

# I LINGUISTICS

## **MAKE AS A LIGHT VERB. AN ANALYSIS**

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The term *light verb* was first used by Otto Jespersen (1942:117):

“The most usual meaning of nouns derived from and identical in form with a verb is the action or an isolated instance of the action. This is particularly frequent in such everyday combinations with *have* and similar *light verbs*. They are in accordance with the general tendency of modern English to place an insignificant verb, to which the marks of person and tense are attached, before the really important idea.”

The targeted constructions were: *have a rest, have a read, have a cry, have a think, take a drive, take a walk, take a plunge, give a sigh, give a shout, give a ring, etc.*

*Light* actually comes from *semantically light*, as far as the amount of semantic weight carried by a word is concerned. There is, however, no such term as a *heavy verb*.

The phenomenon in English was noted earlier by Poutsma (1926:394):

“There is a marked tendency in modern English to express a verbal idea by means of a combination consisting of a verb with a vague meaning and a noun of action. The later is then the real significant part of the predicate, while the former mainly serves the purpose of the connective.”

Concerning the examples *He cried loudly* and *He gave a loud cry*, he added:

“The grammatical function of the noun in these connections is mostly that of an effective object...but owing to the connective verb having only a vague meaning, the whole combination may, from a semantic point of view, be regarded as an intransitive group verb.” (Poutsma, 1926:395)

The Dutch linguist also outlines the characteristics by which light verb constructions are traditionally identified: the main verb is semantically vague - in English, generally, *make, do, give, have* and *take*; the nominal complement is headed by an action noun, commonly deverbal which is the true predicate on events; there is, generally, a rough paraphrase relation between the light verb construction and the simple verb corresponding to the nominal head.

Other linguists, such as Calzolari et al (2002), use the term *support verb* for the verbs mentioned above. However, they consider that support verbs actually represent a much wider phenomenon; they distinguish 2 types of support verbs.

*Type 1* includes verbs which combine with an event noun (either deverbal or not); these verbs present their subjects as participants in the event most closely identified with the noun, e.g.: *take/give an exam; perform/undergo an operation; ask a question; make a promise.*

*Type 2* refers to verbs whose subjects belong to some scenario associated with the full understanding of the event type designated by the noun, e.g.: *to pass/fail an exam; survive an operation; answer a question; keep a promise.*

In my paper I will consider only the traditional definition and characteristics of the light verbs, more exactly of the light verb *make* in constructions with nominals derived from verbs (e.g.: *complaint, suggestion*) and with plain verb bases as head nouns (e.g.: *claim, request*). The constructions where the definite article accompanies the noun will not be taken into account.

The light meaning of the verb *make* corresponds roughly to one of the definitions given by *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1989):

“With sbs. expressing the action of verbs (whether etymologically cognate or not), *make* forms innumerable phrases approximately equivalent in sense to those verbs. In some of these phrases the object – noun appears always without qualifying word; in others it may be preceded by the indefinite article, or by a possessive adjective relating to the subject of the sentence. When standing alone, the combination of *make* with its object is equivalent to a verb used intransitively or absolutely; but in many instances the object – noun admits or requires constructions with *of*, and this addition converts the phrase into the equivalent of a transitive verb.”

One should pay attention to such constructions as *make a hole, make an effort, make a noise*, where the noun is obviously not derived from a verb. Also, idioms such as *make a killing, make a go* or *make love* do not include a light verb or at least we shall not take them into account. There are a few *make + noun* constructions where the nominal has a concrete meaning, thus allowing the verb *make* to preserve its full semantic weight (i.e. to create or produce something), e.g. *make a scratch/ a cut/ etc*; these constructions fall out of the scope of our discussion, too.

Machonis (1991:141-153) classifies into five categories the 400 verbs he found as providers of nominals for the *light make constructions*.

The first two categories include transitive verbs related to a *light make construction* followed by one or two prepositional phrases, e.g.:

*You impressed our friends.*

*You made an impression on our friends.*

*Dot bet \$5 on the race.*

*Dot made a bet of \$5 on the race.*

The next two categories include intransitive verbs followed by an optional locative expression related to a *light make construction*; some verbs have a transitive use, e.g.:

*The bucket clanged against the wall.*

*The bucket made a clang against the wall.*

*Max clanged the bucket against the wall.*

*Max made a clang with the bucket against the wall.*

The last category includes intransitive verbs accompanied by a non-locative prepositional phrase. The same preposition usually follows the corresponding *light make construction*, e.g.:

*They joked about the decision.*

*They made a joke about the decision.*

The verbs followed by a *that* clause are also included in this category, e.g.:

*Morris assumed that they would come.*

*Morris made an assumption that they would come.*

Machonis provides samples from these five categories in the appendix of his study. He mentions, however, that some of his data cannot be included into any of his classes. Several verbs provided in the appendix are related to nouns with a rather concrete meaning, supporting the author's choice of *make* as a *support* (not *light*) verb.

Dixon (1992) classifies the English verbs into several semantic types, taking into account their common meaning components and their typical set of grammatical properties. We shall see that the light verb constructions built with *make* include mostly derived nominals from the semantic verb types of *Attention*, *Thinking*, *Speaking*, *Deciding*, and *Giving*.

The *Attention* type, where a *Perceiver* (subject) finds out something about an *Impression* (object), includes quite a few verbs (*discover*, *examine*, *inspect*, *investigate*, *observe*, *search*, *study*, *survey*, etc.) which allow pairs such as:

*He inspected the reef.*

*He made an inspection of the reef.*

*He discovered something important.*

*He made an important discovery.*

*He searched the office thoroughly.*

*He made a thorough search of the office.*

The direct object of the verb is usually preserved as a noun adjunct (a prepositional *of* phrase). If the direct object is expressed by a modified indefinite noun substitute, the modifier is preserved for the new nominal. An adverbial adjunct also corresponds to a premodifier in the *light make construction*.

The *Thinking* type, where a *Cogitator* (subject) has in mind some *Thought* (object), includes verbs such as *analyse, argue, assume, infer, suppose, etc.* which provide nominals for the *light make constructions*, e.g.:

*Many existing agents assume that their users are benevolent.*

*Many existing agents make an assumption that their users are benevolent.*

*Many existing agents make an assumption about their users being benevolent.*

In this case alongside the *that* clause a gerundial construction may be used. There are instances where the *that* clause seems to require a construction where the nominal should be accompanied by a definite article rather than an indefinite article, e.g.:

*Her appearance led them to infer that she was very wealthy.*

*Her appearance led them to make the inference that she was very healthy.*

The *Speaking* type involves three main roles: a *Speaker* (subject) sends a *Message* (object) to an *Addressee* (object). The majority of the *light make constructions* include a noun derived from the verbs belonging to this type (*accuse, announce, claim, complain, declare, excuse, invite, offer, propose, promise, remark, refer, request, speak, state, threat, translate, utter, etc.*), e.g.:

*He asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will state the current pupil-teacher ratio, and if he will make a statement.*

*They complained about the way they were treated.*

*They made a complaint about the way they were treated.*

*He translated from Latin.*

*He made a translation from Latin.*

The *Deciding* type involves two roles: a *Decision-Maker* (usually *human* subject) thinks to himself that he will follow a certain *Course of action* (object). The main verbs here are *choose, decide, plan, resolve and select*, e.g.:

*He planned to avoid smoking for the next 2 months.*

*He made a plan to avoid smoking for the next 2 months.*

*They selected the workers carefully.*

*They made a careful selection of workers.*

The passive transformation may be applied in both sentences above,  
e.g.:

*The workers were selected carefully.*

*A careful selection of workers was made.*

The *Giving* type involves three semantic roles: a *Donor* (subject) transfers possession of some *Gift* (direct object) to a *Recipient* (indirect object). The main verbs which allow a parallel *light make construction* are: *contribute, donate, exchange, pay, purchase* and *sell*, e.g.:

*You have to pay \$55 to him every month.*

*You have to make a payment of \$55 to him every month.*

The dative transformation is possible in both structures:

*You have to pay him \$55 every month.*

*You have to make him a payment of \$55 every month.*

The *Gift* may be absent from both structures, e.g.:

*They contributed (\$10) to the fund.*

*They made a contribution (of \$10) to the fund.*

Some of the *light make constructions* include a noun which expresses only a secondary meaning of the verb. For instance, the structures in the following pair of sentences are similar in meaning:

*The Dean spoke to an audience of 200 at the conference.*

*The Dean made a speech to an audience of 200 at the conference.*

The meaning is different in the pair below:

*I phoned your office and spoke to your assistant.*

*? I phoned your office and made a speech to your assistant.*

Polysemous deverbals may take different light verbs according to the meaning they are used in; *argument*, for instance, takes the verb *make* whenever it is derived from the verb belonging to the *Thinking type* but the verb *have* whenever it is derived from the verb belonging to the *Speaking type*:

*They argued that the motorway was not worth building.*

*They made an argument that the motorway was not worth building.*

*They argued over the motorway.*

*They had an argument over the motorway.*

One and the same meaning of a deverbal may be used with two or even more light verbs. *Promise* and *recommendation* may take either *make* or *give*. When *give* is used, the focus is on the idea of transferring something to the object; *make* puts the focus on the activity of creating something for the object, e.g.:

*I made a promise to myself.*

*I gave him a promise to deal with it immediately.*

*She made a recommendation to the committee.*

*She gave him a recommendation.*

*Light make constructions* usually express definite, premeditated actions. The same type of actions is expressed by *light take constructions*. However, *take* implies the idea of finalization, while *make* focuses once again on the activity of creating something; that is why the modifier *final* appears only in the *take a decision* constructions, e.g.:

*The manager refused to take a final decision.*

*The county has to make a decision on the road closure.*

There also seems to be another difference between the two constructions; one *takes a decision* quickly, but one *makes a decision* after a while.

*Sometimes referees need to take a decision quickly.*

*The committee should make its decision later this week.*

A specific goal or target is usually implied by the *light make constructions*. The subject does not indulge himself in *making* an activity expressed by the deverbial, unless the deverbial is in the plural, e.g.:

*He tried to make a plan for arranging the patient's discharge from hospital.*

*He likes making plans.*

Whenever the deverbial is preceded by the indefinite article, only one 'unit' of the activity denoted by the deverbial is made, while a deverbial in the plural implies several 'units' of the same activity; the latter instance is similar in meaning to that where the base verb is present, e.g.:

*She made a suggestion / a claim / a plan / a remark.*

*She made some suggestions / claims / plans / remarks.*

*She suggested / claimed / planned / remarked something.*

The subject of the *light make construction* is human, and the action he performs is voluntary, e.g.:

*The magistrate made a discovery which he knows to be true.*

*The police made an announcement yesterday.*

In summary, the *light make construction* displays the syntactic features: i) the verb may take one, two or three arguments; ii) the original agents and patients can reappear as genitival or adjectival modifiers of the noun; iii) it may undergo the passive or dative transformation.

The semantic characteristics of the *light make construction* are: i) the basic meaning of the verb *make* is preserved to a limited extent; ii) focus on the activity implied by the deverbial; iii) definite, premeditated action; iv) usually a specific goal or target; v) one 'unit' of the activity is completed when the noun is in the singular, several 'units' when the noun is in the plural; vi) the action is done voluntarily by the subject.

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## **FACTORS INFLUENCING TRANSLATION NORMS**

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When it emerged as an independent discipline, translation studies was mainly concerned with an evaluative comparison of the source text and the target text, completely disregarding the complexity of both the source and the target contexts. In these early approaches to translation, the notion of equivalence between the two texts played a major part. However, things started to change with the development of the descriptive translation studies, which concentrated on the actual translations, submitting them to detailed description and explanation, and which introduced a new important translation concept, i.e. the concept of “norms”.

As opposed to the notion of equivalence, norms are not prescriptive dogmas, but rather hypotheses: they can only be treated descriptively, as representing regulative ideas that appear to govern a translator’s decision-making processes. The problem is that any translation activity involves at least two languages and two different cultures, and, therefore, the translation process is constrained by two sets of norm-systems. How is the translator supposed to deal with these two types of linguistic constraints? A possible answer comes from Toury (1995:56), who comments in this respect: “Were it not for the regulative capacity of norms, the tensions between the two sources of constraints would have to be resolved on an entirely individual basis”. Fortunately, the appeal to the translator’s intuition is rather the exception than the rule, because, as we all know, the translation behaviour within a culture tends to manifest certain regularities as far as particular genres or text-types are concerned.

What happens if a culture does not have prior experience with the translation of a certain type of texts? Are there any target language norms in the case of their translation? A very general answer to this question would be that we can speak about norms in this situation, but they are in the process of formation and of polishing. In other words, these norms are being established just as the translation process proceeds. This assumption brings us to the problem of the factors that influence the establishment and the evolution of the translation norms, a problem that is central to the present paper.

My interest in the process of norm formation was actually stirred some years ago, when the Romanians started to translate various kinds of European Union texts and documents. Those texts were something new in

our culture, being characteristic of a socio-political context that was more or less different from ours. Did their translation lead to something new as far as the Romanian translation norms were concerned or did it just follow the norms already existing in our culture for the legal and administrative texts? Who validated the norms according to which those texts were translated?

Now, after some years since this translation work started, I am trying to find some answers to the above questions and, for that purpose, I am considering both theoretical and empirical data. In this attempt, I will refer, first of all, to the various types of norms identified by those theorists whose work is really influential in the field of norm study, i.e. Toury and Chesterman. The reason why I am doing it is that, as Chesterman (1997:64) suggests, in the translator's conceptual toolbox, there should be the concept of a norm plus an understanding of the main types of norms that affect the translation process.

### **Types of translation norms**

The notion of norms was introduced by Gideon Toury in the late 1970s in order to refer to regularities of translation behaviour within a certain socio-cultural context. In his analysis of this notion, Toury (1995) mentions, first of all, the “**initial norm**”, a norm whose priority is basically logical and does not necessarily coincide with a chronological order of application. The “initial norm” involves the translator's choice between source-text adequacy and target-language acceptability, a decision which will play a major part in the process of selecting or rejecting translation choices. Thus, if the translator decides to conform to the source-language and source-culture norms (like, for example, in the case of a literary text), his/her translation is very likely to present certain incompatibilities with the target-language and target-culture norms, and it will probably be more difficult to understand for the target-language reader. If, on the other hand, the translator chooses to prioritize the target culture and the target language (for example, in an informative text), then the translation will certainly be characterized by a lesser degree of adequacy to the original text, but it will be more accessible to the target audience.

In addition to this type, Toury discusses two more groups of norms applicable to translation. These are the **preliminary** and the **operational** norms, and belong to lower, more specific levels.

Preliminary norms are closely related to the translation policy adopted by a particular culture (for example, the choice of the text types, or even particular texts, that will be imported through translation into a particular culture/ language at a particular point in time), and do not directly

determine the translator's work. The operational norms, on the other hand, are conceived by Toury as actually guiding the translator's decision-making process and as influencing the form of the translation as a final product. In other words, they are textual norms, which affect not only the modes of distributing the linguistic material in the text, but also the textual make-up and the verbal formulation as such (cf. Toury, 1995:58).

Another theorist who approached the problem of the translational norms and whose work was partly influenced by Toury's ideas is Andrew Chesterman. In his attempt to establish a norm typology, Chesterman (1997) focuses on the area covered by Toury's initial and operational norms, and suggests a basic distinction between **expectancy norms**, on the one hand, and **professional norms**, on the other.

As their name suggests, expectancy norms embody the expectations that target readers have as far as a translation of a certain type is concerned. More specifically, expectancy norms belong to the category of the product norms and regard aspects such as text-type conventions, grammaticality, lexical choice or style. They are mainly influenced by the experience that the culture in question has with the translation of that text type, but also by the parallel texts in that particular language. Chesterman (1997:66) explains that such norms are validated by their very existence in the target-language community, and, even if there are cases when they are acknowledged by a norm-authority of some kind (e.g. a critic, a teacher), this act can only confirm a norm which already exists in that society.

Professional norms, on the other hand, represent the category of the process norms, because they govern the accepted methods and strategies of the translation process itself. They are validated by those members of a society who are considered to be competent professional translators and who may further be recognized as competent professionals by other societies, too. These norms can be subsumed under three general higher-order norms, i.e. the *accountability norm*, the *communication norm* and the *relation norm*.

According to the *accountability norm*, translators should behave in such a way as to be able to accept responsibility for their work. More specifically, this is an ethical norm regarding professional standards of integrity in relation to the original writer, the commissioner of the translation, the translator him-/herself, the target readers or any other relevant participant in the translation process (Chesterman, 1997:68).

The *communication norm* stipulates that a translator should act in such a way as to optimize communication between all the parties involved in a particular translation situation (Chesterman, 1997:69). This is a social norm which emphasizes 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. However, this norm should not be understood as necessarily implying the existence of an objectively fixed message that must be communicated. As Chesterman explains (1997:69), "the situation may be such that the intended communication is more like a shared sense of linguistic play, or an aesthetic experience".

Even if they are treated as translational norms, the accountability norm and the communication norm are not at all specific to the translation process. The norm which actually highlights the difference between translation and other communication processes is the third higher-order norm, i.e. the relation norm.

The *relation norm* is a linguistic norm which requires the translator to establish and maintain an appropriate relationship between the source text and the target text, starting from the type of text involved, from the wishes of the commissioner and from the needs of the prospective readers (Chesterman, 1997:69). Chesterman notes in this respect that 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. scientific or technical articles), and, still, others might value similarity of effect above all these (e.g. tourist brochures, advertisements).

As far as the validation of the three types of professional norms is concerned, Chesterman states that there are two possible ways in which it is achieved. Thus, on the one hand, the professional norms are validated by norm authorities, such as teachers or critics, who are accepted as having norm-validation competence. But, on the other hand, just like in the case of the expectancy norms, these norms are also validated by their very existence, by the fact that they are accepted as governing the practice actually followed by such professionals. Chesterman also stresses the fact that, even if the behaviour which breaks the professional norms tends to be criticized, the translator may choose to give a certain norm a different interpretation as long as s/he has good reasons for doing that.

## **Norms and values**

After the discussion about the main types of translation norms, there is one more theoretical aspect that I consider as being of relevance in my approach to the process of norm formation, and this concerns the very reason of their existence. So, why do norms exist? According to Chesterman (1997:172), they exist because they embody or tend towards certain values.

Therefore, there is a very strong inter-relation between norms and values. Hermans (1998) links this idea to the fact that translations are always different from their originals, and that it is precisely in this difference that the underlying value, or ideology, can be seen. He claims that translations are always slanted representations, and that “translations can never be value-free” (58). In other words, for Hermans, values are associated with non-neutrality, with inevitable bias.

For Toury (1995), on the other hand, values seem to be rather different kinds of concepts. He starts from the idea that translation is a kind of activity which inevitably confronts different languages and cultural traditions, and hence different conventions and norms on each pertinent level. Therefore, in Toury’s opinion, the value behind translation consists of two major elements: producing a target text (a) which is designed to occupy a certain position in the target culture, and (b) which constitutes a representation of a source text (cf. Toury, 1995:56).

As Toury notes, these two types of requirements derive from two sources which should be regarded as different in principle. Often they are incompatible in practice too, so that any attempt to abide by the one requires a price in terms of the other, which breeds an inherent need for compromise.

As we can see, Hermans and Toury do not use the word “value” consistently in anything like the same sense. Thus, Toury’s concept of value is very close to a concept of function, and it is obvious that such a sense does not coincide with the meanings present in Hermans’ approach.

Chesterman, whose contribution is partly influenced by Toury’s and Herman’s ideas, sees values as one way of justifying norms and even norm-breaking. In close connection to the norm types mentioned in the previous section, Chesterman (1997:172-186) discusses the four values underlying each of the norms in question: clarity, truth, understanding and trust.

Clarity, the value governing the expectancy norms, is primarily a linguistic value, which applies to any use of language, not just to translation. Chesterman defines linguistic clarity in terms of the hearer’s perception of the speaker’s intention, because, as he explains, “a message has clarity to the extent that the receiver can, within an appropriate time, perceive the speaker’s intended meaning, the speaker’s intention to say something about the world and/or to produce some effect in the hearer” (176).

The value governing the relation norm has been traditionally defined as fidelity or faithfulness to the source text. However, Chesterman considers that the term “truth” is more appropriate for the translation theory for two main reasons. First of all, it goes beyond the level of text construction and describes the quality of a relation between a proposition – the translation – and a state of affairs – its source text. The second reason refers to the fact

that there is usually more than one way of being “true”, the same applying to translations, which may relate to their source texts in various ways, as required by the given situation.

Trust is the value which governs the accountability norm and which is essential if translators want to survive as professionals. Chesterman notes that this value is as important for the aspiring translators as it is for the experienced ones. Thus, in order to enter the profession, the future translators must show that they are worthy of such trust, being tested by other professionals whose judgement is, in turn, trusted by the society. Furthermore, once they have gained this trust, translators should work in such a way as to maintain it with regard to all the parties involved in the translation process.

Finally, Chesterman refers to understanding, which is the value regulating the communication norm. As the theorist suggests, this value can be construed in two ways that are of relevance to the translators. Thus, they may either minimize misunderstanding of the text among the included readers, or minimize the number of potential readers who are excluded from understanding.

These are the four values which, in Chesterman’s view, can form the basis for a translational micro-ethics. Among them, clarity and truth have to do with texts and relations between them, while trust and understanding concern relations between people. It must also be mentioned that the author’s declared intention is not to argue prescriptively that these should be the values, but to “claim, descriptively, that these appear to be the values held explicitly or implicitly by most translators” (Chesterman, 1997:175).

### **A case study**

The theoretical problems discussed so far are meant to draw attention to those factors and concepts that are of relevance in any discussion about the process of norm formation. In the last section of my paper, I will turn to more specific issues, taking into account some empirical data. In this attempt, I will refer to the official translation of the basic UE documents, i.e. the documents concerned with its establishment and its organization, as published in 1999 in a book called *Documente de bază ale Comunității și Uniunii Europene*.

I decided to limit my research to this book for two reasons. Since my intention was to deal with these problems in more detail, I considered that the constitutive documents of the Union might represent a good starting point. The second reason has to do with the fact that the book in question turned to be considered as containing the official Romanian version of the

documents in question, and, consequently, can be said to have established the norm in that respect.

My main purpose here is not to analyze the translation proper (although, wherever necessary, I will make some considerations in this respect), but to discuss the circumstances under which that translation became the norm. As research method, I used the interview with some of the members of the translation team. The questions I addressed concerned aspects like: who were the translators and their coordinator – in terms of profession and training, what recommendations they got as far as the desired form of the target text was concerned, and which were the greatest problems that they encountered during the translation process. The answers to these questions will be briefly presented below.

It must be noted, first of all, that the translation team consisted only of lawyers and students in law with good command of the foreign languages from which the texts were translated, i.e. English, French and, sometimes, German. Their coordinator was also a lawyer and the main recommendations that he made referred to the fact that the target text should have the formal characteristics of the normative documents already existing in Romanian. As for the translation problems, they basically concerned the transferability of certain concepts denoting realities which were not yet part of our own political and cultural life. The examples range from the EU specific terms, such as **the European Council, Member States, the European Parliament, High Contracting Parties**, for which the translator was supposed to use the officially accepted target language equivalents (or even to create it), to other more general terms relating to politics and government, such as **co-decision procedure, assent procedure, Heads of State or Government** or even **acquis communautaire**, for which appropriate Romanian counterparts had to be found.

What conclusion can be drawn from these answers? The fact that the translation team did not include at least one translator with training and experience in the field is somehow surprising. On the other hand, I am sure that a team made up exclusively of translators proper would have had a very difficult time with such a task. They would have been confronted with the choice of the appropriate syntax in each case or with the use of certain legal formulations, aspects which, for the lawyers, are natural and do not raise any difficulty. A good example in this respect is the modal **shall**, which is used in order to render the provisions of the various UE treaties and which is translated into Romanian by the present tense. Why? Because, as my subjects explained, the present tense is the norm in this case as it is established by the existing normative documents in Romanian.

In conclusion, the work under discussion and others in the same situation represent a good illustration of how certain expectancy norms are created in a community. In other words, since these norms are validated by their very existence, people now have certain expectations about the EU texts, expectations that did not exist or were not clear before the first official translations of this text-type appeared. As far as the relation norm is concerned, it was established both under the influence of the original text and as a result of the norms functioning in the target culture for similar text types. The strange fact about this particular case is that the relation norm was decided on by a number of professionals from the domain to which the text belong. Anyway, I consider that a translation team consisting in both professionals of the field and translators proper would be suitable in such situations, as it would increase the trust that is so essential to the translation profession.

## **Conclusion**

This is only one example, but I consider that it is representative for the crisis that the Romanian translation market is going through. Even if, in the case mentioned above, we are faced with a good translation, there are very many examples of translators who function in almost any domain of human activity and who produce work of rather poor quality. The problem is that our society is ready to trust almost any person with some knowledge of a foreign language as being able to work as a translator. This can be explained by the fact that, in our country, the practice of accreditation does not have a unitary character. In some situations, the aspiring translators must pass a test in order to get this accreditation, while in others, the university training in the subject itself is considered to constitute a professional qualification. Unfortunately, there are also cases when neither of these is necessary. Therefore, in the light of its efforts to become a European country, Romania must solve some problems that still persist in the field of professional translation. And an important step in this respect would be, in my opinion, the establishment of a unitary and reliable method of accreditation, based on some objective and valid principles of translation evaluation.

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## ENGLISH ONOMATOPES

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### **Introduction**

There is a marginal (often shunned), but rather intriguing stratum of the English lexicon, whose elements are usually called *onomatopoeic*, *imitative* or *echoic* words. The corresponding linguistic subfield has recently been named *imitative sound symbolism* (Hinton *et al.* 1994) and has for long been termed simply the study of onomatopoeia. According to Jespersen (1922: 398) we cannot deny that we feel instinctively that onomatopoeic words are adequate to express the ideas they stand for. In other words, they seem to be meant, almost, predisposed to describe certain semantic components that speakers have in mind. Onomatopoeic words almost invariably represent sounds from nature, those produced by animate beings or inanimate objects. In some other cases, onomatopoeic words denote movement, also on the basis of what we hear. The onomatopoeic word *bash* meaning ‘to strike with a crushing blow’ (RHW) is one of the blatant examples for this phenomenon. Next, the echoic word can designate the being that produces the sound (usually birds, e.g. *peewit*, *bobwhite*, *cuckoo*).

### **Onomatope – clarification of the linguistic concept**

I propose in this paper that all languages have their own units of onomatopoeia. The English *onomatope* would be a unit of onomatopoeia or imitative sound symbolism, which corresponds to the linguistic reality of the speakers of English. One of the main objectives of this paper is to define the *smallest* unit of onomatopoeia, so a phoneme with its subcomponents shall be a starting point in my research. It is a commonplace to say that onomatopes can be found in an initial, medial or final position, and the importance of all the three positions needs to be studied. Quite obviously, phonemes come in linear sequences which leads me to believe that onomatopes can be combined, thus achieving the cumulative imitative effect.

Another set of stimulating questions that is going to be raised in this paper are the ways and modes these sounds from nature are turned into words of English. The initial hypothesis of my research, therefore, is that English sound segments have certain inherent qualities and that some are more suitable to denote specific sounds from nature. In order for the initial

hypothesis to be proved, I decided to study the English sounds and their inherent features first, and then try to decide which sounds of English are more expressive, or phonetically motivated, than others. Thus, I shall make an effort to sketch out a detailed system of sound/meaning correspondences, analyzing a representative selection of English onomatopoeic words. My corpus of onomatopoeic words is derived from several English-English dictionaries, most of which also offer much needed etymological data: *Oxford English Dictionary* (1992, OED for short) and *Random House Webster's Electronic Dictionary and Thesaurus* (1992, RHW for short). The definitions of corpus units sometimes had to be merged, in which cases other dictionaries were also used: *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (2002, MED for short), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (1996, DE for short), *The American Heritage Dictionary* (1994, AHD for short) and *Longman Interactive English Dictionary* (1993, LIED for short).

### **Onomatopoeic categories**

As most linguists do at one point in their studies, I have often asked myself one of the most difficult of questions connected with the problem of the non-arbitrariness of English imitative words. One of them was: how come that the English word *gurgle*, for example, is naturally associated with 'the low sound that someone makes in their throat' (MED), and not with words like *sizzle* or *murmur*. It seems a plausible assumption that the /g/ sound, with its guttural articulatory qualities is more appropriate to denote the gurgling sound than /s/ or /z/ of *sizzle*, or /m/ of *murmur*. But the explanation is not as simple as that when it comes to other speech sounds of English. In order to try to account for a larger number of English sound-symbolic sounds, I extracted a number of onomatopoeic words from the English lexicon (around 1,000 in total), looked at their dictionary definitions, especially at the adjectives describing the nature of the sound which is denoted by the onomatopoeic word in question, and finally elaborated on the use of these adjectives by analyzing either articulatory or acoustic or some other phonetic distinctive features.

The analysis of dictionary definitions of onomatopoeic words resulted in the identification of at least eight clear-cut onomatopoeic categories, which are going to be presented by way of highly representative examples given in tables below. The columns shall contain the following details: the lexeme in question, its dictionary definition and the source of the definition as well as the relevant adjective by which the denoted sound from nature is lexicographically depicted.

Firstly, the element of *abrupt/sudden* sound is evidently present in three consonantal sound segments of English - /p b k/. The following illustrative examples shall support the above mentioned assumption:

phoneme	lexeme	definition/source of definition	adjective
/p/	<i>ping</i>	make an abrupt ringing sound like that of a rifle bullet, OED	<i>abrupt</i>
	<i>pop</i>	make a short, quick, explosive sound (of a cork), OED; to burst open with such a sound, as chestnuts or corn in roasting, DE	<i>explosive</i>

Table 1: sound-symbolic qualities of /p/

The phoneme /b/ shows similar onomatopoeic qualities which are given in table 2:

phoneme	lexeme	definition/source of definition	adjective
/b/	<i>bang</i>	make a sudden loud, explosive noise, RHW	<i>sudden, explosive</i>
	<i>bonk</i>	make an abrupt thudding noise, OED	<i>abrupt</i>

Table 2: sound-symbolic qualities of /b/

The third phoneme of English which can unquestionably be used to express the abrupt, sudden sounds from nature is /k/. The supporting dictionary data is given in table 3:

phoneme	lexeme	definition/source of definition	adjective
/k/	<i>clap</i>	the abrupt, sharp sound produced by clapping, RHW	<i>abrupt</i>
	<i>hiccough/hiccup</i>	a spasm of the diaphragm resulting in a rapid, involuntary inhalation that is stopped by the sudden closure of the glottis, AHD	<i>sudden</i>

Table 3: sound-symbolic qualities of /k/

Secondly, the category of resonant tone is represented by two English consonantal sound segments - /| μ/. The supporting data is given in tables 4 and 5. The sound-symbolic qualities of the English velar nasal seem to be prevalent when it is found in the final position:

phoneme	lexeme	definition/source of definition	adjective
/	<i>boing</i>	a reverberating tone, OED	reverberating
	<i>clang</i>	a loud resonant ringing tone the sudden closure of the	resonant, ringing

		glottis, OED	
	<i>zing</i>	a sharp, high-pitched ringing sound, OED	ringing

Table 4: sound-symbolic qualities of /z/

The English phoneme /m/ is used to express the resonant, continuous, oscillating tones from nature:

phoneme	lexeme	definition/source of definition	adjective
/m/	<i>boom</i>	make a deep, prolonged, resonant sound	resonant
	<i>rumble</i>	make a deep, somewhat muffled, continuous sound, as thunder	continuous

Table 5: sound-symbolic qualities of /m/

The analysis of the sound symbolic qualities of English consonants has shown that one of the phonemes is used to denote the absence of the resonant features of the given sound from nature. This is the phoneme /d/, for which the examples follow:

phoneme	lexeme	definition/source of definition	adjective
/d/	<i>dump</i>	suggesting a dull abruptly-checked blow or thud; the action producing it, RHW	dull
	<i>pad</i>	the dull firm non-resonant sound of steps upon the ground, OED; a dull muffled noise, RHW	dull, non-resonant, muffled
	<i>thud</i>	a dull heavy sound without resonance (e.g. of a heavy stone striking the ground), OED	dull, without resonance

Table 6: sound-symbolic qualities of /d/

The onomatopoeic category of high sound is represented by two English consonants, /s/ and /t/. The relevant examples of imitative words follow:

phoneme	lexeme	definition/source of definition	adjective
/s/	<i>hiss</i>	make or emit a sharp sound like that of the letter s when prolonged, RHW	sharp
	<i>whistle</i>	make a high clear musical sound, etc., RHW	high

Table 7: sound-symbolic qualities of /s/

The representative of the high metallic sound is the English phoneme /t/. The examples are given in table 8:

phoneme	lexeme	definition/source of definition	adjective
/t/	<i>tam-tam</i>	a metal gong of Oriental origin, OED	metal
	<i>twink</i>	light, clear abrupt shrill metallic sound (of a bird), OED	shrill, metallic

Table 8: sound-symbolic qualities of /t/

The antipode of the category of high tone is the low tone which is represented by two sound segments of English: /g □/. The related lexemes are given in table 9:

phoneme	lexeme	definition/source of definition	adjective
/g/	<i>gabble</i>	rapid, low muttering or quacking sounds, as a goose or duck, AHD	low
	<i>grunt</i>	deep guttural sound (of hogs), RHW	deep
/□/	<i>throb</i>	a strong, low continuous beat, LIED	low

Table 9: sound-symbolic qualities of /g □/

Loud tones from nature can be expressed by the phoneme /l/, as is the case in the following examples:

phoneme	lexeme	definition/source of definition	adjective/adverb
/l/	<i>bawl</i>	cry or sob loudly, AHD	loudly
	<i>yaffle</i>	eat or drink, esp. noisily or greedily, OED	noisily

Table 10: sound-symbolic qualities of /l/

Rough sounds from nature are best imitated by implementing the /t/ sound of English, as in *rattle*, *roar*, *crash*. The element of piercing sound can be observed in the symbolic qualities of the phoneme /τ♣/, as in *chatter*, *chirr*, *churl*, *chuck*, etc., which are all described as lexemes denoting sharp and/or shrill sounds from nature. And last but not least, ringing sounds seem to be associated with the English sound segment /δ |/. The rare examples are *jing* and *jingle*.

## Acoustic analysis

The onomatopoeic categories derived from the analysis of imitative words can be linked to at least one of the acoustic (Jakobson / Halle / Fant, 1951) or articulatory features. As I intended to point out only *one* (but the one which is the most important) sound-symbolic feature of a given sound segment, I will now explain the background of the consonants that I have mentioned so far. Suddenness / abruptness / explosiveness, i.e. lack of spontaneity can be accounted for by the articulatory feature [+plosive] or the acoustic specification [+interrupted] or [-continuant]. The resonance of tone is easily associated with the acoustic feature [+nasal], especially when it comes to the nasals after the nuclear vowel, whereas high tones can be related to the acoustic feature [+acute]. Low tones, on the other hand, are associated with the feature [-acute] or [+grave].

Apart from the acoustic phonetic features, articulatory features can also be used to explain the expressive qualities of English consonants. These are mainly *apicality* of /t/ and *gutturality* of /g/. Furthermore, the sonority scale is highly significant for the explanation of the loudness effect of the English lateral /l/.

## Onomatopes in linear sequences

The main topic of this research is the identification of the set of English consonants with dominating sound-symbolic features. Each consonant discussed so far seems to have one original sound-symbolic quality, which is closely associated with that consonant. But if we look again at the definition of the onomatopoeic word *ping* ('make an *abrupt ringing* sound like that of a rifle bullet', OED), it is evident that *two* adjectives are used to describe the quality of the sound from nature. Namely, the abrupt quality of the sound represented by *ping* is clearly described by /p/, and the ringing features, of course, by the velar nasal. What is left is the vowel sound of *ping*, which is not at all easy to account for. The suggested term for these low-rate sound-symbolic vowel sounds is *filler* phonemes. This statement tackling the low sound-symbolic potential of vowels cannot be generalized, though. This hypothesis shall be proved by taking two more examples into account: *bleep* ('a thin, *high-pitched* blipping sound, esp. made by electronic equipment', LIED), and *zoom* ('make a continuous *low-pitched* humming or buzzing noise', LIED).

Jespersen's interesting story supports the assumption that vowels are less rich in the perceptual and acoustic colour, than is the case with consonants. The vowels in onomatopoeic words are subject to change.





## RECENT GERMAN BORROWINGS IN ENGLISH

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### **On language contacts in general**

“There are no fully unmixed languages” — says Hugo Schuchardt as early as in 1884 (Schuchardt, 1884:5). Indeed, languages of the world cannot exist isolated from each other; they are in contact, which they have been for thousands of years. Alongside the fact that English asserts a great influence on many languages of the world, one should bear in mind that it does not only act as a donor language but that it has also been subject to foreign influence itself throughout its entire history.

Borrowing is a phenomenon whereby elements of a language, usually words, are adopted into another. For borrowing to take place, some kind of contact between the two languages is necessary. Language contact is a term closely related to cultural contacts on one level and also to the study of language change on the other. Language change has two basic types, according to its source: it can be either system-internal change or borrowing (see Coseriu, 1974:11). About 60-70% of all language change is estimated to be induced by language contact, that is, by interference processes.

### **Borrowing**

Most work in language contact studies concentrates on lexical borrowing, for it is obviously the lexicon that is most subject to foreign impact. First of all, a distinction has to be made between foreign words appearing as foreign elements in English and those words of foreign origin which have become part of the English wordstock. Furthermore, instances of code-switching and code-mixing also have to be distinguished from cases of borrowing. Whereas in the case of code-mixing, non-native items are not adapted phonologically and morphologically, in the case of borrowing they mostly are (Appel-Muysken, 1987:172). This, however, is rather vague because there might be different degrees of phonological and morphological adaptation and borrowed words sometimes also retain their original pronunciation and even their grammatical features. Code-switching, as opposed to borrowing, always implies some degree of competence in two languages. Consequently, borrowing may occur in the speech of those with monolingual competence too (Pfaff, 1979:295).

In Bloomfield's categorisation, borrowing has two basic types: intimate and remote borrowing (Eichhoff, 1980:63). We speak of intimate borrowing when the two languages exist side by side in one single community and words are borrowed on the basis of personal contacts. In the case of English and German, this is typical of German immigrants to the US (e.g. Pennsylvania Germans). In this paper, I wish to concentrate on remote borrowing, the type more common nowadays, involving words taken over from one language to another across borders. This is characteristic of borrowings via the electronic media, due to the effects of globalisation.

### **German influences on English**

The vocabulary of English has been enriched by words borrowed from various languages during its history. Although languages like Latin, Greek or French have asserted a greater influence on the English wordstock than German, German elements can also be found in it. Most elements that now make up the core of German loanwords in English, approximately 300 words, arrived as early as the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The apex of the influx of German words into English was the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when yearly 35 German words were adopted into English on average. World War 2 drastically reduced the rate of transfer but some borrowing can also be traced to later years (Pfeffer-Cannon, 1994:XXI).

Most words coming from German in the Modern English period belong to the terminology of a branch of science, e.g. that of mineralogy or geology (e.g. *cobalt*, *loess*, *meerschaum*). A separate group of German loanwords include culinary terms, such as *pretzel*, *sauerkraut*, *schnitzel* and even *Hamburger*. German words are more typical of American English, due to intimate borrowing from immigrant groups in the USA. Some examples: *kindergarten*, *nix*, *gesundheit* (Pyles-Algeo, 1993:302-304).

### **The Study**

I looked at words adopted from German via remote borrowing in the past 50 years. As my basic source, I relied on four special, so-called "new word" dictionaries, which contain all words and phrases that appeared in English (either of foreign origin or native ones) in a particular year or within a certain period of time. I selected *The Longman Register of New Words* (1989 and 1990), *The Longman Guardian New Words* (1986) and *The Barnhart Dictionary of New English* (1973). Roughly, they cover the whole period in question: there are lists from the 60s, 70s, 80s and 90s in them.

Attesting the material is a crucial point, and for this purpose I have selected 5 corpora from the given period: the British LOB and the American BROWN corpora, both from the year 1961, as well as the January, February and March 1995 issues of *The Times*. As regards the method of my investigation, I used the Web Concordancer program to browse the corpora.

We can establish clear-cut semantic groups of words recently borrowed from German into English. Special terms in the fields of politics and society reflect the fact that for most of the past 50 years, Germany was separated into two states. Many new words in German were coined to be able to describe the new system. Other languages had the same problem when addressing issues of German politics so they either had to coin new words themselves for the new relations or adopt some terms from German. Usually, the ones which came to be used as buzzwords were borrowed in their original form into English. These words are: *gastarbeiter*, *kletten prinzip*, *Ostpolitik*, *Westpolitik*. Some words belong to the sphere of art and philosophy, such as *Gesamtkunstwerk*, *Innigkeit*, *kitschy*, *Überfremdung*. As German beer and wine culture are famous in Europe, some words belonging to this field have also been borrowed: *bierkeller*, *Cold Duck*, *spritzer*. Owing to psychologists like Freud or Jung, German and Austrian psychology were very influential throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. No wonder that some psychological terms were adopted from German. Most of them arrived in English in the first part of the century but there are also some later borrowings like *Gestalt therapy* or *Untermensch*. There are also some other new German words in English, belonging to various semantic fields: *Giro*, *Jostaberry*, *Sitzfleisch*, *wedeln*, *zeitgeber*.

If we focus on borrowings from various levels of linguistic description, we can generalise even from such restricted data as to how German words behave when adopted into English. As regards pronunciation, usually even when the German sound is an existing variant of an English sound, anglicisation may occur (Pfeffer–Cannon, 1994:114). None of the new words registers I investigated indicate phonological transcription of the words, only in the case of *Giro* is it given that both the German and the anglicised pronunciation variants are possible.

From the orthographical point of view, there is a great deal of variation in the case of German borrowings in English. Nouns are capitalised in German but some of these have been converted to lower case in English. It cannot be stated for certain whether it is a spelling inconsistency of my sources or whether capitalisation is idiosyncratic in these nouns. There are differences also within the same dictionary as regards capitalisation. Another feature of German which is absent from English is the presence of the Umlaut. In English, it is occasionally retained (Pfeffer–

Cannon, 1994:115) but sometimes, like in the case of *Überfremdung* ~ *Uberfremdung*, there are alternating spellings. Despite all these variations, totally anglicised spelling variants very rarely occur nowadays, and not at all in the observed material, a phenomenon typical of later borrowings (Eichhoff, 1980:65).

Concentrating on morphology, we shall see that 14 of the above 18 words are borrowings of simple or compound words (the latter being a typical way of word-formation in German), that is, the word was taken over from German in its original form, without any change. There is one word, *kitschy*, which has retained the German nominal stem *Kitsch*, to which an English adjectival ending has been added. Based on Weinreich's categorisation of lexical interference (Weinreich, 1968:47), we can find two examples of a loanblend, whereby the compound consists of a German and an English part (*Gestalt therapy* and *Jostaberry*). *Cold Duck* is a loan translation, which means that the original compound was reproduced by a translation element by element. With the exception of the adjective *kitschy*, all words are nouns, which is in line with Pfeffer and Cannon's statistical data, namely that of the over 5,000 German loans in English altogether, about 90% are nouns (Pfeffer–Cannon, 1994:XXI). This is further confirmation that nouns are borrowed most frequently and most easily in languages is general.

On the semantic level, there is usually no change but broadening or narrowing of meaning is sometimes possible to some degree, *Innigkeit* being an example of the latter type.

Based on my estimation and also on the concordance findings, I can assert that the new foreign words in English analysed above are not yet a dominant part of the English lexicon. It can easily be proved by the fact that the Web Concordancer program found a relatively low number of instances in the five corpora investigated.

Since all the five corpora that I have analysed represent mainly written English, a judgement test among native speakers was called for to find out how well known and widespread these items are in English. First of all, I interviewed native speakers of English whether they knew the German words analysed within English. It was important to emphasise that the words should be familiar to them (if at all) within English because some of the informants also spoke German. The question arises whether there is a tendency that people will be more familiar with those words in English which come from languages that they speak. Will they be able to distinguish whether they know a word from the source language or from English? My hypothesis was that language knowledge does have an impact on how many

foreign words speakers of English know and understand in their own language.

In my survey, I made sure that there should be informants from different Anglo-Saxon countries since their answers may also depend on which variety of English they are speakers of. Altogether, 36 native speakers filled in the questionnaire — 18 British, 3 Irish, 7 American, 2 Australian and 4 Canadian speakers. They all represented various age groups and their educational level was also different. Nearly half of the 36 informants, 16, spoke German at some level.

My original study had wider scope than just German words in English. I concentrated on new words in English from various languages. My aim was to find out what factors determine whether a word is generally known or not. Does it depend on the donor language or on the semantic content, or on some other factors?

My findings showed that both the semantic content and the source language seem to be important factors in determining how well known a word is. Everyday terms like *kitschy* or *Spritzer*, were known by more informants than technical terms such as *kletten prinzip* or *Innigkeit*. The study across languages also showed that words from culturally significant and dominant languages (like German) were better known for English native speakers. The foreign languages spoken by the informants also proved to be an important factor in the survey because in many cases, the respondent may not be able to decide whether a certain word is familiar from English or from the foreign language. Sometimes it is even impossible to judge, because knowing the original meaning of the word, they will consider it to be known.

Thus, in order to get a more sophisticated picture, I divided the informants into two groups: those who spoke German and those who did not. It was a very clear tendency that those who admitted they could speak German, indicated almost all words of German origin as ones that they were familiar with. It is an interesting psychological fact; they seemed to feel that they were expected to know them. However, this is deceptive, especially in the case of compounds, as one may understand the individual parts of the word but still not the meaning of the compound.

On the other hand, those who did not speak German did not know most of the words. More than half of the items were not familiar to any (or to one or two at most) respondents: *Überfremdung*, *Sitzfleisch*, *Klettenprinzip*, *Gastarbeiter*, *Innigkeit*, *wedeln*, *Jostaberry*, *Zeitgeber*, *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Interestingly, most of these are compounds that seemed to be transparent for speakers of German. The most well known words altogether were: *spritzer*, *kitschy*, *Cold Duck* (which, being a loan

translation, does not seem foreign) and *Giro* (the ultimate source of which is not German).

The second part of the study concentrated on the life of these German words in German: whether they are frequent words, used in everyday language or not. In order to be able to investigate this, another survey was conducted—among native speakers of German. They received a list of all the 18 words in question and the categories were the same as in the case of the other survey: knowing the word, not knowing it or knowing it but not being sure about its meaning. The number of informants (40) was roughly the same as in the case of the other survey. As individual variants of German show rather significant differences in the realm of the lexicon, I again considered it important to interview people from the three major German-speaking countries. Accordingly, 16 informants from Germany, 19 from Austria and 5 from Switzerland filled in the questionnaire.

Before one might jump to the conclusion that it is unnecessary to ask native speakers whether they know words from their own language, let us see some curious results of this survey. There was only one out of the 40 respondents who was familiar with all words on the list. There were only two words (*Gastarbeiter* and *kitschig*) that all informants knew. The entire picture will be even more interesting if we add that four of the words in the list (which, we should not forget, were indicated in English dictionaries as words of German origin) could not be found in either of the two basic German monolingual dictionaries, *Duden* and *Langenscheidt*. These were: *Josta*, *Klettenprinzip*, *Gestalttherapie* and *Zeitgeber*. Accordingly, *Josta* (25%) and *Klettenprinzip* (12%) were also the least known words. However, some people still claimed to know them. Interestingly, the word *Spritzer* (the one which was identified most within English) was only known by 85% of native speakers. Altogether, about half of the words can be considered as generally known, ie known by at least 90% of all respondents.

## **Conclusion**

English has been in intensive contact with a wide range of other languages throughout its history. As the lexis is the subsystem of language which is most subject to change, the wordstock of English has been greatly influenced by foreign elements. This tendency is still going on and is even reinforced by the mass media and telecommunication, which make it easier for languages to get in contact.

Owing to the rapid technical, technological and cultural development of the modern age and also to strong cross-cultural contacts, there is a strong need today for each language to enrich its vocabulary. Vocabulary

enrichment can take place both by means of language-internal processes and borrowing. In this study, I have concentrated on borrowing on the basis of some background material. Of course, the field investigated is immense and what I have analysed is just a minor fragment of all new borrowings.

The importance of studies on recent borrowings is far greater than just analysing how many and what kinds of words are taken over from one language into another. Undoubtedly, they have very important consequences on the study of language contacts. The traditional concepts of the field (e.g. bilingualism, loan words vs. foreign words, borrowing) may have to be reinterpreted in the light of global communication, from a sociolinguistic aspect, as contacts between languages seem to have radically changed due to the role that mass electronic media play and telecommunication in today's world.

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# SOME SEMANTIC INTERPRETATIONS OF MULTIPLE NEGATION

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## 0 Introduction

The paper addresses the problem of multiple negation in relation to its semantic interpretations. We start by focussing on some differences between the phenomenon of (multiple) negation in classical logic and natural languages (section 1), and highlight some problems in the typological classification of negative concord and double negation languages (section 2). We further investigate litotes, that is, the third semantic interpretation of multiple negation, which can neither be interpreted as negative concord nor double negation (section 3). We argue that the differences between double negation / negative concord on one hand and litotes on the other occur due to different types of negation involved in the multiple negation constructions: double negation and negative concord interpretations include two contradictory negations, whereas litotes contain one contradictory and one contrary negation.

## 1 Multiple Negation: Classical logic versus natural languages

It is a well-known fact (Wittgenstein 1922, Jespersen 1924) that negation in natural languages does not obey the principles of classical logic. This is particularly true in the case of multiple negation, a term referring to the multiple occurrence of negative elements within the same syntactic construction. In classical logic, two negations always cancel each other, thus, if a negation, tied to the symbol  $\neg$ , is added to the negative proposition  $\neg p$ , then the new construction  $\neg\neg p$  is interpreted as an affirmative ( $\neg\neg p \rightarrow p$ ). This principle is known as *the Law of the Double Negation* (LDN).

In natural languages, however, the situation is different. When a negation is added to a negative construction, then four different interpretations can be found cross-linguistically (Wouden, 1997: 179-180):

- A. The construction with several negations corresponds to one negation. This semantic interpretation of multiple negation is referred to as negative concord (NC) – examples (1a-e).
- B. The construction with two negations corresponds to no negation (i.e an affirmative). This semantic interpretation is referred to as the double negation (DN) – example (1f).



- C. The construction with two negations corresponds to a weakened single negation (1g). Such constructions are also known as litotes (Wounden, 1997: 215).
- D. The construction with two negations corresponds to a strengthened single negation (1h). Such constructions are also referred to as emphatic negation (Wounden, 1997: 243).

(1) a) You don't have nothing till you love somebody. (substandard English)

'You have nothing till you love somebody.'

b) Jean n'a vu personne. (French)

Jean *ne*+past seen nobody

'Jean did not see anybody.'

c) Nessuno ha fatto niente. (Italian)

nobody past done nothing

'Nobody did anything.'

d) Jon nu-i telefona mamei lui. (Romanian)

'John hasn't called his mother.'

(Zanuttini, 1997: 3,

(1e))

e) Nihče ni naredil ničesar. (Slovene)

Nobody not+past done nothing

'Nobody did anything.'

f) Nobody said nothing. (standard English)

'Everybody said something.'

g) George is not impolite.

h) Ik krijg nooit geen aandacht van je. (Dutch)

I get never no attention of you

(Wounden, 1997:

180,(4b))

'You never pay me any attention at all.'

## 2 Double negation and negative concord

There have been much speculation as to why some languages exhibit NC and other DN (for the typological classification of languages, see Dahl 1979, Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991). It has been claimed that the phenomenon of NC is simply a relic of a bygone age, and modern languages should strive to do away with these redundant grammatical phenomena. Jespersen (1922: 352), for example, argues that: "[o]ne of the most characteristic traits of the history of English is thus seen to be the gradual

getting rid of [negative] concord as of something superfluous. Where concord is found in our family of languages, it certainly is an heirloom from a primitive age[.]” This viewpoint undoubtedly shows the influence of classical logic on linguistic theory, which can also be found in the writings of some English 18<sup>th</sup> century prescriptivists, who vigorously claimed that two negatives always cancel each other (cf. Bishop Lowth 1792).

More recent linguistic descriptions (Haegeman 1995, Rowlett 1997) claim that the factors determining whether a language is DN or NC are syntactic. Rowlett (1997), for example, argues that a language exhibits DN only if its negator is phonologically strong and has the syntactic properties of an adverb (e.g. English not). On the other hand, a language with a negator that is phonologically weak and syntactically dependent – a clitic, for example – exhibits NC (e.g. Italian non, French pas, Slovene ne).

This proposal, however, cannot hold since DN languages may in some cases exhibit NC, and vice versa. To illustrate briefly: multiple negation in standard English gets a DN reading (1f), whereas some other varieties of English (e.g. substandard, colloquial English and some dialects) interpret multiple negation as NC (1e). A DN reading in standard French and Italian, languages traditionally classified as NC languages (1b,c), depends on the syntactic positioning of negative elements. If the French postverbal negator pas co-occurs with the postverbal negative element, such as personne in (2a), then the whole construction is interpreted as DN. Similarly, DN in Italian is triggered by the co-occurrence of the preverbal negator non and the preverbal negative element, such as nessuno in (2b). Interestingly Slovene, also a NC language, allows DN interpretations in those grammatical environments where one of the negative elements bears a strong word-stress, and is usually fronted (2c).

- (2) a) Jean n'a pas vu personne.  
 Jean *ne*+past not seen nobody  
 'Jean did not see nobody.' → 'John saw somebody.'
- b) Nessuno non ha fatto niente. (Guglielmo Cinque p.c.)  
 nobody not past done nothing  
 'Nobody did nothing.' → 'Everybody did something.'
- c) NIHČE ni naredil ničesar.  
 nobody not+past done nothing  
 'Nobody did nothing.' → 'Everybody did something.'

Examples (2) clearly show that the syntactic status of the negator cannot be the sole factor determining the NC / DN interpretation of multiple

negation, since the same syntactically dependent negator in Italian (examples (1c) and (2b)) and Slovene (examples (1e) and (2c)) can trigger both NC and DN.

### 3 Weakening of negation: litotes

Apart from DN / NC readings, languages allow a third possible interpretation of multiple negation – the litotes. Litotes are understatement used as a rhetorical device in which an affirmative is expressed by negating a negative (Wounden, 1997: 215). This type of interpretation does not depend on whether a language is dominantly a DN or NC language, since it exists in DN (1f) as well as NC languages (3a,b).

- (3) a) George n'est pas impoli. (French)  
       George *ne*+is not impolite  
       b) Jure ni neprijazen. (Slovene)  
       George not+is impolite.  
       'George is not impolite.'

Litotes differ from other multiple negation constructions in the way multiple negation is expressed. They contain two negative, or what seems to be negative, elements, where one element is usually the negator, and the other a lexical element which is either negative in meaning (4a), or contains the prefix UN- (4b).

If we concentrate on the latter case, the question arises why the combination of the negator and the prefix UN-, which is assumed to be a negative prefix, is interpreted in English as litotes, and not as DN (contrast (4b) with (4c)).

- (4) a) Mary is a not ugly woman.  
       b) Mary is a not unattractive woman. Litotes  
       'Mary is neither attractive nor unattractive.'  
       c) Nobody said nothing. DN  
       'Everybody said something.'

To answer this question, we must first determine the syntactic as well as semantic properties of UN-words and UN-prefixation.

#### 3.1 Contradiction versus contrariety

Classical logicians distinguish two types of negation: (i) contradictory, and (ii) contrary negation. Contradictory negation is a relation



Let us start by examining some pairs of adjectives (7). In column A we list some base forms, and in column B the UN-adjectives derived from the adjectives in A. The meaning of the UN-adjectives clearly demonstrates that they are not negated forms, since an unprofessional man is not a man who is not professional, but somebody who is negligent; an inhuman person is not a person who is not human, but a person who is cruel. We can therefore conclude that professional – unprofessional and human – inhuman are antonyms. In contrast to UN-prefixation, NON-prefixation, shown in C, exhibits contradictory opposition, since a non-Christian is a person who is not a Christian.

(7)	A	B	C
	professional	unprofessional	non-professional
	human	inhuman	non-human
	rational	irrational	non-rational
	Christian	un-Christian	non-Christian

Another piece of evidence that UN-prefixation does not negate words comes from the fact that UN-words cannot license negative polarity items, which have to occur within the scope of negation (cf. Progovac 1994). In (8) the negative polarity item anything has to be used within the scope of the negator not (8a). A placement outside the scope of the negator results in the ungrammaticality of the sentence (8b):

- (8) a) George did not see anything.  
 b) \*Anything was not seen by George.

The fact that negative polarity items cannot be used within the scope of UN-words shows that UN-prefixation is not negative (9b):

- (9) a) Mary is not attractive to anybody.  
 b) #Mary is unattractive to anybody.  
 ‘Nobody finds Mary attractive.’

### 3.2.1 Impossible and Uncertain

In the above section, we have confirmed the correctness of our hypothesis that UN-words are antonyms. In this section we would like to show that in English there are some instances where UN-words can display contradictory negation.

The adjectives impossible and uncertain occur in two different syntactic constructions. They can be used purely adjectivally (10a,b), or in so-called modal frameworks, where the construction it + BE + (im)possible/(un)certain is used in lieu of a modal verb construction (10c,d):

- (10) a) Peter is impossible. 'intolerable'  
 b) Peter is uncertain. 'unsure'  
 c) It is impossible to do it. 'It cannot be done.'  
 d) It is uncertain whether they will come. 'They may not come.'

When the two adjectives are used purely adjectivally (10a,b), they do not show negative properties, since: (i) they form litotes and not DN when negated (11a); and (ii) they cannot license negative polarity items within their scope (11b):

- (11) a) George is not uncertain.  
 b) #George is uncertain of anything.

In the cases where impossible and uncertain are used in modal frameworks, they show properties of negative elements: (i) they are interpreted as DN when negated (12a); and (ii) they license negative polarity items within their scope (12b):

- (12) a) It is impossible for nobody to go. DN  
 'Nobody cannot go.' → 'Everybody must go.'  
 b) It is impossible for anybody to go.  
 'Nobody can go.'

Examples (11) and (12) thus show that English adjectives of the type impossible / uncertain may denote contradictory negation (the modal use) and contrary negation (the purely adjectival use).

### 3.3 Meaning of litotes

The question that remains to be answered is what the exact meaning of litotes is. In section 3 we stated that litotes are rhetorical devices that express an affirmative by negating a negative. Of course, this does not mean that impolite man is necessarily a polite man. If we focus on the grammaticality

of litotes with gradable negative antonyms and the ungrammaticality of litotes with non-gradable negative antonyms, we can observe that litotes point to some intermediate stages between the two extremes. In (13a) not unattractive points to some intermediate stage between the two gradable antonyms attractive and unattractive, while at the same time excludes the two extremes (13c). Not unborn in (13b), on the other hand, cannot point to any intermediate stage (13d), since born and unborn belong to the group of simple antonyms. This explains the ungrammaticality of (13b).

- (13) a) Mary is a not unattractive girl.  
 b) \*A not unborn child was saved.  
 c) attractive → ... → less attractive → ... → unattractive  
 d) born → ∅ → unborn

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper we have examined the phenomenon of multiple negation in the light of its semantic interpretation. We have focussed on double negation and negative concord, and have shown that both semantic interpretations can be found within the same language, regardless of whether the language belongs to what has traditionally been classified as negative concord languages (Romance and Slavic languages) or double negation languages (Germanic languages).

Examining English in a greater detail, we have also analysed a third semantic interpretation of multiple negation – litotes. Adopting the concept of two different types of negation – contradictory and contrary negation (Horn 1989), we have shown that litotes differ from double negation constructions in that the latter contain two contradictory elements, and the former a combination of a contradictory and a contrary element.

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## THE USE OF METAPHOR IN NON-LITERARY TEXTS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TEXTS

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This paper is written as a counterargument to two important and dominant myths about metaphor: (i) that metaphor is a figure of speech having only a stylistic value, and (ii) that literature is the only valuable recruiting domain for metaphor. The paper is also an investigation of non-literary texts with special reference to economic and political texts whose analysis reveals them pervaded with metaphor and other tropes such as metonymy, synecdoche, hyperbole, simile, etc.

Formal linguistics has treated metaphor as a device of the poetic imagination found mainly in 'high' literature but hardly present in everyday language. However, there was an exception to this rule, one important theory of metaphor, known as Interaction or Tension which did not regard it as a simple use of words, but according to I. A. Richards (1936:93) as "two thoughts of different things active together and supported by a single word or phrase, whose meaning is a resultant of their interaction".

Over the past two decades, linguists' view of metaphor has changed fundamentally. Modern metaphor theory refutes the idea that metaphors are merely poetic devices rather than part of everyday speech, characteristic of human thought processes, enabling us to make sense of the world and deal with our experiences on it.

The present study is grounded in the *cognitive linguistics* as developed by G. Lakoff and M. Johnson (1980: 4) in "*Metaphors We Live By*" and its aim is to propose a view of metaphor as fundamental to thought. Indeed, they point out that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action and that "our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature".

Accordingly, the data adduced to defend the cognitive status of metaphor are political and economic fields. My choice of economics and politics draws on my conviction that (i) of all the social sciences, economics and politics are the most sensitive and determinative in the life of the individual and the society; and (ii) judging from the importance of these disciplines, metaphors have been comparatively both understudied and underestimated.

It is the main assumption of this paper that metaphor (and related tropes such as metonymy, synecdoche, simile, etc.) pervades these types of texts that have long been thought to be devoid of any emotive features, but in fact they have proved to be teeming with stylistic and rhetorical features. I will argue that, though political and economic texts tend to emphasize objectivity and concreteness, their status is similar to literary texts in showing stylistic variation.

Indeed, both in political texts and in economic analyses, metaphor functions as (a) *language necessity* (in economics), as a (b) *cognitive tool* (in economics and politics) and as a (c) *means of social control* (in politics): (a) **The existence of metaphors in the language of economics** stands for the foundation of economic theories. They started as “gap-fillers” in economic theory and have come to be considered as part of the theories to which they belong. Their overuse does not entail their obsolescence. They constitute most of the *root metaphors* in economics (i.e. *bull market, bear market, cash flow, soft loan, price freeze, laundered money, orphan stock, wildcat enterprise, windfall profit*, etc.) which are indispensable in economics. (Gilpin, 1986)

Metaphors in economic rhetoric are dominant in practice while ignored in principle because economists are lacking in self-consciousness about their own rhetoric, and because most of them are dead in the way that these metaphors were live when first created, then became dead through use. The most part, the bulk of the vocabulary of economics consists of metaphors taken from non-economic spheres. Non-economists, like us, find it easier to see the metaphors used than the economists. Thus, I believe that an investigation of metaphor in economic texts is useful in determining the different functions metaphors play such as, a non-decorative role, more precisely, as a language necessity and at the same time a cognitive tool. In these texts, metaphors could be said world-explaining or describing: whenever an economist says that inflation is *eroding* our purchasing power, we know that he is trying to make inflation, which evades our senses, more concrete in associating it with erosion. Moreover, economic metaphors make up a special class of metaphors requiring special treatment. Accordingly, I will borrow Richard Boyd’s terminology and I will isolate two major types of economic metaphor, namely, (i) *the theory-constitutive metaphor* and, (ii) *the discursive metaphor*.

(I) **The theory-constitutive metaphors** refer to basically dead metaphors, due to their overuse that determines their constitutive power. They introduce the theoretical terminology which, for all economists (even non-economists), has the same fixed reference, otherwise it would be impossible for them to communicate. For example, the metaphor of *sunrise industry*,

i.e. “industry in the forefront of development”, or the metaphor of *alligator spread transaction*, that is a transaction where the commission is so large that it “eats”, swallows the client’s cash. Thus they become the property of the entire scientific community and go through the works of a generation or more of economists.

( 2 ) **Discursive metaphors** are “open-ended” and allow a multiplicity of vehicles to be predicated of the same tenor. For example, “supply and demand are two blades of a scissors”, one of Alfred Marshall’s famous metaphor, (Suta-Selejan, 1997:124) could be changed into *supply and demand are two sides of the same coin*, or *supply and demand are two sleeves of the same coat*, etc. An infinite number of vehicles could describe the tenor, that is, supply and demand. Marshall’s metaphor of supply and demand is not a theory-constitutive metaphor; it is a metaphor whose function is to describe in non-economic terms the nature of the relationship existing between supply and demand. As we can see, discursive metaphors, which are in fact metaphors in models, function with great explanatory power, explaining and predicting the economic phenomena, while theory-constitutive metaphors function as terminological gaps in economics.

(b) **Metaphor as a cognitive tool** enables us to draw on our world of experience and provides understanding of one concept in terms of another, often very familiar to our experience. Cognitive linguistics calls this transfer “mapping” from a *source cognitive domain / the vehicle* (to borrow I.A. Richards’ terminology) to a *target domain* or *the tenor* which means that metaphor operates between domains (The meaning of metaphor results from the interaction of the tenor and vehicle, a transaction between contexts).

There are many such cognitive metaphors in political and economic texts but in this paper I have focused only on some major structural examples found in political discourse, such as:

**‘football’ metaphors** in Silvio Berlusconi’s political discourse, available on the Internet, represent a good strategy to make Italians speak about politics as if they were talking about football which is the clearest symbol of Italy’s national unity and identity with the implicit connotations of enthusiasm, competitiveness, personal involvement that many Italians associate with football. When Berlusconi referred to his decision to enter politics as “*to enter the field*” and to his attempt to form a right wing coalition as building “*a winning team*” that would engage in a “match” with the “team” of the left, it was clear that Berlusconi was keen to exploit his football successes, as the president of A.C. Milan, to promote his political career. (cf. Semino & Masci, 1996:245-252)

**‘war’ metaphors** that served to justify war in the Gulf or to describe the political instability in the province of Kosovo, the “*powderkeg*” of the

Balkans. I should mention here that the war lexemes are transferred to the domain of politics. In fact this use is not necessarily “special”, but pervades everyday language. We have a multitude of expressions which derive from the same analogy, thus we can identify a cognitive metaphor in this case **Argument is War**, reflected in the currency of expressions such as: “Another of my great ideas *shot down in flames*”, “Half of my argument was *wiped out* by his criticisms”, “We want *to target* more welfare on the poorest groups in society”, “There is no need to be so *defensive!* .”, etc.(cf. Lakoff, 1991; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Roland, 2000)

**‘work’ metaphors** employed by Juan Domingo Peron, the charismatic populist president of Argentina. Juan Domingo Peron, president of Argentina from 1946 to 1955, was the leader of dramatic political and social change. Thousands of workers came to hear him speak and support him, while the middle and upper classes secretly plotted to remove, to get rid of him. The conceptual metaphor “Politics is work” is meaningful in the light of the social climate described above. The metaphor gave politicians a powerful new identity. It dignified the political class.(cf. Berho, 1998)

**‘house’ metaphor** introduced in the mid - 1980s by the then leader of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev referring to **The Common European House**, so the conceptual metaphor **Europe is a House**, representing the idea of all European states, East and West of the ‘Iron Curtain’ living and working together on the basis of peaceful coexistence. Later, the ‘house’ metaphor is modified to The European Union is a house with potential new members from central and eastern Europe *‘knocking at its door’*. In fact, the underlying conceptual metaphor is the **‘container’ metaphor**, a basic metaphorical model used frequently in the contemporary political discourse. This metaphor is often used in arguments about a widening of the EU, the admission of new members.(cf. Gorbachev, 1988).

**‘birth, death, illness, marriage’ metaphors** used in an anthropomorphic sense: Europe or the European Union seen as human beings, firm, even stubborn or threatening to other states in the process of integration. (*Times; Economist*, 2002, 2003).

**‘movement and speed’ metaphors** that infer the idea politics is movement along a path towards a destination. In any today’s political newspapers, parliamentary debates we often hear expressions such as ‘countries that move forward quickly towards integration’ and ‘presses ahead with rapid integration leaving the rest to catch up’.

All in all, the European Union relies on the conceptual metaphor that it is a fast moving container that takes decisions which countries are left out or got in, in the process of integration.

(c) Besides being a cognitive tool, the other major function of the political metaphors relates to the idea that **metaphor is a means of social control**. To illustrate this, I will make use of prof Avadanei's statement in his book on metaphor that "The political game is certainly one of the most figurative ever invented and played by men"(Avadanei, 1987:217) Indeed, famous politicians and political theorists use metaphors in order to stir emotions, arouse imagination and persuade the audience, by influencing their beliefs and attitudes. All political theorists from Plato, Machiavelli, Th. Hobbes, J. S. Mill to the "politics makers" of contemporary governments make use of metaphors in order to establish dominant paradigms that could have influence on the reader/hearer thus paving the way for political or social decisions to be made. Let's not forget that behind all these political metaphors there are wars, conspiracies, plots, assassinations, crimes and genocides.

As to the similarities and differences between economic and political metaphors, I have come to the following conclusions.

Concerning the *dead/live* distinction, both political and economic texts tend to prefer *dead metaphors*. This thing could be explained in two ways. First, politicians, more precisely those metaphors makers in political speech, and on the other hand, economists do not have a real linguistic creativity and imaginative power to create live metaphors. A second explanation lies in the fact that both political writers and economists may fear the consequences of a live metaphor which could excite imagination, drawing the public's attention more to themselves than to the content or message of the political, respectively economic discourse.

As to *the sources of metaphors*, while economic metaphors draw much more on biology, medicine, mechanics, zoology, etc., political metaphors show much more variety. This could be explained by the more imaginative nature of political writers who tend to look for their vehicles in the less orthodox areas. In this way, political metaphors are similar to literary ones with regard to the use of imagination but not in the view of seducing or pleasing the reader, but in order to persuade him.

To conclude, I will quote Hulban (2001:137; 2003:94), "Metaphors are part and parcel of our world. They represent concentrated experience and emotions, being a blend of contrast and harmony, of dynamism and equilibrium. Faded metaphors can be woken up, or metaphors can be reduced to their literal meaning". Moreover, he states that, "Power, under all its forms, is a permanent source of metaphors, as the metaphor can be used as a means of justification, falsification, intimidation and domination. The use of metaphor is a linguistic act that cannot be separated from other forms of human acting dedicated to the achievement of a purpose at a certain place

and at a certain moment in time”. I believe that metaphor is an essential part of our conceptual system of thought and language; it can be a powerful tool for communicating, persuading and effecting change when applied systematically in a particular economic or political context.

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**THE DYNAMICS OF NOMINAL ADDRESS IN SHAKESPEARE'S  
*AS YOU LIKE IT* AND IN CARAGIALE'S *O NOAPTE FURTUNOASĂ***

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This article presents the dynamics of direct nominal address in English and Romanian contrastively. The complexity and the flexibility of direct nominal address have been analyzed in the work of two well known English and Romanian authors, namely in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (1623) and in Caragiale's *O noapte furtunoasă* (1983). By nominal forms of direct address we understand the nouns used to designate the addressee; the category consists of names, kinship terms, marital status terms of address, occupational terms of address, titles and terms of endearment. The paper is only concerned with the pragmatic aspect of address, especially with the dynamics of address terms. It analyzes which terms of address are chosen from the entire inventory of address terms in certain circumstances, how rank, degree of kinship, age or sex influence the selection. The grammatical structure of address phrases does not make the purpose of this article and the address words are not analyzed grammatically here. By observing the dynamics of address, one can understand the crucial importance of non-linguistic factors in communication, which trigger the selection of particular terms of address, thus reflecting real life communication.

There are no particular reasons for the selection of the two authors, as they lived and wrote in different epochs and their styles and subjects are not similar. Both Shakespeare and Caragiale have been chosen for their ability to create a real, authentic world in their plays, in which the relationships between characters function perfectly. Social classes are better represented in the case of Shakespeare, the distinction between upper and lower classes being important for our analysis. More subtle differences between the characters' social positions are present in Caragiale, but the nuances are equally important for our analysis. Caragiale's vivid style and Shakespeare's classic insight will create a two-perspective image on the dynamics of address.

Shakespeare's characters in *As You Like It* function according to their social roles and the way they address others obeys social rules. According to Brown and Gilman (1960), the use of the different forms of address that exist in any society are related to their feelings of solidarity and power. The authors say that when there is reciprocity in addressing each other (use of the same intimate pronominal form between speakers), it is a

definite sign of 'solidarity semantics'. On the other hand, when instead of following the 'rule of reciprocity' they follow a rule of 'non-reciprocity', it is a sign of 'power semantics'. Power and solidarity is perfectly noticeable in the two plays not only at pronominal level, but also at the nominal level of address. Combined means of signaling power and solidarity is well represented in the dialogues of the play, some characters use power semantics others use solidarity semantics, either on a formal register or an informal register.

Duke Frederick, representing the sovereign, addresses his daughter Celia and his niece Rosalind either by their first names, *Celia*, *Rosalind*, or by the kinship terms *daughter*, *niece*. It is interesting that he uses the kinship term *cousin* several times to address Rosalind who is his niece, and only once in the entire play he calls her *niece*. *Cousin* is used in the text not to signal degree of kinship, but a relationship between sovereign and noblewoman. When addressing the two girls, he uses the expression *daughter and cousin*, or the more general term *ladies*. Although he makes reference to power terms, which underline the blood connection between them, Celia and Rosalind reply frequently by employing the phrases *my liege* or *dear sovereign*; the kinship term *father* is never uttered and *uncle* appears only once. Even if *dear sovereign* is not in the kinship sphere, it contains a certain degree of affection and it is used only by daughter Celia; contrastively *my liege* is also used by others characters. When Duke Frederick interacts with his lords and courtiers he uses mainly their first names, or phrases like *young man*, indicating superiority given by age and by title. The duke is given deference according to his social position and is called *my lord*, *your grace* or *my liege*.

Power relations have an interesting particularity in the case of the banished Duke Senior and of his loyal courtiers. He considers himself equal to them by naming them *my co-mates and brothers in exile*, but they do not forget their inferior position and continue to address him *your grace* or *my lord*, according to his rank, although he lives in exile.

Other power relations that appear in the play are frequent between masters and servants. Oliver and Orlando address their servants by their first names, and in reply they receive variations on the same theme: *master*, *my young master*, *my gentle master*, *dear master*, *kind master*, *your worship*. The dynamics of address is prominent in deviations from this routine: Adam the servant is called *old dog* by his master Oliver. The admonition is perceived as offensive and the servant protests against such address literally. In another circumstance Orlando, Oliver's brother, repays the same servant for his display of care and good advice by calling him *good old man*.



A difference in social status also exists between Celia, the duke's daughter and other people at the duke's court. She receives addresses like the distinguished *fair princess*, servant to master *mistress*, *proud mistress* and the more general *madam* or *lady*. When associated with Rosalind, her cousin, they are addressed by noblemen and commoners *fair ladies* or *fair ones*. Unlike her father, Duke Frederick, who can afford to use first names addresses, Celia keeps the formality level high and gives polite addresses to her interlocutors: *sir*, *Monsieur Le Beau*, *good monsieur Le Beau*, *young gentleman*, *young sir*, *fair sir*.

A special case is that of the clown Touchstone, who has a unique status, he is simply called *fool*, but the address is ambiguous enough, because it is not clear if Celia, the addresser, is referring to his profession or his behavior. It is interesting that the same Touchstone receives from Celia at some point a harsh address, *you dull fool*, and in another scene she radically changes the tone calling him by his name, *good Touchstone*. Touchstone may be a clown at the Duke's court, but he is perceived as an important person by the shepherds, who call him *gentle sir* or *fair sir*. More significant is again the dynamic of address in the same conversational string, in which the level of formality decreases: the shepherds begin by addressing him *Master Touchstone*, then *sir* and finish by just using his name, *Touchstone*.

Men of the cloth have always been considered to belong to a special category to which utmost respect is due, hence formal address is needed. The vicar, Sir Oliver Martext, is the only representative of clergy in the play. Martext interacts with Touchstone, who begins by giving him the deserved formal address *Sir Oliver Martext*, but then he exuberantly drops the formality level to *good Master Oliver*, and even goes further to sudden affection and familiarity: *sweet Oliver*, *brave Oliver*. His verbal behavior is overlooked as his excitement is caused by wedding plans.

Power address dynamics is extremely intricate in the conversation between the disguised Rosalind, Celia, the clown Touchstone and the shepherd Corin. Touchstone is the first to address the shepherd from a superior position, using the collocation *you clown*, as if he yearned to look down on somebody. When admonished by Rosalind for not using the appropriate address, he switches to *sir*, but it seems to her that this address is too formal, as she herself continues the conversation by calling him *friend* or *shepherd*. The shepherd however replays to the disguised Rosalind by using *gentle sir* or *fair sir*, signaling that he perceives the travellers to have higher social position.

Solidarity is expressed either at a formal or at an informal level. Characters who have similar social positions use either formal or informal

address; or they begin with the former and end with the latter, this switch occurring in the same conversational string or in the development of the play. The two brothers, Orlando and Oliver, have an unusual dynamics in one of their conversations: they start by exchanging the formal *sir*, then the Oliver uses the informal *boy* to address the younger Orlando, and subsequently the latter calls the former a well deserved *elder brother*. The conversation becomes heated and Oliver uses the address *villain* for Orlando. It is not strange that the two brothers never exchange first names or kinship terms, as they are divided by enmity.

Male characters of different age who use formal solidarity mainly exchange phrases like: *sir, fair sir, good sir, gentle sir, monsieur, gentleman, fair gentleman*. The wrestling episode changes temporarily the form of address for Orlando, who becomes *monsieur the challenger*. The female characters, Celia and Rosalind, also formally address the wrestler *young gentleman, young sir, young man, gentleman and fair gentleman*. Formal solidarity is also present at the lower end of the social ladder, Touchstone the clown and the court pages exchanging polite formal collocations like *honest gentleman, sir, young gentleman* as if they respected each other for being less fortunate.

The French address *monsieur*, which appears several times in the play, is equal in meaning with the English term *sir*. The particularity of this word in the play is that it is used only to address people who supposedly have a French origin: Le Beau the Courtier, Charles the Wrestler, Jaques de Boys. The use of the French address indicates that the speakers want to be polite, that they want to show their consideration for these people's origin and to make them feel respected.

Informal solidarity is present in the play between several pairs of characters having or pretending to have the same social position, and it is expressed mostly by first name exchanges. First names are used equally between noble ladies, between shepherds, or between shepherdesses. Informal solidarity combined with a great degree of affection is present in the relationship between Celia and Rosalind, cousins and best friends. Familiarity, affection and compassion are permanently expressed in terms of endearment such as: *sweet cousin, gentle cousin, sweet my coz, sweet, dear Celia, coz, my poor Rosalind*; excitement is also obvious in the repetition *coz, coz, coz my pretty little coz*. Solidarity between people with the same occupation is expressed either by kinship terms of address or by occupational terms of address. Rosalind, disguised as shepherdess, calls Phebe *sister* and *shepherdess*. Strange dynamics of address appears between Oliver and Rosalind, who occasionally exchange kinship terms such as

*brother* and *fair sister*. In their case when there is no blood relation involved, the address signals strong affection between the two.

The language of love knows little difference in the mouths of noble ladies and gentlemen, of shepherds and shepherdess, or of a clown and his sweetheart. Terms of endearment are used both by males and females. The address is either a first name address or its association with adjectives like *sweet, gentle, good, fair, dear*. Silvius, the shepherd, addresses his beloved one *Phebe, dear Phebe* or *sweet Phebe*. Touchstone, the clown, addresses his sweetheart as *Audrey, good Audrey, sweet Audrey, gentle Audrey*. Similarly, the nobleman Orlando uses the same combination for Rosalind *Rosalind, dear Rosalind, sweet Rosalind*, and a few more which make him differ from the shepherd: *youth, fair youth, pretty youth, good youth, my fair Rosalind*. The females use almost the same modifiers, but the number of such phrases is reduced, probably because social rules taught them to make scarce display of their feelings: *my dear Orlando, dear love, gentle Silvius, my love*.

Nicknames constitute a special subcategory within nominal address; this class is poorly represented in Shakespeare's play, as only two nicknames are used in the entire play and they are contextual, and appear on one occasion only. Jaques and Orlando, strangers who discuss matters of the heart, take leave of each other with two nicknames: *good Signior Love is Orlando*, the young man in love with Rosalind, while the cynical, critical interlocutor is called *good Monsieur Melancholy*. These nicknames are only temporary and circumstantial, since they are not repeated anywhere else. This indicates that the characters are not defined by these features and are not recognized as such by the others.

As one can see from the previous analysis, Shakespeare's characters are very complex and they talk as real people of the epoch. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the period in which the play was written, the system of address contained the same categories as nowadays. Terms of address belonging to the various subcategories of address appear in the play: names, terms of endearment, nicknames, occupational terms, and titles. As it was mentioned before, Shakespeare was chosen for this analysis because his characters belong to different social categories covering the entire social structure, from the most humble shepherd to the most distinguished nobleman.

By contrast, Caragiale was chosen to exemplify the richness of address forms within one social category only: the lower middle class. He wrote his play three centuries later than Shakespeare, nevertheless the system of address contains the same subcategories and the dynamic of address is very similar. The same pair of addresser and addressee exchange different terms of address in the same line, scene or act.

The authority figure in the play is Dumitrache Titircă, who is head of the family, having his wife Veta and her sister Zița in his care. He is also an employer, having two paid servants, Chiriac and young Spiridon. Dumitrache holds a position of power and uses non-symmetrical terms of address for the others. He uses first names for his employees, *Chiriac*, *Spiridoane*, as well as for his family members *Zițo*, *Veto*. He generally receives from them either the terms *nene* and *jupâne*, or these terms associated with his surname *jupân Dumitrache*, *nene Dumitrache*. Dumitrache's employees get associations of first names with terms of endearment according to his moods. Dumitrache has a great deal of affection and trust for Chiriac, considering him more than just a paid help, so he frequently expresses this in his affectionate address *Chiriac puicule*. The noun *băiete* is used both for Chiriac and Spiridon: *Chiriac băiete*, *Spiridoane băiete*, but its connotation varies according to the addressee. *Chiriac băiete* is used when friendly advice or kind request is expressed, but *Spiridoane băiete* appears when the addressee is admonished for not doing his job correctly or fast enough.

Dumitrache also uses the word *musiu* to address Spiridon, the word comes from the French term *monsieur*, but it does not confer the same formality to the address as the original term does. *Musiu* contains formality but in a negative way. When the authority figure uses it to address someone in an inferior position, it suggests that this person acts inappropriately for his humble position, borrowing the behavior typical of a superior position, consequently this address which corresponds to the assumed superiority will trigger the change of behavior. Dumitrache uses *musiu Spiridoane* to admonish the young man for not doing what he was expected to do end, *musiu Spiridoane băiete* expresses even more irritation on the part of the addresser. The latter is associated with several blows as if verbal correction were not enough. The combination of the formal address *musiu* with the informal address *băiete* may seem confusing, but the intention of scolding the addressee is attained just through this collocation.

The term *musiu* appears combined with another word expressing formality, *domnule*. Spiridon perceives himself on a lower social position than the gentleman caller Rica Venturiano, but he feels free to reprimand the latter for his illegal presence in the house. For this he uses the same address, *musiu*, his master Dumitrache gives him when he does something wrong, but he associates it with the formal term *domnule*. Thus, the strangest combination appears *domnule musiu* as one collocation of address. Dumitrache also addresses the stranger angrily by using the collocation *mă musiu* in association with the attempt to physically apprehend him, as Rică

was considered his wife's secret lover. A while later when the identity of the gentleman is disclosed, Dumitrache switches to the formal *domnule*.

Dumitrache's address is very inconsistent, as he frequently changes the register from formal to informal in one scene. Dumitrache's friend uses a variety of addresses for Nae Ipingescu, from the formal term *domnule*, to the more familiar *nene Nae* or just *nene*, to the kinship term *frate Nae*, even if they are unrelated. Contrastively Veta occasionally receives from Dumitrache the term *cocoană*, normally used for unrelated married females. Kinship terms of address appear when Veta, his wife, and Zița, his sister-in-law, are involved. Veta is called *nevastă*, but also *soro*, the latter does not signal in this case a degree of kinship, but it is used to express intimacy. Similarly, Veta uses another kinship term for her husband, calling him *frate*, and even more affectionately, *frățico*. *Frățico* is a unique term of address, specific to Caragiale, it is created with the diminutival suffix *-ico*, by analogy with the pair *mamă/mamițico*, although the common diminutive of the term *frate* is *frățioare*. Just like *soro* used by Dumitrache, *frate* and *frățico* express intimacy, familiarity; both the feminine and the masculine are used regardless of sex. Similarly, *Zița nene* used by Dumitrache to address his sister-in-law subscribes to the same as *soro* and *frate*. Even if *nene* is a respectful form of address for an older man or brother, *nene* does not indicate sex or degree of respect, because Zița is a woman and Dumitrache is in a position of power over Zița. In the context in which it is used it does not express formality, but the husband's irritation for her presumed infidelity.

The greatest degree of formality is employed by the character Nae Ipingescu. He uses formal terms of address in all circumstances: *jupân Dumitrache*, *onorabile* for Dumitrache and Chiriac, *domnule* for Dumitrache, *onorabile domn* for Rică Venturiano. An explanation for his using such official terms may be his professional training, *ipistat* being the lowest rank in police hierarchy. However, these formal terms of address do not fit into the whole dynamics of address in the play, as all the other characters, Dumitrache, Chiriac, Spiridon use a familiar address like *nene Nae* to address him. This unfounded formality creates an impression of solemnity which is inappropriate in the context. Ipingescu uses these terms either because of his incapacity to use any other type of correct address in a given context, or because he himself wishes to receive a more formal address from the others and starts by giving respect to them.

Spiridon needs to show respect to the others as he is the youngest and the servant in the house. He frequently uses addresses like *jupâne*, *cocoană* for his master and mistress, which also appear associated with his master's surname, *jupân Dumitrache*, and his mistress' first name, *cocoană*

*Zižo*, denoting formality with the former, but formality with a hint of familiarity with the latter. On the one hand, Ipingescu is *nene Nae* for Spiridon, familiar but still on a higher position, on the other hand, Chiriac is *nea Chiriac*, thus Spiridon signaling less formality in their relationship. Neutrality is expressed by Spiridon in his address to Rică, as *domnule* or *musiu* show a little appreciation for and no familiarity with the intruder.

The two sisters, Zița and Veta, use informal solidarity, by exchanging first names and kinship terms of address. While Veta uses only her sister's first name, Zița prefers to use kinship terms like *țažo*, or its diminutive *tățico*. *țažo*, *tățico* are kinship terms used to address an elder sister or older woman. Another word used by Zița is the term of endearment *mașer*, deviated from the French *ma chere*, illustrative of her shallow culture.

The dynamics of address between the two love pairs varies according to stage of the relationship: Veta and Chiriac have been lovers for some time, whereas Zița and Rică are at the beginning of their romance. The terms used by Veta and Chiriac oscillate between formality and intimacy. The lovers had a fight caused by Chiriac's jealousy over Veta's presumed infidelity. Chiriac is a hired help and the mistress' lover, so he takes advantage of his double position and is using formality as a means of punishment for his lover. At the beginning of their dialogue they assume formal roles: mistress of the house and servant; Veta addresses him as *domnule*, *domnule Chiriac*, but when the conversation slips towards matters of the heart, Veta switches to first name address and terms of endearment *Chiriac*, *dragă Chiriac*, *puiule*, resuming intimate roles. When the reason for accusing her of infidelity returns, and the presence of her husband is also a factor, Chiriac gives her the formal *cocoană*. As we discussed previously, her husband uses the formal *cocoană*, too, when her fidelity is questionable, as he wants to dissociate him from such an unfaithful wife.

Rică is at the declarative stage of his love story, so he uses repeatedly a descriptive collocation of his sweetheart's beauty: *angel radios*. Realizing that he addressed the right words but to the wrong person, he changes the register to formal address *madam*, *cocoană*. His interlocutor, Veta, replies in the same formal tone with *domnule* and *musiu*.

Little prominence, extended over a few lines, is given to the exchanges between Zița and her former husband. They seem to be at the terminal phase of what was long ago a love affair, currently ended in divorce. This stage of the relationship brings nasty addresses on both sides, Zița uses directly the depreciative epithets *mitocane*, *pastramagiule*. When the spirits are not inflamed, they stick to the formal register *cocoană* and *domnule*, as if they had never been husband and wife.

Caragiale does not use all the subcategories of address that are present in the Shakespearean play in the same way or to the same extent, but rather great similarity is obvious. *O noapte furtunoasă* contains names, first names and surnames just like in Shakespeare's play. Kinship terms are frequently used either to express a certain degree of kinship or only great familiarity in both plays. Terms of endearment are exchanges mainly between lovers or close family members. Marital status terms of address are the general pairs *sir-madam, my lord- my lady* in Shakespeare and the more specific pairs *domnule- cocoană/ madam* in Caragiale. Nicknames are scarce in Shakespeare's play and absent as direct address in Caragiale's play. Spiridon mentions Dumitrache's nickname *Titircă Inimă-Rea*; however the nickname does not appear as direct address because the young servant does not have the courage to utter it loudly. Occupational terms of address are frequent in *As You Like It*, but do not appear as direct address in *O noapte furtunoasă*; however the characters are occasionally introduced with reference to their profession: *Nae ipistatul; Chiriac tejghetarul; Dumitrache Titircă comersant, apropiatar și căpitan în garda civică; Rică Venturiano, ampioiat judiciar, student la Academie, și redacto.*

The analysis proves that Caragiale's characters, just like Shakespeare's characters use a large variety of address terms. The system of address is organized today in the same way as in the 16th and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Reciprocity, on formal and informal registers, or non-reciprocity, with superior to inferior addresses, functions in the same way. Both Shakespeare and Caragiale are talented playwrights, who are able to create an authentic world, a piece of real life enclosed in their plays; and terms of address play an important part in creating this imaginary, but real world. The humor of the comedies does not lie only in the events, but also in the language that is used. Correct or incorrect use of terms of address certainly contributes to the entertainment of the reader or spectator. This pragmatic analysis of the two comedies illustrates how important address in interaction is and how little the system of address has changed over large periods of time.

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# THE -ING FORMS IN ENGLISH WORD FORMATION

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## Introduction

English grammars traditionally analyse the *-ing* forms of verbs as either gerunds or present participles. As gerunds, they have a nominal function, while as participles their function is either verbal or adjectival. These distinctions are also reflected in the morphological processes in English.

Any verb base can generate an *-ing* form. The *-ing* forms in *The girl is singing* and *the singing girl* share identical suffixation and exhibit no morphological contrast. Nonetheless, it is generally agreed that the *-ing* element in *The girl is singing* is a verbal form, the participle, which reflects the inflectional categories of aspect, tense and voice (Beard, 1998: 46). On the other hand, the nature and the classification of the *-ing* elements which premodify nouns is something of a controversy.

This paper reviews the different definitions of *-ing* forms in a number of major English grammars and English word formation manuals. Specifically, it focuses on the collocations of an *-ing* form and a noun (e.g. *a singing girl*) and explores how the first element is defined in word formation. Whereas some authors consider the *-ing* form in such collocations to be an adjective, others define it as a (verbal) noun and treat the entire construction as a compound. The paper reviews the criteria used to establish the different definitions of *-ing* forms and tries to show that the relationship between the *-ing* form and the verb is more complex than the simple classification which recognizes only the verbal or the gerundial interpretation of such forms.

## Verb or adjective: the tests

There are several *-ing* forms which are labelled as adjectives on the grounds that their bases cannot be used as verbs. Such forms are *cunning* (*\*to cun*), *forthcoming* (*\*to forthcome*), *outstanding* (*\*to outstand*), *unassuming* (*\*to unassume*), etc. Moreover, as Ivir (1967: 68) states, these items never operate as verbs, only as adjectives, which further strengthens their adjectival status.

On the other hand, there is a great number of V + *ing* combinations which serve the adjectival function of attribution, such as the ones in (1):



- (1) a. an amazing story
- b. a boring programme
- c. an entertaining storyteller

Since these items have some of the morphosyntactic properties of verbs and some of adjectives, questions are raised about which category to assign them to and what type of word formation process it is. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1644) argue that it is a case of conversion, a shift of a lexical item from one category to another without any concomitant change of form. The formation of adjectives in (1) from verbal *-ing* forms is special in that it is not the base of the verb that is converted but an inflected form (ibid.). The newly formed lexical item is variously labelled by different authors as a deverbal or participial adjective.

A whole battery of tests has been devised to distinguish verbal participles from participial adjectives. The *-ing* forms like *amazing*, *boring*, *entertaining*, *interesting*, *embarrassing*, etc. are true adjectives because they satisfy the criteria of the conventional test for adjectival status.

- A. They can be used attributively and predicatively.
- (2) a. Welcome to the boring page.
- b. Do accessible web sites have to be boring?
- B. They accept intensifiers like *so* and *very*.
- (3) I'm a very boring fellow.
- C. They compare.
- (4) This is more boring than I thought.
- D. They can be used as a base for adverbial *-ly* suffixation.
- (5) To boringly go where they've gone before.
- E. They nominalize.
- (6) The boringness continues.

Note that even though the status of *boringness*, or *daringness* in standard English may be questionable, such forms are rather common, as shown by the examples above, which have been taken from the internet.

Problems arise regarding *-ing* forms that can be used attributively but at the same time fail to satisfy other criteria for adjectivity. It should be pointed out, however, that few adjectives fit all the criteria. Consider (7):

- (7) a. a jumping car
- b. a sleeping child
- c. a flying plane

The expressions in (7) contrast with those in (1) in that they show variable behaviour, being sometimes more, sometimes less like verbs in their morphosyntax. On the basis of the criteria for adjectivity, we could assume that the items in (7) are not adjectives. For example, even though

they function as attributives, when they are used predicatively, they become verbal in character:

- (8) a. The car is jumping.  
b. The child is sleeping.  
c. The plane is flying.

Furthermore, they lack other characteristic properties of adjectives, as the ungrammaticality of (9) shows:

- (9) a. \*a very jumping car  
b. \*a more jumping car  
c. \*jumpingly  
d. \*jumpingness

Some authors even suggest that there are certain constraints on word formation operations. Brekke (1988) proposes that *-ing* adjectives are possible only for psychological predicates with an underlying human experiencer. Accordingly, the items in (7) should be classified as verbal forms. However, their distribution and properties differ from those of “normal” verbs, because the latter can be followed by complements, they do not denote property and, most importantly, they do not occur in the prenominal position. Therefore, some scholars are in favour of classifying forms such as *jumping*, *sleeping*, or *flying* as adjectives, one of their major arguments being the questionable validity of the *very* test. Borer (1990:102) argues that the fact that *jumping* or *sleeping* cannot be modified by *very* has nothing to do with their nonadjectival nature but instead is a property of the verbs from which they are formed. Namely, the class of verbs that cannot be modified by *very much* generate *-ing* forms that cannot be modified by *very*. It should also be mentioned that the status of the other standard tests, e.g. the *-ness* test, is also unclear: many *-ing* forms which admit *very* and are hence considered to be true adjectives do not admit *-ness*, e.g. *interesting*, *amazing*, *embarrassing*, etc. (Borer, 1990:96)

Even though there is no unanimous agreement on whether the *-ing* forms premodifying nouns are verbal participles or adjectives, in recent approaches there is a strong tendency to consider these prenominal items as adjectives. Moreover, it is often pointed out that verbal *-ing* forms obligatorily undergo participle → adjective conversion before they can be used as modifiers in NPs (Laczko, 2001:2).

## The Noun

On the other hand, some scholars (Bauer, 1983: 203; Marchand, 1969: 34-39; Matthews, 1991: 90; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1571-1572) treat all collocations of an *-ing* form and a noun as noun + noun compounds. The

most important criteria for classifying these lexical units as compounds are the following: they consist of two lexical bases and function both grammatically and semantically as single words (Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1567).

This definition is endorsed by the initial stress, as in *dáncing girl*, *knítting needle*, *lóving cup*, etc. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1568) argue that there is a contrast between the prosodic pattern of a compound, which has only one major stress on the leftmost element, and that of a syntactic phrase, which has two major stresses. However, there are examples of such compounds with double stress, e.g. *revólving dòor*. Bauer (1983) has shown that it is not the stress pattern but the underlying semantic and syntactic relationships which show that the construction is a compound. It is argued that the difference between single and double stressed collocations is not a distinction between two different syntactic structures, and that it does not correlate with a semantic difference. Therefore, stress should not be taken as criterial.

The *-ing* element in these compounds is defined as the gerund or verbal noun, which has both nominal and verbal characteristics. The dual citizenship of that element presents a dilemma whether this pattern should be treated as noun + noun or verb + noun. Bauer (1983:203) argues that the semantic relationships between the two elements are more similar to those which hold in noun + noun compounds than those which hold in verb + noun compounds. Transformations show that the *-ing* form is nominal in its underlying structure and that there is a range of semantic parallels with noun + noun compounds:

(10) For example, a *fishing rod* is a 'rod for fishing' just as a *bath towel* is a 'towel for the bath'. (Bauer, 1983:203)

What is obvious from these examples is that the relations between the two items brought together in compounding are such that the second constituent is the grammatical head and the first base is the modifying element. The same could be said of syntactic phrases. However, these collocations are classified as compounds on the grounds that they are more "word-like". Moreover, unlike in the case of syntactic phrases, the meaning of compounds may not be implicit in the meanings of the separate items. This is due to the fact that underlying the juxtaposition of words different grammatical relations are expressed.

A *jumping bean* is a bean that jumps, a *falling star* is a "star" that falls, and a *magnifying glass* is a glass that magnifies; but a *looking glass* is not a glass that looks, nor is an *eating apple* an apple that eats, and *laughing gas* does not laugh. (Fromkin and Rodman, 1988:138)

According to the syntactic relations underlying such lexical items, Quirk *et al.* (1985) distinguish three types of noun compounds with the *-ing*

form as the first element. The second constituent can be understood as subject (e.g. *dancing girl*), object (e.g. *chewing gum*), instrument (e.g. *walking stick*.) or place (e.g. *swimming pool*).

### **The traditional approaches and the recent views**

In most traditional English grammars the possibility for a participle to be converted into an adjective is not even considered. Moreover, participial adjectives have been excluded from the chapters on word formation and are analysed exclusively in syntactic terms. However, recent works argue for the obligatory participle ? adjective conversion in the NP domain because the *-ing* forms have the external morphosyntax of adjectives: they function as attributives and agree adjectivally in languages requiring agreement. Even though in the case of participle ? adjective conversion in English there is no change of form, this process is included in word formation because it is seen as a means of creating new lexical items. Therefore, it may be argued that this is not merely a case of a verbal form serving different syntactic functions.

In the case of noun + noun compounds, where the first element is an *-ing* form labelled as the gerund, it is not quite clear to what extent that form retains verbal properties. Namely, transformations showing the underlying semantic and syntactic relations between the two constituents produce rather different results. Some collocations may be said to prove we are dealing with a noun + noun pattern, e.g. a *chewing gum* ('a gum for chewing') or *dancing shoes* ('shoes for dancing'). However, the *-ing* form in a *dancing girl* ('the girl dances') or a *swimming pool* ('X swims in the pool') is more like a verb. Interestingly enough, the 2002 *Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* labels all such combinations as verb + noun compounds.

### **Conclusion**

This paper was meant as a critical evaluation of traditional views on the *-ing* forms in the prenominal position, emphasizing the fact that the issue of participle ? adjective conversion was largely neglected in traditional grammars. The *-ing* forms have always been a thorny field for linguists because they display no morphological contrast and the boundaries between different categories are blurry. The recent renaissance of research in morphology has given rise to views of *-ing* forms which are rather different from those that can be found in traditional English grammars and word formation manuals. The modern views accept the *-ing* forms in the prenominal position as verbal forms that have been converted into

adjectives. It is argued that not only do the verbal *-ing* forms borrow the morphosyntax of adjectives, but that they can also acquire the canonical semantics of adjectives in denoting a property. The assumption that these forms are adjectives explains their syntactic distribution and their morphological affixation possibilities.

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# WORDS IN CONTEXT: PRAGMATIC ENRICHMENT OF SEMANTICALLY UNDERSPECIFIED MEANINGS

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This paper is an attempt to outline one novel approach to the interpretation of descriptive (cognitive) meaning of words and, indirectly, to dealing with lexical ambiguity, an approach which is rapidly gaining ground in recent years.

## 1. Semantic underspecification and pragmatic enrichment

Lexical meaning has essentially a dual nature, semantic and pragmatic, because in its determination two complementary disciplines are crucially involved: on the one hand, it is *lexical semantics*, which represents a module of general semantics and is hence seen as part of the abstract language system; on the other hand, it is *lexical pragmatics*, which represents a module of general pragmatics and is hence seen as the concrete use of that system and, for this reason, is considered to be an extension of lexical semantics (cf. Prčić, 1997, 2001a, 2001b). (For other approaches to the semantics/pragmatics interface, see contributions in Turner, 1999; and for various accounts of the interactions between words and context, see Aronoff, 1980; Bach, 1994; Blutner, 1998; Carston, 1997; Clark and Clark, 1979; Poesio, 1996; Prčić, 1997, 2001a, 2001b; Sperber and Wilson, 1995; Taylor, 1995; Thomas, 1995; and, especially, Cruse, 1986, 2000, to both of which this paper owes some of its ideas and examples.)

Lexical semantics deals with words in isolation, i.e. those maximally devoid of context. Words occurring out of context are said to be *semantically underspecified* (the term follows Poesio, 1996), because they lack much of the information needed for their appropriate interpretation. The meaning of the word is insufficiently specified, in terms of at least the following: the intended referent (animate vs inanimate, masculine vs feminine, etc.) and the intended diagnostic sense components (cf. Prčić, 2001a, 2001b). The missing information, which is not – and normally cannot be – provided in full at the level of the language system, must be supplied at the level of the use of the system. Decontextualized words are typically multiply ambiguous, because they hold all the senses available for them. Lexical semantics thus answers the question: ‘What does/can word X mean in general?’.

In contrast, lexical pragmatics deals with words in context, i.e. the simultaneous interplay of linguistic (sentential) and extralinguistic (situational) contexts in which communication takes place. Words occurring in context are interpreted according to the principle of pragmatic plausibility, whereby the meaning of a word represents the reading, from among all the available meanings, with the highest degree of probability in the given universe of discourse, which is collaboratively created and assumed by speaker/writer(s) and hearer/reader(s) in a given context. In order to achieve pragmatic plausibility, which is a prerequisite for successful communication overall, semantically underspecified meanings must regularly and obligatorily undergo *pragmatic enrichment* (the term follows Sperber and Wilson, 1995), a context-bound process of interpretation, during which all the missing information is filled in. Contextualized words are typically free from ambiguity, because only one of the available senses is retained (except when/where ambiguity is intended, as in plays on words). Lexical pragmatics thus answers the question: ‘What does word X mean in this particular context?’.

Pragmatic enrichment, in the way it is understood here, consists of two successive stages:

- *reference assignment* (the term follows Thomas, 1995), which is the process of identification of the intended referent of a given word within an utterance, and
- *local completion* (the term follows Bach, 1994), which is the process of inference of the intended sense components of the words contained in the utterance.

## **2. Types of local completion**

There can be distinguished two types of local completion: the first level of inferencing comprises *basic completion*, with reconstruction and construction as its two subtypes. The second level, which works after basic completions, is *follow-up completion*, with modulation and modification as its two subtypes. In what follows the two types of local completion and their subtypes will be briefly described and exemplified.

### **2.1. Basic completion**

Depending on how firmly a given sense is established, basic completion is realized in two ways – reconstruction and construction.

RECONSTRUCTION applies to established senses of words. It is an active inferential process during which the hearer/reader reconstructs the

intended sense by filtering out semantically available but pragmatically ill-fitting senses, and selecting only the contextually appropriate one. In addition to literal senses, reconstruction, naturally, takes care of multiple senses of words, irrespective of whether they are related or unrelated to the literal.

Related (motivated) senses of words are subsumed under polysemy, of which there are two varieties:

- If the motivation is based on the distinction between a more general and a more specific sense, the variety involved is *linear* polysemy (cf. Cruse, 2000), which comprises *narrowing* and *widening*. For example,
  - in ‘You should *drink* plenty of liquid in the summer.’ and ‘You mustn’t *drink* while you drive.’ (=drink alcohol), the latter *drink* displays narrowing, as it carries a narrower and more specific sense, whereas
  - in ‘This family consists of a *goose*, a gander and three goslings.’ and ‘We watched a flock of *geese* fly overhead.’ (=the species), the latter *goose* displays widening, as it carries a wider and more general sense.
- If the motivation is based on the transfer of literal sense, the variety involved is *branching* polysemy, which comprises *metaphor* and *metonymy* (cf. Taylor, 1995; Cruse, 2000). For example,
  - ‘She’s an *angel*.’ (=a very good and kind person) and ‘I found a *virus* in my computer.’ (=a harmful piece of software) both contain metaphors, where the transfer builds around similarity, whereas
  - ‘He was so hungry that he ate the whole *box*.’ (=what was in the box, e.g. sandwiches) and ‘Where’s *Shakespeare*? – On the top shelf.’ (=the book by Shakespeare) both contain metonymies, where the transfer builds around contiguity.

Unrelated (unmotivated) senses of words are subsumed under homonymy, of which there are also two varieties:

- At least two words are *full* homonyms if different but unrelated senses are expressed through both phonologically and graphologically identical forms, such as *ear* (=the organ of hearing, =the seed-bearing part of a cereal plant).
- At least two words are *partial* homonyms if different but unrelated senses are expressed through either phonologically or graphologically identical forms, as in *right*, *write* and *rite*, all of which share the same phonology, /rait/, and are therefore homophones; conversely, *lead* has two pronunciations, /li:d/ (=to go before to show the way) and /led/ (=a heavy, malleable metal; Pb), and are therefore homographs.

Since all the senses of words like these discussed above – literal, related and unrelated – are established and systemic, they can normally be found listed in dictionaries.



CONSTRUCTION applies to novel and unestablished senses of words. It is a creative (and not just active) inferential process during which the hearer/reader constructs the intended sense by filtering out semantically available but pragmatically ill-fitting senses, and building a new one from the available semantic and pragmatic clues, supported by analogical reasoning. For example, a guest told by a hotel receptionist that they forgot to take their *key*, referring to a device similar in shape to a credit card, will in no time grasp the (fairly) novel metaphor. Likewise, in response to a question ‘What’s a *flash card*?’, referring to the one used in digital cameras, the extempore explanation ‘It’s, in fact, *electronic film*.’ would be quite helpful and easy to understand.

Since the senses of words like these are novel and as yet unestablished, they cannot be found recorded in dictionaries – unless and until they become established and systemic, when such senses enter the domain of reconstruction, rather than construction.

## 2.2. Follow-up completion

Coming after the process of basic completion and supplementing some of the senses inferred during reconstruction and construction, follow-up completion is realized in two ways – modulation and modification.

By MODULATION a salient component of a given sense undergoes contextual emphasis. This can assume the following two forms:

- *highlighting*, which consists in beaming light on a salient facet of the referent, while leaving other facets in the dark. For example, ‘The *book* is very long.’ highlights its form and ‘The *book* is very interesting.’ its content; ‘I like this *school*.’ may highlight its exterior, its interior, its curriculum, its teachers, its pupils, or any other of its facets; and ‘John bought the *Times*.’ may highlight either a copy of the newspaper or the entire publishing company;
- *spotlighting*, which consists in bringing a salient part of the referent into focus, while leaving other parts out of focus. For example, in ‘to fit a *window*’ the frame with the pane and the hinges is spotlighted, in ‘to wash a *window*’ it is the frame or the pane or the frame with the pane, in ‘to paint a *window*’ it is only the frame, in ‘to break a *window*’ it is only the pane, and in ‘to oil a *window*’ the spotlight is on its hinges; similarly, different parts of a *car* are spotlighted in collocations with the following verbs: *buy, paint, wash, Hoover, service, fuel, dent, crash*; and in the question ‘Where’s the *phone*?’ the spotlight is on the apparatus and in the request ‘Please, pick up the *phone*!’ only on the receiver.

These sense modulations are initially a use-related (pragmatic) phenomenon and therefore they are not found in dictionaries – unless they begin to develop distinct metonymic senses (cf. Taylor, 1995), which in time may become systemic and thus warrant registering in dictionaries.

By MODIFICATION a given sense undergoes minor contextual changes and/or adaptations. These can assume the following three forms:

- *strengthening*, which consists in adding specifying or precisifying sense components to the original sense. For example, in ‘What’s on TV? – *Nothing*.’ (=nothing of interest to you/us); and in ‘Here comes the lady with the *body*.’ (=the strikingly beautiful body, beyond which there is little else);
- *weakening*, which consists in relaxing central sense components and so loosening the original sense. For example, in ‘I’ve told you a *hundred / thousand / million* times not to tease their dog!’ each of the numbers means (progressively) *very many*; and in ‘The children drew a *circle* in the sand.’ the circle is only a rough approximation of the proper, compass-drawn circle;
- *reversing*, which consists in changing central sense components to their opposites and thereby producing an ironic effect. For example, in ‘Very *funny!*’, said in response to an unpleasant remark and with an appropriate intonation, what is described is quite the opposite of funny; and in ‘The lunch was *delicious!*’ the lunch just eaten is very far from being delicious.

These sense modifications are also a use-related (pragmatic) phenomenon and therefore they are not found in dictionaries – unless they become established and systemic, as is the case with *hundred*, *thousand* and *million* above.

### 3. Types of eligible words

To end with, here is a typology of words which are eligible for the basic (as well as the follow-up) completions discussed in the preceding section. Qualifying for reconstruction are the following:

- morphologically simple (monomorphemic) words, including conversions;
- words produced by a word-formation process, but which have either obscured or lost morphological and/or semantic connection with their base words, and have in effect become synchronically simple (unanalysable) words, as can be seen in many clippings (e.g. *fax*, *fridge*), blends (e.g. *smog*, *modem*), reduplications (e.g. *teeny-weeny*, *pooh-pooh*) and acronyms (e.g. *BBC*, *radar*);

- words produced by ellipsis (e.g. *quake* from *earthquake*, *remote* from *remote control*).

And qualifying for construction are the following:

- novel transfers of sense (cf. *key*, above), including nonce uses (cf. *electronic film*, above);
- novel conversions (cf. Clark and Clark, 1979), including nonce uses (e.g. ‘I have been *Microsoft-Wording* the present paper all this week.’ (=using Microsoft Word to write it)).

It must be pointed out in conclusion that pragmatic enrichment of morphologically and/or semantically analysable complex words (mostly prefixations, suffixations and compositions) differs from that of simple words, because the process for such complex words consists of three (and not just two) successive stages – reference assignment, morphosemantic analysis and local completion. (For accounts of this type of pragmatic enrichment, see Prčić, 2001a, 2001b.)

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## THE IN(N)S AND OUTS OF LEGAL TRANSLATION

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It is a commonly held opinion that translators have a hard time rendering the meaning of *puns* in a foreign language into their native language and vice versa. Even a highly skilled translator will admit to missing something in the process.

The legal profession, which is above all “a profession of words” (Melinkoff, 1963:7), has its own puns usually emphasizing the “dark side” of the job with a touch of humor: “What is a criminal lawyer? Redundant”. In this pun the key word, which actually conveys meaning, is “*redundant*”; if someone is redundant, they have been told they must leave their job because they are no longer needed. So, according to this first (literal) meaning of “redundant”, the line sounds like: “What is criminal lawyer? Not needed”. Interpreted as such, the pun certainly conveys a degree of humor in that “we do not need any more criminal lawyers (i.e. lawyers are too many in general, whether civil or criminal) or lawyers that act as criminals.

However, the second meaning of “redundant”, that of “relapsing”, appears to shed more light on the whole context. Accordingly, the line will read: “What is a criminal lawyer? Relapsing”.

Now, criminals (murderers) are known to relapse after long years of prison; but when criminal lawyers relapse, it means that they plead again in some trial on murder. Certainly the combination of words creates confusion, but the paradox is that the very collocation “criminal lawyer” helps to interpret the pun. While real criminals are indeed said to relapse (i.e. commit an offense again), criminal lawyers relapse merely by returning to their nasty old job, that of defending criminals and not killing anybody.

In translating the pun into Romanian, the second meaning of “redundant” has to be used; otherwise, the pun will not make sense at all: “Ce este un avocat care apără criminalii? Recidivist”. Note that “criminal lawyer” couldn’t be translated simply as “avocat penalist” but that the English adjective had to be expanded into a Relative Clause, in order to build up the original punch line.

Apart from puns, *false friends* are a good source for mistakes in any type of translations. When a legal writer refers to someone as a “*common lawyer*”, it is usually for the purpose of emphasizing the person’s *uncommon* expertise and influence in the law. In fact, as often as not the term appears as part of a three-word phrase beginning with “*eminent*”,

“able”, “distinguished”, “great” or the like. Perhaps out of insecurity over the possibility that “common lawyer” could be misunderstood as meaning “run-of-the-mill” lawyer, some writers use the phrase “*common law lawyer*” instead; and because that can also be misread, they often clarify the phrase by writing it hyphenated, as “*common-law lawyer*”.

The term has been in use since at least the sixteenth century and it is said that the greats who developed the foundations of the current legal system in Britain and America applied it to themselves.

Unlike in English, where “a common lawyer” is in fact known to be the short version for “a common law lawyer”, in Romanian the specification “common law” is essential for a good translation.

Since our legal system derives from its Roman Law ancestor, and not from the Common Law one, we are bound to preserve the whole phrase when attempting at translating “common (law) lawyer”. Anyway, a common law lawyer, i.e. “un avocat de drept comun/ de common law” is by no means a common lawyer, i.e. “un avocat oarecare”.

Legal language or “legalese” does not need either puns or cognates to be misleading.

When a document is under scrutiny in a court of law, attention will be paid only to what, as a piece of natural language, it appears actually to declare: any intentions of the author, which fail to emerge clearly, are not usually taken into account, and if the author happens to have used language which may mean something other than he intended, he has failed his job.

Externalizing intentions is no easy task; translating them is even more difficult. Of all language varieties, legal language is perhaps the least communicative, in that it is designed not so much to enlighten non-professional language users as to allow one expert to register information for scrutiny by another.

Legal writers often produce ambiguous texts as they believe that since their productions will serve someone as familiar with the jargon as themselves, they have no need to bother too much about being simpler for the general public.

The legalese is essentially visual language meant to be scrutinized in silence: it is in fact largely unspeakable at first sight and *immensely untranslatable*.

Anyone who tries to produce a good legal translation will have to go through a process of repeated and careful scanning in order to sort out the grammatical relations, which give the necessary clues to adequate interpretation.

It is because the concern with meaning is so constant and inescapable in legal contexts that the semantic aspect of legal language is in

many ways the most important for stylistic study. Frequent stylistic insights are to be gained by that many of the most distinctive variety markers clearly relate directly to the lawyer's attempts to meet the demands imposed on him by the *special brand of meaning* he is called to produce.

There are, for instance, the features of layout by which attention is directed towards parts of a document which are crucial to meaning; then there are grammatical characteristics such as the chain-like structure of some of the constructions and the restriction on the use of pronouns in favor of huge nominal groups; and in vocabulary there is the interesting interplay of precise with flexible terminology. That is why in translating some legal text, one has to render its *special stylistic flavor*.

It is well known that an important characteristic of legal language is its preservation, at all levels, of forms which have long since been abandoned elsewhere. Some of these *archaisms* no doubt stem from the ceremonial element in legal contexts. But most of this linguistic conservatism is nothing more than reliance on forms that have proved effective in achieving certain objectives.

Here is a fragment of a prenuptial agreement between two resident citizens of Orange County, the state of California, USA:

“WITNESSETH

WHEREAS, the parties are engaged and intend to be married to each other; and  
WHEREAS, the parties to this Agreement intend and desire to define their respective rights in the property of the other, and to avoid such interest which they might acquire in the property of the other, incidents of their forthcoming marital relationship; and  
WHEREAS,...

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the above-stated premises and of their marriage, it is agreed as follows(...)", rendered in Romanian as follows:

“Se arată că

Dacă părțile au încheiat logodna și intenționează să se căsătorească; și

Dacă părțile acestui Contract intenționează și doresc să definească drepturile pe care fiecare le are asupra proprietății celuilalt, și să evite orice cotă-parte ar putea dobândi din proprietatea celuilalt, privite ca incidente în viitoarea lor relație maritală ; și

Dacă,...

Atunci, Pe cale de Consecință, cu privire la premisele iterate mai sus și la căsătoria părților, se convine astfel(...).”

Prenuptial agreements do not exist yet in Romanian Family Law procedures, so any parallel translation is difficult to achieve. However, the fact that a prenuptial agreement is essentially a contract and it is drawn up in the same manner and style as similar legal documents might offer some clues for translation.

It can be argued that there is no such thing as exactness of meaning in translation, i.e. no translation is totally faithful to the source text. More often than not translators act like interpreters of the source text and adapt it to the needs of the target audience. The phenomenon of non-analogy in translation is similar to that of the non-analogy between a real person and their picture, much debated by Umberto Eco who started a crisis in iconicity theories.

When dealing with legal translations, the counterargument is brought by the *technical terminology* or special vocabulary of the law whose degree of exactness is the subject of a kind of tacit agreement between lawyers. This is especially noteworthy in the case of what are known in the trade as “terms of art”. Terms of art are those words and phrases about whose meaning lawyers have decided there can be no argument. Their application within different legal contexts may be disputed, but when terms like “*tort*” (in Romanian “*delict civil*”) are used, lawyers are quite certain what is meant. And so they are about other terms which, unlike “*tort*” may put in an appearance in everyday use: “*alibi*”, “*appeal*”, “*bail*”, “*defendant*”, “*landlord*”, “*plaintiff*” (“*alibi*”, “*apel*”, “*cauțiune*”, “*pârât*”, “*proprietar funciar*”, “*reclamant*”) and so on, all mean something far more precise at law than they do to those men in the street who ever get round to using them.

Many of them have achieved their status through legislation, in which terms that were presumably rather too evasive for comfort have been pegged down in some statute or other. Many more may be pointed to in the written records of judgements, where successive opinions have whittled down possibilities of interpretation. But a large number seem to owe their exactitude to some function of the collective unconscious of the legal profession by which all lawyers –or at least all expert lawyers- can sense the sharpness of the words available to them. Or is it rather “bluntness”?

The legal pair “plaintiff and defendant” (in Romanian “reclamant și pârât”) appears in numerous legal contexts, especially those related to Civil Law procedures; their meaning is invariably the same. The following is an excerpt from a complaint for divorce action (in Romanian “plângere în vederea divorțului”) in *Smith v. Smith* in New York:

“*Plaintiff*, Sally Smith, by her attorney, Ken Kvitka, *Esq.*, as and for her Amended Verified Complaint, respectfully alleges as follows:

The Plaintiff and Defendant own as tenants the marital residence located at 456 North Plains, Woods, New York” reading as “Reclamanta Sally Smith, reprezentată de avocatul părții, dl. Ken Kvitka, în vederea plângerii de divorț revizuite, declară cu respect după cum urmează: Reclamanta și pârâtul dețin cu chirie domiciliul marital situat la numărul 456 (...).”



The “Esq.” in the text is an abbreviation of “Esquire”, a title often appended to the names of American lawyers and translatable in Romanian by “Domnul/ Doamna” and abbreviated accordingly “Dl./ Dna.”.

Unlike translators, lawyers are not exclusively devoted to the pursuit of precision. There are many words and phrases which are useful at law simply because they are so general. On the frequent occasions on which some part of a document needs to leave room for meaning to stretch a little, then in will come terms like “adequate”, “due care”, “intention” and “malice”.

However, one cannot play too much with words at law. An expert eye may detect the great care with which the words and constructions in a legal text have been manipulated to produce the effect that the drafter intended. Accordingly, the translator must go to great length to ensure that their final product says exactly what the source text wants to say, that is it contains nothing that will allow a hostile interpreter to find in it a meaning different from the original one.

Consider the following sentences in which the success of the translation depends on the correct rendering of the Verb + preposition type of construction:

1. The defense attorney *reproached* his client *for* having disclosed the secret.
2. The defense attorney *reproached* his client *with* having disclosed the secret.

In the first example the client disclosed some secret information (probably vital for winning the case by his/her attorney) and the attorney expressed regret that he/she had done so; in the second sentence the attorney simply assumed that the client had disclosed the secret and blamed him/her for doing so.

The semantic difference is more easily noticeable in Romanian if, for the second sentence, a conditional form of the verb is used:

1. Avocatul apărării i-a reproșat clientului/clientei pentru că dezvăluiseră secretul.
2. Avocatul apărării i-a reproșat clientului că *ar fi dezvăluit* secretul.

Extra care must be paid by translators to characteristic *coordinators* of the legal expressions by which opportunities for misinterpretation are reduced. No other section of the community can ever have been concerned so agonizingly with the possibilities raised by the form “and/ or”.

In “The defendant shall be or remain liable in respect to any damage caused to the plaintiff” (in Romanian “Pârâtul va fi sau va rămâne/ se va

face răspunzător cu privire la orice prejudiciu adus reclamantului”) the coordinating conjunction is meant to call attention to the continuation of any liabilities incurred already, and to avoid the risk that “shall be”, if unaccompanied by “*or* remain” might be taken as implying futurity and allow the interpretation that the defendant’s responsibilities start only after he has terminated a certain agreement.

Such contexts uphold the idea that the pressures to be precise, in a purely terminological way, are stronger in legal translations than almost in any other type of translation.

The potentialities of the legal lexicon must be properly explored in order to achieve coherence and cohesion in translation. Multi-semantic words at law tend to be quite tricky to render correctly, especially when there is no additional information provided by a larger context. Take the word “bill” for example. It has various meanings, more or less connected to the legal area:

- a) “*factură*”= a written statement showing how much money you owe someone for goods and services you have received;
- b) “*proiect de lege*”= a written document containing a proposal for a new law;
- c) “*petiție, plângere*”= the initial pleading in courts of Equity; in modern practice this has been replaced by the complaint.

Therefore, in some very general statement, such as: “I hate to think what the bill will be”, where “I” can be a common individual, an MP or a defendant against whom a bill (see “complaint”) has been filed, the translator is bound to make a wild (though correct!) guess as to what the adequate variant will be.

Yet another hazard to translators of legal texts is represented by *Latin terms*, which are to be found in most specimens of legal language and are equaled by only a few other varieties. The question that arises is if these “non-naturalized” borrowings should be translated at all. Well, the encouraging news is that for most cases Latin collocations are preserved as such, since they are considered technicalities in any given area of language. Still, translators do need to bother for the needs of the laymen and come up with an accurate transposition, while legal experts afford to be complacent about the correct use of such locutions.

So, when the target audience is the general public, translators have to provide it with the corresponding equivalents: “*prima facie*”= la prima vedere (i.e. o depoziție ce pare verosimilă până la proba contrarie) , “*mala praxis*”= acțiune în daune împotriva unui profesionist în culpă, “*ius duplicatum*”= drept dublu (e.g.drept de proprietate și de posesiune), “*hereditas iacens*”= succesiune vacantă, and the list may continue.

Similarly, *legal acronyms*, impossible to share by the laypeople, have to be translated and explained: TRO (temporary restricting order)= ordin temporar de restricție, EBT (examination before trial)= examinarea (faptelor, probelor) înaintea procesului, CJC (“corpus juris civilis”, “the body of Civil Law”)= corpus/tratat de drept civil, ADR (alternative dispute resolution)= soluționarea litigiului/disputei pe căi extra-judiciare (e.g. arbitraj, mediere, conciliere).

What is probably one of the “minefields” of legal texts is the preference for inserting *post-modifying elements of noun phrases*, which creates confusion at the level of general comprehension. For the translator the need to achieve precision and avoid ambiguity always takes precedence over considerations of grammatical elegance of such sequences; accordingly, translators will probably split the sequence by using brackets or arrows in order to highlight the logical relation between the head noun and its various post determiners:

“*The payment*→ *to the owner*→ *of the total amount*→ of any installment then remaining unpaid→ *of the rent* (hereinbefore reserved and agreed to be paid during the term)→ *and the further sum*→ of ten shillings”. The Romanian translation will thus be: “*plata*→ *către proprietar*→ *a sumei totale*→ obținute din orice rate rămase neachitate→ *din chirie* (asupra căreia s-a convenit mai sus plata la termen) → *și a sumei adiționale*→ de zece șilingi.

Finally, there has been developed a number of *semantic principles*, which are well known to lawyers and to which translators are careful to subscribe when arranging information.

Among these there is the *ejusdem generis* (“de același gen”) principle (principiul similitudinii) by which general words which follow specific words are taken to apply only to persons or things of the same class as already mentioned. So, in the enumeration “house, office, room, or other place”, the final item is not allowed to refer to an uncovered enclosure, even though this may be a “place”.

The translator, respecting the above-stated principle, will produce a sequence such as “locuință/ domiciliu, birou, cameră sau alt spațiu asemănător.”

Complementing this is that famous *Golden Rule of Interpretation*. It states that whatever the intention behind a legal document, when it is being interpreted “the grammatical and ordinary sense of the words is to be adhered to unless that would lead to some absurdity or some repugnance or inconsistency with the rest of the instrument, in which case the grammatical and ordinary sense of the words may be modified so as to avoid that absurdity and inconsistency, but no further” (Macmillan, 1958 :115) .

To conclude, translating the language of law is as broad and complex as human experience itself. Defining, refining, debating, interpreting and finally translating legal discourse is a major challenge for everyone.

To question the meaning of a legal concept is to question the scope of law itself.

A good translation of the legal concept of “murder”, for example, would embody an understanding of how contemporary society draws some of its most difficult and important moral lines, distinguishing the most heinous of crimes (i.e. *indictable offenses*= infracțiuni ce cad sub incidența dreptului penal) from an act of self-defense (act de legitimă apărare), military heroism, mental derangement or simple negligence (neglijență, delict civil).

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# TRANSLATION AS PRODUCT: TYPES, PROPERTIES AND QUALITIES

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## Introduction

Despite the translator trainees' distaste for theory, they definitely need at least a conceptual framework as a basis and a guide for their decision-making during the translation process. This situation gives rise to two opposing constraints on translation teaching: the need for theory and the learners' reluctant attitude to theory. The trainer thus faces rather difficult decisions as to what to teach and how to teach.

Nowadays the literature on Translation Studies offers descriptions of translation approaches and theories of various extensions and complexity, which does not make the trainer's planning and design work any easier. His/her job will be to adopt the theory which is consistent with the trainees' future job requirements and to adapt its description to the their level of knowledge and proficiency. Adaptation generally entails simplification through the use of known concepts and terms, e.g. analogy, or through re-definitions, re-classifications based on clearer and more consistent criteria, or more concise descriptions.

Another source of the trainer's contribution to the theoretical framework which he teaches is his own experience of translation and its teaching or the knowledge he has acquired through contemplation, study and research.

This article presents the results of a study on translation as product undertaken for the purpose of establishing the fundamental notions to be taught in a course in translation of pragmatic texts. Specifically, it classifies and defines the *types of pragmatic target texts* commonly required in Romania, discusses *product norms*, whose application ensures the expected target text (TT) properties and qualities, and finally defines these *properties and qualities*. Although the treatment of the above notions starts from widely accepted views in the literature, the article presents our own views and the results of our own conceptual processing.

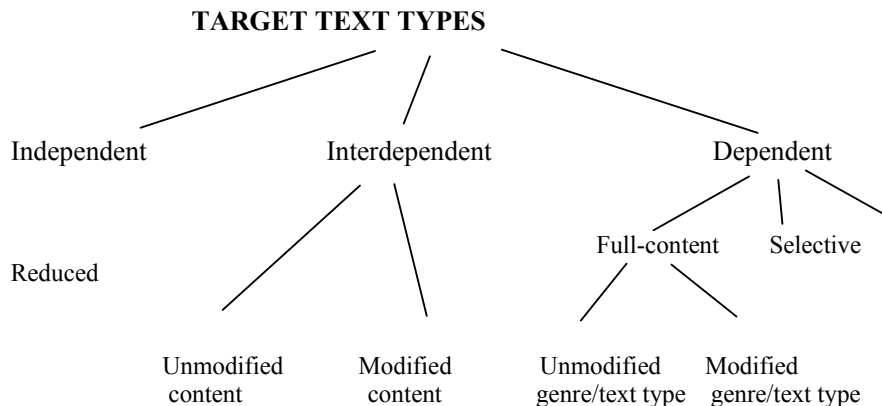
## Target text types

As product, translation, i.e. the target text, has been studied from various perspectives, which can be grouped under two umbrella-terms: the pragmatic and the aesthetic. From the pragmatic perspective, two description lines are important for the practice of translation: one specifying the type of translation product, the other specifying the properties and qualities which ensure the TT communicative efficacy.

The type of the final product depends on a number of factors in the translation situation:

- the degree of dependence of the TT on the original source material;
- the TT completeness with respect to the source text (ST) in terms of content and/or textual form;
- the communicative functions of the ST and the TT.

Juan C. Sager (1993:177-182) classifies translations as products into nine classes according to roughly the same criteria. We are proposing below an alternative classification, which distinguishes only seven final classes, but is more consistent with the three factors mentioned above.



The first line of the classification tree, distinguishing between independent, interdependent, and dependent translations is based on the criterion of TT dependence on the source material. The second line results from the application of the criterion of TT completeness in terms of content, while the third line is based of the criterion of communicative function.

*Independent translations* are those in which the original document may be just a draft or a number of notes consisting of key words or phrases in the SL, and which the translator links into a complete TL text such as a letter or a contract. In such cases, the translator usually fulfils other professional functions besides that of translator: he/she is a secretary or a solicitor on the company staff. The original document may also be a complete text, but one which acts as a mere indicator of the message to be relayed to the target readers and cannot be translated in full due to cultural or linguistic barriers. Publicity materials, usually combining text as slogan and pictorial elements, make the best examples here.

*Interdependent translations* function in parallel with their STs either in different settings or in the same setting, but are intended for speakers of various languages. These translations share with the ST and with each other the communicative function, the readership - in terms of knowledge and expectations - and the intended effect. Examples of documents translated as such are tourist guides, museum leaflets and booklets. Of these, the reader will choose the version in the language in which he is most proficient. Other examples of genre texts are art albums, instructions for use and descriptions of products, which circulate in various countries at a time. Legal documents issued by the same international institution, e.g. the European Union legislation, or by an organization, e.g. company guarantees may also be parallel translations for use in member countries or partner countries. Whereas organization documents are identical in content, legal documents may have their content slightly modified to adjust to the legal practices of the country in which they are to function.

The largest class of translations is that comprising TTs *dependent* on the ST in one or several aspects. Dependent translations enjoy a balanced dependence on the ST. The subclasses are distinguished on the basis of two criteria: one, quantitative, referring to content completeness, the other, functional, referring to communicative purpose.

*Full - content translations* preserve the full ST content, but may have additions as translator's notes, which explicate or define either cultural terms as in humanities texts, or technical terms as in scientific and legal texts. The defining characteristic of these translations is their complete faithfulness to content and faithfulness in varying degrees to the ST form. Full-content translations generally preserve the function of the ST and along with that the ST genre, but not always.

The full - content translations which have a different function from that of the ST also have a different genre or text type. Examples here are SL administrative documents, e.g. regulations turned into a TL memo or certificates of birth, marriage, etc. To this subclass also belong translation-

specific text types such as the “gist” or “for information only”, which are used in or by organizations. The former type occurs as notifications to a client about a document, e.g. a court verdict, the latter, as an internal document for restricted use by the staff only, e.g. a ST business letter required by a superior.

*Selective translations* contain only excerpts of a ST which is usually a scientific article, or chapters of a scientific monograph commissioned by an expert who indicates the excerpts to be translated. The communicative purposes of the ST and TT are the same, usually informative.

*Reduced translations* are generally abstracts of books and scientific articles done in information retrieval services either for library needs or, in the case of articles, for publication in abstract journals in print or on-line. The communicative purpose of the abstract is different from that of the original article, i.e. it is to inform about the content and/or to evaluate the article as a research document in concise form. Accordingly, abstracts are different genres and as texts they conform to different textual conventions from those of the article. Apart from their translation competence, translators of such documents have to be conversant with all the subgenres of abstracts, i.e. their textual and stylistic features or with the requirements of the publication for which they translate.

### **Rules and norms in translation**

The second relevant insight into translation as product is the specification of the properties that make a text count as a translation and of the qualities that make a TT rise to the expectations of its readers. These characteristics are obtained by conforming to *TL rules and norms* and to *translation norms*.

*Linguistic rules* specify what is correct in a language from phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and semantic points of view, correctness meaning conformity with the abstract system of that language. Rules account for well-formed words, clauses and sentences irrespective of the context.

*Linguistic norms* are sociolinguistic expectations shared by the speakers of a community, which provide guidelines for what is considered appropriate language in a certain context. Linguistic norms require speakers “to communicate in such a way that others recognize our intentions” and hearers “to interpret [the message] in accordance with the speaker’s intention” (Chesterman, 1997:57). Specifically, norms refer to genre structure, degree of grammaticalness, style, and choice of appropriate lexical items.



Apart from the linguistic rules and norms, TTs should also observe *translation norms*. Translation scholars (Toury 1980, 1995; Chesterman, 1997) have identified several kinds of translation norms to which they have attached different names, but despite the lack of terminological uniformity, they had in view mainly two kinds: norms which regulate the form of the TT, i.e. translation as product and norms which regulate the translation process itself. Here, we are concerned with the product norms and the translator's responsibilities to comply with them.

*Product norms* are established by the expectations of the target readers about what counts as a translation and what makes a "good" translation. From the image of such an ideal TT one can extrapolate the expected properties and qualities of real-life translations. As Chesterman remarked (1997: 64), product norms are determined by the existing translation tradition in the target culture and by the form of genres in the target language.

Product norms are of several kinds, which, in our view, are the following:

- pragmatic
- macro-textual
- micro-textual.

*Pragmatic norms* specify what the TT should conform to: the ST and its context or the target communicative situation. In the target cultures where readers expect the TT to be a slavish rendering of the ST, the translator has to be faithful to the ST in content, purpose, and form, but his/her faithfulness may often impair the TT communicative value. Where the target readers expect the TT to function as a medium of communication indistinguishable from native texts, the translator's responsibilities are many more: to get informed about the expectations and attitudes of the target readers, to understand their need for information and the way they intend to use it, to adapt the ST and to produce a TT of the type specified by the initiator/commissioner.

Pragmatic norms also refer to *expected sequences of speech acts* in genres, e.g. criticism, justification, opposition, suggestion, to *formality markers* or *closeness to the spoken language* (Chesterman, 1997: 83). The translator should be aware of such features and produce them in the TT.

*Macro-textual norms* require the translator to produce a coherent, cohesive and structured TT. Examples of macro-textual features determined by norms are: *ordering of facts*, e.g. general – particular; set – subset – element, *ordering of cognitive categories* in genres, e.g. customer needs –

offer – incentives, *use of metatext, distribution of thematic structures, and preference for certain kinds of cohesion* (Chesterman, 1997: 83).

*Micro-textual norms* lead to the syntactic and lexical features which contribute to the property of acceptability and the quality of appropriateness. These are norms concerning *the average sentence length, structure of sentences, clauses, and phrases, levels of formality, co-occurrence of lexical items*, i.e. collocations and *lexical choices* (Chesterman, 1997: 83).

### **TT properties and qualities**

The translator's awareness of the linguistic rules and norms and of the translation norms as well as his/her competence to conform to them ensures the expected TT properties and qualities.

Translation scholars of the linguistic orientation have mainly studied translation textuality ( Neubert & Shreve 1992; Bell 1991 ), which they have described as a complex property resulting from the seven standards established by Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) raising a linguistic object to the status of text, namely intentionality, acceptability, situationality, informativity, coherence, cohesion, and intertextuality. Translation, however, is a specific type of text by virtue of its relationship of intertextuality with the ST. Consequently, we hold the opinion that the TT has properties out of which at least some are different from those of the texts which are not translations. Moreover, the distinction between properties and qualities allows a differentiation of what counts as a translation property and a translation quality. Starting from the definitions of the notions of *property* and *quality* and from the rules and norms for the production of a TT, we have established the following translation properties and qualities.

*Translation properties*, which are defining characteristics of a TT, i.e. features in virtue of which a text counts as a translation, are the following:

- *Acceptability* – the property which ensures acceptance from the translation initiator or the target readers since the TT conforms to their idea of translation and is coherent with the target situation of communication
- *Source dependence* – the property of a TT of being derived from a source of information in another language: text, draft, notes, with which it has a relationship that further leads to one of the following properties:
  - *Faithfulness* – the property of reproducing the ST content and function with accuracy

- *Informativity* - the property of reproducing sufficient information from the source to ensure understanding.

*Translation qualities* are expected attributes. They are characteristics of "the more or less" and TTs have them in various degrees. A badly - written text and a well - written text count as translations by virtue of their properties and not of their qualities, although a TT with high qualities is desirable as they ensure effective communication.

In our view, translation qualities fall into two classes: *linguistic and stylistic*. Linguistic qualities are those obtained by obeying the rules of the entire system of the target language, including its morphology, syntax, semantics, and phonology for the production of sentences and the rules and norms of text linguistics for the production of the entire TT. Stylistic qualities derive from the manner of expression and choice of words and grammatical structures.

*Linguistic qualities* are:

- *Accuracy* – the quality of the TT of expressing the intended meaning of the ST with precision in the surface structure
- *Grammaticalness* – the quality of the TT of having the sentences formed according to the rules of target language grammar
- *Connectedness* – the quality of a TT of being coherent, i.e. unified conceptually, cohesive, i.e. unified linguistically, and structured according to the generic conventions in the TL.
- *Appropriacy* - the quality of the TT of being expressed in a language appropriately chosen with respect to the situation of communication, e.g. the text theme, the speaker's intention.

*Stylistic qualities* are:

- *Clarity* – the quality of the TT of having logically-formulated sentences
- *Naturalness* – the quality of the TT of having its linguistic forms compliant with the target language usage
- *Fluency* – the property of the TT of being expressed in an easy, smooth manner that facilitates its reception.

Printed translations usually have the expected properties and qualities since editors publish only target texts that observe the specifications in the translation brief and the general standards of readability. Even such texts may have their qualities impaired by mistranslations, which usually affect their appropriacy, clarity and sometimes grammaticalness, as the following example illustrates.

The ST represents the first two paragraphs of the article “Junk Nations” written by Christopher Dickey for NEWSWEEK and published in its issue of 27<sup>th</sup> November 1995. The translation into Romanian of the two paragraphs was published in the Romanian magazine DILEMA in its 2<sup>nd</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> February 1996 issue.

*Source text*

The remnants of Yugoslavia, the fragments of Iraq, the shards of the former Soviet Union. Today the world is confronted with a new phenomenon: the not-quite nation. On almost every continent, bits and pieces are falling away from old states without quite managing to form new ones. Nationalisms kept in check by the cold war or by conquest or by sheer inertia are busting all over. Just last month, Canada – Canada ! – almost came apart. And it may still.

“These particular pieces, if they were the only ones to be chipped off, can be lived with,” says David Fromkin, chairman of Boston University’s international-relations department. “But if they become examples to be followed, then it’s in the nature of the world as we know it.” At least Quebec, if it ever succeeds at seceding, might have the economic and political resources needed to make up a state. Few other nationalist groups are so lucky. And by Fromkin’s conservative estimate there are at least 3.500 of them around the globe.

(Ch. Dickey, “Junk Nations”, NEWSWEEK, 27<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1995)

*Target text*

Ceea ce a rămas din Iugoslavia, fragmente din Irak, hălci din fosta Uniune Sovietică: lumea este confruntată astăzi cu o situație nouă: națiuni nu tocmai complete. (1) Aproape pe fiecare continent bucățile și bucățelele se despart de vechile state, fără să reușească să alcătuiască unele noi. (2) Naționalismul, ținut sub obroc de războiul rece, de cuceriri sau pur și simplu de inerție, explodează peste tot. (3) La sfârșitul lui octombrie, Canada – Canada! – era pe cale să se scindeze. (4) Și nu e sigur că nu o s-o facă. (5)

„Dacă ar fi vorba doar de teritorii izolate, care se despart, n-ar fi o nenorocire – spune David Fromkin, șeful catedrei de relații internaționale la Universitatea din Boston – , dar dacă ele devin modele de urmat, lumea, așa cum o cunoaștem, se va sfârși”. (6) Dacă statul canadian Quebec va izbuti să iasă din structura federală s-ar putea ca el să posede resursele economice și politice necesare independenței. (7) Dar puține alte grupuri naționaliste sunt atât de norocoase. (8) Și, conform estimărilor lui Fromkin, numărul lor pe glob se ridică la vreo 3 500.

( Ch. Dickey, „Nașterea unor națiuni”, DILEMA, 2-8 februarie 1996)

The word “shard” meaning in the ST “broken piece of a country” has been translated with “halcă” meaning “piece of meat or other food” (S1). The translator’s choice of the Romanian word has led to an unacceptable collocation in Romanian: “halcă dintr-un stat”, which has affected the quality of appropriacy. Another example of unacceptable collocation,

“bucățile se despart de [vechile state]” (S2), is due to the inappropriate choice of the verb “a se despărți”, which does not naturally collocate with “bucăți”.

Other examples of inappropriate choices are the words „modele” in „modele de urmat” (S6) and the verb „se va sfârși” (S6), which both fail to translate the intended meaning of the original words. In sentence 2, which has an overall generalizing meaning, the use of the definite article for the nouns “bucăți și bucățele” makes the sentence ungrammatical and unclear.

However, the excerpt cannot be said to lack grammaticalness, appropriacy and clarity altogether, but the examples discussed above do affect these qualities.

### **Conclusions**

A course in translation of pragmatic texts will have to offer basic notions of translation as product, i.e. the target text, namely types, properties and qualities.

This study has classified pragmatic TTs commonly required in Romania into seven final classes on the basis of three criteria: the TT dependence on the original, the TT completeness of content with respect to the ST and the TT communicative function. Next, we have discussed product norms as antecedents of TT properties and qualities. Finally, we have established the expected TT properties and qualities, starting from the product norms and the opinion that translations have specific characteristics, some of which being different from those of non-translated texts. The qualities have been shown to belong to two classes: linguistic and stylistic, the former being similar to some of the standards of textuality.

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## TRANSLATING LEGAL DISCOURSE: CRIMINAL LAW

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The concept of justice is singular and universal in a way that the concepts of law and right can no longer claim, if they ever could. Law has become located in national cultures, but justice stands above all culture.

The criminal justice system is one of the most important tools available to society for the control of anti-social behaviour. It is also the area of the English legal system which has most potential for controversy, given that through the criminal justice system, the state has the means to interfere with individual's freedom in the strongest way: by sending people to prison.

An effective criminal justice system needs to strike a balance between punishing the guilty and protecting the innocent. This balance has been the subject of much debate in recent years: a large number of miscarriages of justice, where innocent people were sent to prison, suggests the system is weighted too heavily towards proving guilt, yet shortly after these cases had been uncovered, there were claims, particularly from the police, that the balance had tipped too far in the other direction.

In speaking about law, lawyers and judges engage in a range of speech acts. Sometimes they *describe* the state of the law, as for example, when a lawyer writes an opinion letter to advise a client about his opinions under the law. Sometimes lawyers *assert* what the law is, as when they go into court and claim that their client has a right to appeal.

Translating legal texts was not easy at first. An index of terms was necessary in order to get in touch with the Romanian and English legal systems, consisting of diverse forms and structures.

In my attempt to present the main characteristics of the language of the legal texts, I will deliberately omit the language of legal provisions, and limit my analysis to the documents that one is likely to come across in legal cases, mainly court decisions and indictments.

The language of legal texts may sound complicated, sophisticated, even obsolete. Lawyers, notaries, and other people who are in the 'law business' appear to rejoice in using such intricate constructions as 'In witness whereof the parties have executed these, presents the day and year first hereinabove written'.

Language in legal settings is characterized by highly technical vocabulary and colloquial terms used in specialized ways. It is also plagued with:

- lengthy noun phrases
- heavy use of passive voice
- multiple negatives and
- complex grammatical structures, including: multiple embedded clauses and unusually placed subordinate clauses (Tiersma, 1999).

Greg Matoesian (1999) analyzed transcripts of audio-video recordings from a famous trial, the 1991 William Kennedy Smith rape trial, and concluded that lawyers employed the grammar and prosody of reported speech to essentially discredit a witness' testimony.

Lawyers do not communicate like ordinary people, in plain and understandable language. They prefer using the passive, they go with 'the prospectus may be issued by the company' when 'the company may issue the prospectus' will do; they are negative - lawyers will choose: 'persons without a passport may' over 'only persons with a passport may'; they nominalize a lot: instead of 'State!', they prefer 'Make a statement!'.

While translating English legal texts, you can notice the language that judges use with power and precision, and there is much to learn from their judgments about the way in which legal principles should be stated and the way in which the facts and law in the particular case should be arranged so as to make the trial easily understood.

Clarity is the hallmark of the style. Both English and Romanian legal texts consist in giving too precise an account of what the subject demands.

Reading the legal texts you will notice that the judges will often be familiar with the scope of the relevant law, but will not necessarily have in mind the precise wording of the statute in each case.

Giving the legal framework before the factual background to the case has the advantage of enabling the judge to see what is legally relevant as the facts unfold. By putting the legal framework first, the judge can see how the development of the argument is supported by the facts.

In the opening formula you, as a lawyer have respect for the bench and for the opponent encompassed in one sentence: "May it please you Sir, I appear for the prosecution and my learned friend Mr. Beal for the defendant."

Almost immediately the speaker turns to the statement of facts. It is essential to make the statement of facts clear and as interesting as the facts allow. The aim should be to seize the court's attention immediately. This

can best be done by formulating the point at issue without preliminaries. And great care is also necessary to state the point succinctly and accurately.

'In March 1997 the appellant appeared before His Honour Judge Van der Werff in the Inner London Crown Court. It was then contended on his behalf that he was unfit to be tried because of mental disability. Evidence was called before the jury on behalf of the defence and the Crown. It was to the effect that the appellant was indeed under disability'.

There are also considerable differences in the style of legal discourse in both translations. You may wonder what is the point of all this talk during the trial. Of course the dominant motive may be to induce a judge or opposing counsel to respond in a particular way. Yet sometimes the inner dynamic of the discourse is to seek an understanding of an event, injury or crime that has unnerved the society.

'Mr. Beal, who appears in front of us on behalf of the appellant, has made short and persuasive submissions to us. We would like to say that we are grateful to him for his submissions and for their clarity. He submits that it was not right in this case to sentence the appellant to a term of detention'.

The judicial decisions should both be under law and expressive of the judge's good judgement.

Since people have a difficult time understanding the legal terminology in their own language, it is not difficult to imagine what problems a translator is confronted with when trying to translate legal texts.

It is of primary importance to establish that one legal language must be translated into another legal language. In practice, often even legal documents are simply translated from language into language, rather than from one legal language into another. One should not translate from a legal language into the ordinary words of the target language, but into the legal terminology of the target language. The information contained in the terminology of the source-language legal system must be represented by the terminology of the target-language legal system.

For the terms of the source-language legal system equivalents must be found in the target-language legal system. If no acceptable equivalents can be uncovered in the target-language legal system, subsidiary solutions must be sought (Sarcevic, 1998). Basically, three subsidiary solutions may be distinguished:

- no translation takes place and the source term or its transcribed version is used;
- a paraphrase is used to describe the source-language term;



- a neologism is created, i.e. a term is used in the target language that does not form part of the terminology of the target-language legal system, if necessary, in combination with an explanatory footnote.

When translating the court decisions and indictments from one language into another, I came across several problems. The first obstacle was the opacity and ambiguity of the legal texts, whether in English, or in Romanian - despite the facts that those who draw up legal treatises pride themselves on making the legal language as clear and unambiguous as possible. Sentences in legal documents tend to be very long and extremely complex. As a translator you are allowed to cut into the mass of material with which you are confronted.

If we take a look only at the syntactic properties of the legal texts that Bhatia (1983:41-42) enumerates, we can anticipate the kind of problems that are likely to arise when translating a legal text:

sentence length (271 words versus 27 in scientific English)

nominal character

complex prepositional phrases

binominal and multinominal expressions

qualificational insertions

syntactic discontinuities:

discontinuous noun phrases,

discontinuous binominal phrases,

discontinuous complex preposition phrases.

In order to make an acceptable translation, the meaning of source language legal terms to be translated must be studied, after each term with the same content must be sought in the target-language legal system. For example, translating 'raport sexual cu minori' by 'sexual relations with minors' would only be a paraphrase of the term that English uses for this offence, namely 'statutory rape'.

Where there are several equivalents of term from the source language in the target language, one has to be careful with the choice of terms, and stick to the term that one has chosen. For example, the Romanian 'inculpat' has several equivalents in English: 'accused', 'defendant', 'culprit'. My favourite was 'the accused', but it does not allow the use of the synthetic genitive, which I had to use in some sentences, so I could not always be consistent in my choice of terms.

Translating is never an easy thing to do and it seems to be particularly difficult, when it comes to translating legal texts: it requires, like for the most types of translations, extensive research and encyclopedic knowledge, finding equivalents, a careful choice of terms, and a great deal

of responsibility. a good and correct translation of a legal document can really make the difference.

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**THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH AS A GLOBAL LANGUAGE - THE  
EXAMPLE OF SERBIAN - AND  
THE EMERGENCE OF NEW FORMS OF IDENTITY**

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This paper attempts at exploring the relationship between the spread of English onto other national languages, i.e. Serbian, and the impact of this situation on the perception and realisation of identity in the recipient communities.

Language is a substance of a culture, at once the container of its entirety and its constituent part that allows for its further development. The varieties of languages provide unparalleled insights into the diversity of human experience and perceptions, while the coexistences expose its unchanging kernel across cultures. As a repository of history, the sum of human knowledge, it is the primary marker of identity, both individual and collective. The realisation and comprehension of identity implies its representation which, just as any other kind of knowledge, can only be done in a language.

Today when English is largely considered not a foreign language, but a necessary skill, identity formation and expression certainly have different dimensions. The issue at stake is whether English threatens the autonomous self-realisation or not. Namely are we witnessing simple destruction of identity as so far conceived, or, as this paper argues, the new emergent forms of identity?

**English as a donor language and standard English**

From being one of the most hospitable languages in its acceptance of foreign loans, up to the 17th century, in the course of cultural and economic changes, English has turned into the today's most primary donor language. In nearly all fields of human knowledge there is a very free and versatile linguistic borrowing of English words by other languages.

Yet, English itself continues to change. It is said that the formation of standard languages was one of the crucial aspects of modernity. The relativising of standard English (as of other languages) seems inevitable. Lyotard (1984) reminded us that the post-modern age is characterised by a

loss of faith in all grand metanarratives, while Hobsbawm (1994) epigrammatizes that all postmodernism tended to a radical relativism. Standard English as one kind of universal metanarratives seems to have met the same fate.

English is de-nativised to a large extent: the global number of non-native speakers is now substantially larger than its native speakers (4: 1). English is no longer "owned" by its native speakers because acculturation and nativisation processes have produced a remarkable diversification of the English language into many non-native varieties.

### **English as a global language and its consequences**

On defining the status of a global language, David Crystal (1997) points out that "a language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognised in every country." Such position of English, he suggests, arises from a combination of factors, including military and political might, economic power, and what he describes as a cultural power - primarily the use of English as the means of storing and imparting knowledge and information. English has become "a linguistic software infrastructure". This and the related phenomenalinguistic imperialism are the natural accompaniment of cultural imperialism. *"What is claimed is that a form of domination exists in the modern world, not just in the political and economic spheres, but also over those practices by which collectivities make sense of their lives"*.

### **Language and identity**

Language plays a crucial role in the establishment and preservation of national, group and individual identity. Besides making a community of speakers recognisable for their authenticity and individuality, languages constitute the repository of their social and cultural values, and the medium of their historical memory. This view of language which is at the core of 19th and 20th century nation-building processes, has more recently been employed to aid the re-evaluation of those very languages and cultures in the name of multilingualism and multiculturalism.

At the core of the tension between globalisation and multiculturalism is the threat of English as the language of international communication when interpreted as an attempt at linguistic (hence cultural) colonisation. It has to be noted that much current work in linguistics, psychology, and the related areas, lend no support whatsoever to the idea of an essential connection between language and identity. Yet, language is in some sense

constitutive of those who speak it. It is the use of language by which a people becomes cognizant of itself. They have their identity through language. "Self-constitution" is humanity's capacity for reflection. Perhaps more importantly, language as a constituent and a constant of a collective experience has everything in itself, the entire history, culture, values, beliefs. It is that which has a direct influence on identity formation.

### **The formation of identity in the present time**

Globalisation is the latest phenomenon in the historical trajectory of modernity which involves complex historical processes that result in fragmented values and identity. People are no longer able to define themselves by national identity. Nation-states used to be the locus of national identity and thus allowed people to define who they were. The forces of globalization and modernization, trade, capitalist economy, information technologies, have changed this. People find their lives more and more controlled by forces beyond the influence of those national institutions which form a perception of their authenticity, so their accompanying sense of belonging to a secure culture is eroded.

A major foundation of the cultural imperialism critique is founded in the lack of respect for the plurality of a way of life. The fact that much of the discourse, critique, and theory come from the West automatically implies something that is considered an "intellectual commodity" in the cultural context. Consequently, the dilemma of 'who speaks' involves issues of access to those people in the world who are automatically excluded. This cultural imperialism is a cultural practice that unlike the known forms of imperialism is no longer coercive.

Cultural imperialism as a spread of modernity can be seen as a spread of cultural loss. However, surviving this process of cultural loss is a matter of cultural will by defining and restructuring human goals. This view reinforces the fact that *human cultures are not fragile and isolated*. It recognises the amazing resilience of humans and their ability to adapt themselves and their cultures to the forces that surround them. Modernity is not only a negative cultural fate. It is an ambiguous argument as it assumes that cultures are condemned to the process of modernity but still have the ability to exercise individual choice. *Cultures cannot escape integration into the socio-economic forces of the global capitalist market, so people are forced to 'self-develop' and define their own cultural experience in the maelstrom of the modern world*. In other words, the nature of human cultures is assimilatory. People are able to adapt market driven imperialist culture to their own needs and tastes in line with their cultural identity.

Many critics of modernity do not take into account the positive aspects that modernisation brings to our lives. It is the cultural environment that is not so evident. The place of culture in modernity is the intersection of objective socio-economic factors and subjective constructions of reality in the forms of self-awareness and individual freedom of choice. The modern world is indeed a dangerous and confusing place, but since we are forced to live in it *we must accept it and shape our cultural condition on the choices we make.* The view of cultural fate is that people must continually 'self develop' in order to survive the chaos of modern living. The pressure of the continually developing nature of the modern world forces us to exercise our individual freedom to choose our cultural experience. This very freedom condemns us to make individual choices that will define our lives. Modernity need not only be a cultural imposition but rather a liberation of the human spirit in the cultural sense.

### **The influence of English on Serbian language**

Serbia is at present trying to approach the standards of the latest historical trends that characterise the Western or the so-called developed, world. The reasons why the Western culture has developed, imposed and perpetuated its image as the most advanced, central and alike, are numerous and complex, and have been elaborated by the most outstanding critics and theorists.

Approximately 300 years ago, Europe saw the formation of nation states which kept on developing in a more or less stable manner. Serbia's history in the same period is not only continuous but also continuing time of upheavals and change. Today, it is trying hard to join the European family.

The fastness, immediate necessity of radical change, the wish for a change is evident in the language situation. Not uniquely, in the areas like economy, business, sports, entertainment, computer science, telecommunications, translation, the Serbian equivalents are rare, whereas simple language transfer is most often. The phenomenon of that straight language transfer clearly discloses a situation in which Serbia is primarily a recipient culture, not yet fully participating in the advancement of those fields. However, those fields occupy a significantly large and important part of our lives. So, for example, at the Faculty of Electronic Engineering, University of Niš, theses titles are to be written both in Serbian and English as only the latter variant can ensure wide comprehension. This decision was reached after numerous misunderstandings and open mistrust in the adequacy of Serbian equivalents of the relevant terminology.

On the other hand, it seems that Serbian is the only language that can fully express our own heritage, history, the nuances of culture, of who we are. In their etymologies and meanings, words, and a language in general, contain sedimentations of historical context and experience. This may be an oversimplification, but again, it may not.

The example of some developed countries which have a clear and strong language policy designed to diminish the influence of English, shows without a doubt that it can not be truly stopped, and perhaps it shouldn't.

### **Languages in the Post-Modern era**

It has been already said that the formation of standard languages was one aspect of modernisation. The development of languages in the post-modern era is marked by the abandonment of many traditional notions of what constitutes the linguistic norm. This essentially means a greater linguistic inclusiveness, which can certainly from one point of view be described as flooding with foreign elements and vulgarisation, but which can also be seen more positively as the opening up of opportunities to make maximum use of all available linguistic resources. A single norm, obligatory for all users and all forms of public discourse is being replaced with a whole series of micro-norms which are contextually determined.

This is a language situation which places much heavier demands on the user, whether native-speaker or learner, and certainly makes post-standard languages much more 'difficult'. It is a situation which presents both opportunities and dangers. As far as the local languages are concerned, the danger is not so much the disappearance of languages as linguistic atomisation: it will become increasingly difficult for even best-read and best-informed users of a language to have command of all the resources available and all the different micro-norms applicable in different circumstances.

Beyond the inevitability of the political and/or socio-economic conditions that put a language in danger, its survival or demise is ultimately determined by its speakers' choice either to use or relinquish it. The attitudinal factors are paramount. Passive, indiscriminate acceptance of English, silence on the part of local language speakers may be the silence of the inarticulate (a dangerous situation, giving birth to frustration), not the silence of the convinced. Precisely because other ways of looking at the world are mediated to us through English, moreover, often by its non-native speakers, rather than being experienced at first hand, we may think we understand when we do not.

## **A possible solution**

Paradox as this may seem, the very spread of English can motivate speakers of other languages to insist on their own local language for identification, for binding them emotionally to their own cultural and historical tradition. There is no need to set up an old-fashioned dichotomy between local languages and English as the "hegemonic aggressor": there is a place for both, because they fulfill different functions. In this way English can be appropriated without other languages being marginalised.

This position implies making a distinction between 'languages for communication' and 'languages for identification'. Linguistically determined identity need not be unitary and fixed, but can be multi-faceted, non-unitary and contradictory (Norton, 2000), when an individual speaker speaks more than one language. A diglossia situation is now developing in Europe - English for various areas of expertise and non-private communication on the one hand, and national and local varieties for affective, identification purpose on the other. If one makes the distinction between languages for communication, such as English today, and languages for identification - mother tongues, regional, local, intimate varieties of language - English need not be a threat. It can be seen as strengthening the complementary need for native local languages that are rooted in their speakers' shared history, cultural tradition, practices, conventions, and values as identification potential.

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# ABOUT THE SUBJUNCTIVE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ENGLISH AND HUNGARIAN

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## 0. Introduction

Research on mood usually concentrates on the selection of finite verb forms in complement clauses depending on the semantic characteristics of the embedding predicate. The aim of this paper is to compare the subjunctive and the imperative mood focusing on English and Hungarian, taking into consideration their distribution both in matrix and embedded clauses. In English the subjunctive is often neglected, since it seems to be fading away from the language. In Hungarian, the subjunctive comprises two morphologically identical moods: the imperative and the subjunctive proper, this fact motivated the present analysis. As we will see, the aforementioned moods reveal quite a number of similarities.

## 1. About the subjunctive in general

Traditionally the notion of mood is restricted to a category expressed in verbal morphology. Thus, it is formally a morphosyntactic category of the verb, but it has certain semantic functions that affect the meaning of the whole sentence. (Palmer, 1986:21) It is also widely acknowledged that the indicative is the prototypical mood of matrix clauses with affirmative illocutionary force consistently across various languages.

As opposed to this, the subjunctive is crosslinguistically restricted to matrix clauses with a special illocutionary force, such as *optatives*:

- |     |                            |                   |
|-----|----------------------------|-------------------|
| (1) | Long live (SUBJ) the king! | (English)         |
| (2) | Éljen a király!            | (Hungarian)       |
|     | Long live (SUBJ) the king! |                   |
| (3) | Să crești mare.            | (Romanian)        |
|     | May you grow (SUBJ) big.   | (Farkas, 1985:76) |
- or *commands* and negative commands, i.e. prohibitions:
- |     |                                  |                   |
|-----|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| (4) | Lo dica pure!                    | (Italian)         |
|     | Go ahead and say (SUBJ) it!      | (Portner, 1999:3) |
| (5) | ¡No me lo digas (SUBJ)!          | (Spanish)         |
|     | Don't tell (SUBJ) me!            |                   |
| (6) | Să nici nu-l mai vezi.           | (Romanian)        |
|     | Don't even see (SUBJ) him again! | (Farkas, 1985:75) |

Although it may occur in matrix clauses, the main function of the subjunctive in many European languages is that of being ‘subordinate’, i.e. it is the mood typically used in complement clauses, as it is predicted by the etymology of the term *subjunctive* (<Latin *subiungere* (submit)), which is a translation of the Greek term *hypotaktikē* (subordinate).

According to Palmer (1986:127-128), basically three types of *complement clauses* can be differentiated. Crosslinguistically, the subjunctive may be found in each of these:

1. The subjunctive often appears in *adverbial clauses*, for example in counterfactual conditionals (as in English), and purpose clauses (as in Hungarian), just to mention a few. Due to lack of space I will not attempt to analyse this form now.

2. The second type of subordinate clause consists of *relative clauses*, where the triggering of the subjunctive is only optional. Since the subjunctive is never licensed in English or Hungarian relative clauses it will not concern us here.

3. Complement clauses belonging to the third group are introduced by a lexical predicate. The subjunctive is quite often licensed in such environments, and it is interesting to see how mood choice varies across languages, depending on the *matrix predicate*. In general, predicates tending to license the subjunctive in their complement clauses are directives, desideratives, and those expressing necessity and possibility:

- (7) I demand that Anna come (SUBJ) with us. (English)
- (8) Vreau ca Ana să vină cu noi. (Romanian)  
I want Ana to come (SUBJ) with us. (Farkas, 1985:76)
- (9) Azt akarom, hogy Anna velünk jöjjön. (Hungarian)  
I demand that Anna come (SUBJ) with us.
- (10) It is necessary that he come (SUBJ) with us. (English)
- (11) E necesar să vină cu noi. (Romanian)  
It is necessary that he come (SUBJ) with us. (Farkas, 1985:81)
- (12) Szükséges, hogy velünk jöjjön. (Hungarian)  
It is necessary that he come (SUBJ) with us.

With factive-emotive predicates and non-factive verbs of mental judgement we find somewhat greater variety across languages:

- (13) Ion e trist că Maria e bolnavă. (Romanian)  
Ion is sad that Maria is (IND) sick. (Farkas, 2003:2)
- (14) Jean regrette que Marie est/soit mal. (French)  
Jean regrets that Marie is (IND)/(SUBJ) sick. (Farkas, 2003:2)
- (15) Mary believes that John wrote (IND) her. (English)
- (16) Maria crede că Ion i-a scris. (Romanian)  
Maria believes that Ion wrote (IND) her. (Farkas, 2003:1)

- (17) Gianni crede che Maria sia partita. (Italian)  
Gianni believes that Maria left (SUBJ). (Portner,  
1999:5)

## 2. The imperative and its relation to the subjunctive across various languages

Imperative clauses can be used to issue orders, commands, demands, requests, threats, exhortations, permissions, concessions, warnings and advice, etc., and may take many forms crosslinguistically, such as an indicative, a subjunctive, or that of a morphologically distinct imperative mood.

Comparing the imperative with other moods, several *peculiar properties* can be found.

### 2.1. The imperative paradigm

If there is a morphologically distinct imperative mood in a given language, it tends to be unmarked or minimally marked even in highly inflected languages. In Latin, for instance, there are only two forms of the imperative, singular and plural, and the singular form is the only form identical with the bare stem:

(18) Dic!

Speak.sg!

(19) Dicit!

Speak.pl! (Palmer, 1986:29)

In other languages the imperative forms are often morphologically identical to that of the subjunctive. This is the case in Spanish, where three of the five available forms of the imperative are identical to the present forms of the subjunctive, the only exceptions being the second person imperative forms. In Italian, 'imperative' and subjunctive forms coincide, so Portner (1997:192) suggests that they are synchronically analysable as subjunctives.

The imperative usually exists only in present tense. The reason for this is quite clear: imperative speech acts do not commit the speaker to the truth of their propositional content (vs. assertions), they are instructions for action to be accomplished in the future, and attempt to shape the future actions of the addressee. The distribution of past time adverbs also reflects this 'future' aspect of the imperative (Huntley, 1984:114):

(20) Do the job next week/\*last week!

## 2.2. Imperative subjects

It is widely assumed that the imperative has only second person forms, sometimes this is even claimed to be a universal property of the imperative mood. For example, Lyons (1977:746-747) argues that imperatives can only be second person, and never third person. However, in Latin and Greek there are certain forms that are referred to as third person imperatives (but in neither of these languages can we find first person imperatives). There are even some languages having specific first and third person imperative forms for exhortation (cf. the English first person imperatives: *let me, let us*).

If we accept that the main function of the imperative is to give an instruction to the hearer, it is not surprising that in most languages we can find only second person imperatives. However, the hearer(s) can be addressed in less direct ways as well:

(21) Someone open the window!

(22) Joe and Mike stay here, the others go out!

As Palmer (1986:111) notes “speakers can also address themselves, treating themselves as hearers, so to speak:

Keep calm! (= I must keep calm)

But this raises no real issue – the speaker is both speaker and hearer and the 2<sup>nd</sup> person form is appropriate.”

In Hungarian, there is a first person singular form in the imperative paradigm, which is quite unusual, since in most languages this verb form is nonexistent. It is used in sentences expressing a wish or asking for permission.

## 2.3. Imperatives and negation

Imperative forms are negated in various ways in different languages. In several languages, for example in Latin, the subjunctive is used. An interesting phenomenon occurs in Spanish, where the imperative mood has two different second person verb forms, realised as a ‘true’ imperative or as a subjunctive, depending on the affirmative or negative structure of the sentence.

For instance (Haverkate, 2002:12),

(23) ¡Devuélvele el dinero mañana!

Give (IMP) him back the money tomorrow!

(24) ¡No le devuelvas el dinero mañana!

Don’t give (SUBJ) him back the money tomorrow!

## 2.4. Imperatives in embedded clauses

Understanding main clause imperatives is not possible without taking into consideration their embedded counterparts. Crosslinguistically, the imperative does not occur in subordinate clauses in most languages (cf. English, Spanish), but a deontic modal is possible:

(25) \*I tell you that come tomorrow.

(26) I tell you that you must come tomorrow. (Palmer, 1986:113)

However, in direct speech we can meet the imperative in embedded clauses:

(27) My advice is – come tomorrow.

The above phenomenon can be explained by the fact that indirect speech often requires deictic shift from second person to third person, and if the imperative does not have third person forms in the language considered, then there is no form to be used in embedded clauses.

## 3. The subjunctive and the imperative mood in English

### 3.1. The subjunctive

The English subjunctive is a mere shadow of the subjunctive of other languages, it has three main functions (Quirk *et al*, 1985:76-77):

1. The *mandative subjunctive* seems to be related to the imperative, since they take the same form: the base in all persons. It appears subjectless in matrix clauses, where it is known as the imperative.

(28) Go home!

It also occurs embedded under certain matrix predicates expressing recommendation, resolution, demand such as *recommend, propose, suggest, insist, demand, require, urge, order, decree, dictate, command, direct, permit, request, ask, desire* etc. (Quirk *et al*, 1985:833-834) As an example consider the following sentence:

(29) I demanded that John go home.

2. The *formulaic subjunctive* also consists of the base, however it is used in certain set expressions:

(30) God save the Queen!

(31) So be it then!

3. The *counterfactual subjunctive* will not concern us here.

### 3.2 The English imperative

In English the imperative comprises the base form of the verb, without endings for number or tense, thus, it has the same form as the

mandative subjunctive. It is restricted with respect to tense, aspect, voice, and modality. There is no tense distinction or perfect aspect. First person imperatives can be formed by preposing the verb *let* followed by a subject:

(32) Let me have a look!

The same applies to third person subjects:

(33) Let him speak now. (Quirk *et al*, 1985:402-406)

### 3.3 Their relation

Imperatives, primarily associated with issuing an order, are strikingly similar to the complements of directives, where the embedded verb form is taken to be a subjunctive:

(34) (You) give me the book!

(35) I demand that you give me the book.

As Huntley (1984:108-109) notes that-clauses as complements of directives have a distinctive subjunctive form, compare:

(36) Bill asserted/said/stated that Mary will invite Joe.

Joe is allowed to drive.

\*Mary invite Joe.

\*Joe be allowed to drive.

(37) Bill demanded/ordered that \*Mary will invite Joe.

\*Joe is allowed to drive.

Mary invite Joe.

Joe be allowed to drive.

Note that the same verb form occurs in matrix imperatives and in their embedded counterparts. Subjectless imperatives do not appear as such in that-clauses.

However, the occurrence of these forms is not restricted to complements of directives, the subjunctive can express a more extensive sense of obligation than that associated with directives. As Portner (1999:4) argues,

(38) Rain soon!

expresses an order to a personified sky, but

(39) It is necessary that it rain soon.

conveys a human need. This difference might be related to the fact that the implied subject in root imperatives is always second person, indicating that the addressee is ordered to accomplish something, while the embedded subjunctive can take any subject. The meaning conveyed after directive predicates is 'ought to do', while after *necessary* it may be expressed as 'ought to be'.

Now the following question arises: is the English imperative a mood proper or just a form of the subjunctive? Comparing them we find that neither root imperatives, nor embedded forms allow the occurrence of modal verbs, but there is a difference with respect to word order in negative structures:

(40) I demand that you not give me the book.

(41) Don't (you) give me the book!

If we consider their semantics, another question arises: while the literal meaning of assertions is added to the common ground of the conversation, we cannot claim the same to be true of commands (Portner, 1997:167-168):

(42) I demand that you give me the book.

(43) (You) give me the book!

How are the above examples related to each other? Does (43) mean (42)? If yes, what is the relation between the meaning of the imperative and the meaning of the embedded subjunctive? And how can it be explained that commands have a different effect from assertions upon the discourse in which they occur?

#### 4. The subjunctive in Hungarian

As it was mentioned before, the subjunctive comprises two morphologically identical moods in Hungarian: the *imperative* and the *subjunctive proper*, the two being differentiated only by the position of the preverb (cf. É. Kiss *et al*, 1998:141-142) For this reason in what follows I will not treat them separately. The Hungarian subjunctive has a full present tense paradigm.

As Tompa (1962:34-36) observes the subjunctive is used in matrix imperative clauses to express a direct or an indirect command, request, advice, permission, or exhortation. The command expressed by the imperative speech act is direct if the hearer is the doer, (first or second persons, and third person (formal addressing)), it is indirect when the hearer is not identical with the doer (only third person forms). Imperatives may have a first person subject, such sentences usually express a wish or asking for permission.

The subjunctive in matrix clauses may also have an optative meaning:

(44) Legyen már tavasz!

May it be (SUBJ) spring!

Imperative speech acts may also be expressed with embedded clauses containing a subjunctive verb form, where the matrix predicate has a

directive meaning. The subjunctive also appears embedded under desideratives, volitives, rational evaluation predicates, permissives and purposives. For example:

(45) Követeltem, hogy adja ide a könyvet.

I demanded that he give (SUBJ) me the book.

The embedded clauses show a number of similarities to root imperatives: they usually express a command, wish or permission, and they tend to be posterior, thus, they do not describe a present state of affairs, but express only possibilities, desired or demanded alternatives to the present state of affairs.

## 5. A semantic explanation

As we have seen above there exists a strong parallelism between root imperative clauses and embedded subjunctives in both languages. For example, in English, imperative meaning is closely related to that of the mandative subjunctive.

We can notice that the kinds of subjunctives examined here (optative, mandative and the imperative) share a sense of ‘desirability’. This general sense can be further specified: while an optative subjunctive has the sense of ‘this ought to be’, a mandative (paralleling the imperative) has a meaning like ‘x ought to do this.’ (Portner, 1992:160-163) In Hungarian the subjunctive occurs in similar environments and seems to have the same core meaning (though it is licensed in other environments, too, for example in purpose clauses, but these would reveal similar characteristics).

The semantic characterization of the subjunctive mood also helps us to understand its syntactic distribution, for example the fact that the subjunctive appears across various languages embedded under directives (*order*), and desideratives (*want, wish*). It would be a welcome result to be able to predict the mood of the embedded clause on the basis of semantic (and perhaps some other) factors.

Mood difference can also signal meaning difference. If we consider a predicate that allows two moods in its subordinate clause, it is obvious that there are no syntactic or other grammatical factors that could explain change of mood in the subordinate clause. Thus, it seems to be right to suppose that there is semantic motivation behind mood choice and mood variation in the complement clause. If each predicate governed only one mood, we could argue that mood choice in subordinate clauses is governed lexically, i.e. certain lexical features of the verb that are listed in the lexicon define which mood is grammatical. However, as we will see soon, some predicates allow their subordinate clause to be in more than one grammatical mood, and



lexical features alone cannot explain this fact. As Farkas (1992b:70) notes the meaning of the verb may change with a change of mood in the embedded clause. For example, it is well known that predicates expressing communicative acts shift their meaning while licensing a different mood in their embedded clause.

(46) Mondtam Péternek, hogy elmegyek a bálba.  
I told to Peter that I would go (IND) to the ball.

(47) Mondtam Péternek, hogy menjen el a bálba.  
I told Peter to go (SUBJ) to the ball.

In the first case *mond* is a declarative, it reports an earlier assertion, while in the second case *mond* is a directive, it reports an order.

We can meet the same phenomenon in various languages. For example, in English, depending on the epistemic or deontic uses of ‘insist’, different mood is licensed in the subordinate clause. (Huntley, 1984:118) Consider the following:

(48) I insist that John is having dinner.

(49) I insist that John have dinner.

Thus, mood variation in complement clauses can be explained on the basis of the semantic behaviour of the matrix predicate: some predicates may belong to more than one semantically motivated classes, and may take different complements.

As we have seen, negation may affect the verb form used in matrix imperatives, this is the case in Spanish for example. Negation of the main verb may also influence mood choice in its complement clause, which provides further evidence in favour of a semantic analysis. Consider the following examples:

(50) Lehetséges, hogy időben hazaér/\*hazaérjen.  
It is possible that he will arrive (IND)/(SUBJ) on time.

(51) Nem lehetséges, hogy időben hazaér/hazaérjen.  
It is not possible that he will arrive (IND)/(SUBJ) on time.

## 6. Summary

The present analysis dealing with the distribution of the subjunctive and the imperative in English and Hungarian aimed to reach a better understanding of the semantics of the moods in question. We have seen that there seems to be a semantic parallelism between root imperatives and embedded subjunctives in both languages, the main function of the subjunctive being that of expressing possibilities, demanded or desired alternatives to the present state of affairs. It has been shown that semantic factors influence the distribution of moods, thus, the semantic

characterisation of the subjunctive mood helps us to understand its syntactic distribution, which, in turn, could be utilised for example in second language teaching.

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**‘CHITCHATTING’ IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN.  
TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK IN THE STUDY OF  
REDUPLICATIVES**

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**Introduction**

Even if it is situated among the less productive word-creating mechanisms, reduplication has provided the two languages with a considerable amount of such words. This approach will try to formally, stylistically and semantically describe reduplicatives in the two languages in order to show the similarities and differences detectable at the lexical and stylistic levels, even if there is scanty theoretical information about these lexemes.

The Latin word *reduplicatio/ reduplications* was adopted and adapted in the two languages (reduplication and reduplicare, respectively) in order to denominate the act or the result of doubling a sound or word usually for grammatical purposes (McArthur, 1996:772), or ‘the repetition of one or more phonemes in the root of a word in order to assign one new morphologic or stylistic value to the word or in order to create a new word’ (DEX, 1984:789). More rigid definitions consider only those hyphenated pairs of monosyllabic lexemes which ‘are never used as single words’ (Collins Cobuild, 1994:84-5) (which is the case with the constitutive elements of *ping-pong* or *tam-tam*, for example) to be genuine reduplicatives, the rest of them being ‘rhymed compounds’.

**A classification of reduplicatives**

Considering the phonetic alterations which may occur in reduplicatives, English lexicologists (Bauer, 1989:212-213, McArthur, 1996:772) grouped them into three sets.

The first set groups the reduplicatives undergoing a vowel change i.e., /i/ is replaced by /æ/ in *dilly-dally*, *riffraff*, *flim-flam*, *pitter-patter*, and /i/ is displaced by short /o/, as in *seesaw* or *wish-wash*. The second set deals with those pairs whose initial consonant changes, as in *hocus-pocus*, *namby-pamby* or *willy-nilly* and, finally, those which are mere repetitions of the same lexical unit: *win-win*, *fifty-fifty*, *hush-hush*, *no-no*. These mere or emphatic repetitions in English are usually very frequent in baby talk (for instance by ‘*It’s a no-no*’ children are told that they are definitely not

allowed to do something), colloquial speech or in slang phrases, where *It's a hush-hush* means 'it's a top secret issue'. In addition to these patterns as a consequence of the inventories we could draw after scanning the Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary (1996), the following should also be considered: (1) the addition of consonants to the first element which is repeated: *argy-bargy*, *arty-crafty*, (2) the replacement of one consonant by two such sounds, as in *nitty-gritty*, *stun-gun* or (3) the joining of two elements which have rhyming ends: *hoi-polloi*, *munbo-jumbo*.

There still exist cases which reveal the application of the same creative pattern to mono- or multisyllabled words which also exist independently, but when joined together they are more colourful and impressive. McArthur (1996:508) considers that such compounds 'lodge easily in the memory and sometimes become catch-phrases': the *jet set* 'the leisured class which travels frequently', *the brain drain* 'exodus of academics', *culture vulture* 'someone who indiscriminately "consumes" culture. To this type of pattern *flower power*, the philosophy of the hippies and *fictionary dictionary* described by Hellweg (1995:144) 'as a parlor game which incents imagination and the desire to know the meaning of rarely used words' will be added.

Romanian may provide its own examples for all of the mechanisms which are active in English. Thus, there have been recorded instances of sound alterations with vowel changes as in *tic-tac*, *ding-dong*, etc, which are onomatopoeic representations of various sounds in nature. Besides, more formations of this type either were borrowed from English: *tip-top*, *hip-hop* or are to be found in English as well.

The consonant change is also active with Romanian reduplicatives, examples in point being the following: *calea-valea*, *tura-vura*, *hara-para*, *talmeș-balmeș*. The mere repetitions are very numerous in our language and in most of the cases they are onomatopoeic formations: *țup-țup*, *cioc-cioc*, *cri-cri*, *ham-ham*; very few of them are alterations of foreign words: *bigi-bigi* < Turkish 'cici bici' DEX, 1984:84), etc. Consonants added to the first element may be illustrated by *ala-bala*, *vrând-nevrând*, *cum-necum*, *jur-împrejur* while for the consonant displacements *târâș-grăpiș*, is one of the adequate examples.

Finally, pairs of words created on the basis of their rhyming final sounds will encompass *tam-nesam*, *treacă-meargă* and *mort-copt*. The difference between the two languages resides in the number of examples to sustain the theoretical statements which is the result of the smaller number of Romanian reduplicatives.

Some Romanian lexicologists admit that this language possesses more than five thousand such formations, which are pronounced in a

‘compulsorily exclamatory manner’ (Zugun, 2000:151), but after the thorough scanning of the two editions of the DEX, the Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language I could hardly find forty examples, probably because most of the onomatopoeic formations the author must consider, such as *lipa-lipa!* (Zugun, 2000:134), were not given dictionary entries.

The attitude of linguists with regard to reduplicatives has been constant in most of the cases: Jespersen (1938:220) merely signals their presence in the English lexicon and exemplifies twelve of them; Bauer (1989:212-3), making use of a special terminology, sketchily classifies them and records only eighteen such formations. Things are not different in Romanian, for tiny paragraphs mentioning the existence of this secondary word building mechanism are included in some of the volumes intended for the description of our lexicon (Șerban, Evseev, 1978, Zugun, 2000:151).

### **Origins of reduplicatives**

Reduplicatives in both languages etymologically belong to two divisions: they may be loans from a wide range or they may be echoing words. In addition, English has sometimes gone back to old dialects for more suggestive words. Thus, these formations may originate in words coming from foreign languages: *beri-beri* (< Sinhala, the language of Indo-Aryan origin which is spoken by the Sinhalese, the people living on the island of Sri Lanka), *ylang-ylang* (< Tagalog, an Austronesian language), *tam-tam* (< Hindi), or *kow-tow* (< Chinese).

In the case of English only, very few of the reduplicatives come from its old or dialectal forms: *hobnob* < from the obsolete phrase *drink hobnob* (to drink alternatively to one another; to drink sociably), *argy-bargy* < Scots and English dialect, *hub-bub* < Irish origin, akin to Scottish Gaelic *ub ub*, an interjection of contempt’, *hoity-toity* < English dialect *hoit* ‘to play the fool’.

Very few of the Romanian reduplicatives were borrowed from French (*cancan* < can-can, *tu-tu* < tou-tou), Turkish (*harcea-parcea* < harçea-parçea, *cuș-cuș* < kuskus) and even Hungarian (*șontâc-șontâc* < santika). The English forms present in Romanian, reduplicatives included, are enumerated, classified and commented upon in two volumes focused on the English contribution to the Romanian vocabulary (Ciobanu, 1996, 2004).

In some of the cases the borrowed formations belonging to English originate in echoing words: *mot-mot* (the subtropical American bird) is a ‘repetitive compound imitating the bird’s note’ (Webster, 1996:1254), *chiff-*

*chaff*, the imitating song of ‘a small grayish European songbird, which has a dull repetitive song’, and *tam-tam* that is ‘a gong with an indefinite pitch’.

In rather few cases in English and some more in Romanian, these imitative words are metonymically used in baby talk to denote or name animals, as ‘*bowwow*’ instead of ‘dog’ and even story or nursery rhyme characters *Humpty Dumpty*, for one example, which besides naming the character it also denotes ‘something that is once broken is impossible or almost impossible to put back’ and *miau-miau* ‘the name for a cat’, *mor-mor*, ‘the name for a bear’, or *chiț-chiț* and *ronț-ronț*, ‘names for “friendly” rodents’.

### **The grammar of reduplicatives**

In point of their grammatical behaviour, they may undertake the status of various kinds of parts of speech, or lexical classes, being used either monosemantically or polysemantically, as nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs.

The nouns may display only one meaning, as in *hanky-panky* ‘questionable or underhanded activity’, *hodge-podge* ‘a heterogeneous mixture’, *hokey-pokey* ‘ice cream sold by street vendors’ or *hotch-potch* ‘a thick soup or stew of vegetables, potatoes and usually meat’. There are instances when the noun reduplicatives may unfold two or several meanings: *pic-nic* is both ‘an excursion’ and ‘the food provided for such an excursion’, whereas *pom-pom* is 1. ‘An ornamental ball or tuft used especially on clothing, caps and costumes’, 2. ‘a handheld usually brightly coloured fluffy ball flourished by cheerleaders’ and 3. ‘a type of gun’ < the imitative from the sound it discharges. All these foregoing examples show concord with verbs in the singular, but *hoi-polloi* ‘the general populace; the masses’ and *jim-jams* ‘jitters’ or ‘panic’ will always behave as pluralia tantum, taking the verb in the plural.

The adjectives are considerably fewer and they are very seldom used to express comparisons. *Teeny-weeny* ‘tiny’, *too-too* ‘going beyond the bounds of convention, good taste or common sense’, *la-di-da* ‘pretentious, elegant’ are some of the adjective reduplicatives. Unique among the reduplicatives, *dilly-dally* ‘to waste time by loitering or delaying’ is the only formation used as a verb and *holus-bolus* ‘all at once’ together with *okey-doke(y)* used to express assent, the only units used with an adverbial value.

There still are cases of polysemy when the reduplicatives may display the features of two lexical classes, for example *adjectives* and *adverbs* such as *harum-scarum* ‘reckless(ly), irresponsible, irresponsibly’, *higgledy-piggledy* ‘in a confused, disordered manner’; *adjectives* and *nouns*:

*hoity-toity* ‘thoughtless giddy behavior; thoughtlessly silly or frivolous; marked by an air of assumed importance’, *razzle-dazzle* ‘state of confusion or hilarity’/’a complex maneuver (as in sports) designed to confuse an opponent’/’a confusing or colourful often gaudy action or display’, *hurly-burly* ‘uproar, tumult’, or *roly-poly* ‘being short and pudgy; a roly-poly person or thing; a sweet dough spread with a filling, rolled, and baked or steamed’; nouns and verbs: *squeegee* (n. ‘a blade of leather or rubber set on a handle and used for spreading, or wiping liquid material on, across or off a surface’; vb. ‘to smooth, wipe or treat with a squeegee’), *kow-tow* (vb. ‘to kneel and touch the forehead to the ground in token of homage, worship or deep respect; n. ‘the act of kowtowing’).

There are reduplicatives which may share the lexical functions of three classes: *noun*, *verb* and *adjective* which the case of *criss-cross* ‘vb. to mark with intersecting lines, to pass back and forth, through and over; n. the state of being at cross-purposes; a confused state; adj. marked or characterized by crisscrossing; or *noun*, *adjective* and *adverb*: *helter-skelter* ‘n. a disorderly confusion; turmoil; a spiral slide around a tower at an amusement park; adj. ‘confusedly hurried; adv. ‘in undue haste, confusion, or disorder; *hugger-mugger* or *hurry-scurry*. Very few reduplicatives may be *nouns*, *adjectives*, *adverbs* and *verbs*, such as *pitter-patter* and *shilly-shally*.

Unlike English, Romanian may exemplify only nouns, which are usually invariable (having only forms for the singular), one adjective and several adverbs. Some of the nouns in point are *bigi-bigi* (red and sweet jelly which resembles Turkish delight) *hara-para*, *hully gully*, *talmeș-balmeș*, *pompon* and *tam-tam*. The only adjective is *sus-pus*, the pair of *bigwig* ‘somebody important’, while out of the adverbs mention will be made about *ceac-pac* and *mort-copt*.

Reduplicatives are flexible formations which accept derivations with suffixes, added to either element in the structure, which is the instance with the noun *wish-wash* that may be derived into the adjective *wishy-washy*, which, in turn, may provide for the abstract noun *wishy-washiness*; the suffix may be added, in some instances, to the second element in the reduplicative, like in *hobnob* and *hobnobber*.

Derivation is active with Romanian onomatopoeic reduplicatives, which usually affects only one element of the compound, to which verb deriving suffixes come to produce verbs: *șontac* – ‘a *șontăcăi*’, *tic-tic* – ‘a *ticăi*’, *la la* – ‘a *lălăi*’, *tropa-trop* – ‘a *tropăi*’, *lipa-lip* – ‘a *lipăi*’, *mac-mac* – ‘a *măcăi*’. There were noted cases where the onomatopoeic reduplicative replaces its ending with a verb deriving suffix, most frequently *-îi*: *fil-fil* – ‘a *filîi*’, *gîl-gîl* – ‘a *gîlgîi*’, *zum-zum* – ‘a *zumzăi*’. Unique cases of adjective

and noun derivations are to be found with the nouns *zigzag* turned into the adjective *zigzagat* and *dada* turned into the abstract noun *dadaism*.

The flexibility of reduplicatives is noticeable in their meaning, providing cases of extension of meaning: *fuzzy-wuzzy*, *boogie-woogie*, and *hurdy-gurdy*, but this is only the case with English. The initial meaning of *fuzzy-wuzzy* was derogatory and it denominated any Sudanese soldier, but gradually it has come to denote any black African because of the appearance of the hair; *boogie-woogie* first defined a style of playing blues on the piano characterized by a steady rhythmic bass with four beats to the bar and a simple, often improvised melody to later on extend its meaning so as to be used in connection with pop music with a strong regular beat suitable for dancing to in a disco'. Dated in the English lexicon as early as 1749, the *hurdy-gurdy* was at the time 'a stringed instrument', but now it generically used to name any of various mechanical instruments. Romanian also displays a case of extension of meaning with *tam-tam* which has acquired a figurative meaning in addition to the denotative ones: 'a percussion musical instrument', 'the music played by such an instrument' and 'huge noise' (DEX, 1984: 937).

### **False reduplicatives**

Both English and Romanian have words which phonetically seem to be reduplicatives i.e., they reveal a structure based on apparently two identical halves, such as *wigwag*, *yo-yo* and *wigwam* in the former case, and *țurțur* and *tiutiu* in the latter; the common feature of all these enumerated words is the fact that the etymological explanation in each dictionary entry accounts for any other reason but reduplication. *Tiutiu* is not included in the 1984 DEX, but it is recorded with unknown etymology and as part of the idiomatic construction *a fi tiutiu* 'to be very crazy; to be as drunk as a lord' (Avram, 1997:247).

### **Final remarks**

Remote as the English and Romanian languages are, they nevertheless may unveil points of contact at the lexical or the grammatical level.

With reduplicatives, it is obvious that the two languages have formations which come from different or from the same foreign languages or from echoing or imitative words. Grammatically, these compounds may share their belonging with one or more lexical classes. Structurally, they may accept verb and noun forming suffixes. Stylistically, they are



whimsical creations, frequently used in the baby talk and colloquial language. A particularity of the English reduplicatives resides in the habit of its native speakers to go back to old dialects and revive all those words which are expressive and which 'carry on' the heavy 'burden' of century-long tradition and wonderful linguistic heritage.

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## TOWARDS AN ATLAS OF ENGLISH FAMILY NAMES

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### Introduction

The English of England has already been put on the map in a number of atlases. There are national atlases as well as regional ones; there are very detailed maps and simplified ones. Surprisingly perhaps, there is not yet a comprehensive atlas of family names.

This also holds true for many other languages. The internet provides the distribution of some family names for France, Italy and the USA<sup>1</sup>). For Luxemburg 112 distribution maps of individual family names are available; there are also quite a number of maps of German family names in print, and for the Netherlands an atlas of family names is in preparation<sup>2</sup>). The reason for the dearth of such projects must be seen in the available sources.

In addition to the atlas proper, and as part of the atlas, it is my intention to produce a grammar of family names that will consist of two parts. The first part will be concerned with aspects of expression and the second part with aspects of content. Thus the first part will, e.g., deal with graphemics, that is variant spellings of names, such as *Hardy-Hardey-Hardie-Hardee* ('bold, courageous') in the vowel range and *Ri(t)ch*, *W(h)ild(e)* or *Pig(g)* in the consonant range<sup>3</sup>).

Moreover, special developments in phonology will also be discussed here, such as *Servant(e)-Sarvant*; *Pitt-Pett(s)-Putt* (< OE *pytt* 'hole'; see further below); *Fiddler-Vidler* 'one who plays the fiddle'; *Chancellor-Cancellor*; *Wait(e)-Gait(e)* (in this context 'watchman'); *Rigg(e)-Rigg(s)* (< Old Norse *hryggr* 'mountain ridge') - *Ridge* (< OE *hrycg* with the same meaning).

On the syntagmatic level I will deal with the disintegration of old declensions and their effect on family names. Two examples must suffice here: OE *bȳre* 'stable, hut' (> ModE *byre* 'cowshed') had such inflected forms for the dative plural as *æt þā ƿā m bȳrum* > ME *at then* (contracted to *atten* around 1200) *bīren* > *atte bīres* (around 1300 with the standardized plural -s) from which developed the ModE family names *Byrom*, *Byram*, *Biram* (earliest layer) - *Byron*, *Biron*, *Byran* (second layer) and *Byres*, *Biers* (final layer) or *æt þære āce* 'at the oak' > *atter q̄ke*, *atten q̄ke*, *atte q̄ke* which, in turn, gave the family names *Roake*, *Roke* (due to deglutination) - *Oak(e)*, *Oke* and *Oaks* or, because, again, of wrong separation of article and noun (*atten q̄ke* > *atte nōke*) *Noak(e)*, *Noke(s)*, *Noakes*.

A further aspect to be treated will be family names in relation to the history of word-formation:

There are agent-nouns such as OE *dēma* 'judge' > *Deem*, *Deam*; also *dēmere* 'judge' existed in Old English from whence developed *Deemer*, *Deamer*, *Demers*. Today there is also *Dempster*. In OE *-estre* was freely used to form feminine agent-nouns, in exactly the same manner in which *-ere* was used to form masculine agent-nouns. In northern Middle English, however, perhaps owing to the frequent adoption by men of trades like weaving, baking, tailoring etc., the suffix *-ster* came very early to be used indiscriminately with *-er*, as an agential ending irrespective of gender (*The Oxford English Dictionary* [1989], s.v. '-ster').

A further group is formed by obscured compounds: For instance OE *brād* 'broad' + *□(a)ge* 'eye' developed into *Bradie*, *Brady*, *Broady* or *Littley* (< OE *lȳtel* 'little' + *□[a]ge*).

The second part of the atlas will deal with aspects of content. Here the arrangement of family names will be according to their origin. Surnames can be divided into the following main categories: Local surnames where locative and topographical surnames can be distinguished; surnames derived from personal names; surnames of relationship; surnames of occupation, status or office; and nicknames.

Local surnames are by far the largest group. Locative surnames derive from the names of specific places, indicating where the man held land, or the place from which he had come or where he actually lived. These local surnames derive (with occasional exceptions) from English, Scottish or French places and were originally preceded by a preposition *de*, *at*, *by*, *in* etc. A certain number of Old English formations are found before the Norman Conquest in 1066 such as *Aelfweard æt Dentune* (972) or *Aelfstan on Lundene* (988) (cf. Tengvik 1938). After the Conquest the usual preposition is *de*, which is used before both English and French place names. In French names beginning with a vowel, this *de* has often coalesced with the name, as was the case with, e.g., *Danvers* (from Anvers [Antwerp]) or *Disney* (from *Isigny* [Calvados in northern France]). Moreover, names associated with natural landmarks, topographical surnames, such as *Banks*, *Ford*, *Field*, *Moore* or *Westbrook* belong to the local surname group as well as names associated with man-made landmarks, such as *Bridge* or *Bridger* 'dweller by the bridge', *Castle*, *Hall* or *Towers*, or names which indicate nationality, such as *English*, *Scott*, *Angwin* or *Fleming*, all of which are found in the Domesday Book<sup>4</sup>). Even after the spelling of the place-name had become fixed, new colloquial pronunciations could develop which were adopted as the correct form of the surname. Hence, it is often impossible, at first sight, to identify the place from which the surname originated. To

mention just one example out of many: The present-day place-name *Sawbridgeworth* (Hertfordshire) was *Sabrixteorde* in 1086 ‘the farm of S → ~~S~~ beorht’. By 1565 it had become *Sapsworth* and by 1568 *Sapsforde*. Both *Sapsworth* and *Sapsford* are now found as surnames and from these come *Sapserd* and *Sapsed* and, with intrusive *t*, *Sapste(a)d*. Weekley (1936) presents quite a number of examples of obsolete, dialect or obscure place or manorial names which have given surnames. They are mostly monosyllables of Old English origin, but they also include a few Old French words. Some are quite simple, but others Weekley was unable to explain. Interesting survivals of Scandinavian formations are the local surnames *Sotherby* or *Westoby* (from Old Norse *suðr* or *vestr í bý* [the man who lived] ‘south or west in the village’). Similar English formations survive in, e.g., *Westington* (< OE *west in tūne*), or *Uppington* (< OE *upp in tūne* [dweller] ‘up in the village’) (for further information on this aspect see Redmonds 1997).

In the literature, surnames derived from personal names are sometimes subsumed under surnames of relationship, sometimes both groups are kept separate. I will deal with them separately and start with the more numerous personal names. They are often called patronymics, which is inadequate because many modern surnames are formed from women's names, such as *Margetts*, a common medieval woman's name, or *Margary* (*Margerie* was a popular French form of *Margu rite*).

Among Christian names (predominantly patronymics) the following subgroups can be differentiated:

a) Full form of names without any addition:

*Welliam, Gill(i)am, Gil(l)ham; John, Jone, Joan, Jan, Jane, Jean.*

b) with *-s* suffix:

*Williams, Willems; Jones, Joanes, John(e)s, Janes, Jean(e)s; Roberts.*

c) with *-son* suffix:

*Williamson; Jo(h)ns(t)on; Rober(t)son.*

d) Shortened and pet forms:

*Will(e); Hann; Robb, Dobb(e), Hob(b).*

e) Shortened and pet forms with *-s* and *-son*:

*Will(e)s, Wyllys, Wil(l)son; Robbs, Rob(e)son, Dobbs, Dobson, Hobb(e)s, Hobson.*

f) as in d), with suffix *-kin*, perhaps of Flemish origin, meaning ‘little’, partly with *-s* or *-son*:

*Wilkin(s)(on); Jenkin(s)(on), Hankin(s); Hopkin(s)(on), Hobkinson.*

g) as in d), with suffix *-cock* (of uncertain origin), partly with *-s* or *-son*:

*Wil(l)cock(s)(on), Wil(l)cox; Johncock(s), Han(d)cock, Hancox.*

h) as in d), with one of the French diminutive or pet suffixes of the types *-et*, *-ot*, *-on*, *-in*, *-al*, partly with *-s* or *-son*:

*Willet(t)(s)*, *Willot*; *Robin(s)(on)*, *Dobbin(s)(on)*, *Hobbins*, *Roblin*, *Hoblin*, *Roblett*.

i) Formations with *Fitz* (< Old French *fiz* 'son'):

*Fitzwilliam(s)*; *Fitzjohn*; *Fitzhenry*; *Fitzwa(l)ter*; *Fitzhugh*, *Fitzhugues*.

j) Formations with *Mac-*, *Mc-* (Scottish and Irish 'son'):

*McWilliam(s)*; *McMichael*; *MacGregor*; *McNic(h)ol*, *McNickle*; *Macadam*.

k) Formations with *P-* (*B-* before a vowel) (Welsh *ap* 'son'):

*apRoberts*, *Probert*; *Pugh*; *Badams*; *Bevan(s)* (*Evan* is the Welsh form of *John*).

Thus a Christian name can be altered over time. The name *David*, for example, has become: *Davey*, *Davids*, *Dowell*, *Davidson*, *Davidge*, *Davie*, *Davies*, *Davis*, *Davison*, *Dayson*, *Davy*, *Davys*, *Daw*, *Dawe*, *Dawes*, *Dawkes*, *Dawkins*, *Daws*, *Dawson*, *Day*, *Davitt*, *Dowson*, *Dowd*, *Dowden*, *Dowling* and *McDavid*, altogether 26 modifications. The baptismal name of *Richard* has been modified to give us: *Dick*, *Dickens*, *Dickenson*, *Dickson*, *Dixon*, *Heacock*, *Hick*, *Hickin*, *Hickman*, *Hickmot*, *Hickox*, *Hicks*, *Hickson*, *Higgins*, *Higginson*, *Higgs*, *Higman*, *Hiscock*, *Hitch*, *Hitchcock*, *Hitchcox*, *Hitchinson*, *Hitchmough*, *Hix*, *Reckett*, *Ricard*, *Rich*, *Ritch*, *Richards*, *Riche*, *Richer*, *Richett*, *Richney*, *Richie*, *Richman*, *Rick*, *Rickard*, *Rickeard*, *Rickett*, *Ricketts*, *Rickman*, *Ricks*, *Rickson*, *Ritchie*, *Ritchard*, *Richardson*, *Rix* and *Pri(t)chard(s)*, altogether 48 modifications!

Surnames of other relations are surnames from terms of relationship, such as *Couzens* with many different spellings (< Old French *cusin*, *cosin* 'a kinsman or kinswoman'), *Neave* (< OE *nefa* 'nephew'), *Uncle* and so on. In early sources relationships such as *Alwinus Childebroder* or *Wluin Brune stepsune* are expressed. Everywhere in England surnames of this type constituted only a small proportion of the total body of names in use.

As for surnames of occupation, status or office, the innumerable surnames of this type refer to actual holders of office, whether of church or state, e.g. *Abbot*, *Prior*, *Chancellor*, *Steward* ('dapifer' = 'one who brings meat to table; hence, the official title of the steward of a king's or nobleman's household'), or to ecclesiastical or manorial status, e.g. *Monk*, *Sergeant* or *Reeve*. Among the Normans some offices of state such as steward or marshal became hereditary and gave rise to hereditary surnames. Abbots, priors and monks were bound by vows of celibacy and thus could not found families. As medieval surnames, these must be nicknames, 'lordly as an abbot', often, too, bestowed on one of most unpriestly habits.

Occupational surnames originally denoted the actual occupation followed by the individual. At what period they became hereditary is difficult to say. A marked feature is the surprising variety and specialised nature of medieval occupations, particularly in the cloth industry where Fransson 1935:30 noted 165 different surnames, while the metal trades provide 108, and provision dealers 107 different names. Many of these have disappeared but other surnames still recall occupations or occupational terms long decayed. Examples are: *Barker* ('tanner'), *Chaucer* ('shoe-maker'), *Cheesewright* ('cheese-maker') or *Lister* ('dyer'). Other modern surnames that derived from occupations are still clearly recognisable, such as *Barber* (formerly a regular practitioner in surgery and dentistry), *Baker*, *Smith*, *Taylor*, *Potter*, *Carpenter*, *Fisher* or *Butcher*. In some cases the Latin or French words won out in the general language against the English (e.g. *Butcher* against *Flesher* or *Carpenter* against *Wright*), in others the reverse occurred (e.g. *Fisher* against *Petcher* or *Peacher* or *Smith* against *Fe(a)vers* or *Faber*). A *Farmer* did not only cultivate land for the owner, but he also collected taxes. A *Banker* is not an occupational term at all; it meant 'dweller by a bank'.

The final major group is the nicknames. No full and satisfactory classification can be attempted. Some are unintelligible; the meaning of many is doubtful. Many medieval nicknames have disappeared. Some are obvious, describing physical attributes or peculiarities, e.g. *Whitehead*, *Longfellow*, *Goodbody* or *Goosey* ('goose-eye'). *Kennedy* is Gaelic for 'ugly head'. For mental and moral characteristics *Swift*, *Hardy*, *Wise*, *Daft* ('foolish'), *Pennyfather* ('miser') are examples. Other nicknames indicate some quality or characteristic, such as *Dolittle*, *Gotobed* or *Makepeace*. Oath names and imperative names also belong here, such as *Pardew*, *Pard(e)y*, *Pardue*, *Pardoe* (< *par Dieu*, perhaps shortened from *de par Dieu* 'in God's name') and *Crakebone* ('crack bone', 'break bone', a nickname for the official, who inflicted the cruel punishment of medieval law'). Many of these nicknames are more or less derogatory occupation names: *Knatchbull* (ME *knetch*, *knatch* 'to knock on the head, fell' and *bull* 'Fell bull', a nickname for a 'butcher') or *Catchpole* (originally Old Northern French *cachepol* 'chase fowl'; 'a taxgatherer', later 'a petty officer of justice, especially a warrant officer who arrests for debt', signifying a 'constable').

In London surnames of all kinds became hereditary among the patrician classes in the 12th century. With the common folk it took longer. Definite information is often difficult to find. Fransson (1935) has suggested several methods by which heredity can be inferred when relationship is not given. When two men of the same name are distinguished by the addition of

senior and junior, it is a fair assumption that they were father and son. Further, he notes that in the subsidy rolls it is not uncommon to find several men of the same name assessed in the same village and suggests that where the surname is a nickname, it has become hereditary. By about 1350, everyone in southern and Midland England had a hereditary name. The process took up to a hundred years longer or even more in northern England<sup>5</sup>).

Back then, names could vary considerably during a man's life, change from generation to generation, be changed at apprenticeship or be subject to translation by the clerks at their whim, so that the process by which they became fixed and passed from father to son was quite accidental. A man might start his existence as *Will Dickson*, then become known by his trade *Will Potter* or *Will Smith*. Then, if he moved away from home, might be known in his new town by the name of the birthplace: *Will York* or *Will Chester*. Eventually, these names began to be passed on from one generation to the next, so a man might be called *Potter* even if he followed a different trade (see further Reaney 1967)<sup>6</sup>). Because it is often impossible to know the original form and, therefore, the etymology or meaning of the surname of a particular family until one has traced that family's history and seen how its surname has changed over time, the various available dictionaries of surnames should be used with great care. The most authoritative work is Reaney – Wilson (1997) which lists the surviving spellings of many surnames as well as giving referenced examples from the earliest times.

Just as a linguistic atlas must be selective with regard to the features presented, the projected atlas of English surnames must do the same. The number of surnames is just far too high. Family names are selected according to certain criteria, such as linguistic-dialectological or with regard to settlement history. Moreover, the present is always related to the past, both verbally and visually, a procedure that has not yet been followed by others on any scale worth mentioning.

### **Earlier work**

Few attempts have so far been made showing the distribution patterns of selected surnames across the United Kingdom. The comprehensive earlier work is Guppy (1890). His distributions were based on counts of farmers' surnames in late Victorian county directories. Unfortunately his book contains no maps. Similarly unfortunately, Guppy only recorded part of the data - the frequency of surnames in the counties in which they reached or exceeded 7 per thousand.

Bardsley (1901) also gives counts by county of the number of occurrences of each surname taken from *A Return of Owners of Land* (1873). This source lists those who owned more than one acre of land and is arranged by county, with additional volumes for Scotland and Ireland. The returns can lead one directly to where bearers of a surname were living at the time of the 1871 census.

The centralised indexes to the civil registration of births, deaths and marriages in England and Wales, which began in 1837, give an indication of the distribution of surnames at a slightly earlier period. For examples using this source see Hey (1997b).

Brett (1985) presented the distribution of a few names in map form. He used contour lines for two or three frequency levels relative to the highest frequency found for that surname. Ecclestone (1989) was more interested in the diffusion of English surnames. In 1987 Porteous outlined a method by which a surname may be traced back from its current nationwide distribution (the macro-scale) to one or more regions of origin (the meso-scale). Specifically, the combined use of the following four steps enables Porteous to locate the surname in question within an originating region: (1) telephone directory analysis, (2) a questionnaire, (3) civil registration indexes since 1837, and (4) the Mormon International Genealogical Index (see further below). To these 4 steps Porteous added three further ones to see whether more detailed research, at the micro-scale or parish level, could add significantly to what is already known: (5) a thorough search of all parish registers in the indicated region for the period 1538-1837, beginning with suspected local parishes and working outwards spatially until a continuous layer of parishes with no evidence of the surname appears; (6) a search of all relevant printed and manuscript indexes to pre-1538 sources of data (lay subsidy rolls, wills, etc.) available in national and county archives; (7) if necessary, detailed perusal of the original documents discovered via step (6). Porteous used these 7 steps to investigate the origin of the *Mell* family in the Humberhead region (see also Porteous 1988) and noted that research of this type is extremely time-consuming, so much so in fact that I would like to add that the last-mentioned 3 steps cannot be adopted on a larger scale as envisaged for the atlas.

Lasker - Kaplan (1983), Kaplan - Lasker (1983) and Lasker (1985) followed a different course and only used a selected list of surnames whose holders married in England and Wales in the first three months of 1975. For these human biologists, marriage records are generally more preferable for distribution studies than birth or death records because the population sampled by marriage records is the adult breeding population of interest in



human population genetics, whereas some individuals listed in birth and death records never lived to enter the breeding population<sup>7)</sup>.

Kevin Schurer of Essex University has produced area fill maps for every surname with a frequency of over 50 in either the 1881 census or the 1996 electoral registers. These maps can be looked at on screens in the Welcome Wing of the Science Museum, London. They are not available for general release as the University is interested in selling them to family historians<sup>8)</sup>.

Additionally, a research project called Surnames as a Quantitative Evidence Resource for the Social Sciences is currently running at the Geography Department of the University College of London. The project seeks to "... deliver a comprehensive surnames database to the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Data Archive, as well as an electronic atlas of the distribution of name types and levels of regional differences in terms of name pool structure". The database will contain "information on the distribution of surnames in Great Britain, both current and historic, with a view to developing a clearer theoretical understanding of patterns of regional economic development, population movement and cultural identity"<sup>9)</sup>.

Such are the sources used and the accomplishments achieved by the researchers.

### **Databases used in this study**

1) *The International Genealogical Index (IGI)* for the periods 1538 to 1850. This is a compilation published by the Family History Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, commonly known as Mormons (LDS church). The British Isles are divided into England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Channel Islands and Isle of Man, and then by county. Most British entries are baptism and marriage records from parish registers. The records include the name and gender of a person as well as the date and place, including the parish, city and county, in which the event took place. The *IGI* should be used carefully as a reference. There are a number of problems which arise, such as double or even triple entries of the same persons because LDS members or private genealogists were free to add entries. Besides, certain groups of people were not recorded at all in most parishes, for example people who did not belong to the Anglican Church, or records were completely lost because of fires or other catastrophes.

2) *The British Isles Vital Records Index (VRI)*

It covers the same period as the *IGI* and is also made available by the LDS church. Double and triple entries found in the *IGI* have been eliminated, but

the other drawbacks, of course, remain. The *VRI* was the main source, but the *IGI* sometimes provided additional information especially for the 16th century (see comments on *Cropper/Crapper*). Whenever possible, Kristensson (1967, 1987, 1995, 2001, 2002) was checked for an even earlier period. Kristensson's material is taken from the Lay Subsidy Rolls of the early 14th century. These documents contain lists of taxpayers and cover the whole of England fairly evenly. They reflect local Middle English usage very well. Wherever available, the volumes that have so far appeared in the English Surnames Series proved especially valuable for the earlier periods.

### 3) The *Census of 1881*

Decennial censuses in Britain have been held since the early 19th century. The first censuses, starting with the census of 1801, have been more or less mere headcounts and provide only little statistical information. From 1801-1831 the census was the responsibility of the Overseers of the Poor and the clergy, and before 1838 there was no civil registration of births, deaths and marriages (Flinn 1970: 11).

The first census to include statistical data was the census of 1841. Each householder was required to complete a census schedule giving the address of the household, the names, ages, sexes, occupations and places of birth of each individual living in his or her accommodation. More importantly, the responsibility and administration of the census passed into the hands of the Registrar General and the Superintendent Registrars. The census enumerator's books from the 1841 census onwards have been preserved, unlike the original census schedules.

The census enumerator's books of the *Census of 1881* provided the basic data for the census records available on CD-ROM of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. The LDS church data were not used directly but a program named *The British 19th Century Surname Atlas* from Archer Software which is directly based on the LDS church census data. The census data are much more exact than those of the *IGI* or *VRI* but they are not flawless either. One of the problems worth mentioning is accuracy. Since the records were taken by human beings, mistakes like misspellings, misread information or not recorded information are inevitable. The second problem is the fact that almost half of the British population at the time was illiterate or semi-literate at most (cf. Stratford-Devai 1999). Most people had to give their information verbally to a third party, mostly the enumerator himself, which led to various additional misunderstandings. Another problem might have been the tendency of some people not to tell the truth about their own heritage. The enumerators had simply to believe what they were told. However, this is probably the most insignificant source of flaws in the censuses. Other problems occur because all the work on the CD-ROM

edition of the census was done by amateurs working on a voluntary basis instead of by professionals. Only for this reason could it happen that somebody confused the city of Sunderland in County Durham with the Scottish County Sutherland (cf. Tyrwhit Drake 1999).

All in all the Census records mostly provide accurate information and, fortunately, the flaws have been noticed by experts in the field of genealogy.

#### 4) The 2004 telephone directory

With regard to the present-day geography of surnames, a telephone directory was used, namely the *UK-Info Disk V9 2004*, a People-Finder published by iCD-Publishing, London, which covers the United Kingdom as well as Ireland. *UK-Info Disk* combines over 44 million entries compiled from the 2002 and 2003 Electoral Rolls. A pool of 11.5 million Normal Directory entries was checked. This excludes an average of 35 % of Ex-Directory entries of the total of 20 million entries which are not checkable. Of course, double entries do occur, due to a combination of business and private entries in the database, yet this will be a phenomenon occurring with all names examined and in all counties searched.

How should the data provided by these sources be presented on maps?

When percentages are given they may state the share a particular name in a county has with regard to the total number of surname entries in that county, i.e. they present the name's relative distribution, or the total number of entries found for a particular name is given, i.e. the name's absolute distribution. On the maps the absolute distribution of a name is always given. An example will explain why. The relative distribution of *Pett* in Ross-shire and Cromartyshire in northern Scotland is with 0.33 % the highest in the United Kingdom. However, due to the very low total number of surname directory entries in that county, only six *Pett* entries were needed to reach such a high percentage. Thus the relative distribution would very often distort the results. The maps represent the idea of dialectometry (cf. Viereck et al. 2002: 97 ff.), mapping the retrieved data on area fill maps, poly symbol maps or point maps and pie charts varying in size in order to display areas of higher versus lower concentration of the name.

### **Some results**

There are surnames that have a rather short history in England. One such example is *Murphy*. It was not listed by Guppy in 1890 and must be presumed to have become common in England only after large-scale immigration from Ireland since the potato famine. *Murphy* derived from

Irish *Ó Murchadha* ‘descendent of *Murchadh*’ ‘sea-warrior’ (Irish *muir* ‘sea’ and *chadh* ‘warrior’).

As Map 1 shows, *Murphy* has become quite a common name in England today. Yet with a total of almost 17 %, its density is greatest in the Lancashire area, followed by the London area with about 12 %<sup>10</sup>. As London has acted as a magnet for migrants during all the centuries since surnames were formed, it is normal to find that many people there possess a surname that is otherwise concentrated elsewhere. The distribution of the name in and around London can often be disregarded, unless, of course, all the other examples of the surname are from those parts. Thus in England especially the Lancashire area remains where there is a strong correlation with settlement history (see Map 2 reproduced from Darby 1976). As Maps 3a and b, taken from Viereck – Ramisch (1991) show, Anglo-Irish *praties* was still well attested in precisely that area a century later. Originally, Irish *préata*, *práta*, *fáta* are loans from English *potato* that the Irish later reimported into England as *pratie(s)*. Another allusion to the Irish must be seen in *murphies*, which in the mid-20th century was only once attested in Kent from incidental material of the *Survey of English Dialects* (Orton 1962 – 1971) and thus not mapped<sup>11</sup>. *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (Onions 1966) notes "from the common Irish surname *Murphy*, with allusion to the potato being a staple article of food of the Irish peasant" (s.v. ‘murphy’), and the first attestation of *murphy* in this sense in *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1989, s.v.) is from 1811<sup>12</sup>.

In contrast to *Murphy* the following surnames have a long history in England. Of these a real dialect example concerns Old English <y> that developed in Middle English to <e> in Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Hertfordshire, Sussex, Middlesex and southern Cambridgeshire, to <i> in the north of England and to [ü], spelled <u>, mainly in the south-west and the West Midlands, including Lancashire. But, of course, also the spelling <y> occurs. This development is still mirrored in surnames, as *Pytt/Pitt/Pett(s)/Putt* show. The name goes back to OE *pytt* ‘dweller by the pit or hollow’ or (place at) ‘the pit’.

In the secondary literature *Pett* is regarded as the south-eastern variant of *Pitt*, and *Putt* as its south-western and West Midland form, whereas *Pitt* exists mainly in the East Midlands (see, e.g. Cottle 1978). The most common forms are *Pitt(s)*, *Pit(t)man*, *Pett(s)* and *Putt*, but other variants also appeared during the centuries and some of them have survived to the present day. These variants are:

often found			-----> nearly extinct			
Pitt (9308)	Pitts (4274)	Pitman (4149)	Pittman (1059)	Pitter (390)	Pit (11)	Pits (1)

Petts (1145)	Pett (927)	Pettman (619)	Petter (237)	Petman (18)	Pets (1)	Pet (0)
Putt (1085)	Putman (659)	Putter (31)	Put (9)	Puttman (6)	Putts (4)	Puts (1)

Table 1: Occurrence of *Pitt* and variants according to UK Info 2004

The distribution of the original form *Pytt* became regionally more and more restricted over the course of time but surprisingly survived, if only very rarely, down to the early 19th century (cf. Map 4). *Pytt* is one of those English words fossilized in English family names, just as *Pett* and *Putt* are. These three forms had died out centuries earlier in the general language and were all superseded by *pit*<sup>13)</sup>.

*Pitt*, *Pett* and *Putt* and all the different variants are local surnames. They are either habitation – locative – names or topographical names. However, only four place-names are known, which can be regarded as an origin for the habitation names. *Pitt* can be found twice, once near Winchester in Hampshire and once near Exeter in Devon. Both are small villages. *Pett* exists as a village near Hastings in East Sussex (*Pette* 1195 [Place at ] ‘the pit’. OE *pytt*, cf. Mills 1998). Cottle (1978) also mentions another locative name for *Pett* in Kent, namely *Pett Bottom*, a village near Canterbury. *Putts Corner* is the name of a small village near Exeter in Devon.

The other group consists of topographical names. Nearly in every dictionary of English surnames one can find the explanation ‘dweller at the pit’. Only two different explanations can be found. According to Dolan (1972) *Pitman* could also be a synonym for the occupational term carpenter, because some carpenters stood in a pit when sawing wood. For Barber (1968) *Pitt* can also be a variant of Dutch *Piet*.

*Pite* could be another variant of *Pitt*, but its origin is uncertain. The variants with only one *t* such as *Pit*, *Pits*, *Pet*, *Pets*, *Put*, *Puts* and *Petman* are listed in dictionaries only very rarely. Today they are also attested in the United Kingdom only occasionally, as Table 1 shows. However, greater numbers of these forms can be found in the *IGI* data, which, as Table 2 reveals, cover four centuries:

	IGI (International Genealogical Index) Entries per Century					Census 1881	UK Info 2004
	16th-19th c.	16th c.	17th c.	18th c.	19th c.		
Pitt	#	#	#	#	#	4989	9308
Pitts	#	#	#	#	#	3029	4274
Pits	361	3	184	157	17	13	1
Pit	673	29	261	321	62	21	11

Pett	3763	390	1146	1143	1084	821	927
Petts	1090	19	134	330	607	762	1145
Pets	71	3	12	34	22	66	1
Pet	317	40	167	94	16	1	0
Putt	1577	48	340	488	701	670	1085
Putts	20	0	6	10	4	3	4
Puts	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Put	144	10	61	69	4	18	9

Table 2: Occurrence of *Pitt* and variants in the United Kingdom during the last five centuries (# = too many entries).

Table 2 reveals that a number of names are so frequent or so infrequent respectively that it is not worthwhile to deal with them any further. Thus only *Pett*, *Putt* and *Petts* remain.

Map 5 compares the distribution in absolute numbers of the *Pett/Putt* variants relative to one another and Map 6 shows the distribution of *Petts*. For *Pett* and *Petts* surnames the highest concentration is to be found in Kent, followed by southeast neighbouring counties such as Essex, Hampshire, East Sussex, West Sussex, Surrey and Hertfordshire. Both the *IGI* and the *1881 Census* show the same picture with Kent forming the nucleus each time. The highest scores by far for *Putt* are to be found in Devon, followed by Cornwall. The *IGI* and the *1881 Census* confirm this for Devon. It can thus be concluded that the origin of *Putt* lies in the southwest of England, whereas that of *Pett* and *Petts* is the southeast of the country. From there the *Putts* and *Petts* later spread to other areas<sup>14)</sup>, the *Petts* especially to Derbyshire and West Yorkshire. The diffusion of the three variants – and this is in contrast to the main variant *Pitt* – in Scotland and northern Wales is negligible.

A note on the final *-s*, as in *Petts*, seems to be in order here. This suffix also occurs in Christian names such as, e.g., *Williams* or *Roberts*. The *Williams* type was first attested in the Domesday Book in 1086 in Latin as *Robertus filius Willelmi*, in English a *Thomas Williames* appeared in 1307. In these cases, the final *-s* is the sign of the genitive ‘son of William’ or it marks the possessive case. Also the Old French vocative case is a possibility. Thus *Robert*, when addressed, became *Roberts*. In a number of local surnames, plurals are found quite early. Examples are *Hales* (1180) (from the OE dative [*atte*] *hale*, nominative *halh* [residence in a ‘nook, recess or remote valley’]) or *Holmes* (1212) (from OE *hole[g]n* > ME *holin*, *holm* ‘holly, holm-oak’). As regards the surname in question *Roger de*

*Pettes* is first attested in 1276, *John ater Puttes* in 1296 and *Richard Pyts* in 1395. These are clearly plural forms.

As an example of an occupational surname *Cropper/Crapper* was chosen. It is an agent-noun going back to ME *croppen* 'to crop, pluck' (Reaney – Wilson 1976, s.v. 'Cropper, Crapper'). What was cropped, however, is unclear. It may have been iron, cloth, fruit, vegetables or corn. Hey 1997a: 516 notes that "*Crapper* is a northern form of *cropper*". Map 8, showing the absolute distribution of *Cropper* and *Crapper*, reveals, however, that this is only a half-truth. As surnames both *Crapper* and *Cropper* are clearly northern forms in origin<sup>15</sup>).

*Cropper* is the most common variant of this surname. The *VRI* shows a steadily growing population with this surname ever since the 16th century (Map 7), but it is surprisingly silent for the 16th century in the area where it occurs most often in subsequent centuries, namely in Lancashire. It is here where the *IGI* comes into play. It reveals 235 occurrences of *Cropper* in Lancashire in the 16th century, a number that is steadily growing to 1,013 (17th century), 1,895 (18th century) and to 2,022 in the 19th century. Even if double or triple occurrences are deducted in this source Lancashire clearly sticks out over any other county in England. With nearly 66 % of all registered *Croppers*, Lancashire leaves a big gap to the next highest percentage in York with a mere 10 % of *Croppers* registered for the 1881 *Census*. The 2004 telephone directory shows the same picture: In England Lancashire, Merseyside and Greater Manchester, the historical Lancashire that is, show with 41 % the highest density of *Cropper* occurrences (Map 8).

*Crapper* is a variant resulting from the unrounding of ME /o/<sup>16</sup>). It is less common than *Cropper* and its distribution is interesting. With 816 of 1,428 *Crappers* Yorkshire shows the largest number of *Crappers* in the *IGI*, most of them living in Sheffield. Compared with the 2004 telephone directory it can be assumed that hardly any migration movements affected the members of these families. The only areas with barely more than one hundred entries in the *IGI*, besides Yorkshire, are Greater London and Oxfordshire. As no *Crappers* were recorded in the hearth tax returns for London and Oxfordshire in 1665, the ones living there later must be descended from migrants from the north. It is important to mention, though, that with quite a few entries in Lancashire in the 17th century it was not clear whether the surname was *Crapper* or *Cropper*. The 60 *Crappers* accounted for in Lancashire in the 17th century compared with the 3 *Crappers* in the 19th century lead one to assume that most of the *Crapper* entries were in fact *Croppers*<sup>17</sup>). Hardly any *Crappers* have migrated to the northernmost counties of England or to Scotland and very few *Croppers* have moved to these regions.

The variants *Craper* and *Croper* show very similar distributions to their above-mentioned relatives. *Craper* mainly occurs in Yorkshire in the *IGI* data, whereas *Croper* appears mostly in Lancashire. The Middle English different spellings of the verb *crop(p)en* seem to be responsible for these variants. With only 24 entries for *Craper* (12 in Middlesex, 7 in Yorkshire, 5 in Nottinghamshire) and 42 entries for *Croper* (19 in Lancashire, 5 each in Middlesex, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, 4 in Staffordshire, 2 in Cheshire, 1 each in Durham and Surrey) in the *1881 Census* these variants, however, are very rare.

## Conclusion

I hope to have shown that the study of surnames has many facets. It is truly interdisciplinary combining, above all, the genealogist's, human biologist's, historian's and linguist's interests and I find that a comprehensive atlas of English surnames is a worthwhile project which has long been overdue.

## Notes

- 1) France: [http://www1.notrefamille.com/lastnames/lastnames\\_stats.asp](http://www1.notrefamille.com/lastnames/lastnames_stats.asp);  
Italy: <http://www.gens.labo.net/en/cognomi>;  
United States of America: <http://www.gens-us.net>
- 2) *Geographie der Luxemburger Familiennamen*. Luxemburg 1989; Kunze 2003; Marinyssen 1995.
- 3) The *International Genealogical Index* and the *British Isles Vital Records Index* (see below) usually have all the variant forms of a surname conveniently grouped under a 'standard' spelling. Other useful indexes which do this are the will indexes published by the British Record Society in its *Index Library* series. These include indexes to the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in which wills and administrations for the whole country appear during the Commonwealth period, 1653-60 (57,000 wills in vols. 54 and 61, and 43,000 administrations in vols. 68, 72, 74 and 75). Another index with a wide coverage in which the variants are grouped together is the typescript index of Apprentices of Great Britain 1710-74 at the Society of Genealogists. Boyd's Marriage Index (England only) 1538 – 1837 and the Great Card Index at the Society of Genealogists are further important sources. For Scotland variant spellings are provided in Black (1946), for Ireland cf. MacLysaght (1991) and Bell (1988), for Wales see Rowlands - Rowlands 1996 and Morgan - Morgan (1985).
- 4) This was the record, written in Latin, of a survey made in England in 1086 to ascertain the holdings and rights of the crown and to list the economic resources of the country for accurate taxation. It was ordered by William the Conqueror in 1085, and was completed the following year. The accuracy and speed with which the survey was taken made it a unique achievement in medieval times. The name *Domesday*, sometimes spelled *Doomsday*, means 'day of judgement', in this case in a legal or economic sense. The (Phillimore) *Doomsday Book* is also available on CD-ROM.



- 5) In Scotland, early material for the study of surnames is much later than in England. Many names in Scotland are undocumented before the 15th or 16th centuries, a period so late that definite etymologies are often impossible. Surnames appear in Ireland in the middle of the 10th century. These were patronymics formed by prefixing *O* or *Ua* to the grandfather's name or *Mac* to the father's, whether a personal or an occupation name. Of these the *Mac*-names are later. In Wales and on the Shetland Islands a large proportion of the population did not develop stable hereditary surnames until the 18th century.
- 6) In England anybody may change his or her name without any formality whatsoever. The change may be effected by merely assuming the new name, though it is advisable to have some proof that one has assumed the new name. This is generally provided by deed poll or by Royal Licence, and occasionally has been done by private Act of Parliament. In all these cases the name has been changed by voluntary assumption. The great majority of changes of surname have thus probably gone unrecorded but if some record has been made a reference may be found in Phillimore – Fry (1905). Deeds poll of change of name were sometimes (though not always) enrolled in Chancery after 1851 and from 1903 in the Supreme Court of Judicature. Those enrolled since 1914 have been published in the *London Gazette*. These records may be found at the Public Record Office. On the legal aspects see also Meyer-Witting (1990).
- 7) A table showing the relative frequency of the 147 most common surnames in the 20th century appeared in the *Genealogists' Magazine* 25/11 (1997). For maps showing the distribution of some surnames cf. also Hey 1997a, 2000, 2003, Lasker 1985, Mascie-Taylor – Lasker 1985, Lasker – Mascie-Taylor 1990 and Rogers 1995. Hey 1997a has 3 maps based on the entries in the telephone directories of the late 1980s, Hey 2000 has a few more surname maps whose distributions rely on parish registers between 1842 and 1846 and Hey 2003 has 6 surname maps based on the 1881 Census. The maps of rare surnames in Lasker – Mascie-Taylor 1990 are based on modern telephone directory entries. See Lasker 1985 for maps of the 100 most frequent surnames in England and Wales and Mascie-Taylor – Lasker 1985 for an analysis of their distributions. On their data-base see above. Rogers (1995) has 100 surname distribution maps. He works with phone book entries from the 1980s, various (incomplete) sources from the 17th century and Lay Subsidy entries from the 14th century. In the recently published international handbook on onomastics the United Kingdom, surprisingly, is poorly represented. This is true of Fraser's overview (1995), and in the section on the geography of names there is nothing on the United Kingdom.
- 8) For details contact [mapping@essex.ac.uk](mailto:mapping@essex.ac.uk).
- 9) Cf. Regard – An ESRC Funded Database Service for Social Science Research. Economic and Social Research Council. 22 May 2004.  
[http://www.regard.ac.uk/regard/home/index\\_html](http://www.regard.ac.uk/regard/home/index_html).
- 10) In Scotland with about 6 % Lanarkshire shows the third highest density of the *Murphy* population in the United Kingdom today. The reason, again, is clear. Glasgow, the third largest city in Great Britain, with its important industries attracted many Irish immigrants, too, who looked for a more prosperous life in the richer industrialised areas across the Irish Sea. — Maps 9-11 show County divisions, their abbreviations and full forms.
- 11) Wright (1898 – 1905) attested *murphy* a 'potato' in a much larger area, namely in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Oxfordshire (*s.v.* 'murphy') and *pra(i)tie* in Lancashire and Cheshire (*s.v.* 'potato').

- 12) All the maps were prepared by Stefan kai Spoerlein. Stephanie Barker extracted and analysed the *Murphy* and *Cropper/Crapper* data from the various databases and Tobias Vetter those for *Pytt* and variants.
- 13) *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) attests <y> spellings occasionally down to the first half of the 16th century, the last attestation of <e> spellings dates to 1599 and of <u> spellings to 1467. Then only <i> spellings are noted (s.v. 'pit', *sb.*<sup>1</sup>). Consequently, no dialectal variation was attested anymore with this item by Wright (1898 – 1905) and *pit* was not included in the questionnaire of the *Survey of English Dialects* (Orton 1962 – 1971). Variation, however, also occurred with regard to single and double <t>. Thus the same source has, e.g., *pyt(te)*, *pit(te)s*. In the standard language one <t> won out in contrast to the surname evidence (cf. Table 2).
- 14) As the absolute numbers on Maps 5 and 6 show, the three variants in question occur to a considerable extent also in London. The London figures for *Putt* are in fact the second highest in England. But London is a special case. See my remarks on *Murphy*.
- 15) Reaney – Wilson (1976) list the following first attestations: *Roger le Croppere* 1221 from Worcestershire, *John Crapere* 1275 from Norfolk, *William Croper* 1276 and *Alice le Crappere* 1315, both from Yorkshire and Guppy (1890) notes concentrations of *Cropper* in Lancashire and of *Crapper* in the West Riding of Yorkshire.
- 16) On the variation between <o> and <a> see, e.g., Horn – Lehnert (1954: 153 ff.).
- 17) The *IGI* lists them as "*Crapper* or *Cropper*. but the *VRI* no longer does that.

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