciprocity, formal reciprocity and non-reciprocity of address correspond to the three major patterns of address described for nominal address in American English by Brown and Ford (1961). Romanian has the same three patterns, but they are not evident in nominal address; they are present in the system of address at the level of pronominal address and verb phrase as well.

In addition, this distinction between the singular and the plural in the Romanian pronominal address goes further to the nominal and the verbal systems of address. The informal pronoun *tu* activates only the informal variants of the nominal system. For example, *tu* is associated with the first name and with the singular agreement of the verb . E.g. **Tu** *ce mai* **faci, Viorico?** Similarly the polite pronoun *dumneavoastră* limits the choice of formal nominal addresses and calls for the plural agreement with the verb. E.g. **Dumneavoastră** *ce mai* **faceţi, doamnă?**

Tu and *dumneavostră* clearly constitute the two ends of the formality axis, the informal and the formal ends and they are only associated with elements of the same type. If the sentences contain other than the corresponding match the message is distorted, unfunctional. E.g. * *Dumneavoastră, ce mai faci?* This construction is not acceptable because there is a conflict between the formality indicators. *Dumneavoastră* requires a high degree of formality and politeness, while *faci* is the second person singular form of the verb, associated with a low degree of formality. The contradicting indicators make the markers of power and solidarity impossible to read, hence such a sentence is never used. Equally unusable is the sentence * *Tu ce mai faceţi?*. Because *faceţi* is in the plural, the second person plural form *voi* may give the distinction between the informal *Voi ce mai faceţi?* and the formal *Dumneavoastră ce mai faceţi?*. The polite pronominal address *dumneavoastră* could be used for one or more addressees. These forms accept associations both on the formal and on the informal string, but because they may be suggestive of a certain feeling of affection, the informal variants are more frequently used. Such pronominal addresses appear mostly in rural areas, where the pronoun *tu* has a more limited use.

As the two pronominal systems of address do not carry the same information about formality in the case of a translation of such singular exchanges problems may appear. A translator from English into Romanian may not know how formal the pair *How are you? Fine, thank you* is. In this

case one is unable to choose between the formal or the informal register when translating. When translating from Romanian into English the problem still exists: the translator is unable to render in English the degree of formality between the Romanian speakers just with the help of the pronouns; s/he needs the help of the nominal terms of address. This difference is not limited only to translations. In any interaction between English and Romanian speakers, the Romanian distinction in the second person pronominal address creates confusion. Speakers of Romanian most frequently interpret *you* as informal, by analogy with the Romanian *tu*, rather than consider it formal, even though *you* was originally used as a polite form.

Those who do not master English very well are under the impression that there is a different form for expressing politeness which they do not know. For the cases in which Romanians wish to switch from a polite, distant relationship to an informal address they may find themselves translating the Romanian context *Poţi să-mi spui tu.* impossible to make sense in English **You can call me you.* Romanians may declare or initiate a change in register by saying *Poţi să mă tutuieşti. /Poţi să-mi spui tu.* or *Poţi să-mi spui pe nume.* The Romanians make use of both the informal pronoun *tu* and the act of first name calling, which is used in an informal relationship. The verb *a tutui* is strictly used in this context. The English use *You can call me by my first name. / You can call me Tom.*, contexts which refer only to the nominal address.

The English and the Romanian pronominal systems of address are different in that the English system is unable to give indications about the degree of formality on an independent basis, while the Romanian pronominal address system is capable of giving such clues on its own. Translation and cross-linguistic interaction between English and Romanian speakers is invariably distorted by this *tu - vous* difference. In the case of English only nominal address can bring enlightening elements about formality.

The article proves once again through the analysis of one fraction of the address system that human relationships are extremely diverse. People have a wide range of relationships with those around them. The way in which they perceive the others, or the way in which the circumstances determine them to behave is complex and very difficult to analyze. Mentality, education, personality, social rules, cultural background and other elements are just as important as social status, age and gender, etc. The existence of politeness proves that the way one speaks is more important than what one actually says. Language through politeness mechanisms

expresses much more than what is signified by its words. It expresses the "way individuals situate themselves in relationship to others, the way they group themselves, the powers they claim for themselves and the powers they stipulate to others" (Lippi-Green 1997: 25).

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MAKING WORDS AND SENTENCES SHORTER IN CHATROOMS IN ENGLISH: SOME COMMON STRATEGIES

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Introduction

One focus of the paper is to investigate various strategies based on omitting less important or unimportant parts of words or sentences (e.g. vowels, functional words) or abbreviating words in different ways in chatrooms in English, which are caused by the speed and mode of the communication. Another focus of the paper is to investigate how context is used to compensate for the shorter expression.

The communication in chatrooms is very distinctive in several ways: it is extremely fast, it has developed its own spelling conventions, its own vocabulary and grammar. Besides that, it is characterized by certain playfulness which is not found to such an extent in other forms of Internet communication (Danet, 2001). There are several reasons for these distinctive characteristics. One of them is great *speed* of message exchange. It is quite impressive and it causes many words, expressions and sentences to be abbreviated to a greater or lesser extent. Another reason is the *number of participants*, which is usually quite large. Consequentially, the participants' utterances, which are displayed all the time, flood the screen. In those situations, whoever wants to participate in the ongoing conversation has to react extremely quickly and send their reaction immediately. The reactions to previous utterances are usually sent with very little or without any previous scrutiny (Crystal, 2001), normally because the size of the screen, and the scrolling of utterances does not allow for many messages to be displayed simultaneously. One of the most dominant reasons for abbreviating words and sentences in chatrooms is that participants try to mark the language of chatrooms as a *nonstandard language variety*, which, just like slang, aims at being different from standard language. Participants, therefore, modify and invent distinctive words, phrases, and unusual mechanisms for separating the language of chatrooms from standard language (Danet, 2001).

Two parts of language are very distinctive for the way they are abbreviated – words and sentences. The investigation of various corpora shows that sometimes there are no strict borderlines separating the two, because they are abbreviated in a very similar way (Doell, 1998).

(1)

Word	Sentence
l8r	cul8r
later	see you later

The paper is also an attempt to find prototypical manifestations of abbreviating words on the one hand, and abbreviating sentences on the other.

Words

After analyzing various ways of abbreviating words, four categories were found, and then the prototype was established. The most prototypical way of abbreviating words is *omitting vowels*, as can be seen in Table (2). Participants rely on the fact that the more stable parts of words are usually consonants, and that, even after leaving out vowels, more common words can still be recognized by their consonants.

(2)

Abbreviated word	Whole word
k	ok
m	me
n	and
dbl	double
hrs	hours
msg	message
nvm	nevermind
pls, plz	please
ppl	people
yrs	years

The second category of abbreviating words, exemplified in Table (3), slightly deviates from the prototype, and it is based on *omitting parts of words*. In this category words are reduced to a few recognizable letters, a mixture of consonants and vowels.

(3)

Abbreviated word	Whole word
b'day	birthday
fr.	from
w\	with

abt	about

The third category is a further deviation from the prototype, and the examples can be seen in Table (4). The abbreviation is based on *pronunciation of single letters and numbers*, the combinations of which form syllables of words in Internet chatrooms. What is important here is that not only words are abbreviated this way, but also sentence-like phrases. This is a clear example of a fuzzy category which is an overlap between the category of words and the category of sentences. This is shown in Table (4), where the first half of the Table exemplifies abbreviated words, and the second half of the Table exemplifies abbreviated sentences, the mechanism of abbreviation being the same in both groups.

(4)

Abbreviated word/phrase	Whole word/phrase
any1	anyone
b4	before
d	the
every1	everyone
l8r	later
oz	Ozzie (Australian)
r	are
thanx	thanks
u, ya	you
wer	were, where
yur	your
bcnu	be seeing you
cu	see you
cul8r	see you later
oic	oh I see

The last category of abbreviating words in chatrooms is based *acronymyzation*. Table (5) shows some of the most common examples, all of which are based on retaining the first letter of each word in a phrase or a sentence, simultaneously abbreviating both words and sentences.

(5)

Abbreviated phrase	Whole phrase
asl	age, sex, location
bbl	be back later
bfn	bye for now

brb	be right back
btw	by the way
hhoj	ha ha only joking
jk	just kidding
lol	laughing out loud
morf	male or female
pmji	pardon me, jumping in
rofl	roll on floor laughing
s	smile
sb	smile back
syl	see you later
ttyl	talk to you later
wb	welcome back

Sentences

After investigating various ways of abbreviating sentences, three categories were found. The most prototypical way of abbreviating sentences is by *omitting auxiliary verbs*. That happens most typically and most frequently in questions. The reason for this is that these sentences are perceived as intonation questions from spoken language, and are used in that form in chatrooms. Besides that, they are recognized as questions because of the question mark at the end of the utterance, or, less frequently, because of the context. The examples of this category can be seen in Table (6).

(6)

Abbreviated sentence	Full sentence
u from d phil?	*Are* you from Philadelphia?
Anyone wanna chat?	*Does* anyone want to chat?
hi! girls!!! wanna chat??	Hi, girls! *Do* you want to chat?
Anyone wanna trade young pics?	*Does* anyone want to trade young pictures?
Somebody here from iceland!	*Is* there anybody here who is from Iceland?
any arabian here?	*Are* there any Arabians here?
hello any gals here?	Hello! *Are* there any girls here?
hey fil!!! U wanna see my pic??	Hey, Fill! *Do* you want to see my picture?
u wanna get it through mail??	*Do* you want to get it through mail?

Anyway...be back later guys ok???	Anyway… *I'll* be back later, guys. Ok?

The second category is less prototypical and is characterized by *omitting auxiliaries in declarative sentences*. These utterances resemble spoken language, particularly spoken informal language, which they are trying to imitate. The examples are seen in Table (7).

(7)

Abbreviated sentence	Full sentence
m from d milkyway.	I *am* from the Milky Way.
be back later guys	I**'***ll* be back later, guys.
see yah	I**'***ll* see you.
14 a bit better	Fourteen *is* a bit better.
sorry for bothering u!!	I *am* sorry for bothering you!

Even less frequently *pronouns are omitted*, always accompanied by a missing auxiliary. Usually the first person singular pronoun is omitted, very rarely the second person singular pronoun is omitted, while the third person singular pronoun is left out only if it is dummy subject (*it* or *there*). The examples of this category can be seen in Table (8).

(8)

Abbreviated sentence	Full sentence
don'[t think mine is either nike:((	*I* don't think mine is, either, Nike.
not too great fil, but i'll live:) howya been??	*I*'m not too great, Fil, but I'll live. How have you been?
sorry for bothering u!!	*I*'m sorry for bothering you!
noever bother us jelly!!!	*You* never bother us, Jelly!
Sounds like it could hurt	*It* sounds like it could hurt.

Context

Context of the conversation helps in interpreting abbreviated forms in several ways. What most participants use and rely on while chatting in chatrooms on the Internet is their previous *experience*, both from real life conversations and from earlier chatting on the Internet. That experience tells them what the most likely interpretation of an abbreviated form is.

(9)

Abbreviated form	Full form

hello ppl	Hello, people!
ping pls	Ping me, please.

Another way in which the role of context is manifested is the *logical continuation of dialogue*. Experience helps to interpret an utterance because it logically follows the preceding one.

(10) anyoine wanna chat to me – Does anyone want to chat with me?
16/f/perth – I am a sixteen year old girl from Perth.

There are, of course, cases when context is not helpful, or at least, not helpful enough, especially if a participant has very little experience in electronic chatting. In those cases the participant asks others what an abbreviation means, or how to interpret some utterances. Other participants are usually helpful, and this aids the learning process with all newcomers on the Internet, especially in a very specific Internet situation – chatrooms.

Conclusion

After observing the present state in Internet chatroom, it might be appropriate to predict some tendencies regarding the abbreviation of words and sentences. The author believes that the already abbreviated forms will not be abbreviated any further for one simple reason – further abbreviation would be too ambiguous ('people' is abbreviated as 'ppl'; it would be too ambiguous to abbreviate it as 'p'). The forms that have not yet been abbreviated might be abbreviated in the future in different ways, but only if there is need for that, and the need is created by the frequency of usage and the communication situation.

Note from the author:

All the examples given in the left hand side of the tables are original utterances found in and copied from various Internet chatrooms, with all their typos and idiosyncrasies. All the examples given in the right hand side of the tables are utterances re-written according to the rules of the written language, following all the traditional spelling conventions.

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A STRATEGY FOR TRANSLATION ERROR ANALYSIS

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Introduction

Translation error analysis is not a widespread preoccupation today or at least this is what one can infer from the scarcity of error studies in the literature on translation pedagogy. Neither do trainers of translators resort to it too often as they usually assess and grade errors more or less subjectively on the basis of a personal system, which they have built up from disparate readings and their teaching experience.

However, we believe in its usefulness both for theoretical and practical purposes. At the theoretical level, error analysis can confirm or disproof theories of translation competence or of the translation process. At the practical level, it helps to build up a picture of the learning process and of the problems encountered during the process. Specifically, it helps trainers do the following:

- infer the nature of the trainees' competence acquired at a point in training or what we would call "intercompetence";
- construct appropriate syllabuses or alter them to suit the needs of particular trainees;
- construct appropriate teaching materials or alter them;
- devise remedial teaching tasks and appropriate teaching methods.

Error analysis (EA) is essentially a comparative action and an objective, scientifically - grounded and scientifically - useful analysis for translation can be made only on the basis of theories and models of translation. Paul Kussmaul (1995), who has given some attention to EA, based his discussion on psycholinguistic theories of translation. He mentioned three steps in ER: description of errors, finding the reasons for the errors, and pedagogical help (1995:5), but confined his discussion to the description of errors, which, nonetheless led him to a number of pragmatic and linguistic categories of errors, which can guide trainers in the assessment of translation quality and in error grading (1995:127-148).

His own conclusions as to the use of these categories are not very encouraging since he found this approach to translation evaluation rather speculative due to the lack of a translation reception model. Still, his merit

for error analysis is that he has drawn attention to the basis of comparison with respect to which errors are judged and which is the *effect of the linguistic units assessed* on the target reader within a certain communicative situation. In other words, errors should be judged in the framework of the translation assignment, where the major element is the receptor of the translation. However, the steps in the analysis of errors are more than those discussed by Kussmaul, as we shall see, and the categories of errors cannot represent a scientifically – sound classification since they are not connected to the actions of the translation process.

We shall deal in this article with EA as a pedagogical method for diagnosing the trainees' level of competence and for re-orientating the syllabus in order to fill in their knowledge gaps or to adjust and correct their old knowledge and skills. First, we shall suggest *a strategy for EA* and then we shall propose *a classification of errors* worked out from Bell's (1994) model of the translation process, one which enjoys wide acceptance today. The results we are reporting now represent a hypothesis of a system of error analysis which has to be confirmed by quantitative studies.

Preliminaries to translation error analysis

It is already common knowledge from models of translation that translators process texts in two languages and that this processing requires both a *knowledge - base* and an *inference mechanism*. According to Bell (1994: 40), the knowledge - base consists of five kinds of knowledge of: *the source language, the target language, the text-type, the subject-matter and contrastive knowledge*, while the inference mechanism relies on *skills for comprehending the SL text* and on *skills for writing the TL text*. The listing of the components of translation competence takes account only of the two language codes and the skills associated with them and does not include the important sets of skills for transferring the message from one language to another and for relating text-processing to the translation situation with all its elements, e.g. TT function, the target reader, the TT effect.

Lack of such knowledge and skills or their deficient use and application result in unsatisfactory translations. Conversely, errors in TT are evidence of an inadequate competence but equally well of an incomplete or faulty teaching process. Since translation competence is acquired in time, the trainees will encounter difficulties during learning and will consequently make errors.

Error analysis studies the nature of these errors by finding their sources and then compares the sources with the existing specifications of the translation competence. The results represent the residual learning tasks.

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When the errors systematically occur in the translations of the majority of a class of trainees, they indicate either a defective syllabus with respect to problem areas, e.g. interference, or inappropriate teaching methods. The errors peculiar to an individual trainee may have several other causes: a slower learning than that of peer trainees, a lower proficiency in the two or one of the languages, a lower motivation, or they may simply be lapses, a random choice which in other translations may not occur. This varied information carried by errors may have several pedagogical uses.

Error analysis studies errors in text processing in two languages. The errors made in the handling of the SL are *receptive* and refer to failures of comprehension: misunderstandings or misinterpretations. Such errors are serious not only in their own right, but they lead to expression errors, to the distortion of meaning and of the communicative effect. The errors and mistakes made in the TL may be *transfer errors* or *expressive errors*. Transfer errors occur when the trainee cannot find the right linguistic element in the TL for expressing the meaning (propositional and/or illocutionary) in the semantic representation of the ST, which may otherwise be correctly formed. These errors are also serious since they also result in meaning distortion through loss or gain. Expressive errors are due to inappropriate choices of the TL linguistic elements in the context of the message and of the translation situation . Such errors are usually less serious since they may impede communication but do not block it completely.

Thus, translation errors are judged with respect to two language systems and norms, to the performance of two groups of native speakers, of the SL and of the TL, and with respect to the intended parameters of the TT, i.e. its communicative function, the expectations of the target readers, etc. Such a multiple comparison and contrast makes translation EA a difficult job which can only be carried out with an adequate methodology.

Strategy for translation error analysis

The steps mentioned by Kussmaul in the practical analysis: description, finding reasons and pedagogical help are basic but not sufficient. Our idea was to complete them by fertilizing them with the much more refined methodology used in foreign language teaching. Thus, the strategy we are proposing consists of the following actions:

- identifying errors
- classifying errors
- describing errors
- explaining errors
- devising remedies

This strategy resembles the actions used in foreign language teaching as it includes the same general types of mental actions (Corder 1975:272-280), but they differ completely in the bases of comparisons, description and explanation.

Identification of errors

The identification of translation errors is done by comparing the trainees' target texts with a version of professional quality, i.e. such as an experienced professional translator would produce in that particular translation situation. The identification on the basis of the ST only will be able to reveal failures of fidelity, but may result in overlooking the expressive errors.

Neither can errors be correctly identified by taking account of only the TT. This procedure, which also involves comparison but with a text hypothetically written by a native speaker, can reveal only transfer errors and breaches of the TL rules or overlookings of its norms. They are certainly important as they inform about the trainees' lack of competence for ensuring clarity, coherence, naturalness, or fluency, the properties associated with any kind of translation. Yet still, this identification will leave out the errors of fidelity. The trainee who wrote: "Educaţia privind drepturile omului nu include neapărat si preocuparea de-a ajuta individul să-şi rezolve problemele cu cei din jur" produced a perfectly clear and natural sounding sentence in the TL if it were interpreted independently of the ST. This text which reads: "Human rights education does not necessarily include work on problem-solving in the immediate environment" shows that the trainee did not faithfully translate "work on problem-solving" since "work" involves action, while the Romanian "preocupare" involves only interest, which may not necessarily include action.

The professional target text used as basis of comparison should not be considered the only possible version and all the solutions unlike it, inadequate. Thus, the comparison should be drawn with respect to all three texts: the ST for receptive and transfer errors, the TT for expressive errors and the professional TT version for errors of transfer. Actually, the professional version is the basis of comparison for all choices and its use makes this step quite efficient.
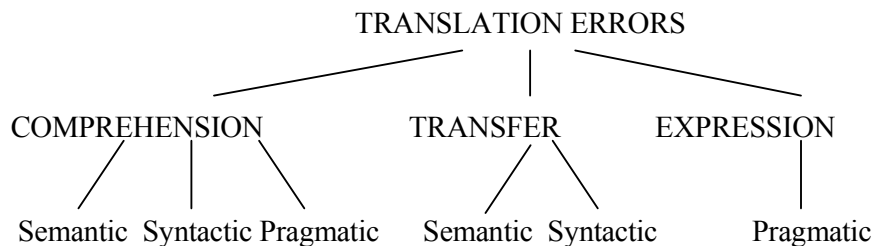
Classification of errors

This operation is a necessary preliminary action for the description and explanation of errors; however, we have no knowledge of any existing classification of translation errors.

Translation is a complex process consisting of two basic actions: *analysis of the SLT*, i.e. decoding text in the SL and forming a non-language-specific semantic representation, and *synthesis into the TLT*, i.e. encoding text in the TL, expressing the concepts and relations of the semantic representation in the TL. This translation model (Bell 1994:44-45) is further detailed with specifications of three areas of operation: *syntactic, semantic and pragmatic*. Both analysis and synthesis proceed in top-down and bottom-up directions. In the top-down direction the translator as language user makes recourse to several kinds of knowledge: cultural, social and situational, while in the bottom-up direction he makes recourse to linguistic knowledge and skills.

Since the translator will necessarily operate in these areas and will use particular kinds of knowledge and skill, his errors will pertain to these areas and they can realistically represent criteria for classifying errors. Two more criteria are essential in the classification of translation errors, as Kussmaul rightly noticed, namely the communicative function of the linguistic elements of texts and their effect on the target reader. On the basis of these criteria we are proposing the following classes of translation errors:

TRANSLATION ERRORS

COMPREHENSION   TRANSFER   EXPRESSION

Semantic Syntactic Pragmatic   Semantic Syntactic   Pragmatic

Comprehension errors arise due to the lack or deficient use of knowledge and skills to retrieve the ST sense and to identify the speech acts and with this the illocutionary force of utterances. Such errors lead to incorrect semantic representations, which will affect the degree of semantic fidelity and possibly communication.

Transfer errors are due to inadequate choices of lexical units and grammatical patterns and forms from the TL code for the expression of the semantic representations in the TL and are indications of the lack or deficient use of translation knowledge and skills. They will also affect the degree of semantic fidelity and possibly communication.

Expression errors pertain to pragmatic areas of text processing likely to change in the course of translation, i.e. sender's purpose, thematic structures or the discourse parameters of domain, tenor and mode. The change

of these parameters will be reflected in the choices of TL lexical units and grammatical forms which, for instance, express the relationship between the sender and its receivers, e.g. formality, politeness, impersonality, accessibility, or which realize generic conventions. These errors indicate the lack or deficient use of both translation skills and skills for exploiting the TL stylistic resources. Such errors will affect the stylistic quality of the TT with respect to the translation situation, but will not impede communication.

Since the error analyst relies on productive data, he may and often is in difficulty in deciding whether the error is one of comprehension, transfer or expression. Assigning an error to the correct class influences the next stages in the analysis strategy and is therefore very important.

Identifying comprehension errors is mandatory for the immediate purpose of error analysis and also for the students' training. During communication in a foreign language the learner expresses his own thoughts and ideas and even if they are not clearly expressed or well-formed in his own mind, he has no particular responsibility in getting them across as they were intended. Things are different in translation, which, although regarded as a special case of human communication, is only a process of *mediation*, i.e. the translator relays someone else's thoughts and ideas, and therefore has a responsibility towards the accuracy of relaying. Distinguishing transfer errors from expressive errors is also very important for the same reason as transfer errors affect the TT content due to a poor mastery of the translation strategies, methods and techniques.

The productive data on which the analyst works cannot always help him assign an error to its class correctly. In such cases, he has to consult the trainee himself to establish whether the error is the result of a failure of comprehension, or of an unacceptable or inappropriate lexical or grammatical selection. The trainee can be asked to account for his translation decisions and choices through interviews or think-aloud protocols. Joint interpretation will lead to authoritative interpretation, which is reliable and will ensure correct further actions. If the trainee is not available, as in the case of error analysis for written exam evaluation, the analyst can interpret the error on the basis of the choices in the preceding and the following co-text.

Description of errors

Error description and explanation are closely connected to each other and they are both connected to the purpose of error analysis. If it intended as a method for evaluating the syllabus of a translation course, description and evaluation will be done in terms of the skills and knowledge which that course is seeking to develop. If it is intended for evaluating the curriculum of

a school of translation, they will be done in linguistic and cultural terms as courses in the SL, TL and cultural studies are complementary subjects to the translation course.

Description for syllabus evaluation gives an account of *what* the trainee has got wrong, while explanation accounts for *why* he has come to produce the error, i.e. what kind of knowledge he lacks or what skill he has not sufficiently developed.

The translation of the sentence: "Human rights education does not necessarily include work on problem-solving in the immediate environment" has yielded a crop of errors. The syntagm "human rights education" alone has been erroneously translated as:

1) educaţia despre drepturile omului
2) educaţia civică
3) drepturile educative ale oamenilor
4) drepturile omului cu privire la educaţie

The first error is clearly an expression error, the second is a transfer error, while the third and the fourth are comprehension errors. Their description can be made at various levels of abstraction. The first level assigns the translation choices to the linguistic level at which the items were wrongly processed. Thus:

(1) is an error at the pragmatic level;
(2) is an error at the semantic level and
(3) and (4) are comprehension errors at the syntactic and the pragmatic levels

The translation "educaţia despre drepturile omului" relays the propositional meaning fairly accurately and therefore makes communication possible, but the choice of the preposition is inappropriate to the topic under discussion. The collocation used in Romanian to name this kind of education is "educaţia privind drepturile omului".

The translation "educaţia civică" is an overtranslation as it covers more than the semantic area of "human rights education". Therefore, the concept denoted by the English words is not relayed correctly and communication is impeded by triggering a frame of knowledge which the further text will not be able to fill in.

The versions "drepturile educative ale oamenilor" and "drepturuile omului cu privire la educatie" indicate that the trainees arrived at unintended concepts while forming the semantic representation because they seem to have no knowledge of the order and function of words in English noun phrases formed through juxtaposition and also insufficient knowledge of the topic. Due to this lack of knowledge they were not able to process the collocation syntactically and pragmatically, and so they could not assign the

writer's meaning to it, despite their semantic knowledge of both the head word and its modifier.

Explanation of errors

The explanation of errors, if it is to be useful for our purpose, will have to be given in terms of the components of the translation competence. We shall illustrate this with the same examples of errors. The pragmatic expression error shows that the trainee lacks knowledge of the register of education in the TL and with that, knowledge of the field of education.

The transfer error shows that the trainee is not aware of the phenomenon of overtranslation and that he does not master the techniques for finding equivalents above word level. The comprehension errors indicate that the trainees do not master the skills for decoding noun phrases in the source language and also that they lack knowledge of the subject-matter discussed in the text.

Devising remedies

The remedial actions to be taken on the basis of the explanations given to the errors will have to be taken in three directions: of the syllabus content, of the teaching methods, and of the teaching materials.

The teaching tasks derived from the erroneous translations of the collocation "human right education" alone are the following:

- developing awareness of the importance of subject-matter knowledge in translation;
- developing awareness of the need for specialized terms in the TL;
- developing awareness of the phenomenon of overtranslation;
- developing skills for finding correct, i.e. acceptable and appropriate semantic equivalents of lexical units above word level.

The first three tasks can be dealt with in the translation course, but the development of the skill for decoding NPs in English will be transferred to the course in English grammar.

If these areas have been covered in the course in translation and the errors are isolated, the weaknesses are individual and the respective trainees may be assigned individual tasks for reaching the training goals. If the errors are common to a significant number of trainees, they point to an insufficient teaching and practice or to wrong learning and then the topic will have to be covered again or recycled. Also, as we have said above, the weaknesses arising from inadequate knowledge and skills of the SL, of the TL , or from

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insufficient cultural and subject-matter knowledge will have to be transferred as goals to the complementary subjects in the curriculum: English as a foreign language, Romanian language study and cultural studies.

Conclusions

Despite its relative neglect in the studies on translation pedagogy, error analysis is a reliable tool for diagnosing the trainees' level of competence and for altering the syllabus, the teaching materials, and the teaching method. We have proposed here a strategy for carrying out the analysis systematically and a tentative classification of errors, which needs further qualitative and quantitative studies to be validated. The strategy has the advantage that it leads step by step to a list of teaching tasks for the trainer, which is at the same time the list of residual learning tasks for the trainee.

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INFLECTIONAL SUFFIX -ED AS A WORD-FORMATIOM SUFFIX

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In traditional theory of morphology there is a strict distinction between inflection on one side and word-formation (derivation in the first place) on the other. Morphologists define inflection as a process relevant for syntax and see inflectional suffixes as those added to the word stems in order to form grammatical categories, functions and aspects. This is best illustrated with the definition of inflection given by Lyons (Lyons, 1977:521-522):

"Inflection produces from the stem (or stems) of a given lexeme all the word forms of that lexeme which occur in syntactically determined environments"

Most linguists consider inflection to be a part of syntax as it is used to form a relation between the inflected word and other words in the sentence. In the attempt to define inflection they have tried to give certain criteria how to make a clear distinction between inflection and derivation. However, these criteria have often proved insufficient and incorrect or too strict. Comparing inflection, mostly with derivation, inflectional suffixes are seen as those used for formation of grammatical categories, as it has already been said, whereas derivational affixes (suffixes) are considered to be used for word-formation, or better still lexeme formation, being therefore relevant for lexical morphology.

Despite efforts to make clear distinction between the afore mentioned morphological processes the fact that they have a lot in common cannot be ignored.

Firstly, both derivation and inflection are basically suffixation using the same formal operations in the same way, which justifies their being regarded together. A derivational (formative) suffix is an element of a word which ascribes the meaning to a given word but is not a part of a base.

Inflectional suffix, on the other hand, is a bound form which has grammatical meaning and when added to a base usually obeys morphophonemic rules of the language and closes the endocentric construction.

Both inflection and derivation are affixations but

A)   Inflection is a process used to form new word-forms of the existing lexemes, but not new lexemes. Inflectional affixes do not change the part of speech of the base to which they are added. They show regularities in meaning and are fully productive and generalized.

B)   Derivation is a process used to form new lexemes. Derivational suffixes may change the function of the base to which they are added, need not show regularities in meaning and are not necessarily fully productive.

Both derivation and inflection involve a bipolar relation between two members forming a pair. This pair consists of an "unmarked" base and "marked" affiixed form. In inflectional pairs this is most often a two-way relation. The existence of singular in countable nouns implies the existence of plural (this is the case most often but should not be regarded as a rule as a rule; exceptions are pluralia and singularia tantum nouns). Every verb in English has its forms for past and present participle. In derivatives, however, though the form with affix implies the existence of the unmarked form, the contrary need not be the case. The fact that the prefix –un is used to form the adjective *unclean* does not mean that the same can be done with all the adjectives in English (e.g. dirty).

Traditionally, most often inflectional suffixes are regarded to be stable both in their function and their meaning, that is an inflectional suffix keeps its function and meaning regardless of the context, the fact which will be later discussed and questioned in this paper. Unlike inflectional, derivational suffixes do not always have a predictable meaning. (e.g. suffix –*able* knowledgeable- full of knowledge/ breakable-can be broken).

Both inflectional and derivational suffixes are "grammatical' rather than "lexical" elements of the language, as they represent relatively small elements of the language. Despite there being numerous criteria established so that a clear distinction between inflection and derivation can be made they all failed to be universally applicable. So the most recent morphological theories have become aware of the necessity to regard these two processes together and some of the linguists such as Di Sculio, Leiber, Bochner think that this distinction between the two is not empirically based and therefore cannot be included into the theory of morphology.

English being the international language of internet, computing, banking and management enriches its lexicon on a daily basis. Since the need to name new phenomena represents the most important motivating factor for formation of new words, the contemporary English language uses all possible and "impossible" ways to do so. Some of the mechanisms of word-formation would have been regarded as a real blasphemy some fifty

years ago but nowadays they represent a reality which cannot be ignored and must be analyzed and explained. Moody (Moody,1978:22) posed a rhetoric question: "What's it to us (the linguists) to include both inflectional and derivational morphology in the lexicon?" which illustrates the necessity to view inflection and derivation as complementary processes existing in a language and taking an active part in its formation.

Contrary to all traditional views which believe that inflection closes words for further derivation a thorough research of corpora has shown that both derivatives and inflected words are susceptible to Word Formation Rules. Moreover inflectional suffixes possess not only grammatical meaning of the category they represent but also a lexical meaning and can be added to unorthodox bases changing the word class they belong to as well as ascribing very often a totally different meaning to new-formed words, therefore proving their not strictly inflectional status but partly derivational one as well (e.g. suffix –s for plural added to verb *gather-gathers*, or to adverbial bases *after-afters,* suffix –ed for past participle added to nominal bases *boot-booted* etc.)

Having collected more than 2000 various examples, I conducted a research the results of which proved that inflectional suffixes can be productive as word-formation suffixes. According to the level of productivity the most productive ones are : a) –(e)s for plural, b)-ing for gerund, c) –ed for past participle d) –ing for present participle. That it is not just a marginal phenomenon is proved by the fact that all examples are taken from various English dictionaries, and that most of the words selected represent separate lexical items with an independent lexical status very often completely different from their uninflected forms. This shows that lexicographers realize that these are indeed new lexemes, although they may look as just members of a grammatical paradigm of a certain word.

A view seeing all inflectional suffixes as semi-productive derivational rules served as a starting point in my analysis.

In order to illustrate how inflection can and indeed in some cases, functions as a word-formation process we will look into the derivational use of the suffix -ed. Its formative function has long been known and studied but a unanimous view on its status in morphology has not been achieved. Most linguists view formative suffix –ed used for noun and adjective formation to be different from inflectional –ed used for participles. Marchand (1960: 207-208) views both these affixes to be of the same Indo-European origin, and the first one is thoroughly analyzed. These two morphemes (-ed1 and –ed2) are phonetically identical. The more thorough analysis of the two implies that their similarity is more than merely phonetic and co-incidal. In that

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respect Nesfield (1956: 71) admits that –ed adjectives and nouns have arisen from the participle use of –ed suffix. The relation between these two morphemes may best be explained by something that in French is called "synapsis", that is, homonimy motivated by the same element of meaning. While analyzing the examples I have encountered a few problems that needed to be answered. Some of them are:

1) Why some forms are grammatical while others are not?
   e.g. a verandahed bungalow: a doored bungalow
2) Why are some forms acceptable and possible in some contexts and constructions while in others they are completely unacceptable?
   e.g. a blue-eyed boy: an eyed boy*: an eyed hook
3) Why in some compound adjectives, a modifier of the head is an adjective while in others it is an adverb?
   e.g. a moderate-sized college: a moderately-sized park

Possible explanations and answers to this might be the ones given by Hirtle (1970: 25) that in adjectives derived from nouns the –ed suffix bears the meaning *"possessing or being equipped with something"* .So –ed suffix can be added to those nouns denoting non-inherited characteristic. All people/boys have eyes while not all hooks or probes have eyes, which explains the second problem. The last question seems to be the easiest to answer, since it depends solely on the context whether an adjective or an adverb will be used in compounds. There is a minimal semantic difference which an adverb may bring, though, and it could be paraphrased with "*provided with in a certain way".*

Obviously, despite efforts strict criteria for telling the one -ed morpheme from the other are yet to be found, and in the meantime it cannot be said with certainty whether just one or two morphemes are in question, the statement supported with the results of this analysis.

For the purposes of this analysis I collected more than 400 various examples from various sources (dictionaries, magazines etc.).The results of the analysis showed that –ed suffix can be added to different types of bases. And according to what kind of base –ed was added to and what class of word the newly-formed lexeme belongs to 7 subgroups were found. The most numerous are the examples derived from the verbal base and the combination V+-ed can produce adjectives, nouns, adverbs and conjunction(s). The last type is very unproductive with just one example (e.g. provided) but it was analyzed for the sake of illustrativeness. Similarly, the above mentioned combination (V+-ed) is not that productive for adverbs with just two examples (e.g. damned, confounded). It may be supposed that

in these examples in the primary morphological process adjectives were formed which then were converted into adverbs.

Naturally, as expected, the most numerous type is V+-ed >Adj. The adjectives formed in this way are basically past participles converted into adjectives. Up to a certain point the meaning that –ed suffix ascribes to newly-formed adjectives is predictable and most often their meaning lies on the same semantic level as the meaning of the verbal base. The meaning –ed suffix bears in these examples is that of passive meaning of the verb. They represent the most numerous group as 127 examples classified in this group were found. Here are a few examples to illustrate this group:

Incline-inclined
Charge-charged
Refine-refined
Charm- charmed

However, there are quite a few examples (35 exactly) in which –ed suffix ascribes a completely different meaning to newly-formed adjectives in comparison to that of a verbal base they were derived from. Examples:

Orchestrate- prepare for an orchestra orchestrated- secretly planned and plotted

Bereave*   bereft- in mourning, sad
Pluck- pick   plucked- brave, courageous, hearted
Note- write, put down   noted- famous, well-known

In these cases, unlike the ones from the previous group, it is impossible to predict the change of meaning that occurs.

In all these examples it is often difficult to make the clear distinction between the past participle forms and the ones that represent lexicalized forms of adjectives. In order to do that we have established a criterion of affixation, meaning that adjectival forms may be affixed (prefixed and suffixed) while participle forms may not act in that way. Examples:

Co-allied
De-classed
Fore-cited
Misinspired
Supercivilised

Although a number of prefixes are possible to be added to the adjectives converted from past participle forms no base categorization influencing the regular use of certain prefixes could be made. However, in case of suffixing several suffixes can be added to adjectival bases converted from past participle verbal forms. They are:

a) productive suffix –ly for adverb formation

examples: advisedly, bewilderedly, exhaustedly, supposedly

These examples cannot accept any other suffixes, though it very often depends on language competence of the speaker whether he will or will not use them (e.g. affectedness is the form that can be heard but is not included into English dictionaries).

b) productive suffix –ness for noun formation

examples: assuredness, declaredness, deservedness, interestedness.

Unlike the previous group these examples can accept suffix –ly for adverbs.

Quite atypical is the group where –ed is added to the verbal base forms nouns. In these examples it can be said with certainty that –ed is (+ inflective, - derivative) as they represent converted past participle forms. Examples: intended- fiancée, betrothed- fiancée, beloved- sweetheart. As we can see all new lexemes share the semantic field with the bases they were formed from, and it is obvious that –ed does not attribute any new meaning to them. Although not very numerous in our corpus this type could become quite productive following the above mentioned mechanism of word (noun)-formation.

The group of examples where adjectives are formed from the nominal base with-ed suffix (N+-ed) is probably the one that has been drawing attention of linguists for quite a while. Many papers have been written on the subject trying to determine whether this –ed and participle –ed are indeed two or just one suffix. However, no strict and exact criteria have been established. In my analysis I have found a large number of these examples (around 80) and in majority of them the meaning of the new lexeme lies in the same semantic field with its base.(e.g. claw-clawed, hood-hooded, humped, jade-jaded, club-clubbed etc.)

On the other hand there is a much smaller but significant group where -ed suffix attributes a completely different meaning to the newly-formed adjectives. This meaning is not predictable. (e.g. dog-dogged-stubborn, deuce-deuced-damned, fox-foxed-cunning, ivy-ivied-with ivy, academic). What is evident from all the examples is that –ed suffix in all of them is + derivative, -inflectional. It must be emphasized that this group included only those cases that can be independent whereas those that appear in compounds only, were analyzed with compound adjectives.

There are examples (more than 40) formed with –ed morpheme but with no independent semantic base, that is, the forms without –ed do not exist, or at least are not listed in the dictionaries. This suffix ascribes the meaning of adjectives to all the words and therefore can be marked + derivative. (e.g. castellated, floriated, addlepated etc.) The cases in which –

ed was added to a nominal base (these forms cannot act independently) and then prefix be- was added were classified within a separate subgroup, as this proved to be quite a productive way of adjective formation. (e.g. bemedaled, benighted, bewigged, bewhiskered, beribboned).

In the analysis undertaken I dealt with adjectival compounds as well, since there are many examples in which the second constituent was formed with –ed suffix. This, so called "–ed constituent" cannot be independent and it gives the meaning to the compound which most often is the meaning of possession of a certain characteristic. Almost as a rule the first constituent serves just as a modifier of –ed form. According to the word- class of the constituents all –ed compounds can be classified as follows: a) Adj+N+-ed b) N+N+-ed c) Past participle +N+-ed d) numeral +N+ed

Examples for N+N+ed: almond-eyed, bow-legged, chicken-livered, air-minded.

As we can see the second constituent is most often a noun denoting body parts or organs (eye, liver, leg, etc). The first constituent acts like a modifier bearing the meaning of comparison "*like*". So all the examples could be paraphrased "*having X like Y*" (Bow-legged- having legs like bow). In some cases the meaning is associative (chicken-hearted).

Examples for Adj+N+-ed : dry-eyed, even-handed, hard-wooded, faint-hearted.

Examples for past participle +N+ed broken-hearted, broken-winded

Examples for numeral+N+-ed: four-eyed, four-footed.

The meaning in these examples is in most cases idiosyncretic or idiomatic.

Apart from the previously discussed groups there are two groups (a) Adj+past participle b) N+ past participle)where second constituent is an actual form of past participle that can act independently, and they represent paraphrases of clauses.In these cases –ed adjective attributes the passive meaning to the newly-formed compound adjectives.

Examples for Adj+past participle : close cropped, full-blown, hard-pressed, half-baked, fair-spoken etc.

In these examples it is obvious that an adverbial modifier from a clause becomes an adjective within a compound.

Examples for N+past participle : home-bred, custom-made, gold-filled, land-locked, corn –fed.

In this type the noun within a clause acts as a prepositional complement thus functioning as an adverb. E.g. corn-fed " *fed with corn*" , home-bred "*bred at home*", land-locked "*locked by land*".

To sum up everything previously said about forms with –ed suffix, the following can be concluded:

1)   –ed suffix can be added to different types of bases; nominal, verbal and adjectival

2)   –ed suffix is used to form different types of words: nouns, adjectives, conjunctions and adverbs

3)   –ed suffix can be regarded as a productive formative suffix. A newly-formed derivative has the following characteristics:

a)   even though –ed suffix is formative all derivatives must be listed in the English lexicon

b)   the meaning of a newly-formed lexeme can just partly be predicted

c)   –ed suffix very often gives new distribution to a newly-formed lexeme

d)   newly-formed derivative can act as a derivational base or can act as one of the constituents in compounding

4)   the meaning of –ed suffix in formative function is only partially clear. What can be said for certain is that this suffix attributes passive meaning to a newly-formed derivative, and in a large number of cases the meaning of uninherited feature.

5)   –ed suffix can produce forms which

a)   cannot act independently but only as one of the constituents within compounds

b)   have no independent semantic base.

Finally, a question is whether all these examples can be regarded as exceptions and irregularities. The answer undoubtedly lies in the very large number of various examples which prove that it is not so uncommon to use inflectional suffixes for word-formation purposes. And if we accept the view that in language everything that is used and accepted is possible, or in other words that the lexicon is the only criterion for what is possible and what is not, then the above mentioned phenomenon must be analyzed and explained.

Opening of such topics calls for a new theory of morphology to be created or the old one thoroughly redefined. This should be a new morphology which will be both inflectional and derivational and which will try to explain the exact interdependence between morphological and phonological components of the language, thus helping us to grasp the very elements that govern the word-formation mechanisms.

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