

CITATION PRACTICES AND AUTHORIAL IDENTITY IN ACADEMIC WRITING ON FOOD AND FOODWAYS

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1. Preliminaries

Citing is a fundamental aspect of academic writing. Swales and Feak (1994) go so far as to suggest that citations may indeed be *the* defining feature of academic prose. In spite of extensive studies on citation practices, however, it has been signalled that 'we know little about [their] relative importance, rhetorical functions or realisations in different disciplines' (Hyland, 2000:20). The present study examines citations in peer-refereed journal articles from three main research traditions – literary studies, qualitative social sciences and quantitative empirical research – with a view to identifying relationships between citation practices and authorial identity in each of the three disciplinary areas mentioned.

2. Citations in academic writing

Citations in academic writing cannot be discussed without reference to John Swales's seminal study 'Citation Analysis and Discourse Analysis' (1986). There are three key points in Swales's paper that must be (and indeed have been, to a certain extent) taken forward in analyses of citation practices in academic writing. First of all, his emphasis on combining functional classifications with sufficient linguistic detail (or clearly defined linguistic means of recognition) to enable comparisons to be made across studies; secondly, making allowance for intra-textual variation of citation strategies; and thirdly, a recognition of the impossibility to produce a universally applicable typology of citations. These three points will be addressed throughout the present paper.

2.1 Citation types in academic writing: Thompson's (2001) typology

Although citation typologies are not universally applicable, a common denominator needs to be agreed upon which would enable comparisons to be made across research paradigms. The starting point for Thompson's typology is Swales' (1990) differentiation of citations into *non-integral* (separated from the body of the text through brackets and playing

no syntactic role in the sentence) and *integral* (being part and parcel of the texture of the sentence in which they occur). The model is also included, in a slightly modified version, in Thompson (2000) and Thompson and Tribble (2001). Below is a synthesis of the available versions, with examples from one of the quantitative empirical research articles:

NON-INTEGRAL CITATIONS: (Both author name and year are within brackets)

Source (The citation attributes a proposition to another author. The information is contained within a full proposition rather than a noun phrase.)
Health promotion programmes are required ... (X, 2000).

Identification (The citation identifies an agent/actor within the sentence; it is important to differentiate between author- and information-prominent citations. The name of the author is within brackets. The agent/actor may be explicitly or implicitly included.)

Similar recommendations have been made in the USA in the Five-a-Day Program (X, 1990).

Origin (The citation indicates the originator of a concept or product and it refers to a noun phrase within the sentence.)

[The food lifestyle model] assumes a sequence of cognitive factors as in the means-end theory used in consumer behaviour (X", 1990).

Refer/reference (This is usually, but not always, signalled by the inclusion of the directive 'see'; it serves as a shorthand device.)

Partial least squares path analysis was performed via the PLSPATH program on the sets of factor scores and the demographic variables (Y, 1986).

Example (This is preceded, usually but not always, by e.g.)

Most of the research done in this area has focused on socio-demographic (Y et al., 1995; Y' et al., 1999; Y" et al., 1998)...

INTEGRAL CITATIONS: (The name appears within the sentence whereas the year is between brackets)

Verb-controlling (The citation acts as an agent that controls a lexical verb, in active or passive voice. Thompson (2001) works with three verb categories (research, discourse and other). The last category partially overlaps with Thompson and Ye's (1991) mental process verbs.)

- Research verb:

Indeed, Z et al. (1994), in their qualitative studies, have identified several factors ...

- Discourse verb:

Recently, Z' et al. (1999) have drawn attention ...

- Other (This category includes verbs of cognition and examples such as 'offer an alternative' or 'revisit' which do not fall neatly into either of the previous categories. No example was available in the food_quant article.)

Naming (The citation is a noun phrase or part of a noun phrase which acts as a modifier of another noun phrase or is followed by a linking verb; it may imply reification – the noun phrase may signify a text rather than its author, but not necessarily. Preceded by 'in', 'of', 'by'.)

Previous research by Z" et al. (1995) corroborates these findings.

The schema also includes non-citations, quotations and elaborations; however, these were left out here due to the focus on explicit reference in this paper.

With the help of the framework outlined further above, Thompson and Tribble (2001) set out to investigate inter- and intra-disciplinary and intra-textual variations in the use of integral vs. non-integral citations. The results of their analysis led them to conclude that epistemological conventions underlying the disciplines correspond to distinct linguistic realizations.

2.2 Citations in literary research

Citation analyses are prevalingly performed of citations which occur in scientific research and Thompson's (2001) study, although offering the most comprehensive linguistic framework to date for classifying citations, is no exception. Two studies which deal specifically with citations in articles on literary topics are Frost (1979) and Jacoby (1987).

Frost's classification, based on 'ostensible reasons of citation or with reasons which can be adduced from the context of the citing work' (1979: 401) may not supply rigorous syntactic criteria for identifying the various citation types but signals the importance of distinguishing between primary and secondary sources. References to primary texts are the most frequent category in literary research, as Frost found from her data and, consequently, she decided not to include them in the final discussion of results.

Jacoby (1987) worked with an evaluation/originality cline of citation types and attempted to classify articles on the whole based on the predominant citation profile. Jacoby found that 'strong' author orientation was the most frequent in literary research, i.e., literary researchers favour referring to authors by name rather than foreground the 'findings'. In the examples Jacoby gives, 'strong' corresponds to Thompson's (2001) integral citations, both verb-controlling and naming.

3. Integrating the investigation of citation practices with an analysis of grammatical subjects

Swales (1986) identified a correlation between choice of citation type and choice of tense. Thompson (2001) employed Thompson and Ye's (1991) taxonomy of reporting verbs, in a modified form, in parallel to their citation typology, to identify variation in the choice of voice and tense in the two disciplines from which they derived their corpus. There are several other studies which make similar connections (Shaw, 1992, Swales, 1990, Thomas, Hawes, 1994).

Apart from tense and voice, however, there are other linguistic categories which may be combined with an analysis of citation practices, one of which is the classification of grammatical subjects (MacDonald, 1992), discussed below.

MacDonald (1992) argues that the distinctions among practices of knowledge construction in the various academic disciplines are reflected at the level of the sentence. She employs two categories of subjects: *phenomenal* ('consisting of the material that the researcher studies') and *epistemic* ('consisting of the methods, conceptual tools, and previous research that the researcher brings to bear on the material') (1992:543). These two categories have further subdivisions:

Phenomenal subjects:

Class 1: *Particulars* (specific people, places or objects)

Class 2: *Groups* (generalised or grouped nouns referring to people, places or objects)

Class 3: *Attributes* (attributes, properties, action, behaviour, or motivations and thoughts of the nouns in Classes 1 and 2)

Epistemic subjects:

Class 4: *Reasons* (all-purpose abstractions and words used in reasoning and field-specific terms)

Class 5: *Research* (references to scholars in the field, whether generalised or named)

Class 6: *Isms* (nouns referring to schools of thought)

Class 7: *Audience* (the generalised 'we' and 'one' or 'you')

(Although the examples MacDonald offers in the body of the article are based on simple subject-verb sentences, she provides in the Appendix a detailed discussion of how the coding was applied across various sentence structures).

This classification is underlain by a preoccupation with identifying sentence-level differences among disciplinary discourses, which motivates

MacDonald's concern with allowing for degrees of particularism and abstraction in writing, degree of convention and representations of agency in her framework. She acknowledges previous linguistic work on agency and its relationship with thematisation and topical focus, but points out that such work was carried out for different purposes and that insufficiently clear guidelines are available for explaining how the topic of a sentence relates to the grammatical subject position. Hence MacDonald's decision to centre her discussion on the subject position, on the basis that 'whatever we find in the subject position should be taken very seriously as shaping the text's impression of agency' (1992:541).

Hemais (2001) juxtaposes in her article an analysis of grammatical subjects, based on a slightly modified version of MacDonald's (1992) model, and an examination of citation patterns which follows closely the two-level division proposed by Swales (1990). The discussion of citations and reporting verbs accompanying them enables the author to put forward considerations on the distinctions among the three types of marketing journals she identifies (practice, research and 'scholarly-applied'). However, it does not offer insights into how the citation classification might be refined (cf. Thompson's 2001 reworking of Swales's citation types), nor is there any integration, at the level of analysis, between Swales's and MacDonald's frameworks.

One way in which tighter links could be established between grammatical subject analysis and citation analysis would be to focus on the way the subject slot is filled in sentences in which citations appear. The underlying assumption in this analysis is that the deployment of citations of secondary sources in relation to the subject position plays a crucial role in configuring the type of authorial identity projected by the writers of a scholarly article.

4. Application

4.1 Notes on the mini-corpus

As noted at the beginning of this paper, the nine articles analysed are derived from three distinct disciplinary areas, broadly identifiable as literary studies (food_lit), qualitative social sciences (food_soc) and quantitative empirical research (food_quant). The food_quant section of the corpus comprises of reports of survey research on food-related topics. The articles rely on data generated specifically for the purposes of the research and use statistics to support their claims. The template on which they are based is widely accepted in the scientific community (IMRD, Swales 1990). They have multiple authors and exemplify the objective style usually associated

with scientific writing. Given that the majority of work in citation analysis has been carried out with regard to scientific writing, and that reliable, standardised citation typologies are available, the food_quant articles were selected with a view to supplying a point of reference for the analysis.

In the case of the food_soc section of the corpus, the articles engage with qualitative research carried out with a small number of participants, and relying, for the report, on direct quotations from interviews. Alternatively, they offer a combination of theoretical and/or methodological reflection and specific case description, and engage with broad cultural issues rather than quantifiable concepts. Quotations are present throughout.

The selection of articles for the food_lit section of the corpus was performed in line with the principle of maximum variability. The food_lit articles create their own structure; Ivanic (1998:290) notes that 'in writing about literature, the ability to create a seamless flow between paragraphs is highly valued, and section headings are viewed as a crude intrusion on this flow.' Given that studies of citation in academic writing in the Humanities are scarce, it was necessary to ensure that the sample was representative of citation strategies in literary research in general and not only of a particular critical orientation (cf. MacDonald 1992).

Before describing the results, some remarks are in order about the citation classification. Thompson's (2001) typology differentiates among five types of non-integral citations. Although example citations were not present in the food_lit and food_soc articles, the remaining three types (with some definition modifications) were easily identifiable in both the qualitative social sciences and literary research articles. In the food_lit articles, the 'non-integral source' label was applied to names of authors accompanied or not by other bibliographic details and located in the footnotes (not in full sentences). Names of authors preceded by 'cf.' were relegated to the 'refer' category, while names of authors accompanying quotations were counted as 'origin' citations. Where footnotes contained citations embedded in full sentences, the citations were classified as integral, but their location was taken into account in the analysis.

4.2 Results

The food_quant articles present an hourglass structure from the point of view of citation usage, with the majority of citations appearing in the 'Introduction' and the 'Discussion' sections. Preference is given to non-integral citations. In sentences with phenomenal subjects, it is very likely that one will encounter non-integral citations; integral citations are less likely to appear. In sentences with epistemic subjects, integral citations

prevail over non-integral ones. In the positivist sciences, there is a marked tendency to present the phenomenal as a series of indisputable facts. Citations, which draw attention to the article's positioning within the scholarly debate, occur predominantly in non-integral form in sentences with phenomenal subjects, thus verifying the information presented without interrupting the flow of the argument. That the only citation in Food_quant2 is non-integral and co-occurs with a phenomenal subject serves to confirm the rule. (Food_quant2 is a descriptive article, which focuses solely on the empirical investigation carried out by two of the writers of the article, in line with its aim to provide data in support of marketing activities rather than contribute to developing abstract models for a scholarly audience.) Integral citations figure most prominently in sentences with epistemic subjects.

While the food_quant articles carry the largest concentration of citations in the introductory section, the food_soc and food_lit articles rely on a much smaller number of secondary sources and foreground the particulars of the research. Citations are brought into the discussion at relevant points in the deployment of the argument in support of excerpts from primary sources rather than as an a priori framework which controls the collection and interpretation of data. Integral, verb-controlling citations predominate in the food_soc article. Author names are given in full not only in verb-controlling but also in naming citations, with the exception of cases in which an author is mentioned for the second time within the same paragraph. Further away from the positivist end of the research paradigm continuum, the food_soc articles fail to yield immediately recognisable patterns. Although Food_soc1 and Food_soc3 may seem to mirror the pattern in the food_quant section of the corpus, Food_soc2 displays different strategies of embedding the account into current literature. Not only does it rely solely on non-integral citations, but it uses twice as many in conjunction with epistemic subjects. The voice of the writers comes across strongly through the use of the plural first-person pronoun and through foregrounding the ideational content of the secondary sources used rather than their authors. Food_soc1 is the closest to the positivist research paradigm articles in that it carries a larger density of citations and wider range of citation types. In Food_soc3 there is a marked preference for verb-controlling citations in subject slots in sentences with epistemic subjects. However, by not placing these sentences in paragraph initial position, the writer emphasizes her own analysis of data and projects an authoritative voice in the article. The writer thus adopts the position of an equal participant in the scholarly conversation.

The food_lit section of the corpus displays yet greater diversity. The writer of Food_lit1 adopts an impersonal tone, makes extensive use of

phenomenal subjects and relies on five citations only, four of which appear in the endnotes. Food_lit2, which is one and a half times the length of Food_lit1, relies on twice the total number of citations in Food_lit1, all integral and placed exclusively in the body of the text. Food_lit3 has the largest number of citations in the 'literary studies' section of the corpus, two-thirds of which of the non-integral type and located in the footnotes. None of the three food_lit articles signals explicitly the presence of the writer in the text by use of the first person pronoun.

5. Discussion and conclusion

Explicit references to other authors is only one of the strategies available to writers of scholarly prose to construct an identity journal articles. Hyland's (1999; 2000) analysis of citations allows linguistic evidence to be put forward in support of disciplinary differences in academic discourse; examining the type of subjects in sentences to which citations are attached across disciplines or research traditions will further allow one to identify whether there is a distinct disciplinary position on constructing the text along phenomenal or epistemic lines and to explore relationships between citation practices and authorial stance. If subjects, as MacDonald argues, have a substantial bearing on how agency is conveyed in a text, investigating what fills the subject slot in a sentence built around or supported by a citation is more likely to convey a complex image of the relationship between citers and citees.

In the food_quant articles, clearly identifiable patterns of interweaving of subject and citation types confirm that quantitative studies rely on standardized conventions. Authorial voice is not a matter of choice but the result of observing the conventions adopted by a discourse community. In the qualitative social sciences and literary research, there is a wider array of options for constructing authorial identity. In the food_soc articles, the use of the first person pronoun does contribute to a large extent to the degree of strength of voice; however, the choice of citation types and their positioning, as seen, for example, in Food_soc3, has a bearing on the balance between tentativeness and authoritativeness.

Last but not least, it has been argued (MacDonald, 1992) that some strands of literary research rely little on 'epistemic negotiation'. The food_lit figures in this research are not conclusive. Although literary studies appears to be the disciplinary area with the greatest heterogeneity as regards the options for constructing authorial identity, more research is needed in this area, on a larger sample of texts, in order to gloss authorial voice types with a greater degree of precision.

Appendix 1
Citation and subject types in the corpus

	<i>Food quant</i>			<i>Food soc</i>			<i>Food lit</i>		
	<i>F_q1</i>	<i>F_q2</i>	<i>F_q3</i>	<i>F_s1</i>	<i>F_s2</i>	<i>F_s3</i>	<i>F_l1</i>	<i>F_l2</i>	<i>F_l3</i>
Phenom/ Non-int	18	1	6	22	6	2	1	-	11
Phenom/ Int	4	-	1	2	-	1	-	7	2
Epist/ Non-int	7	-	8	8	12	-	1	-	5
Epist/ Int	14	-	16	24	-	8	3	5	6

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NEW WORDS, NEW CONCEPTS

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Vocabulary is the component of a language that is continuously changing. Words come into use or go out of use at a fantastic rate. What this paper is focusing on is the lexical input, i.e. new English words and the processes which create them; the latter part of the paper is dealing with the new concepts that the new words are coined to refer to.

First of all, a few words about the terminology of lexical innovation. The new items which have entered a language are usually called new words, neologisms, coinages, or newly coined words; neologism is the most frequently used term.

Neologism is defined as:

‘a recently created/ coined word, phrase or usage which can sometimes be attributed to a specific individual, publication, period or event (...) it can also refer to an existing word or phrase which has been assigned a new meaning’.
(<http://encyclopedia.worldvillage.com/s/b/Neologism>)

Neologism, as used in Linguistics, must be distinguished from neologism as used in psychology (a word invented by a person suffering from a language disorder which may occur in the context of psychosis or aphasia acquired after brain damage). It must also be distinguished from neologism as used in the field of theology, where it refers to a relatively new doctrine, such as rationalism.

The term *neologism* appeared in France in the early 18th century, as a literary concept; the idea that different domains of human experience should be represented in literature by distinct literary styles entailed the notion that each of these styles should operate within distinct vocabulary. Authors using words or expressions from outside this universe were said to use *neologisms*.

Neologism in literature was considered analogous to the introduction of new lexical entities into language, which was deemed to be a process of decay (actually the whole idea of language change was considered a sign of decay). Thus neologism was used only pejoratively. This meaning is synonymous with *barbarism*, *Gallicism* in English, and with *Anglicism* in French; Romanian has all the three terms. Later on, however, this meaning itself decayed. The attitude reflected by this older meaning of *neologism* is effective even nowadays. (In France, for instance, *Français* is viciously

fought against). The modern, neutral meaning of *neologism* appears early in the 19th century and gains acceptance towards the end of the century.

There are, however, several ambiguous terms used by linguists to refer to new words. A *nonce word/formation*, for instance, is said to be ‘a new complex word coined by the speaker/ writer on the spur of the moment to cover an immediate need’. (Bauer, 1991: 45)

Bauer goes on to say that

‘this definition admits new words as nonce formations even if they go on to become accepted in the language community’. (Bauer, 1991: 45)

Thus, one might say that *neologisms* and *nonce words* are one and the same thing. However, Chalker & Weiner (1998) consider that the basic definition of a *nonce word* is

‘a form deliberately coined for one occasion (...) a word which is apparently used only for the nonce’.

This should be the definition of a *nonce word*, with the mention that, even if used only for the nonce, it might be used again by some other speaker/ writer (the nonce word *quark*, used by James Joyce in *Finnegans Wake*, is nowadays used to name a class of subatomic particles). A *nonce word* is not a proper *neologism*; it implies, perhaps, but the first stage of *neologism*. The extreme type of *nonce word* is *hapax legomenon*, i.e. a lexical unit found only once in the surviving records of a language, while a *non-word* can be taken as a *nonce word*, but is restricted to unintentional errors rather than deliberate coinages, or it may imply a string of letters/ sounds that is not an English word.

Vogue word is another term often referred to as a synonym of *neologism*. But *vogue words* are

‘those faddish, trendy, ubiquitous words that have something new about them. (...) Often they become clichés or standard idioms, and sometimes they pass into obscurity after a period of feverish popularity’. (Garner, 2000)

The term is obviously disparaging; many neologisms are, indeed, faddish, trendy, etc., and quite a few of them will become clichés or pass into obscurity; but there are certainly others which are very useful (if not indispensable) in a language. They will stay and will even become part of the basic vocabulary (e.g.: *e-mail*, once a vogue word).

A certain hierarchy of *neologisms* should be established, according to their recentness, frequency, and the degree of acceptance they have reached. Thus, there are *nonce words* (neologisms used only for the nonce, e.g.: *cromulent*, meaning ‘valid, legitimate, and apt’, used in one episode of *The Simpsons*); *protologisms* or *unstable neologisms* (extremely new, being proposed and used only by a very small subculture, e.g.: *oneirogenic*, which means ‘having a propensity to appear in somebody’s dreams’); *diffused neologisms* (having reached a significant audience, but not yet having

gained full mainstream acceptance, e.g.: *nationist*, ‘someone who is prejudiced towards or discriminates against someone because of their national citizenship or background’; many of the so-called *vogue words* will be included here); and *stable neologisms* (words that have already gained acceptance, at least in certain circles familiar with the subject domain which the word belongs to; they are usually listed in certain popular/ general slang and even general usage print dictionaries, e.g.: *email, spam, faq, etc.*). It is difficult to say when a neologism becomes stable. Michael Quinion, in his short article *How words enter the language: Is there a formal process?* (2002), states that the process by which a word becomes officially part of the language (i.e. it is included in a dictionary) is as anarchic as it seems; lexicographers are descriptive, not prescriptive dictionary makers; if enough English speakers decide that a word or phrase has value, then it is put into the new editions; however, he concludes, the decision about what appears in a dictionary lies with its editors, not with the dictionary makers.

The corpus of new words I have analysed comes from three websites: *The Word Spy*, created by Paul McFedries, *World Wide Words*, by Michael Quinion, and *New Words*, by Kerry Maxwell. It includes words coined within the past 15 years, but which have been used especially in the past 5-6 years. Most of them are *diffused neologisms*; a few can be classified as *protologisms*.

As mentioned above, *neologisms* are created in two ways: either as completely new entities, i.e. new word + new (or, not very frequently, old) meaning, or as new meanings of already existing lexemes.

The creation of completely new words implies major processes such as compounding, blending, derivation, abbreviating, and acronym creation, and minor processes such as clipping, borrowing, loan translation, and brand new lexeme coining.

The vast majority of newly created words are **compounds**. I shall not insist upon the types of compounds; there are, however, a few recurrent bases to point out, such as **store** in *anchor store, big-box store, single brand store*; **mail** in *frightmail, barf mail, Webmail, collateral mail, facemail, Zen mail*; **Web** in *Web bug, Web cramming, Web rage, Webcast wedding, Web mail*; **dot (com)** in *dot bomb, dot snot, dot con artist, dot-com deathwatch, dot-com rage*; **urban** in *urban forest, urban lumberjack, urban tribe, urban yoga*; **journalism** in *gotcha journalism, anniversary journalism, spin journalism, civic journalism*; **information** in *information broker, information environmentalism, information fatigue syndrome, information food chain, information pollution, information scent, information superiority, information tamer, information warfare*; **time** in *face time, floortime, Internet time, me time, vampire time, windshield time*; **tourist** in

*grief tourist, labour tourist, training tourist, weather tourist, intellectual tourist; **extreme** in extreme beer, extreme gardening, extreme ironing, extreme life, extreme tourism; **rage** in dot-com rage, IT rage, rage rage, road rage, trade rage, Web rage, work rage, wrap rage, air rage;*

*Syndrome is the base which occurs the most frequently (19 words), e.g.: pin-drop **syndrome**, Stendhal's syndrome, hurried child syndrome, irritable male syndrome, Jane Wayne syndrome, Jurassic Park syndrome, locked-in syndrome, male answer syndrome, perfect programmer syndrome, Pierre Salinger syndrome, sedentary death syndrome, sudden loss of wealth syndrome, sudden wealth syndrome, teleworkaholic syndrome, underload syndrome, Dorito syndrome, economy class syndrome, False Authority Syndrome, information fatigue syndrome.*

Rhyming compounds are also to be noticed; it is well known that rhyme is a basic feature of one of the most mobile and creative subdivision of vocabulary: slang. Probably most of the examples are actually slang-formations. However, not very many rhyming compounds are listed: beeper-sitter, bitter-blocker, brain gain, cell yell, blue goo, chick flick, cuddle puddle, cut and shut, etc.

Blending is another very productive word formation process. The blends (or *portmanteaux*, as they are still called sometimes, though the image has certainly faded) are formed in several ways.

1. Both components contain a common sequence of letters and sounds, or at least one common letter/ sound (there is a certain degree of overlapping):

1.1. Part of A + part of B, e.g.: *affluenza* (affluence + influenza), *floatel* (floating + hotel), *belligerati* (belligerent + literati), etc.;

1.2. Whole A + whole B, e.g.: *banalysis* (banal + analysis), *bagonize* (bag + agonize), *barkitecture* (bark + architecture), etc.;

1.3. Part of A + whole B, or whole A + part of B, e.g.: *anonymice* (anonymous + mice), *arachnerd* (arachnid + nerd), *bungaloft* (bungalow + loft), *camoflanguage* (camouflage + language), *bardolatry* (bard + idolatry), *bigature* (big + miniature), *blander* (bland + blender), *bitlegging* (bit + bootlegging), etc.

2. The two components share no letter/ sound or sequence of letters/ sounds (there is no overlapping whatsoever):

2.1. Part of A + part of B, e.g.: *avoision* (avoidance + evasion), *advermation* (advertisement + information), *aftcast* (after + forecast), etc.;

2.2. Part of A + whole B, or whole A + part of B, e.g.: *advergame* (advertisement + game), *adultescent* (adult + adolescent), *actorvist* (actor + activist), *beersicle* (beer + popsicle), etc.

The classification above includes new words that might be taken to have been formed by means of sound (cluster) substitution as a result of analogy, play upon words/ sounds, e.g.: *buttledding*, *bitlegging*, *anecdata*, *aficast*, *beforemath*, *blander*, *blamestorming*, etc.

Sometimes blending gives rise to new prefix-/ suffix-like morphemes, such as: **adver-** (*advergame*, *advermation*, *advertorial*, *advertecture*); **Mc-** (*McMansion*, *McLibel*, *McTheatre*); **cyber-** (*cyberbalkanization*, *cyberchondriac*, *cybergripping*, *cyberpark*, *cyberpiracy*, *cyberscriber*); **-razzi** (*paperazzi*, *rumorazzi*, *snaparazzi*); **-thon** (*begathon*, *operathon*, *stripperthon*); **-cest** (*dormcest*, *floorcest*, *housecest*, *roomcest*); **-(ti)vist** (*actorvist*, *hacktivist*, *lactivist*); **-(g)lish** (*Denglish*, *Menglish*, *Weblish*); **-gate** (*chadgate*, *sexgate*); **-tainment** (*infotainment*, *irritainment*, *militainment*, *promotainment*, *eater-tainment*, *edutainment*); **-erati** (*belligerati*, *chatterati*, *geekerati*, *cinerati*, *digerati*, *cliterati*); **-scaping** (*manscaping*, *lightscaping*, *potscaping*); **-jack** (*page jack*, *search jack*, *Web jack*, *bluejack*).

Derivatives are created with the help of traditional **prefixes** (*deconflict*, *dejunk*, *demall*, *de-alert*, *debone*, *deconvert*; *regift*, *regreen*, *re-identification*, *reintermediation*, *rewild*; etc.) and **suffixes** (*Talibanisation*, *casualization*, *Coca-colanization*, *mansionization*; *posterize*, *velocity*, *weaponize*, *demutualize*; *activationist*, *completist*, *cruciverbalist*, *femalist*, *hospitalist*, *permissivist*, *pronatalist*, *rawist*; *behalfism*, *declinism*, *investorism*, *endism*; *blurbification*, *paparazzification*, *re-identification*, *studentification*; *Christianese*, *crosswordese*, *Internetese*, etc.). There is one new affix that has been frequently used to derive new words: the prefix **e-**, e.g.: *e-business*, *e-commerce*, *e-mentor*, *e-print*, *e-signature*, *e-wallet*, etc.

Very productive morphemes traditionally considered as special bases for compounding, most of them coming from Greek and Latin, could be considered as affixes, e.g.: **micro-** (*microbrowser*, *microchannel*, *microcinema*, *microcredit*, *micro-expression*, *micro-gun*); **tele-** (*teledensity*, *telefelony*, *telehealth*, *telework*); **techno** (*technomania*, *technorealist*, *technosexual*, *techno-strike*); **-ware** (*hardware*, *heroinware*, *missionware*, *retroware*, *shovelware*, *spyware*, *treeware*); etc.

Pseudo-derivation refers to a process by which several *-ing* nouns seem to be created by means of derivation from a verb root; however, the verb root does not exist. There are one-word pseudo-roots (*skulling*, *caving*, *crocodiling*, *hotelling*, *miswanting*, *nanopublishing*, *phishing*, *togethering*, etc.); and compound pseudo-bases (*brownbagging*, *batmobiling*, *prairie-dogging*, *offroad skating*, *stage-phoning*, *news-grazing*, etc.). Some of these words (if not most of them) will get their verb-root equivalent by **backformation**.

Abbreviating & Acronym creation; the fad of *bacronyms* (the words are chosen to fit the letters) is to be signaled, e.g.: *CAVEs* (citizens against virtually everything), *NIMBY* (Not in my backyard), *NOTE* (Not over there, either), *BANANA* (Build absolutely nothing anywhere near anything), *TEOTWAWKI* (The End Of The World As We Know It) and *NOPE* (Not on planet Earth); they are unlikely to make their way into everyday usage.

Some abbreviations and acronyms enter certain other word formation processes, e.g.: derivation (*FOI-able*, i.e. ‘available via the Freedom of Information Act’; *WAPathy*, i.e. ‘the general lack of interest in the Wireless Application Protocol’), blending (*spIT*, i.e. ‘spam via instant telephony’; *spIM*, i.e. spam via instant messages), etc.

Amongst the minor word-formation processes, one can mention **clipping**, e.g.: *emo*, *celeb*, *blog*, *fanfic*, *rumint*, *hackint*, *Wi-Fi*, etc.; the clipped base **porn** occurs, with a different meaning (excessive, obscenely luxurious, glossy, expensive, fancy, etc.), in combinations such as: *gastroporn* (the suggestive pictures and prose used to describe recipes in upscale cookbooks or menu items in fancy restaurants), *time porn* (television shows and other media that portray characters as having excessive amounts of spare time), *gadget porn* (images and text that glorify or fetishize high-end or high-tech devices and gadgets), etc.

One should also mention a few **Loan translations** and (**Pseudo**) **borrowings** amongst the new words in the corpus: *al desko*, *deja dit*, *jamais vu*, *eigenface*, *earworm*, etc., as well as the playful spelling of certain sounds, such as /f/ in a couple of words, with a subsequent change of meaning: *phish*, *phat*, *phunk*.

Brand new lexemes are extremely rare. Two of them have gained some acceptance; *chad* (a small piece of paper or card which is left over when holes are punched in data cards, voting slips, etc.); it was very much in use during the US elections of 2000 (see *Chadgate*); and *zorb* (The sphere used in *zorbing*, the sport in which a person is strapped inside a large sphere which is itself held inside a larger sphere by a cushion of air, and then rolled down a hill or along the ground).

As to certain old words which have come to acquire new meanings, one should mention **conversion**, the process which usually leads to change of meaning; nouns, whether simple or compound, are usually converted into verbs, with a subsequent change of meaning, e.g.: *office*, *pie*, *pope*, *text*, *wife*, *bookmark*, *kneecap*, *kitchensink*, etc. Proper names are also converted into verbs: *Amazon*, *Dell*, *Google*, *Nasdaq*, *Quayle*. Sometimes words belonging to other classes are converted into verbs: *elder*, *Ctrl-Alt-Delete*. Words converted into nouns: *meanwhile*, *see-through*, etc.

Not only conversion leads to change of meaning; there are other processes, which do not involve a grammatical class change, such as *antonomasia*, e.g.: *Harold* (A person who hangs around in cemeteries) , *Renton* (A very short haircut); *metonymy* and *metaphor*, e.g.: *flame* (An insulting, emotional, caustic email message or newsgroup posting) , *fiver* (A person who donates five percent of their income to charity and/or spends five hours per week doing volunteer work), *torpedo* (An inept employee who quits to go work for a rival company), *baked potato* (A person who watches television or videos while high on drugs); *random* (undirected, unproductive, and frivolous, about a person); *embed* (to insert a journalist into a military unit to provide coverage of that unit during a battle or war).

The new words fall within several large conceptual/ semantic fields. McFedries (<http://www.wordspy.com/index/subjects.asp>) decides on *Business, Computers, Culture, Language, Science, Technology, Sociology,* and *The World*. Each of these fields is divided into several sub-fields: *Science*, for instance, includes *Biology, Diseases and Syndromes, Environment, General, Genetics, Medicine, Psychology,* and *Weather*. Such a classification is extremely difficult to make, as one word can refer to a concept which may be part of several fields; *globesity* (a blend meaning ‘the worldwide epidemic of obesity’), for instance, is listed within three fields: *Culture (Food and Drink), Science (Diseases and Syndromes),* and *Sociology (Lifestyles)*.

To illustrate certain newly emerged concepts, the *Food and Drinks* sub-field, belonging to the *Culture* field, seems appropriate. The new words listed here may refer to *dietary habits and disorders* and *attitudes towards eating*, e.g.: *flexitarian* (a person who consumes mainly vegetarian food but occasionally eats meat or fish); *rawist* (eater of uncooked vegetables and seeds’); *breatharian* (person who attempts to get all their nutritional needs from the air); *obesogenic*, (likely to cause someone to become excessively fat’); *fast-casual* (of or relating to a restaurant that offers a slightly higher quality of food, service, and atmosphere than a fast-food restaurant); *slow food* (food which is carefully prepared using traditional cooking methods and organic ingredients, and is intended to be eaten and enjoyed slowly for maximum benefit); *orthorexia (nervosa)* (a constraining desire to eat the healthiest food possible, usually food in its purest form which has not been contaminated by additives or cooking processes. It is also associated with an extreme obsession with cleanliness of cooking environments and sterilisation of cooking utensils); *ape diet* (a vegetarian diet that emphasizes soy protein, soluble fiber, nuts, and leafy green vegetables); *freegan* (a person who consumes food that has been thrown away, especially someone who wants to protect the environment by reducing waste); *etc.*

Freeganism has become a solid concept, since there are other extreme practices connected to it: *plate scraping* or *table diving*, where *freegans* linger in restaurants to consume discarded food from plates and tables used by other diners. *Dumpster diving* has been coined to refer to the practice of searching waste containers for food or other items of value that can be recycled.

Other words denote *interspecific hybrids*, *GM (genetically modified) food* or related concepts, e.g.: *pluot* (a small, soft, oval fruit which is a cross between a plum and an apricot, two-thirds plum and one-third apricot, created by cross-pollination); *aprium* (a fruit which is two-thirds apricot and one-third plum, and looks more like an apricot, but has a smooth, plum-like skin); *broccoflower* (a cross between broccoli and cauliflower); *farmageddon* (The conflict over the safety and health benefits of GM foods); *Frankenfood* (food derived from GM plants and animals); *transgenic* (describes an animal or plant that has been genetically altered); *etc.*

The 21st century demand for convenience foods which can be eaten whilst undertaking other daily rituals and a passion for all things quick and convenient have given rise to a proliferation of new words and phrases for *food on-the-go*, e.g.: *al desko lunch/supper* (*al desko* is a play on the word *alfresco*, ‘in the fresh air’ and means ‘whilst at the desk’); *deskfast* (breakfast whilst sitting at a desk, place of work, etc.); *carfast* (a breakfast eaten whilst driving to work); *dashboard dining* (the practice of eating any meal whilst driving); *no-think food* or *one-handed food* (products which require no utensils and do not drip or crumble, and can therefore be eaten whilst working, driving or holding a baby); *cup-holder cuisine* (also relates to food which is intended to be eaten whilst driving, usually packaged in containers designed to fit into the cup-holder slots in many car interiors); *toy food* (a food dish that comes premeasured and premixed and so requires only a minimal amount of preparation); *etc.*

New foods, new drinks; weird foods, weird drinks, e.g.: *beersicle* (beer frozen into the shape of a popsicle); *alcopop* (a soft drink or lemonade that contains alcohol); *chewable liquor* (liquor distilled into a chewable, gelatin form); *garage wine* (a high-quality, extremely expensive wine produced in very small quantities); *extreme beer* (a well-aged, usually high-priced beer with an exotic flavor or an exceptionally high alcohol content); *malternative* (a flavored, malt-based, alcoholic beverage); *nicotini* (a nicotine-laced martini); *bird dog* (a hot dog made from bird meat); *tofurkey* (tofu molded into the shape of a turkey); *functional food* (a food product that has been enhanced with vitamins or pharmaceuticals to provide specific health benefits); *etc.*

Thus, one can say that the new *Food and Drinks* words point out the following general types of new concepts: scientific and technological/ economic/ etc. novelties; concepts showing awareness of health/ environment/ etc. problems; new psychological and psychiatric disorders related to/ generated by old/ new situations; ‘need-for-speed’ concepts. There are new words which denote new concepts and old words which denote new concepts; there are also new words which denote ‘dormant’ concepts, i.e. concepts that have been seldom referred to, as they have seemed useless or not so important, e.g.: *meat tooth* (a craving or fondness for meat).

The general conclusions of the paper are as follows: the terminology of lexical innovation needs reshaping; the most productive word-formation processes are compounding, derivation, and blending; the new concepts which the new words refer to underline the main characteristics of the nowadays society: amazing discoveries and innovations, speed, phobias, awareness of so far neglected problematic issues, etc.

As to the probability of new words becoming *stable neologisms*, it very much depends on their acceptance by the public and by linguists; many words are accepted very quickly, many others attract opposition. Acceptance usually implies that new words resemble other word(s), display semantic precision and straightforward syntax; sometimes, even if the word is strange or disparaging, it gains acceptance as the idea behind it is memorable and interesting.

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VAGUENESS IN ENGLISH
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1. Literature review

The phenomenon of vagueness has been addressed by philosophers and logicians, psychologists and linguists, as well as mathematicians and engineers. In contrast to the Aristotelian tradition which holds that concepts we use in everyday life are 'hard', i.e. have clear boundaries, Eubulides of Megara formulated his famous Sorites Paradox (or Paradox of the Heap) to answer the question 'Is there a sharp boundary between [Heap] and [~ Heap], or is this boundary blurred?' Bertrand Russell presents his own version of a paradox similar to the Sorites paradox: The Paradox of the Bald Man. "It is supposed that at first he was not bald, that he lost his hairs one by one, and that in the end he was bald; therefore, it is argued, there must have been one hair the loss of which converted him into a bald man. This, of course, is absurd" (Russell, 1923/2004:36). However, Russell goes on to say that vagueness is not a property of entities but of representations. Since language is a representation, it is vague. Common words, such as 'red', 'baldness' or 'second' are vague, and meaning is a one-many relation in actual languages, because a representation is vague if there is no one-to-one relationship between a representation and the entity that is being represented. He claims that vagueness is a matter of degree (Russell, 1923/2004:38). Ludwig Wittgenstein was also concerned with vagueness in the guise of indeterminacy in his study of the notion of 'game', which is a concept with blurred edges (see *Philosophical Investigations*, 1953/87). He states that games show similarities, which can be characterized as family resemblances and that there is no one set of properties that will exhaustively define all games. His views prefigured the ideas on *prototypes* presented by psychologists like Eleanor Rosch.

Rossanna Keefe (2000:6-36) points out that predicates 'tall', 'red', 'bald', 'heap', 'tadpole' and 'child' share *three interrelated features* that are bound up with their vagueness. They admit borderline cases, they lack sharp boundaries and they are susceptible to the sorites paradox. *Borderline cases* (sometimes known as the penumbra) are cases where it is unclear whether or not the predicate applies. Some people are not clearly tall and not clearly not tall, or certain reddish-orange patches are borderline red. Comparatives 'nicer than' and 'more intelligent than' have borderline cases too. Keefe also

shows that vague predicates lack well-defined extensions. On a scale of heights there appears to be *no sharp boundary* between the tall people and the rest. This makes Keefe see the necessity of higher-order vagueness. She also proves that typically vague predicates are *susceptible to the sorites paradox*. If \underline{x} is a heap of sand, then the result \underline{y} of removing one grain will still be a heap. But what happens if you keep on removing grains one by one. Repeated applications of this principle imply absurdly that the solitary last grain is a heap. Similarly the principle if \underline{x} is tall, and \underline{y} is only a hundredth of an inch shorter than \underline{x} , then \underline{y} is also tall will yield a conclusion that *it* is false to claim that repeated applications of this principle will end with a tall man. In addition, it is possible to say that height for 'tall' is a single dimension of variation associated with each vague predicate and number of grains for 'heap', although many vague predicates are multi-dimensional. The applicability of 'big', used to describe people, depends on both height and volume. With 'nice', there is not even a clear-cut set of dimensions determining the applicability of the predicate. For 'nice' we could take generosity and consider a series of people differing gradually in this respect, starting with a very mean person and ending with a very generous one, where other features relevant to being nice are kept as constant as possible through the series. Furthermore, 'nice' is a good example of how meanings of words are slippery and difficult to catch, determine and therefore represent. The following sentences reveal that 'nice' can have the opposite meaning of 'good, kind; pleasant; pleasing; fine; delicate', and this meaning is 'bad': "I need £5 and I've left all my money at home. This is a nice state of affairs!" and "You're a nice friend: you won't even lend me £5" (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 1978:736).

The importance of context for determining the meaning in language was also highlighted in Labov's studies of 'cup', 'bowl', 'vase', etc. which resulted in a linear model that approximates the data. He admits that there are some cases when there is ready-made discreteness, such as in kinship terminology, but on the other hand, the borderline between a tree and a shrub is not discrete, for example, and there are some concrete objects which are in themselves vague, such as fog. Labov claims that what we must do is to locate the boundary between the invariant and variable areas of language with precision, and to measure categories, weigh them, and eventually record them at work (Labov, 1973/2004:87). His empirical evidence can also serve to underline the interrelation of form and function, and their symmetry in the process of denotation.

A new discipline - cognitive science – emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s to deal with the workings of the mind, i.e. how people perceive

and categorize the world around them. The first scholar to recognize and describe the general cognitive principles was Eleanor Rosch. Her experiments on colour and form suggested the evidence of non-arbitrary categories centred on 'natural prototypes' (Rosch, 1973). Prototypes are the clearest cases of category membership, and Rosch, like Labov, argues that since most categories do not have clear-cut boundaries, categorization cannot take place on the basis of necessary and sufficient criteria. Linguists who were unhappy with the way in which generative grammar was developing with its assumption of a strict division between syntax, semantics, and lexicon, and its insistence on the autonomy and primacy of syntax within the language faculty proceeded to develop cognitively grounded models of grammar. Among them are certainly George Lakoff (1971), Ray Jackendoff (1972) and Ronald Langacker (1973). Jackendoff accepts fuzziness as "an inescapable characteristic of the concepts that language expresses" (1983:125), and sets out to develop a theory of 'conceptual semantics'. One of his main concerns has been with semantic structure and with finding a formalism to represent this structure.

A second major influence of cognitive science on linguistics can be found in the work of Ronald Langacker – *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar* (1987). Like Jackendoff, Langacker equates semantic structure with conceptual structure (Langacker, 1987:2). In his model of Cognitive Grammar (CG), syntax, morphology and the lexicon are seen as forming a continuum, and serve to symbolize semantic structure. In accordance with prototype theory, CG thus accepts that much in language is a matter of degree, and is geared to deal with non-discreteness in the categorization of word meaning, as well as of morphological and syntactic patterns. Lakoff's study *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* (1987) also embraces the new views on what categorization tells us about the mind, and states that human thought is organized in terms of 'idealized cognitive models' (ICMs).

2. Theories of vagueness

To survey the theories of linguistic vagueness, we should consider how they address two central tasks. The first is to identify the logic and semantics for a vague language, and the second is that of addressing the sorites paradox. To retain classical logic and semantics borderline case predications *are* either true or false. Vague predicates have well-defined extensions: there is a sharp boundary between the tall people and the rest, and between the red shade of the spectrum and the other colours. Predication in a borderline case is both true *and* false. This can be formalised within the context of a paraconsistent logic - a logic that admits

true contradictions (see Hyde, 1997). A more popular position is to admit truth-value *gaps*: borderline predications are neither true nor false. One elegant development is *supervaluationism*. Another option is to hold that predications have a third value - 'neutral', 'indeterminate' or 'indefinite' – leading to a three-valued logic. *Degree theories* introduce a whole spectrum of truth-values from 0 to 1, with complete falsity as degree 0 and complete truth as degree 1. Borderline cases each take some value between 0 and 1, with 'x is red' gradually increasing in truth-value as we move along the colour spectrum from orange to red. This calls for an infinite-valued logic or a so-called 'fuzzy logic', and there has been a variety of different versions.

Non-discrete boundaries and graded category membership can be incorporated in non-formalistic, semantically based approaches to language such as the 'Columbia school' of linguistics (e.g. García 1977), or functionally oriented approaches, such as that of Givón (e.g. 1983) and Hopper and Thompson (1980). They have proved capable of accommodating prototypicality effects. The same seems to be true for a large number of more or less formal theories, such as 'communication-and-cognition perspective' to language (Van Valin, LaPolla 1997), Functional Grammar (Dik 1997), Functional-Systemic Grammar (Halliday 1994), Lexical-Functional Grammar (Bresnan 1982), Construction Grammar (Fillmore 1988, Kay, Fillmore 1999) and Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001). All these theories assume that language is principally a means of communication, and that the form of linguistic utterances is determined by their use. Thus, linguists who are interested in discourse phenomena claim that the syntax of languages is driven by meaning. In addition, it is recognized that the study of language use must take place within the perspective of broader cognitive processes such as reasoning and conceptualization. Apart from these basic assumptions, these theories, however, differ widely, not only with regard to the grammar models developed, but also in their definitions of psychological or cognitive adequacy. It is therefore possible to say that new and existing linguistic frameworks accept the central role of semantic structure in linguistics, the conceptual nature of meaning, and the fact that concepts are organized in terms of non-discrete categories.

3. The metalanguage

Sainsbury (1990) argues that recognizing the feature of boundarylessness is essential for a genuine understanding of vagueness and an account of its semantics. A key issue here concerns vagueness in the metalanguage – the language in which we frame our theory and report the

borderline status of some predications. Keefe (2000) maintains that any putative theory of vagueness must accommodate the apparent lack of sharp boundaries to the borderline cases, and relatedly, it must answer the question whether the metalanguage for the theory is vague. Mechanisms are being proposed in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Lexical-Functional Grammar, Optimality Theory, Probability Theory and even in CG to deal with gradient linguistic phenomena.

Another question which requires our answer is whether it is possible to use only linguistic devices to express meaning, or it is necessary to incorporate other than linguistic devices to do this. To answer these questions, we shall consider some of the examples given in the literature.

If we take a look at Labov's metalanguage, we can see that he establishes the relationship of intersection in the formula

$$(1) L(x) \text{ if } C_1 \text{ and } C_2 \text{ and } C_3$$

that is, the sign L denotes the object x if all of the conditions C_1 , C_2 and C_3 are fulfilled, which means that the conditions govern the denotation of L by binary

decisions. Such an orthogonal model for independent conditions for denotation is represented in Figure 1. This pattern is normally found in the schematic representations of componential analysis (Wallace, Atkins 1960), where if condition C as referring to form and condition D as referring to use, then the term always denotes if C lies between p and q, and D lies between r and s.



Figure 1. Orthogonal model for independent conditions for denotation

But Labov feels that this formulation needs to be developed into

(2) $L(x)$ if C_p and D_r and E_t (where C , D , and E each vary along separate dimensions, and L does not denote if the value of C is less than p , etc.)

and then into

(3) $L(x)$ if C_p^q and D_r^s and E_t^u (where L does not denote if the value of C is less than p or greater than q , etc.),

and concludes that even this formula needs amendments to be able to record and measure degrees of vagueness. Labov offers a linear model which approximates the data, and uses graphs to represent the interrelations of form and function. Figure 2. shows that the modal values of C and D are p_0 and r_0 , and that diagonal line connects points of equal probability of the term L denoting (see Aarts et al. 2004:81-82).

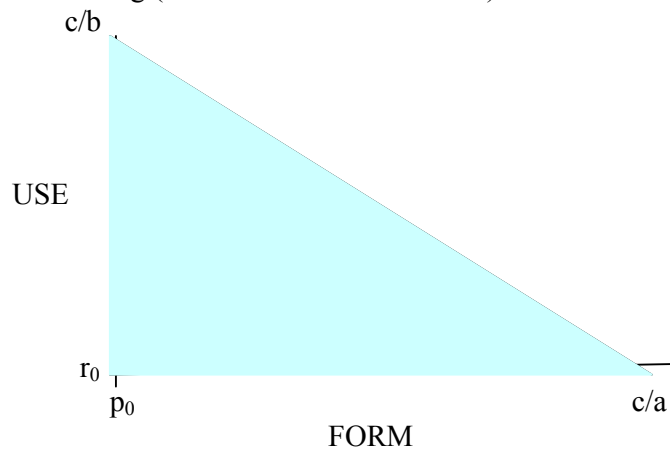


Figure 2. Linear model for relations between conditions for denotation

When discussing hedges – words whose meanings implicitly involve fuzziness – Lakoff (1972) shows that algebraic functions play a role in natural language semantics, which is also Zadeh’s basic idea (1965). It is of importance to say here that Zadeh functions are fuzzy, and that the values for the analyzed hedges are approximations. Figure 3. illustrates that the values are determined in the interval 0 and 1, and how height maps into degree of tallness.

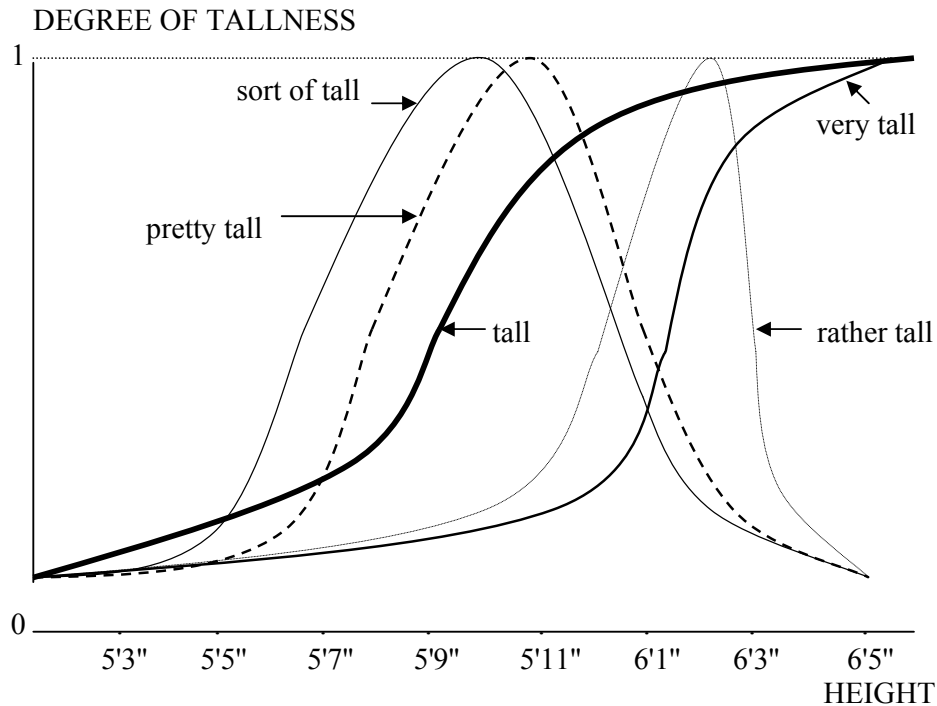


Figure 3.

If the language of fuzzy set theory is used, it is possible to say

(4) let $P = \text{'Peter is very tall'}$ and $Q = \text{'Peter is tall'}$.

Since P semantically entails Q , the value for 'very tall' is less than or equal to the value of 'tall', which could be expressed in the following way:

$P \rightarrow Q$ and $|P| \leq |Q|$.

To answer the question 'How tall do you have to be to be tall?', we give different answers. This shows that the concept of 'tall' is fuzzy and the answer to the question depends upon where you live and for what purposes you want to define tallness. If you lived in Italy, for instance, your being tall would be different than your being tall in Scandinavia. Standards for 'tallness' also vary if we compare people living in the ancient times and those living today. On the other hand, if you want to become a member of a basketball team, a standard for 'tall' is more than six feet and it differs from a standard for 'tall' when you apply for a ballet dancer position. This discussion shows that standards for 'tall' are determined by various factors –

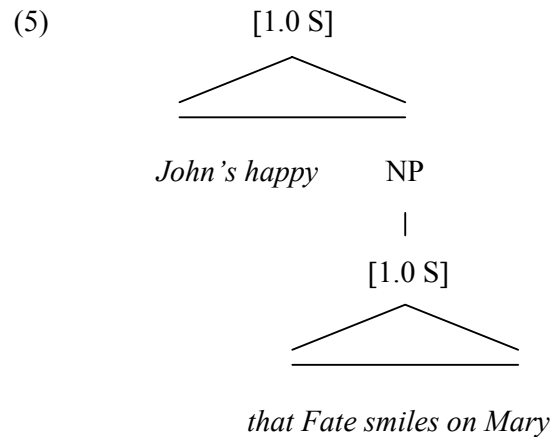
social, cultural and historical conditions. This conclusion is in accordance with Bouchard's claim that "... fuzziness is in the web, the background knowledge on which language is woven ..." (Aarts et al., 2004:482).

Lakoff (1972) also discusses sentences with 'similar', 'very similar' and 'sort of similar' to make us see that things are similar or dissimilar not just to degrees, but also in various respects. These considerations illustrate that an adequate account of the meanings of 'very' and 'sort of' affects both the absolute values of the predicates they modify and the consideration of vector values, and that the combination of these modifiers with 'similar' determines a certain number of contextually important criteria and degree of similarity on the basis of how closely the values match for the criteria chosen.

To demonstrate that the traditional view of the categories 'verb', 'adjective', and 'noun' is incorrect, Ross (1973) uses the term 'the nouniness squish' and offers sentence-based matrix and noun-based matrix. He, therefore, suggests that membership of NP, V, S, etc. is a matter of degree, and proposes that S, sentence, should be replaced by a feature $[\alpha S]$, where α ranges over the real number in $[0, 1]$. Ross arrives by simple arithmetic at the bunching function for the following elements:

<i>that S</i>	-	$[1.0 S]$
<i>for to</i>	-	$[(1.0 - 4 \times 0.0115) S] = [0.954 S] \cong [0.95 S]$
Q	-	$[(1.0 - 12 \times 0.0115) S] = [0.862 S] \cong [0.86 S]$
<i>Acc Ing</i>	-	$[(1.0 - 30 \times 0.0115) S] = [0.655 S] \cong [0.66 S]$
<i>Poss Ing</i>	-	$[(1.0 - 50 \times 0.0115) S] = [0.425 S] \cong [0.43 S]$
Act. Nom.	-	$[(1.0 - 74 \times 0.0115) S] = [0.149 S] \cong [0.15 S]$
Der. Nom.	-	$[(1.0 - 85 \times 0.0115) S] = [0.023 S] \cong [0.02 S]$
N	-	$[0.0 S]$

He also shows that features like $[\alpha S]$ are semantactic phenomena whose description requires a predicate like the squishy command which is represented in (5)



where the α -command facts are as stated in

John (1.0) - commands *Mary* ; *Mary* (0.0) - commands *John*.

In other words, it is possible to say that *Mary* is dominated by a *that*-clause, which has the value $[1.0 S]$, and that this clause does not dominate *John*.

In response to such an approach, Jackendoff seeks new ways to set up a theory of the internal structure of concepts. The metalanguage of his theory does not deal with truth values, whereas, on the other hand, the usual logical metalanguages explicate atomic sentences in terms of the conditions under which they are true. He represents the thing being categorized as a [TOKEN] concept and that of the category as a [TYPE] concept. Thus, a categorization judgment might be represented formally in two ways. The first resembles first-order logical notation in that the [TYPE] concept is treated as a one-place predicate whose argument is a [TOKEN]. This gives a representation like (6) for '*a* is a dog' (Aarts et al., 2004:111).

$$(6) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{THING TYPE} \\ \text{DOG} \end{array} \left(\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{THING TOKEN} \\ a \end{array} \right] \right) \right]$$

Alternatively, the [TOKEN] and the [TYPE] may both be variable-free structures that are compared by a two-place function. Such a formalization resembles the set-theoretic notation ‘ $a \in D$ ’,

$$(7) \text{ IS AN INSTANCE OF } \left(\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{THING TOKEN} \\ a \end{array} \right], \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{THING TYPE} \\ \text{DOG} \end{array} \right] \right)$$

The theory of syntax-semantics correspondence provides evidence in favour of the latter formalization. In that theory, NPs correspond to variable-free conceptual constituents, and verbs correspond to functions whose argument places are filled by strictly subcategorized syntactic categories. According to Jackendoff, the function must map into a conceptual constituent belonging to a major ontological category. The proper category would appear to be [STATE TOKEN], and there is the formal similarity of [TOKENS] and [TYPES] on cognitive and grammatical grounds, respectively (Aarts et al., 2004:113). Thus Jackendoff’s metalanguage counterpart of the expression “‘ Da ’ is true” in the metalanguage of logic is

$$(8) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{STATE TOKEN} \\ \text{IS AN INSTANCE OF} \end{array} \left(\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{THING TOKEN} \\ a \end{array} \right], \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{THING TYPE} \\ \text{DOG} \end{array} \right] \right) \right]$$

and it is in fact the conceptual equivalent of an atomic sentence “ Da ” of logic.

Since categorization judgments follow yes/no/not sure distribution, Jackendoff concludes that it is not enough to have only two sorts of

conditions. If the [TYPES] were necessary and sufficient conditions, the boundaries of 'vase', 'cup' and 'bowl' would be precisely defined. Therefore, it appears that at least three sorts of conditions are needed to adequately specify word meanings (Aarts et al., 2004:115).

In his further discussion on the decomposition theories, Jackendoff emphasizes the importance of Wittgenstein's point that it is not possible to characterize the word 'game' and other noun meanings within these theories. Although Jackendoff shows that the verb 'see' has a 'family resemblance' character, faith in decomposition for verbs has remained unshaken. To check who is closer to the truth, I have analyzed 54 verbs of motion used in air transport and 54 verbs of motion used in water transport and traffic engineering. The results show that verb meanings can be adequately identified by means of ten distinctive features (see Dimković-Telebaković, 2003:148-252).

It is possible to support this assertion with a reference to Katz and Fodor (1963), Katz (1972) and Nida (1975), for instance. For them, as for Wierzbicka (1990) and Bouchard (1995), the meaning of words and concepts is vague and can be exhaustively decomposed into necessary and sufficient features/ components. "The challenge consists in portraying the vagueness inherent in natural language with precision" (Aarts et al., 2004:474). To define the meaning of 'uncle', Wierzbicka accounts for both the invariant and the prototype. She proposes the following:

X is Y's uncle.=
if someone is the brother of my mother or father
I can say of him: this is my uncle
Y can think of X like I would think of the person

When giving the full explication of 'bird', for example, Wierzbicka specifies: "some creatures of this kind cannot move in the air, but wanting to imagine a creature of this kind, people would imagine a creature able to move in the air". Wierzbicka's definitions of words show that her thinking and means of representation of word meanings are of a typically linguistic kind. Moreover, she determines the meaning of words in her own way and she does it by creating definitions.

4. Summary

- The paper offers a brief survey of some achievements in the field of vagueness;

- Categorization proved to be a process of incredible complexity;
- Linguists agree that grammatical categories exist in some shape or other, but disagree about the nature of those categories;
- Some categories may have strict and fixed boundaries. In other cases boundaries between categories may be fuzzy or variable;
- ‘Hedges’ show that natural languages possess linguistic mechanisms for coding and coping with gradients of category membership;
- Fuzziness is also found in syntactic categorization;
- It has been proved that the internal structure of verbs of motion can be exhaustively defined by componential analysis;
- The number of conditions, needed to adequately specify word meanings, varies in the literature;
- The phenomena of vagueness has been addressed by researchers in different fields;
- Metalanguages used by them vary. Some of them find logical and mathematical devices most appropriate; others see natural language as the only necessary and sufficient means of meaning representation;
- This paper shows that linguistic devices are more precise or less vague than logical, mathematical devices, and that linguistics can be qualified as an exact discipline if it applies its own metalanguage.

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**‘WHEN TALK IS WAR’: A METAPHOR APPROACH TO
ELECTION POLITICAL DEBATES
CODRUȚA GOȘA and LUMINIȚA FRENȚIU**

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The present paper is part of an ongoing research project on the political discourse in Romania. In the stage of our analysis presented in this paper we focus on some metaphoric representations which underpin the political discourse in election debates. Our working hypotheses (grounded in our knowledge of the Romanian system) are twofold: in their attempt to win the elections the speakers employ similar ‘populist’ metaphors on the one hand, and on the other, the speakers’ ideological identity (as representatives of their own parties) is of minor or of no consequence in the way they approach their persuasive discourses.

1. Theoretical underpinnings

1.1 The broader context

Having as a starting point Brumfit’s) definition of applied linguistics as “the theoretical and empirical investigation of real-world problems in which language is a central issue” (1995: 27), Myers (2005) pertinently observes that the scope of the field should be (and it already is) considerably broader than it has traditionally been considered to be. Thus he continues:

“It is hard to think of any ‘real-world’ problems –from global warming to refugees to generic counselling to outsourced call central to AIDA/HIV to military intelligence – that do not have a crucial component of language use”. (Myers 2005: 528)

Nevertheless, as Cameron et al. (1992), Crystal (2003) and Bygate (2005) argue, unless applied linguists bring their theoretical and empirical findings back into the real-world context, they will never find out whether their work makes sense to the real-world or it barely remains an intellectual exercise relevant to only the specialists in their own field.

It is within this line of thought that we have set out to investigate political talks in election periods. There has been an enormous interest of social science research into political discourse, but this area, to our mind, has not attracted enough attention from linguists in general. Political talks are based on language practices that should tell us a lot about the politicians who produce them and about the ideological group they represent.

1.2. Focusing in

The area of linguistics we chose our analytical framework from is cognitive linguistics. To be more precise, we have chosen the cognitive/conceptual metaphor as our working instrument.

1.2.1. Conceptual metaphor

The cognitive constructivist approach to metaphor was by and large initiated by Lakoff and Johnson in their *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). Thus they consider that people construct meaning by resorting to metaphors (i.e. by conceptualising one reality in terms of another).

Cameron and Low (1999) have further developed metaphor analysis both from a theoretical and empirical viewpoint. They consider that:

“Metaphor is far more than a rhetoric or poetic device; rather it is pervasive throughout everyday language. Moreover, this ubiquity of metaphor is held to serve as evidence of its role in structuring not only how we talk, but also how we think and act; metaphor is thus a matter of mind”. (Cameron and Low 1999: 78)

Thus a distinction is made between **linguistic metaphor** which is seen as matter of language: the use of particular words which have semantic values and overtones, and **conceptual metaphor** (as a cognitive device, a way of making sense of reality). To make the distinction more operationalisable, the example *our love is a roller coaster* is a linguistic metaphor, while the underlying conceptual metaphor would be *love is a journey* (i.e the reality of love being understood via the reality of journey).

Our analysis is based on this distinction. In other words, we have tried to identify the types of conceptual metaphors employed by a number of politicians together with the linguistic metaphors which instantiate the conceptual metaphor.

In what follows we will present the electoral political context and the politicians involved, the data and the findings of this stage of our analysis.

2. The Context

In Romania the communist regime was overthrown by a bottom-up violent uprising. In no other country of the region did the communist governments resort to such ruthless forms of repression against peaceful demonstrators during the dramatic events of 1989. The paradox is that the

results of the most abrupt break with the old order resulted in the least radical transformations. Romania-watchers' opinions range from highlighting the failure of the revolution, and considering that the former president Ion Iliescu did his utmost under the existing circumstances to turn the country into a functioning democracy.

In spite of disturbing attempts by the ruling elite (by and large thought to have sprung either from the former communist nomenclature or from the *Securitate*) to marginalize the opposition, maintain tight controls, and perpetuate its economic and political domination by use of symbolic manipulation and democratic rhetoric, it would be absurd to deny that major progress toward democratization has been accomplished.

An interesting effect of this democratization process is reflected in the large number of candidates running for president in the campaigns that followed the revolution, i.e. 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004.

The 1996 elections threw into the political battlefield 16 candidates of a large variety of orientations and, finally, brought about radical changes through the victory of the opposition. This was possible not because of the convincing quality of the political discourse but because, on the one hand, at the end of Iliescu's second mandate, the climate in Romania was dominated by disenchantment, frustration, malaise, anxiety, and insecurity, and on the other hand, citizens grew more and more aware that voting is an exercise of power.

In the 2000 elections 11 politicians (besides the former ex-communist president Iliescu) confronted in the election debates, but, they did not manage to set forth attractive and credible programs in response to the demands of the electorate. Consequently, Iliescu was once again voted as president.

The year 2004 was again an election year in Romania. In spite of the public's need for clear, coherent, and concrete programs, the debates of the 12 candidates running for president seemed to remain predominantly confrontational. We set out to investigate the talks given by the candidates to presidency in order to identify the strategies employed to win the electorate and to determine whether political discourse in Romania shows any signs of growing more mature.

3. Data analysis

During the stage of the analysis presented in this paper, we tried to identify the types of conceptual metaphors used by the candidates for the 2004-2009 presidency. These politicians, who they are and the parties they

represented are presented in the next section. In this section we also describe how and when the data was obtained.

3.1. Data presentation

As numerous studies have shown, televised debates play an important role in convincing the public to support their candidates and in taking decisions, for those still undecided. Therefore the data we used for our analysis is taken from a 5 hour debate, broadcasted on the national television on 27 November 2004, the last night of the campaign.

We chose the national television because firstly, it is said that the 'impartiality' of the media requires the mediation of the state. The average public expects media, and especially the state television, to reflect a multifaceted reality, as truthfully and objectively as possible. The second reason is because TVR 1 is the only channel that can be watched throughout Romania, without the need of a satellite dish or cable TV.

The debate was broadcast under a very suggestive title: *The Night of the Presidents*, (by analogy with *The Night of the Generals*, a famous Romanian documentary about a period in the 1898 uprising when crucial revolution-related decisions had to be taken). This was the last meeting of all the candidates before the voting process had to begin. The main goal of all the candidates was thus to persuade the audience, to gain votes and eventually to win the presidential elections.

The candidates involved in this debate were the following (the acronyms for the respective parties are presented in brackets):

1. Gheorghe Dinu – lawyer and academic, independent
2. Traian Băsescu – naval officer, representative of the alliance National Liberal Party- Democrat Party called the Justice and Truth Alliance (DA)
3. Petre Roman – engineer and academic, representing the Democratic Force (FD)
4. Aurel Radulescu – priest, representing the Christian-Democrat Popular Alliance (APCD)
5. George Becali – businessman, the representing the New Generation Party (TG)
6. Marian Petre Miluț – system engineer and businessman, representing of the Popular Alliance (AP)
7. Gheorghe Ciuhandu – engineer, representing the National Christian Democrat Peasant Party (PNTCD)

8. Corneliu Vadim Tudor – sociologist, historian and more recently theologian, representing the Great Romania Party (PRM)
9. Ovidiu Tudorici – lawyer and manager, representing the Union for Romania’s Reconstruction (URR)
10. Adrian Năstase – lawyer and academic, representing the Social Democratic Party and the Humanist Party (PSD)
11. Marko Bela, writer, representing of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR)
12. Alexandru Raj Tunaru – engineer and manager, representing the Democratic Youth Party (PTD)

After videotaping the debate, we then set to transcribe our data in order to prepare it for our analysis.

The next sections present the findings and some examples identified.

3.2. Findings

The following table presents the findings of this stage of our research process. As mentioned previously, we tried to identify the types of conceptual metaphors along with their illustrations through a linguistic metaphor. We also tried to what types of these metaphors were used by each and every candidate to the presidential seat.

The candidates are identified by their initials and the initials of the parties they represented, in the order presented in the previous section.

Metaphor	G.D. Ind.	T.B. DA	P.R. FD	A.R. APCD	G.B. TG	M.P. AP	G.C. PNTCD	C.V.T. PRM	O.T. URR	A.N. PSD	M.B. UDMR	A.R.T. PTD
animal												√
biblical					√							√
circus					√				√			
Cowboy					√		√	√				
Crime								√				
Death						√			√			
Food					√							
Football	√				√							
Harvesting		√										
Heart												√
Journey			√							√		
School		√						√				√
war				√	√					√		

Table 3.1. Distribution of the conceptual metaphors identified across candidates.

3.3. Examples by politicians

The examples presented here refer to the type of conceptual metaphors identified and some linguistic metaphors associated with them across the politicians who produced them.

Gheorghe Dinu, independent

- **Football metaphor**

Pentru guvern alegeți ce partid vreți dumnevoastră, pentru parlament la fel, dar președintele trebuie să fie neutru față de aceste partide pentru a le sancționa pe cele care fac greșeli. Exact ca la fotbal. N-am văzut niciodată două echipe de fotbal confruntându-se care și-au ales arbitru unul dintre antrenori. Nu, arbitrul este neutru și echidistant, la fel trebuie să fie și președintele.

For the government elect whatever party you desire, do it for the parliament, too, but the president must be neutral towards these parties to sanction the mistakes any of these parties would make. Exactly like in football. I've never seen two competing teams who selected one of the coaches as referee. No, the referee is neutral and equidistant and so must the president be.

Traian Băsescu, DA

- **School metaphor**

Vă rog să-l disciplinați pe Adrian Năstase, care vorbește neîntrebat.
Please discipline Adrian Năstase who calls out answers.

- **Harvesting metaphor**

Ceea ce cerem electoratului român este de a ne da șansa de a smulge aceste buruieni mafioate care au acaparat România și de a da înapoi românilor o Românie curată.

What we ask our electorate for is a chance to weed these Mafia weeds that have invaded Romania and to give back a clean Romania to Romanians.

Petre Roman, FD

- **Journey metaphor**

În acești ani v-am slujit cu devotament. Într-o clipă de sinceritate să revedem acest drum pe care l-am parcurs împreună. Dacă am făcut greșeli, am învățat și am putut merge mai departe mai călit și cu mai multă înțelepciune.

All these I've been devotedly serving you. In this moment of sincerity let's revisit the roads we've treaded on together. If I made mistakes I've learned from them and I could go on tougher and wiser.

Aurel Rădulescu, APCD

- **Biblical metaphor**

Astăzi l-am primit pe Sf. Gheorghe, sigla APPCD care este partidul renașterii României, care va ucide balaurul corupției, al minciunii și al sărăciei din România.

Today I've received Saint George, the logo of APPCD, the party of the re-birth of Romania, he will kill the dragon of corruption, of lying and of poverty in Romania.

Ceea ce s-a întâmplat în România este o blasfemie.

What's happened in Romania is a blasphemy.

George Becali, PNG

- **Biblical and football metaphor**

Mi-a dat Dumnezeu avere, mi-a dat această notorietate care am câștigat-o prin Steaua, și-atuncea la rugăciune, m-am întrebat 'Doamne ce vrei de la mine?' și mi-am găsit răspunsul. Toate aceste daruri pe care Dumnezeu mi le dă, tre` să facem în așa fel încât să fie folosite oamenilor.

God has given me wealth, He has give me this fame (notoriety) which I've won through Steaua, and now when praying I asked myself "Lord, what do you want from me?". And I found my answer: all these gifts that God has given me must be made useful to humankind.

- **War and food metaphor -**

Am intrat în această luptă pentru ca sunt flămând și însetat de dreptate.

I've entered this battle because I am hungry and thirsty for justice.

- **Cowboy and football metaphor**

Am virtuți de conducător și am câștigat cu Steaua, am intrat în Europa și dacă-mi va da populația arma parlamentului voi trage cu ea în politicienii care au jefuit și au distrus această țară.

I have the virtues of a leader, I've won with Steaua, we've entered Europe and if the population will give me the parliament as a weapon, then I will shoot at the politicians who have robbed and destroyed this country.

- **Circus metaphor**

Vă rog să nu râdeți că m-apuc eu să râd de Vadim al vostru și facem un circ...

Please don't laugh because I can start laughing at your Vadim ,too and we'll make a circus...

Marian Petre Miluț, AP

- **Death metaphor**

Trebuie să dați un vot negativ acestor oameni care vor îngropa România.

You must give a negative vote to these people who will bury Romania.

Gheorghe Ciuhandu, PNTCD

- **Circus metaphor**

Românii au nevoie de discutii și nu de numere de circ sau de spectacol.

Romanians need debates and not circus or show numbers.

Corneliu Vadim Tudor, PRM

- **Crime metaphor**

Mă furați la coșniță (despre timpul alocat)
This is a regular ripp-off (about his speaking time).

Prădați România de patru ani. Nu vă e rușine obrazului?
You've been plundering Romania for four years.

În decembrie 2000 am fost furat ca-n codru.
In Decembre 2000 it was highway robbery.

- **Cowboy metaphor**

Voi lichida mafia în 48 de ore cu legea-n mână.
I'll kill the mafia in 48 hours with the law in my hand.

- **School metaphor**

Domnule Nicolau, învățați-vă elevii să respecte legea.
Mr Nicolau, tach your students to obey the law.

Ovidiu Tudorici, URR

- **Circus metaphor**

Încerc să mă concentrez în mijlocul acestui circ absurd.
I'm trying to concentrate amidst this absurd circus.

- **Death metaphor**

În 2000 a trebuit să alegem între un comunist și un poet de curte. Ni se spune ca acum trebuie să alegem dintre președintele unui partid de stânga și președintele unui alt partid de stânga. Oare suntem condamnați la moarte lentă prin astfel de alegeri imposibile?

In 2000 we had to choose from a communist and a court poet. Today we are told that we must choose from the president of a left-wing party and a president from another left-wing party. Are we to be sentenced to a slow death by these impossible choices?

- **Crime metaphor**

România ne-a fost furată în 1989.

Romania has been stolen from us in 1989.

Adrian Năstase, PSD

- **Journey metaphor**

În fața noastră se deschid mai multe drumuri. Pe de o parte un drum al răfuieiilor continue, un drum al dezastrului economic, un drum al sărăciei, al demagogiei. Eu vă invite pe o altă cale.

Many roads lie ahead of us. On the one hand, a road of continuous grudge fight, of economic disaster, of demagogy. I invite you on a different road.

- **War metaphor**

Eu vă chem la luptă împotriva sărăciei prin eforturi commune.
I call you to fight against povertz through our joint efforts.

Marko Bela, UDMR

There were no metaphors identified.

Alexandru Raj Tunaru, PTD

- **Animal metaphor**

Doar voi, lupii mei tineri, voi puteți s-o faceți.
Only you my young wolves can do that.

- **Biblical metaphor**

Dumnezeu să ajute și să binecuvânteze toți românii. Dumnezeu să ocrotească Valea Jiului și Hunedoara. Așa să-mi ajute Dumnezeu.

God help Romania and bless all Romanians. God protect Valea Jiului and Hunedoara. So help me God.

- **School metaphor**

Este partidul vostru așa că mergeți la vot să-l creșteți mare.
It is your party so go to the ballot and bring him up.

4. Concluding remarks

It appears that at least one of our hypotheses was confirmed at this stage of our analysis. It could be observed that all but one of the politicians analysed resorted to at least one type of conceptual metaphor. This preliminary stage of our analysis does seem to suggest that at the strategic level there is a common trend among politicians: that of making political talks as accessible to the population as possible by resorting to a large variety of conceptual metaphors.

The analysis will be continued by counting the references both cross-sectionally (thus obtaining the total number of references to one particular metaphor or another) and individually (the number of references to a particular type of metaphor made by each and every candidate). Eventually we will try to analyse the different kind of discourses instantiated by each candidate in the light put forward by Kress (1989: 7) who argues that 'discourses are systematically-organised sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution'.

In other words, the way people (and implicitly politicians) organise, structure and talk about a topic reveal the values beliefs and practices of the institution these people belong to.

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On the Properties of English Verb+Particle Constructions Used as Nouns

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1. Introduction

Verb+particle constructions (often called phrasal verbs or multi-word verbs) create special problems for learners of English, partly because there are so many of them, and partly because their meaning is mostly non-compositional. These difficulties are increased by the fact that some of them are also used as nouns. In comparison to the large number of phrasal verbs, however – about 5000 (cf. *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs, 1995, Cambridge International Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs, 1997, Oxford Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs, 1993*) –, relatively few of them are used as nouns (about 300), and it seems to be arbitrary which of them are used as nominalizations.

The primary aim of this paper is to present an overview of the different types of these deverbal nouns and to investigate what word-formation processes are involved in their formation and what special phonological, orthographical, semantic and stylistic properties they have.

2. Types of verb-particle constructions used as nouns

Four major types can be distinguished (cf. Huddleston & Pullum (2002:1652-54):

- Unaffixed verb+particle
breakthrough, drop-out, hang-up, lookout, show-off, singalong, tailback
- Particle+unaffixed verb
downturn, intake, offshoot, overpass, outlet, throughput, upturn
- Verbal element carries the *-er* suffix
 - i. *passer-by, hanger-on, getter-up, runner-up, knocker-up*
 - ii. *bystander, onlooker, overseer*
- Verbal element carries *-ing* suffix
 - i. *drinking-down, going-over, phasing-out, telling-off, swearing-in*
 - ii. *upbringing, uprising, uprooting, outpouring, outgoings*

Besides, there are some idiosyncratic forms, in which the object of the verb is also indicated, e.g. *pick-me-up, hand-me-downs*.

3. Word-formation processes

Before we consider the characteristics of these deverbal nouns, we shall give some attention to the word-formation processes involved in their formation.

English grammarians such as Quirk et al. (1985:1520) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1621) refer to the following main types of word-formation:

- Prefixation: putting a prefix in front of the base, sometimes with, but more usually without, a change of word class, e.g. *mis* + *inform*, *dis* + *obey*
- Suffixation: putting a suffix after the base, sometimes without, but more usually with, a change of word class, e.g. *friend* + *less*, *wait* + *er*
- Conversion: assigning the base to a different word-class with no change of form, e.g. (*we shall*) *carpet* (*the room*), (verb from noun) or *your answer is good* (noun from verb).
- Compounding: adding one base to another, such that usually the one placed in front in some cases subcategorises the one that follows, e.g. *armchair*, *bottle-feed*.

Besides, Quirk et al. (1985:1566-67) refers to conversion with formal modification, i.e. when conversion is accompanied by certain nonaffixal changes affecting pronunciation or spelling or stress distribution:

- a) voicing of final consonant, e.g. *advice* (N) [s] ~ *advise* (V) [z], *belief* (N) [f] ~ *believe* (V) [v], *mouth* (N) [θ] ~ *mouthe* (V) [ð], where the unvoiced fricative consonants [s], [f], and [θ] are voiced to [z], [v], and [ð] respectively in the corresponding verb forms.
- b) shift of stress e.g. *import* (V) [im ˈpɔ:t] ~ *import* (N) [ˈɪmpɔ:t], *export* (V) [iks ˈpɔ:t] ~ *export* (N) [ˈeksɔ:t], where the stress is shifted from the second to the first syllable in nouns converted from verbs.

As far as word-formation processes are concerned, we could say that most of the phrasal verbs used as nouns are formed by a special type of conversion which also involves certain changes affecting pronunciation or spelling or stress distribution. In most cases there is a related clausal construction where the verb and the particle occur adjacently with the same

meaning but with a different stress pattern and the nouns are either solid words or hyphenated:

SHAKE-up ~ A Japanese - trained manager was brought in to shake UP the organisation.

HIDEaway ~ I thought I'd rent a cottage and hide AWAY for a while.

RIP-off ~ Taxi drivers often rip OFF foreign people.

KICKback ~ She kicked BACK part of her fee to the agent who introduced the client to her.

Consider also the semantic relationship between the prefixed ones, with the noun being stressed on the prefix, the verb on the verb element, as in the following illustrative examples:

OVERflow ~ The river has overFLOWED its bank.

UPdate ~ We'll upDATE you on the day's top news stories.

There are also a few instances where the post-verbal particle becomes a prefix in the nouns during the process of conversion. Compare the following pairs: *upkeep* ~ *keep up*, *outlet* ~ *let out*, *onset* ~ *set on*, *outset* ~ *set out*, *downpour* ~ *pour down*, *output* ~ *put out*, *throughput* ~ *put through*.

In some cases, no verbal equivalent exists, it is, however, possible to guess the meaning from that of the components, for example: *lean-to* (a building such as a shed or garage which is attached to one wall of a larger building) ~ *to lean to (to lean on or against sth); *rave-up* (a noisy party when people drink and dance a lot) ~ *to rave up (to rave ~ to talk in a crazy way); *runabout* (a small car used mainly for short journeys) ~ *to run about; *overkill* (more of something that is necessary or desirable) ~ *to overkill; *underlay* (a thick material that you place between a carpet and the floor for extra warmth) ~ *to underlay, *to lay under.

Similarly, the informal idiosyncratic *teach-in* (a meeting between students and teachers, with discussions on important or controversial topics) cannot be derived from a phrasal verb, either. The vogue for such formation produced *sit-in* (a protest in which people go to a public place and stay there for a long time) or *lie-in* (an occasion when you stay in bed longer than usual in the morning) whereas phrasal verbs such as *to teach in, *to sit in, *to lie in don't exist.

In contrast, sometimes there is a corresponding phrasal verb but with a different meaning as seen in:

- *hangover* (the headache and sickness that you get the day after you have drunk too much alcohol) ~ *If something unpleasant hangs over you, you are worried because it is likely to happen soon.*

- *lay-by* (a space next to a road where vehicles can stop) ~ *lay sth by* (save sth for the future)
- *layabout* (a lazy person who never does any work) ~ *lay about with a weapon* (use it to hit anyone who is nearby in a violent, uncontrolled way)
- *pushover* (sth that is easy to do or sb who is easy to persuade or influence) ~ *push sb over* (push them so that they fall on the ground)

In a number of cases the nominalising *-er*, or *-ing* suffix is added to the verbal base such as: *bystander*, *onlooker*, *overseer*, and *uprooting*, *swearing-in*, respectively, which means that derivation is also involved in their formation.

4. Phonological properties

Of their general properties, it is worth looking at their phonological ones first. It is well-known that in verb-particle constructions where the particle is an adverb, the stress usually falls on the adverb particle, e.g. *take OFF*, *turn OUT*. When the particle is a preposition, however, the stress normally occurs on the lexical verb with the preposition being unstressed, e.g. *LOOK for*, *TAKE after*.

In contrast, nominalized verb-particle constructions usually have the main stress on the first element, i.e. the verb, e.g. *TAKEoff*, *TURNout* or the particle, e.g. *UPtake*, *THROUGHput* except when the verb carries a suffix (*passer-BY*, *telling-OFF*, *BYstander*, *UPrising*) where the particle is stressed whether it follows or precedes the suffixed verb. It must be emphasized, however, that the majority of the nominalized verb-particle constructions come from verbal constructions where the particle is an adverb and not a preposition.

5. Orthographical properties

As it is evident from the above examples, the spelling of the nominalized construction can be varied: in most cases their constituents are either written solid or they are hyphenated. Even dictionaries show a lot of inconsistency in their spelling. The following observations can be made about their spelling:

When the particle precedes the verb element, it is always spelled as one word as the particle can be regarded as a prefix in the verbal compound, as in *outline*, *overlap*. Idiosyncratic informal compounds, such as *pick-me-up* are always hyphenated. The same refers to derived ones where the suffixes *-er* and *-ing* are added to the verb, for example *passer-by*, *telling-*

off, although dictionaries also indicate that they can be written as separate words as well (*passer by*, *telling off*). Interestingly enough, when the particle is *back*, the constituents of deverbal nouns are written solid, such as *comeback*, *cutback*, *drawback*, *flashback*, *kickback*, *playback*, *setback*, *tailback*, *throwback*. The same can be said about *away*: *breakaway*, *getaway*, *giveaway*, *hideaway*, *runaway*, *stowaway*, *takeaway*, *tearaway*, *washaway*.

In contrast, *in* and the less common particles such as *through* are usually written with a hyphen, for example: *cave-in*, *lie-in*, *throw-in*, *work-in* or *follow-through*, *run-through*. Nevertheless, the idiosyncratic *login* and *breakthrough* are exceptional, as they are solid words.

6. Semantic properties

The semantics of verb-particle constructions used as nouns is even more complex. The meaning of most nominalizations – due to their verbal element – is closely related to *activities*, *events*, as illustrated in such examples as: *pay-off* (*a payment that you make to someone so that they do not cause trouble for you*); *climb-down* (*the act of admitting that you are wrong*); *cover-up* (*an attempt to hide a crime or mistake*); *stopover* (*a short stay in a particular place between parts of a long journey*); *blast-off* (*the movement when the rocket leaves the ground*); *take-off* (*beginning of a flight*); *singalong* (*an occasion when a group of people sing song together for pleasure*).

The nominalizing *-ing* suffix usually gives such kind of interpretation, typically forming abstract nouns, as in: *uprising*, *upbringing*, *dressing-down*, *going over*, *swearing-in*, *phasing-out*, etc.

Besides activities, events, deverbal nouns sometimes relate to the *object or result of the activity*, as is evident from examples like: *a handout* (*a paper containing a summary of information or topics which will be dealt with in a lecture or talk*); *a pin-up* (*a photograph of an attractive person that appears in a magazine and that people often stick on a wall*); *a blow-up* (*a large copy of a photograph*); *a fry-up* (*a quick meal made of fried food*); *slip-ons* (*shoes without laces or buckle*).

Furthermore, the ones formed with the *-er* suffix refer to *people*, such as *passer-by*, *onlooker*, *bystander*, *hanger-on*, *runner-up*, *overseer*, *washer-up*, *chucker-out*. A lot of such nouns are formed by conversion without a suffix, such as *stand-in*, *runaway*, *stowaway*, *gadabout*, *stopout*, *tearaway*, *come-on*, *show-off*, *layabout*, *dropout*, *cutup*, *castaway*, *outcast*, *grown up*, etc.

Some of them relate to *places*, for example: *lockup, checkout, hangout, hideaway, layby, outlet, drive-in, take-away*.

In addition, several verb-particle constructions used as nouns have similar meanings, as illustrated in: *stick-up, hold-up (stealing money from a place or person by using violence); smash-up, crack-up, pile-up (a serious accident); snarl-up, tail-back, hold-up (a long line of traffic that is moving very slowly); screw-up, slip-up (mistake); mess-up, mix-up (confusion); telling-off, dressing-down, talking-to, ticking-off (reprimand); crackdown, clampdown (a strong official action); hideaway, hideout (a place where you go to hide or get away from other people)*.

A fairly numerous set of deverbal nouns are *polysemous* just like the phrasal verbs they are derived from, such as:

intake 1. *the number of people who begin to study at a school or join an organisation at a particular time*

2. *the amount of substance (food, drink or air that enters the body of people, animals, plants)*

make-up 1. *the combination of things which form something*

2. *substances such as lipstick, powder or eye shadow*

breakdown 1. *the failure or collapse of an arrangement, plan or discussion*

2. *becoming mentally or physically ill e.g. nervous breakdown*

3. *stop through mechanical electrical failure*

4. *change of ideas or feelings about something*

5. *division into smaller parts*

It is important to note, however, that nominalization is somewhat restricted in the case of polysemous verb+particle constructions. Sometimes, when the meaning of the verb is literal, nominalization is not possible, while it is more likely if the meaning is abstract. Consider the following examples:

the shake-up of the company **the shake-up of the cocktail*

the set-up of a committee **the set-up of road blocks*

In some cases, the meaning depends on whether the particle precedes or follows the verb, as in: *breakout (escape from prison) ~ outbreak (of war, disease, fire); outlook (perspective, prospect) ~ lookout (a person who is watching for danger; a high place where a person is watching for danger); outfall (a place where water flows out of a drain) ~ fallout (the radiation that affects a particular place or area after a nuclear explosion has taken place); turn-ups (the parts at the end of a pair of trousers which are folded over) ~ upturn (improvement in the economy or in a company)*.

Lastly, it should be noted that some of the nominalisations of this type have a *single-word equivalent*, which is often of Latin origin, but they are usually more formal. Consider, for example: *break-up* ~ *disintegration*, *cutback* ~ *reduction*, *check-up* ~ *examination*, *outcry* ~ *protest*, *outlook* ~ *perspective*, *overseer* ~ *supervisor*, *hook-up*, *link-up* ~ *connection*, *layout* ~ *arrangement*, *letdown* ~ *disappointment*, *sit-in* ~ *protest*, *upbringing* ~ *education*.

7. Stylistic/ register properties

It is a common misconception that verb-particle constructions are mostly used in informal or spoken language. It is really true that native speakers use them very often in colloquial spoken English, but such words can be found in many styles of writing, including highly formal newspaper articles. On the other hand, the nominalised phrasal verbs, and thus the ones which are used as nouns, are also common in non-standard varieties of English including slang. Consider the following examples:

Informal: *blow-up* (*outburst*), *hang-up* (*feeling of embarrassment*), *foul-up* (*bungle, botch*), *slip-up* (*a small, unimportant mistake*), *snarl-up* (*traffic jam*), *getup* (*unusual clothes*), *screw-up* (*mistake*), *wind-up* (*joke*), etc.

American informal: *cutup* (*joker*), *punch-out* (*fight*), *lockup* (*prison*), *mix-up* (*fight*), etc.

American slang: *blow-out* (*easy victory*), *kiss-off* (*sending away*), etc.

Australian informal: *rake-off* (*rip-off*), *balls-up* (*bungle*), etc.

Australian slang: *stuff-up*, *frig-up* (*bungle*), etc.

As mentioned above, these nouns also occur in written, formal style. Evidence for that is provided by the following examples, which are from *The Guardian Weekly* 2005, Vol 172/No 15: *crackdown* (*strong official action*), *pullout* (*withdrawal*), *turnout* (*the number of people who vote in an election*), *run-up to the invasion/war/the Olympics* (*preparation*), *upbringing* (*education*), *shake-up* (*reorganisation*), *set-up* (*arrangement*), *stand-off* (*dead end*), *overthrow of power* (*removal*), *comeback* (*return*), *outset* (*beginning*), *breakthrough* (*important development*), *marriage breakdown* (*ending*).

It is remarkable how frequently nominalized phrasal verbs are used in the language of sport, e.g. *sending-off*, *sit-up*, *press-up*, *playoff*, *throw-in*, *work-out*, *warm-up*, *weigh-in*, *kick-off*, *run-up*, etc.

8. Conclusion

English verb-particle constructions, i.e phrasal verbs, in general, represent undoubtedly a fascinating challenge for both scholars and language learners. As the discussion above has shown, phrasal verbs used as nouns also have special phonological, orthographical, semantic and stylistic properties and thus they are analysable and more or less systematic. I have argued that the majority of the nouns formed from phrasal verbs are the result of conversion with some formal modification. Furthermore, I have pointed out that unlike phrasal verbs, the related nouns are usually stressed on the first element. As for their spelling, some of them are hyphenated, while others are written as solid words. Oversimplifying somewhat, we can say that their meanings range over activities, events, objects, people and places. As noted finally, they occur in highly formal written style as well. The assumption that phrasal verbs are just an unsystematic, random combination of a verb and a particle seems to be widespread. I hope my paper has proved that this assumption is false.

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HEALTH AND ILLNESS METAPHORS IN BUSINESS JOURNALS

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The business world is awash with metaphors these days, just like other domains of human experience. The ubiquity of metaphors in business language was an incentive to the research conducted for the present paper. Moreover, metaphors are not easy to dismiss, as their central role in thought and language has already been acknowledged.

In my paper I try to bring further evidence in favour of the cognitive status of metaphor in the language of business, focusing on metaphors that revolve around the health and illness themes. My aim is to present parallel metaphorical expressions gathered from both English and Romanian journals and disentangle the relationships among them.

The sources of the metaphorical examples are on the one hand, the *Business Source Premier* database, and Romanian newspapers, on the other hand.

As the world's largest full text business database, *Business Source Premier* provides full text for more than 8,500 scholarly business journals and other sources, including full text for more than 1,100 peer-reviewed business publications. Coverage includes virtually all subject areas related to business. This database provides full text for more than 350 of the top scholarly journals dating as far back as 1922. This database is updated on a daily basis via EBSCOhost.

The search for Romanian instantiations of metaphors was somehow more difficult, as only some of the newspapers have on-line issues and there is no corresponding Romanian database. As it was not a statistics of occurrences that I was interested in, the sources at hand were considered reliable enough for a general survey.

Within the cognitive semantics frame, my departure point was *The Great Chain of Being* metaphor, described in some detail in the cognitive literature by Lakoff and Turner (Lakoff, Turner, 1989). It is not actually a metaphor, but a hierarchical structure relying on a certain folk theory of how 'things' are related to each other in the world. This hierarchy of concepts is called the *Great Chain of Being*. What Lakoff and Turner call the 'basic

Great Chain' (which is part of what they call the 'Extended Great Chain') consists of:

Humans (higher-order attributes and behaviour, e.g. thought, character)

Animals (instinctual attributes and behaviour)

Plants (biological attributes and behaviour)

Complex Objects (structural attributes and functional behaviour)

Natural Physical Things (natural physical attributes and natural physical behaviour)

This folk theory of the relationship of things in the world goes back to the Bible and has been built into the Jewish-Christian tradition, although it can be found in many cultures. Each level of the chain is defined by typical attributes and behaviour.

The system engenders metaphors when a particular level of the chain (human, animal, etc.) is used to understand another level. Obviously, the metaphorical process can go in two directions: from a lower source to a higher target or from a higher source to a lower target. For instance, humans can be metaphorically understood as animals or inanimate things; conversely, complex physical objects like ships can be conceptualized as humans.

The Great Chain metaphor explains why and how a number of apparently unrelated conceptual metaphors fit together in a coherent whole. Given the large number of metaphorical expressions and conceptual metaphors that this system can account for effortlessly, we can consider it as a huge and significant complex at the psychological and the linguistic levels.

In order to account for such varied target domains as economic systems, society, the mind, careers, companies, relationships, they have been placed under the umbrella term of "abstract complex systems". The targets referred to by this term are characterisable as typically abstract complex configurations of entities, where the nature and relationships of the entities vary from case to case. For example, companies can be viewed as abstract configurations of such entities as the people who work for them, strategies, products and services that all interact with each other in complex ways.

Out of a large array of issues concerning abstract complex systems, it has been noticed (Kövecses, 2002:127-128) that the function, stability, development and condition of the systems are the major properties that emerge frequently in the language we use about complex systems. His claim is not that these source domains focus exclusively on these aspects of abstract complex systems, but that these are their dominant foci.

The properties of function, stability, development and condition of abstract complex systems are primarily featured by four source domains: MACHINE, BUILDING, PLANT, and HUMAN BODY, respectively. This view leads to the following generalized mappings:

Target Domain	Source Domain
ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS	MACHINE
	BUILDING
	PLANT
	HUMAN BODY

Kövecses (2002:128-129) suggests that abstract complex systems are part of the Great Chain and that machines (as complex systems), buildings (as complex objects), plants and humans are also part of it. The question that remains to be answered is where abstract complex systems themselves fit into the Great Chain. Their location is identifiable only in what Lakoff and Turner (Lakoff, Turner, 1989) call the *Extended Great Chain*, consisting of the following hierarchy: *God* (at least in the Jewish-Christian tradition); *Cosmos*; *Society*; *Humans*; *Animals*, etc.

Kövecses's solution (Kövecses, 2002:128-129) is to integrate what he calls *abstract complex systems* within the Extended Great Chain framework at the level above humans, which includes society as one of its categories. It should be noticed that all the cases of abstract complex systems involve human beings and their ideas, as well as a variety of other abstract and concrete entities and particular relationships among them.

Abstract complex systems are conceptualized metaphorically as persons. Some examples of metaphorical expressions led Kövecses (2002:129) to assert that it is not the entire person that serves as the source domain of this metaphor, but only the body of the person. In another article I have argued that it is not only the body of a person that can act as a donor domain (Nicolae, 2004:139-140), but for the current purpose of the investigation, one can comply with Kövecses's statement. For consistency's sake, he slightly modifies the conceptual metaphor in order to get the more precise version: AN ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEM IS THE HUMAN BODY.

Since this metaphor has abstract complex systems as its most natural scope, it follows that the main meaning focus of the metaphor concerns two primary aspects: (1) the appropriateness of the condition and (2) the structure of an abstract system. This observation leads to the simple or primary metaphors for (1), AN APPROPRIATE CONDITION IS A HEALTHY CONDITION and INAPPROPRIATE CONDITIONS (DIFFICULTIES, PROBLEMS) ARE ILLNESSES and for (2), THE

STRUCTURE OF AN ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEM IS THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE HUMAN BODY.

In all the examples that follow we shall not refer to metaphor (2) and rather presuppose that it is at work; we seek to reveal the scope of the simple metaphor (1), illustrating it with appropriate instantiations from both English and Romanian. These instantiations are grouped under subtitles which actually function as entailments of the overarching metaphor A COMPANY/ AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM IS A HUMAN BODY.

According to the line of reasoning presented above, it is only natural that the two languages should exhibit similar conceptualizations surfacing in similar metaphorical expressions. It is our intention to test this hypothesis when considering the mappings below.

↵ AN APPROPRIATE CONDITION IS A HEALTHY CONDITION

English examples are equivalent to frequently used Romanian counterparts; the health pattern, however, seems to work on a wider scale in Romanian business journals:

English	Romanian
<i>healthy finances</i>	<i>finanțe sănătoase</i>
<i>healthy financial situation</i>	<i>situație financiară sănătoasă</i>
<i>healthy economy</i>	<i>economie sănătoasă</i>
<i>healthy profit</i>	<i>profituri sănătoase</i>
<i>robust rise</i>	<i>creștere economică sănătoasă</i>
<i>the company's health</i>	<i>gestiune sănătoasă</i>
	<i>afacere sănătoasă</i>
	<i>carierea sănătoasă</i>

In the first nine months of this year, Coke has reported a robust 4% rise in volume (the most-watched indicator of the company's health).

It invests in distressed emerging-market debt, with the intention of getting out a healthy profit.

Belief on the attraction of a healthy economy to the issuance of bonds in the high-yield market based on the credit outlook.

'Healthy finances: a new approach to financial advice'

The British MTM Association (MTMA) have announced the results of yet another busy year, with examination and re-qualification courses showing a healthy situation.

The same metaphor works in Romanian:

Nu știți care sunt motivele pentru care aparent sănătoasa economie a Germaniei este de fapt considerată una bolnăvicioasă?

Creșterea vânzărilor și a numărului de membri sunt semne sigure ale unei afaceri sănătoase.

*Cifra de afaceri a concernului a scăzut față de anul trecut cu 18% iar profitul cu 78%, semn că Golf era brand-ul care asigura "sănătatea" companiei.
In ciuda declinului înregistrat la venituri, cel mai mare producător mondial de echipamente pentru rețele de computere are profituri sănătoase.
Pe termen lung, te va ajuta să-ți construiești o carieră sănătoasă.
A fost într-adevăr o coordonare bună între FMI, UE și Banca Mondială, în sensul că au făcut recomandări guvernului astfel încât s-au putut obtine rezultatele bune, creștere economică sănătoasă.
Efectele pozitive ale acestei politici de gestiune sănătoasă încep să se facă simțite.
Șansele sunt foarte puține dacă filozofia agenției este aceea de «finanțe sănătoase».*

✦ INAPPROPRIATE CONDITIONS (DIFFICULTIES, PROBLEMS) ARE ILLNESSES

Examples extracted from English journals:

*'SARS Aside, An Unhealthy Economy'
Pro forma earnings are oxygen to unhealthy companies, especially tech ones.
Business process outsourcing has allegedly been used as a solution to solve corporate ills.
'Dollar Gains on Change of Focus Away From U.S. Economy's Ills'
'Insurance is answer to ailing system'
Back in 1997, in the midst of the Asian financial crisis, Samsung directors made a bold decision to put the ailing company on a new path.
Reports on the increase in the net income of Time Warner Inc. for the first quarter of 2004 due to strong results in its film and cable-networks divisions and improved contribution from its ailing America Online unit.
'How Sick Is the Japanese Economy?'
The article discusses how the Solipsist syndrome affects the customer relations in an organization.
'Economy: Inflation fever reaches an alarming peak'
The economy is anaemic, and banks are harder-nosed than they were.
'Outlook for 1999-2000: Exports will be anaemic'*

Examples in Romanian:

*Cei care susțin că avem o economie bolnavă nu au dreptate sută la sută.
Iar noi, aici, în țară, vom rămâne doar cu pensionarii și cu minimul de forță de muncă de care are nevoie o economie suferindă de anemie cronică.
Criza de la București este de altfel doar un simptom al unei maladii mai vechi.
După '90, în condițiile în care piața și banii au devenit principalii examinatori, s-a văzut limpede că suferințele economiei românești sunt legate de deficitul de competitivitate și productivitate.
Desigur, în afară de "bubele" economiei de piață funcționale și, desigur, originale a României, persistă și lipsa unei culturi economice la nivelul managementului.
Conform unor studii de specialitate, anii monedei unice europene au dus la un nivel mult mai crescut al șomajului și la o economie anemică în general.
'Blocajul financiar, cancerul economiei românești'*

The lexicographic information provided by these examples have been summarized below; they indicate the expected consistency in conceptualization:

English	Romanian
<i>sick economy</i>	<i>economie bolnavă/bolnăvicioasă</i>
<i>economy's ills</i>	<i>'bubele' economiei</i>
<i>ailing company/ unit/system</i>	<i>economie suferindă de anemie cronică</i>
<i>anaemic economy/exports</i>	<i>economie anemică, exporturi anemice</i>
<i>syndrome</i>	<i>sindrom</i>
<i>economy's cancer</i>	<i>cancerul economiei</i>
<i>(the economy:) overdosed</i>	<i>suferințele economiei românești</i>
<i>inflation fever</i>	
<i>unhealthy economy/company</i>	

↩ ECONOMY IS A PATIENT

English is particularly rich in examples, as it can be deduced from the following:

'Federal Reserve official promotes cure for symptoms of ailing economy'

'Indonesia struggles to nurse ailing economy'

To guard against this damaging outcome, executives should continually monitor their organization for symptoms of repetitive change syndrome.

The article Discusses how British Prime Minister John Major's Conservative government must redouble its efforts to cut the 'cancer of inflation' from the economy after the country has decided to pay for the credit binge of the 1980s.

But he also noted how brutal business has been. 'We have made many painful decisions,' he said, adding: 'You pick up scar tissue.'

'Argentina's economy: Overdosed'

Examples in Romanian have also been encountered:

'Diagnosticul financiar al întreprinderii în optica anglo-saxonă'

'Resuscitarea de urgență a economiei'

Cine are interes să saboteze o economie muribundă? Occidentul?

Tendența de degradare a stării exportului este îngrijorătoare.

English	Romanian
<i>a cure for symptoms</i>	
<i>to nurse the economy</i>	
<i>to monitor the organization, the economy for symptoms...</i>	<i>≈monitorizarea economiei</i>
<i>to cut the cancer of inflation</i>	
<i>to pick up scar tissue</i>	
	<i>starea exportului e îngrijorătoare</i>
	<i>degradarea stării exportului</i>
<i>dying economy</i>	<i>economie muribundă</i>
<i>to resuscitate the economy</i>	<i>≈resuscitarea economiei</i>

➤ PURPOSES OF ECONOMIC MEASURES ARE PURPOSES OF MEDICAL TREATMENT

English examples show an extensive use of verbs denoting purposes of medical treatment, whereas Romanian is keen on using the corresponding verbal nouns:

Ukraine seen as an experiment by the IMF, making investors share the pain of rescuing sick economies.

The company plans to infuse money to get the sick company up and running.

'Can a Lame Duck Keep French Reform Alive?'

In a successful effort to resuscitate the economy after the collapse of 2002, the central bank pumped in money.

These policies engineered an impressive recovery.

Romanian examples:

O cincime din populație lucrează efectiv în producție, reprezentând salvarea economiei și a Bugetului țării.

Nu cumva aceste mari puteri sunt îngrijorate de faptul că asemenea cantități de aur ar pune pe picioare economia României?

English	Romanian
<i>to resuscitate the economy</i>	<i>≈resuscitarea economiei</i>
<i>an impressive recovery</i>	<i>însănătoșirea economiei</i>
<i>keep (the reform) alive</i>	
<i>get (the sick company) up and running</i>	<i>≈punerea pe picioare a economiei</i>
<i>Rescue sick economies</i>	<i>≈salvarea economiei</i>

➤ AN ECONOMY'S CHARACTERISTICS ARE FEATURES OF ILLNESSES (PAIN, SYMPTOMS, CONDITIONS, ETC.)

The range of illness characteristics is wide and it is equally matched by metaphorical expressions in both languages:

Implication of an acute shortage of payroll administration skills in businesses.

With the proliferation of paper work within the American economy, office work continued to grow so phenomenally that an acute shortage of white-collar personnel plagued many metropolitan areas.

We're aware that chronic large current-account deficits could mean less vibrant growth in future living standards for USA Inc.'s citizen-shareholders.

With the country's welfare system in chronic crisis, Germans--like other Europeans--will increasingly have to take care of such matters themselves.

The Tongan economy faces most of the same economic constraints such as lack of natural resources, geographic isolation, a chronic balance-of-payments problem and heavy dependence on foreign aid.

Our explanation for the growing frequency and chronic costs of crises focuses on the combination of capital mobility and the financial safety net.

The article examines the factors accounting for the determination of wages and prices in economies with chronic and accelerating inflationary processes.

While in many cases, deflation is a negative symptom, in the case of Lithuania the most likely explanation is that falling prices are due to increased productivity and a peg to an appreciating Euro.

(Too often, companies die unnecessarily). Because most managers haven't learned to recognize the symptoms of oncoming illness in their business.

'Asian Firms May Be Forgoing Reform Too Soon Amid Climbing Stocks and Signs of a Recovery'

Germans could use a dose of economics to help them grasp the need for painful reforms to boost their economy.

The sale will complete the bank's slow and painful transition from being virtually state-controlled to being a private institution.

'Alitalia limps along'

'The Euro Is No Cure All'

The following instantiations have been gathered from Romanian journals:

Mai sunt necesare reforme dure, dureroase, cerute și de admiterea în UE.

Oricare guvern ar veni, prioritatea este să terminăm această dureroasă tranziție, să intrăm pe un culoar economic normal.

Europa a fost identificată cu un fel de cârjă pentru o economie care șchioapătă?

În balanța comercială cronic deficitară a României în 2001...

Orice țară care cochetează cu politici monetare acut inflaționiste ...

În 2001 Turcia s-a confruntat cu cea mai gravă criză financiară din istoria sa.

'Lipsa acută de investiții străine în economia productivă'

Fondul de pensii are un deficit cronic, în timp ce celelalte două înregistrează surplusuri.

Este nevoie să definim întâi statutul României ca fiind o țară cu inflație cronică.

English	Romanian
<i>acute shortage</i>	<i>criza acută politici monetare acut inflaționiste</i>
<i>chronic deficit/ crisis/ problem/ inflation</i>	<i>deficit/ criză/ problemă/ inflație cronic(ă) balanța comercială cronic deficitară</i>
<i>symptoms</i>	<i>simptome</i>
<i>signs of a recovery</i>	<i>semne de însănătoșire</i>
<i>painful reforms/ transition</i>	<i>reforme dureroase/ tranziție dureroasă</i>
<i>the company limps (along)</i>	<i>compania/economia șchioapătă</i>

⚡ ECONOMIC EVOLUTION IS ILLNESS EVOLUTION

Although this seems a rather peripheral case, it has a high stylistic potential in English titles:

'Too often, companies die unnecessarily.'

'LAME AND GETTING LAMER' (Analyzes the incidents of fraud and scandal faced by the mutual fund industry in the U.S. in 2003, and describes how the scandal-tainted mutual funds perform in the market.)

The cliché of ‘the recovery of the economy’ frequently occurs in the Romanian business discourse:

Reducerea dobânzilor trebuie să fie legată de însănătoșirea economiei.

Conclusions

As predicted, the parallel metaphorical expressions reflecting health and illness mappings onto the economic domains are evidence for a strong similarity thesis: conceptualization of such abstract complex systems as economy or companies is unsurprisingly fueled by sister patterns in both English and Romanian. However, only quantitative research can highlight subtle discrepancies or trends.

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TYPES OF VERB SITUATIONS IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN

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1. Introduction

In linguistic English studies there are several syntactic and semantic classifications of verbs as a part of speech. Depending on the focus of study and the criteria used, verbs are divided into auxiliaries and lexical verbs, linking (copulative) and non-linking verbs, stative and dynamic verbs. If we primarily concentrate on the semantic classifications, one of the most interesting and frequently mentioned divisions is the classification presented by Zeno Vendler (Vendler, 1967). Starting from the English examples and the syntactic behaviour of English verbs, Vendler divides verbs (and situations denoted by the verbs) into activities, states, accomplishments and achievements. His classification has been discussed, further developed and modified by numerous authors (e.g. Smith, 1986 and 1991, Brinton, 1988) and has often served as a basis for the analysis of languages other than English. My paper will first present an outline of this classification and then will apply it to Serbian, trying to find parallels (and possible differences) with English.

Such lexical classifications are often closely related to the category of aspect: some authors describe these lexical meanings and aspect as the situation aspect and viewpoint aspect (Smith, 1991:23) or inherent aspectual/semantic aspectual meanings and aspectual oppositions (Comrie, 1976:41). Therefore, this paper will try to establish a link between the type of verb situations and the category of aspect in English and Serbian. In doing that, one could start from a general definition of aspect provided by Bernard Comrie, namely that aspect refers to an internal temporal constituency of a situation (Comrie, 1976:4), because this definition could cover both English and Serbian (i.e. Slavic) aspect. I shall start from the assumption that English has two pairs of aspectual oppositions, namely progressive/ nonprogressive and perfect/nonperfect (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 90), and that Serbian has a typical Slavic aspect – perfective (denoting the totality of a situation, a whole) and imperfective (presenting situation as a structure).

Finally, the comparison of verb types and aspect in English and Serbian would enable a deeper insight into this issue: two related languages, but with differences in the lexicalization and grammaticalization of the

discussed concepts, offer a possibility to study parametric variations within a general prototypical entity.

2. Vendler's Classification of Verbs

In his article "Verbs and Times", first published in 1967, Vendler discusses certain elements of internal structures of situations denoted by the verbs, the time schemata which include important components of the concepts denoted by these verbs. For example, these schemata include the presence or absence of segments in a verb situation and the distribution of these possible segments, the presence or absence of a goal (telicity) and the duration of a situation. Referring to Vendler's types, C. Smith later wrote that speakers have in their minds abstract representations, idealized situation types, which "do not depend on particular languages, but rather to the basic categorization of situations that humans make on the basis of their perceptual and cognitive facilities" (Smith, 1986:99). Therefore, this classification (or at least some of its elements) could be related to the conceptualization or to the cognitive structuring of entities.

Starting from English, Vendler first divided verbs into those allowing and those not allowing continuous tenses. The first group is then subdivided into the verbs which do not imply a goal (activities) and those which imply a goal (accomplishments). The second group is divided into the verbs implying a certain duration (states) and momentary verbs (achievements).

Activities, therefore, denote dynamic situations which require a constant input of energy, imply a development, a change, and have segments. These segments are of equal quality, they are just being repeated within the span of the situation, because activities do not head towards a goal (they are atelic), therefore any segment can represent the quality of the entire situation. Thus the activities could be stopped or terminated, but not finished – the notion of completion is irrelevant to them (Smith, 1991:45). Finally, activities have some duration, or at least have the possibility to last in time.

States are not dynamic, so they do not require a constant input of energy or external agent (the first and last inputs of energy to create and end a state do not belong to the state itself), there is no development and there are no dynamic segments - there is only a continuous flow during which a certain situation or a quality lasts in time. Thus, states are also durative and atelic.

Unlike states, accomplishments are dynamic, require an external agent and a constant input of energy, therefore have some duration. They are directed towards a goal (they are telic) and thus imply growth and

cumulation – a process and its outcome. They cannot continue, except with the repetition of the entire situation (Smith, 1991:49). The cumulation is the reason why their segments are not equal and the quality of the entire situation cannot be represented by any single segment of the situation.

Finally, achievements are dynamic, momentary situations which include only one segment. They are telic, because one could argue that the goal is reached as soon as the only segment of this situation is realized.

As it has already been pointed out, this basic classification has been modified and further developed. For example, C. Smith added habituals and generics to Vendler's four types (Smith, 1986:99), and L. Brinton used distinctive features to represent these four basic types, such as dynamism, durativity, homogeneity, telicity (Brinton, 1988:57). Thus activities would be [+dynamic, +durative, +homogeneous, -telic], states [-dynamic, +durative, +homogeneous, -telic], accomplishments [+dynamic, +durative, -homogeneous, +telic] and achievements [+dynamic, -durative, +telic].

To determine these four types, Vendler used certain syntactic tests, related to the syntactic behaviour of verbs and their distinctive features. For example, he used the tests "in/for X time", "how long did it take to V" and "if one stops Ving, one did V". Thus the activities and states occur with the phrase "for X time", and not "in X time", because they do not imply a goal. Secondly, it is possible to insert activities and states into the test-frame "if one stops Ving, one did V", because their segments are of equal quality, and each segment can represent the entire situation. In other words, there is the following entailment for the activities and states: when an activity or state refers to an interval of time, it does so even to the smallest sub-interval of that interval (Smith, 1991:37). Accomplishments and achievements allow the adverbial modification with the PP "in X time" and cannot be meaningfully inserted into the structure "If one stops Ving, one did V" because their segments are not qualitatively equal.

3. English and Serbian – similarities and differences

After this general overview, the paper will present Vendler's original classification of English verbs and its application to Serbian, concentrating on the features *telicity* and *dynamism*. Secondly, the link between some of these features and aspect will be discussed.

3.1. Vendler's Types in English

Even though Vendler based his classification on English examples, there are some remarks to be made about its application in English. First,

one should notice that Vendler's examples (Vendler, 1967:107) of activities and states are typically lexemes, whereas accomplishments and achievements are not only lexemes, but also verb phrases, actually verbs followed by an object NP (e.g. accomplishments: *paint a picture, make a chair, build a house*; achievements: *reach the summit, win the race, cross the border*). Therefore, it seems that in English the feature telicity, the presence of a goal, is not marked morphologically, within the verb lexeme itself, but by adding an NP which denotes a goal. For example, *to write* is an activity, but *to write a letter* is an accomplishment. Thus, it follows that English verb lexemes are ambiguous as far as the expression of the concept of telicity is concerned, because it depends on the context.

It has been noted (e.g. Brinton, 1988:45-50) that the NP found in the object position influences telicity in English. Namely, the object consisting of a non determined uncountable noun or a non determined plural countable noun (1a, 2a, 3a) makes the situation atelic, whereas the determined countable noun makes it telic (1b, 2b, 3b), e.g.:

1. a) She wrote novels.
b) She wrote a novel.
2. a) They sold cheese.
b) They sold the cheese.
3. a) He swam.
b) He swam the river.

So, one characteristic of English verb lexemes is their "openness" to specification in the syntactic context.

Moreover, this "openness" is also significant for the aspectual choices as far as the aspectual pair progressive/nonprogressive is concerned. Namely, it seems that there is a correlation between some of the mentioned distinctive features in the English verb lexemes and the progressive aspectual form (cf. Comrie, 1976:41). In English, there is a clear correlation between the feature dynamism, because verbs with the feature [-dynamic] are typically not used in the progressive (or continuous) aspect (4a/b). The feature telicity in English does not imply such a correlation: both telic and atelic situations (with some exceptions concerning achievements) can be used in the progressive aspect (5b and 5d). For example:

4. a) *They are believing every word he says.
b) *She is owning a car.
5. a) She wrote a novel.
b) She was writing a novel.
c) They reached the summit.
d) They were reaching the summit.

Therefore, in English, the feature telicity does not exclude certain aspectual choices, but the feature dynamism does.

3.2. Vendler's Types in Serbian

After the application of Vendler's tests to the Serbian verbs, it turns out that some distinctive features in Serbian verbs are more specifically determined than in the English verbs already at the lexeme level. At least, this could be said for the distinctive feature [telicity]: verbs with prefixes (without imperfectivizing suffixes) are typically telic and remain so in the syntactic context. Actually, if we apply some of Vendler's test to Serbian verbs, we would come to the conclusion that Serbian, as a highly inflected language, shows telicity in a much more clear way than English.

Thus, the activities (e.g. *plivati/to swim*, *hodati/to walk*) in Serbian have the typical distinctive features mentioned above – they are dynamic, imply a possible duration and do not head towards a goal. However, their feature [-telic] is strictly determined and cannot be changed in the context. States are, like in English, atelic and imply a possible duration. Finally, accomplishments are telic, and have prefixes marking telicity which – unlike in English - cannot be “neutralized” in the context. Achievements are also telic, although they are found with or without prefixes (e.g. *stati/to stop*, *zavikati/to start to shout*) and could be morphologically modified to imply repetition (e.g. *zastajati/stop often for a brief period of time*).

Generally speaking, Serbian verbs carry more information than the English verbs already at the lexical level. As far as aspect is concerned, it seems that Serbian gives prominence to the feature [telicity] to form a link with the perfective and the imperfective aspect. Namely, it is well known that Slavic perfective verbs are telic (and telicity is marked by prefixation) and imperfective verbs atelic (they either have no prefixes or have both prefixes and suffixes for secondary imperfectivization). It should also be underlined that telicity does not change at the syntactic level, probably because it is directly related to the lexicalized imperfective/perfective aspect: in Serbian (and Slavic languages in general), imperfective aspect indicates the situation without specifying its goal or whether the goal was reached, and perfective aspect implies that there is a goal and it is reached. Finally, Serbian verb lexemes could be further divided into lexical subgroups according to some more specific distinctive features introduced by the combination of a prefix and a lexical verb. For example, some combinations might denote the beginning of a situation (*zavikati – to begin to shout*), the additional or final segment of a situation (*dokuvati – to cook more until ready*) etc.

3.3. English/Serbian Types of Situations and Aspect

So far, we have confirmed that basic concepts included in the Vendler's types (e.g. dynamism, telicity, duration) can be distinguished both in English and in Serbian. However, it seems that a language with a rich morphology like Serbian specifies them more clearly at the lexeme or morphological level, whereas English leaves certain specifications to the level of syntax. We could thus assume (following Smith, 1986) that both languages imply a set of similar general features which make prototypical situation types denoted by the verbs. However, English and Serbian seem to give prominence to different features when a link with aspect should be established. In English, the feature [+/- *dynamic*] appears to be crucial, since verbs with the feature [-*dynamic*] are typically not used in the progressive aspect, or in other words, stative verbs are typically found only in the nonprogressive form. On the other hand, Serbian utilizes the feature telicity, because imperfective verbs are atelic, and perfective verbs telic. This seems to be the most significant difference to take into account: the lexical feature of "telicity" in English can be neutralized, so both telic and atelic verbs can be used in the progressive aspect (which is the exponent of the imperfective aspect). Unlike English, Serbian telic verbs are used only in perfective contexts, since telicity cannot be neutralized or disregarded. For example, one such context is the position of complements of phasal (*fazni* in Serbian) verbs denoting the beginning, the ending or the continuation of an action:

6. a) Počeli su da grade kuću.
Started (3rd person pl) to build(impf) a house
b) *Počeli su da sgrade kuću.
Started (3rd person pl) to build(pf) a house

Example 6b is ungrammatical because the verb *sagraditi* is telic and at the same time perfective, which means that it presents the totality of a situation and the goal is reached, so it cannot be related to the verb denoting just one phase of that situation – its beginning.

This is in accordance with B. Comrie's opinion that "...inherent aspectual (i.e. semantic aspectual) properties of various classes of lexical verbs...interact with other aspectual oppositions, either prohibiting certain combinations, or severely restricting their meaning" (Comrie, 1976:41). Therefore, it can be assumed that the lexical meaning of verbs includes a set of general features (possibly related to cognitive categories) which different languages use to establish links with other parts of the language system. Such links could be further related to parametric variations, as suggested by C. Smith (1986, 1991). She believes that the interpretation of sentences

should take into account both situation types (situation aspect) and aspect (viewpoint aspect), because of their interaction at the syntactic level. For example, in English the interaction between telic situations and perfective viewpoint aspect (i.e. nonprogressive) results in the implication that the existing goal was reached, whereas the interaction between telic situations and imperfective viewpoint aspect (i.e. progressive) results in the implication that the goal exists, but there is no indication whether it was or was not reached (Smith, 1986:103).

4. Conclusion

Vendler's classification of verbs proves to be applicable not only to English, but to Serbian as well, probably because it relies on the features included in the basic categorization of events (e.g. dynamic, stative). Therefore, it is possible to assume that these features create sets with a prototypical quality and that human beings compare the actual situations they are talking about with these sets, in order to attach proper grammatical structures to them. Thus, for example, some of these features could be used to form a link with the category of aspect, and different languages might use different features: so English establishes this link with aspect through the feature of dynamism, and Serbian through the feature of telicity.

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THE COGNITIVE ANALYSIS OF THE MODAL *WILL*

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1. Introduction

The paper gives an account of the development of the modal verb *will*, taking into consideration the main verb stage of its “predecessor”, OE *willan*, and ending with the gradual development of its epistemic meaning. I will concentrate on the fact that meanings tend to become more and more subjective, or as Traugott notes in her paper *On the rise of epistemic meanings in English* ‘meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker’s subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition’ (Traugott, 1989:35). In order to elaborate my point I will be relying on the framework of Langacker’s cognitive grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991, 1999). I will argue that changes in the grammar of the modals are in fact motivated by changes in their image-schematic structures. By now it is a fact that semantic changes take place all the time, but a formalist, traditional approach, like Chomsky’s theories of syntax would not even have the tools to grasp this topic because for such theories semantic change is largely confined to lexical categories and remains within the bounds of the lexicon (that part of grammar where rules need not apply). On the other hand, Langacker’s grammar seems to be the most efficient one for such a study since in this system

- diachronic and synchronic considerations can appear simultaneously,

- the system and its use are not separated, but form a continuum,

- the grammar and the lexicon also form a continuum.

I argue that the different root meanings of *will* can be seen as a chain of successive extensions, while the epistemic meaning can be accounted for as metaphorical extension of its root meaning (cf. Sweetser, 1990).

2. The conceptual system

2.1. Metaphorical extension of the modal meanings

Eve Sweetser (1984) discusses semantic change in auxiliary verbs in terms of metaphorical extensions from the sociophysical world (which

can be correlated with the domain of root meaning) to the world of reason and belief (the epistemic domain):

The only possible link between the epistemic and deontic domains is metaphorical: we view logical necessity, for example, as being the mental analogue of sociophysical force, while logical possibility is the mental (or epistemic) analogue of permission...in the real world (Sweetser, 1984:24).

Although I see metaphorical extension as a viable explanation for the relationship between root and epistemic modals, I find it necessary to assume that it involves more complex changes in the image-schematic structure of *will* than it normally would in purely lexical cases. The changes involve a *change in immediate scope*, usually, but not necessarily simultaneous with the root → epistemic extension, and *subjectification* (Langacker, 1991:215-6).

2.2. The notion of scope in cognitive grammar

In cognitive grammar, scope relationships are one aspect of the conceptualizer's assessment of a situation – the formulation of an Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM). Langacker describes scope as 'the context necessary for the characterization of the profile' (Langacker, 1987:552). However, Langacker makes the distinction between (overall) scope (the notion of scope mentioned above) and immediate scope or onstage scene (usually abbreviated OS), which is identified with 'the innermost region within the scope of predication' (Langacker, 1987:118) or in other words those elements of the cognitive model (ICM) that are essential to the description of the participants and relationships within it. Thus, as Pelyvás points out in cognitive grammar scopes are not associated with logical operators but they are identified with the changes in the conceptualizer's attention, selection of focus, etc. (Pelyvás, 2001:932-945). In this respect it is worth mentioning that in cognitive grammar we have an inverted result (in cognitive terms 'narrow' scope corresponds to the widening of the *immediate scope* – OS, 'wide' scope to the restriction of OS). This can be illustrated with the following pair of sentences:

(3) *John should work harder in order to pass the exam.* [John *SHOULD* (work harder...)] which is 'narrow' scope deontic *should*, while

(4) *There should be a law which gives rights to everybody.* *SHOULD* [there to be a law (gives rights)] is 'wide' scope deontic *should*.

2.3. The process of subjectification

Langacker proposes the following definition for the phenomenon of subjectification: '*subjectification* (...) is a semantic shift or extension in which an entity originally construed objectively comes to receive a more subjective construal' (Langacker, 1991:215). For a better understanding of the term Langacker proposes two sentences:

(1) a. Harvey crawled across the table.

b. A famous movie star is sitting across the table (from me).

In (1a) *across* can only be interpreted as construed objectively, independently of the conceptualizer, while in (1b) it is construed subjectively with the conceptualizer as a reference point.

In the conceptual structure of the objective construal (figure 1) no reference is made to the conceptualizer, the ground (G) being outside the scope of the predication. A relationship XY runs along the objective axis, it holds within the objective scene and associates two objectively construed participants.

In the case of subjectification (figure 2) Both G - (the speaker/conceptualizer) and the relationship it bears to its referent are necessarily included in the scope of predication, but they remain (offstage) unprofiled. The speaker (G) is brought onstage as a profiled participant, as Pelyvás (1996) points out, only temporarily, as a reference point. In this extension G is construed more objectively, and the relationship between the trajector and the landmark (the process itself) more subjectively.

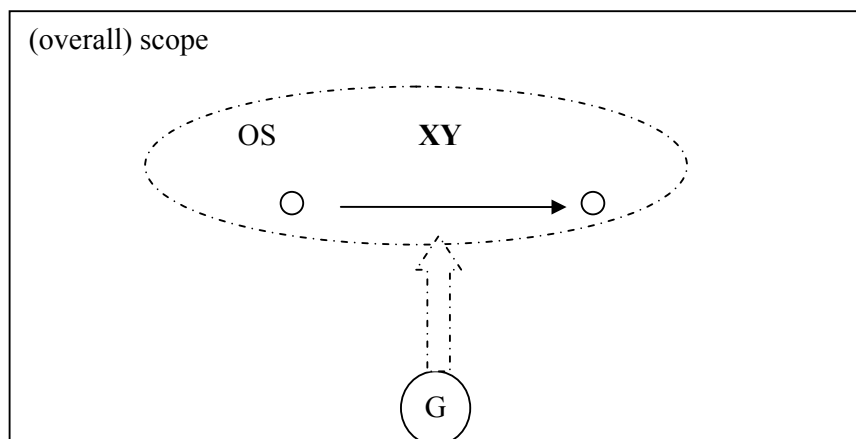


Figure 1. Objective construal

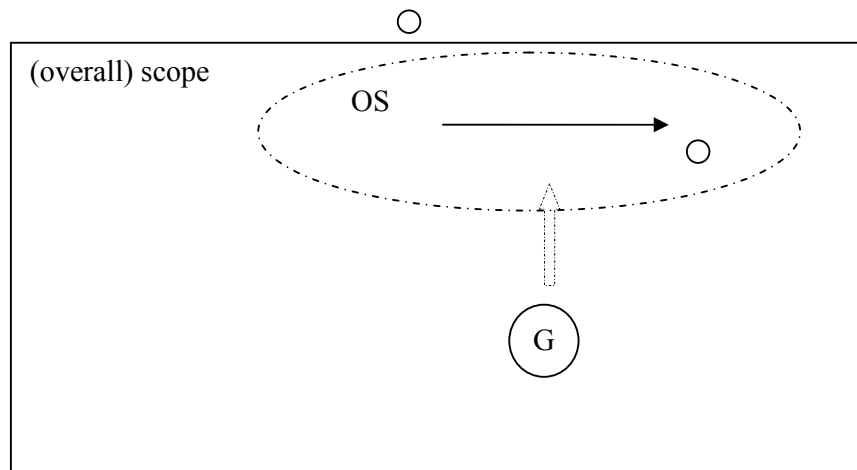


Figure 2. Subjective construal

3. Image-schemas for *will*

3.1. Organization

In this section I am going to consider the nature of changes that image-schematic structures may undergo. In doing so I will analyse the following meanings of the modal *will*: the main verb meaning (as in OE *willan*- ‘to wish’, ‘to choose’), the root meaning (which incorporates volitional *will* - with special attention to the meaning of insistence, habitual *will*, and to some extent *will* of prediction) and finally epistemic *will*.

3.2. Main verb stage → root/auxiliary extension

For the main verb stage of the modal I propose an image-schema (figure 3) based on Langacker (1991) in which S/G represents the speaker or the ground, the dotted ellipse indicates the area of conceptualization (the immediate scope of the predication or the onstage region OS), the double arrow represents the arrow of conceptualization and XY indicates a relationship which runs along the objective axis - the relationship being the process itself (‘to wish’, ‘to choose’). We can observe that, since the construal is objective, no reference is made to the conceptualizer, the ground (G) – the speech-act participant being outside of the scope of the predication.

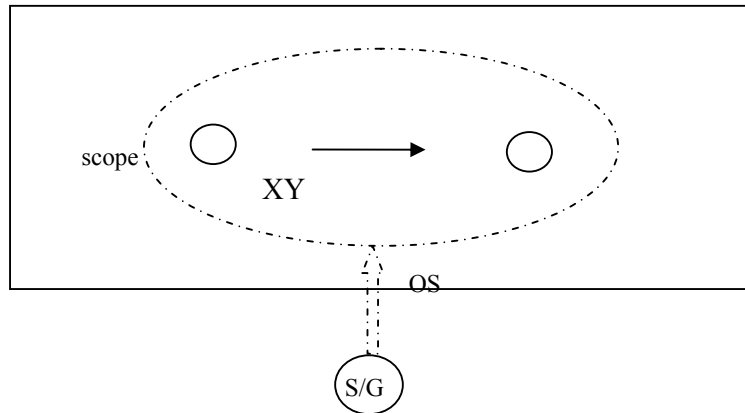


Figure 3. Main verb stage: OE *willan*

3.2.1. 'Narrow' scope bouletic meaning (volitional will)

In the image-schema of volitional *will* (figure 4), (the root/auxiliary meaning), the immediate scope (OS) includes a relationship between the *volitional agent* (v.a.) as well as some purposeful action that the *doer* potentially takes part in. The dotted line between v.a. and the doer shows correspondance. The inverted commas are used in order to make visible the cognitive interpretation of scope (vs. the logical one used in traditional grammars), where we have an inverted result (in cognitive terms 'narrow scope' corresponds to the widening of - OS, while the denomination 'wide scope' subsumes the restriction of OS – cf. 2.2.).

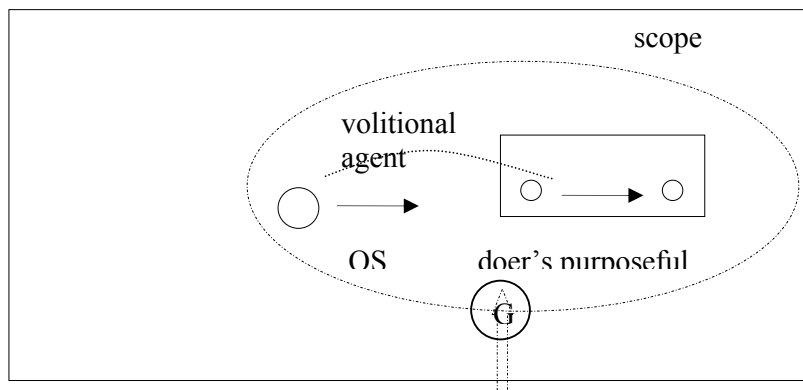


Figure 4. 'Narrow' scope volitional *will*

We can observe that in this case *will* evokes the concept of an associated activity, making schematic reference to another process which is

the landmark and the elaboration site for a relational complement. A crucial factor in the schema of this verb is the notion of *potency*, which is linked to the subject. Langacker defines *potency* as a physical or mental force that, when unleashed, tends to bring about an occurrence of a process (Langacker, 1991:270). In these terms the unleashing of the force and the subsequent realization of the landmark process is *potential* rather than *actual*. Langacker emphasizes also the latency of this event - the event does not actually happen, but the world is so structured that it can be expected to happen under appropriate circumstances (Langacker, 1991:270).

As regards *will* in the meaning of insistence, -in the image-schema of this use of *will* (figure 5) the immediate scope or OS also includes the *volitional agent* and a process, the iterative aspect of which is emphasized (it is in a bold frame). The arrow indicates the axis of time. The dotted line between the *volitional agent* and the *doer* indicates correspondance in this case too. The abbreviation v.a. stands for *volitional agent*.

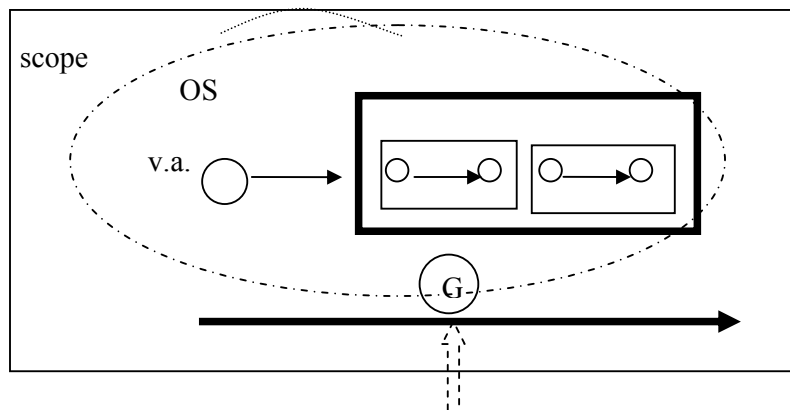


Figure 5. *Will* of insistence

3.2.2. 'Wide' scope root *will* (the habitual meaning)

We can notice that in the conceptual structure of the habitual use of *will* - figure 6 (*So one kid will say to another.*) the immediate scope of the predication is restricted in the cognitive sense, including only the process, thus scope in logical terms is 'widened'. We can observe that the agent is also included in the overall scope, but its status can be questioned (it is no longer a volitional agent like in the anterior cases, included into the immediate scope, but it still retains some intentional attitude). This meaning shows clear resemblances with the previous one (the meaning of insistence),

since the habitual aspect of the verb involves several instances of the same process in this case as well.

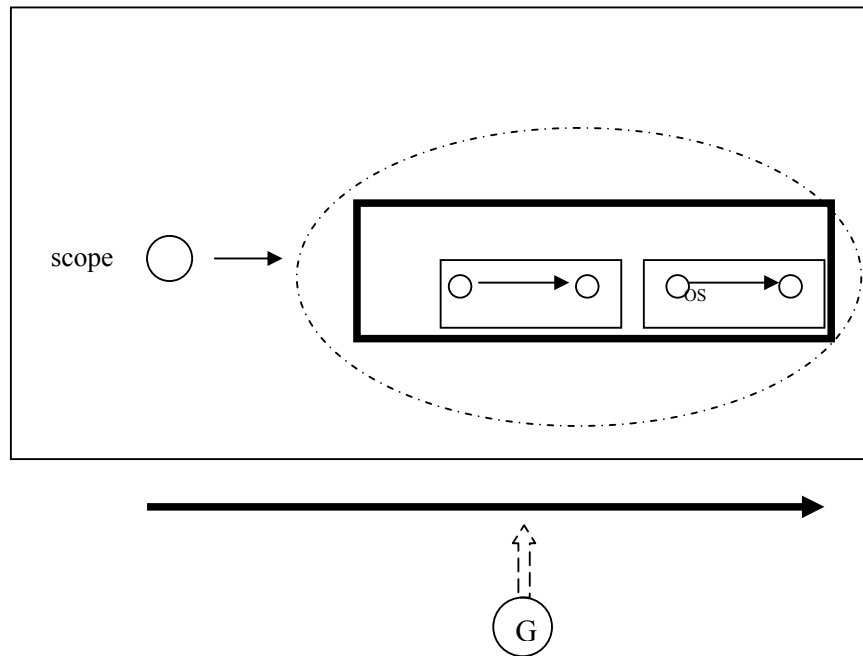


Figure 6. 'Wide' scope habitual *will*

3.2.3. The prediction meaning

In the image-schema of predictive *will* the conceptualizer predicts on the basis of anterior processes. The immediate scope of the predication is restricted in order to include only the potential process, which is the target of the conceptualizer's assumptions of the situation. The process in this case is not necessarily the same as in the case of habitual *will* because its iterative aspect has already been lost.

3.4. The epistemic meaning

Epistemic *will* is attested quite early in the development of the modal system, especially in impersonal constructions, like the other (pre)modals. In this sense Traugott argues that ‘when the premodals occur in impersonal constructions they can often be read as having epistemic or at least nondeontic meanings’, meanings which correspond to the cognitive ‘wide scope’ (Traugott, 1989:42, based on Denison, 1987). However, Traugott notes that *will* in the sense of ‘I conclude’ (the epistemic sense of the verb) did not occur in Standard English until the nineteenth century.

In the image-schema which I propose for epistemic *will*, since subjectification has already occurred, the speaker/conceptualizer is included in the overall scope, but it remains unprofiled, being included only as a reference point. The two points on the axis of time indicate the time of utterance, and a point in the future when the verification of the process in question is expected to happen (*John will have finished by now*).

3.5. Metaphorical extension into the epistemic domain

As we have seen, in the case of *will* the different root meanings can be seen as being derived one from the other (forming a chain). As regards metaphorical extension from the root (sociophysical) domain into the epistemic domain in *will* the easiest way would be that of deriving the epistemic meaning from the closest (and most resemblant) sense (the prediction meaning). Since the epistemic domain is concerned mainly with ‘propositions’ or situations that can be true or false, all the aspects of the original schema that are connected with the ‘physical’ or ‘sociophysical’ nature of the source domain and are compatible with the target domain will be transferred to it. In this sense both predictive *will* and epistemic *will* contain relevant information about the future, because in the case of predictive *will*, as we have seen, the iterative aspect has been lost. This phenomenon can also be understood in terms of *the dynamic evolutionary model* proposed by Langacker (1991:240-9, 275-81). This system relies on the notion of the *natural* or (as Langacker calls it) the *normal course of events*, which permits the conceptualizer to make hypotheses of how, given its past, a system will behave in the future (Langacker, 1991:240-9, 262-9). Thus the process in the case of predictive *will* is mostly based on the conceptualizer’s assumptions of the situation, in which case *the natural course of events* plays an important role. Concerning epistemic *will*, we can say that the situation about which the speaker is expressing his/her increasingly subjective attitude is based on the speaker’s beliefs and

knowledge of the world, which is constantly formed by *the natural course of events*. Thus both predictive and epistemic *will* are strongly future-oriented, but a crucial difference can be grasped in the sense that in the case of epistemic *will* it is not the process which is in the future, but only its verification (cf. 3.4. – *John will have finished by now*).

On the other hand, all those aspects of the original schema contained by the source domain which are not compatible with the target domain will disappear. The most far-reaching in its consequences is the disappearance of the *volitional agent* as a (potential (cf. 3.2.1.) or habitual (cf. 3.2.3.)) *doer*. This phenomenon can already be observed (in several degrees) in the transition from volitional *will*, throughout the problematic case of habitual *will* (where the status of the agent is not clear enough for me yet) to the epistemic meaning, where all the roles of the *doer* are invested on the *speaker*. Thus, in the epistemic sense any relationship (a structural aspect) will now have to be interpreted between the *speaker* (who was present in the root/bouletic meaning as well, but not in scope), now brought into scope, and the ‘propositional’ content of the sentence.

4. Conclusion

The main purpose of the paper was to show that changes in the image-schematic structure (either within the root domain or in the root → epistemic extension) provide sound explanation for changes in the meanings of the modal in question. Accepting the basic idea of metaphorical extension, I have argued that the different root meanings of the modal auxiliary *will* can be seen as a chain of successive extensions, while the epistemic meaning of the modal can be accounted for as metaphorical extension of its root meaning (cf. Sweetser, 1990).

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**ANGLICISMS IN THE ROMANIAN SHIPBUILDING
SPECIALIZED TERMINOLOGY
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The English language has exercised an increasing influence upon the Romanian vocabulary, which has absorbed an impressive amount of lexical formations. These adoptions are usually referred to as ‘English elements’ or ‘anglicisms’. Anglicisms were comprehensively defined in the early 1990s to be those words taken from the English language and which designate things or concepts belonging to the British civilization but which do not necessarily originate in English; nevertheless, they have to have been adapted to English and to have become an integral part of the English vocabulary (Ciobanu, 1996:4, apud Filipovič 1990:17).

The literature on English loans in Romanian, which is less than half a century old, has signaled their existence in the language and has dealt with the alterations resulting from their implantation into a Romance language. Their use in various terminologies has been selectively analysed. The presence of English lexemes in the Romanian vocabulary was signalled in studies published in the early 1980s (Bantaș et al., 1983, Chițoran, 1986 and Hristea, 1984). Since the meaning of ‘anglicism’ as explained by the DEX (1998: 41) is rather rigid denoting “an expression peculiar to the English language, a word of English origin...” Romanian etymologists investigated the true origin of the loans coming from this language (Hristea, 1974, Hristea, 1978). Once anglicisms started being adopted by the Romanian lexicon, some of them were contaminated by Romanian morphological (Băncilă, Chițoran, 1982, Bota, 1978), phonetical and phonological features (Ciobanu, 1983, 1991, Gruîță, 1974).

The presence of anglicisms in specialized vocabularies has been analyzed only against the background of the nautical terminology (Bujeniță, 1966), the glossary of sports (Constantinescu, 1972, 1973a, 1973b and Trofin, 1967) and the language of the press (Pârlog, 1971).

The present endeavour aims at revisiting and completing the inventory of terms of English origin which are part of the specialized vocabulary of shipbuilding and which have hardly been considered in the literature. An 852-page English-Romanian Maritime Lexicon (Bibicescu et al., 1971) published by Editura Științifică București and the specialized monolingual Dicționar de termeni tehnici Țițeica 1971) were the main sources for our corpus, because the terms of English origin mentioned in

these two lexical works were disregarded by the two editions of the DEX, although they were compiled after the publication of the two lexicons. Some of them were also overlooked by the volumes which make an accurate portrait of Romanian anglicisms (Ciobanu, 1996, 2004).

The words of English origin connected to shipbuilding are grouped into loans and loan translations. Loans in turn, are divided into terms which have been adopted in Romanian with their original form and terms which reveal the adaptation of the English element to the phonetic, orthographic and morphological characteristics of Romanian. The former set of loan words consists of: *deadweight*, *ferry-boat*, *spardeck*, *trailer*, *gee*, and *pram*. The latter set is larger than the preceding one and it is represented by names of types of vessels or boats, by elements or zones of vessels and by denominations of on-shore elements which have to do with shipbuilding.

Names of vessels borrowed from English include: *trauler* (<*trawler*), *iaht* (<*yacht*), *cliper* (<*clipper ship*), *bric* (<*brig*), *brigantină* (<*brigantine*), *schif* (<*skiff*).

The nouns used to denote elements or zones of vessels include the following examples: *diptanc* (<*deeptank*), *pic* (<*peak*), *afterpic* (<*afterpeak*), *forpic* (<*forepeak*), *chilă* (<*keel*), *hidrofon* (<*hydrophone*), *gai* (<*derrick guy*), *stringher* (<*stringer*), *sizal* (<*sisal*), *coferdam* (<*cofferdam*), *suprastructură* (<*superstructure*), *balast* (<*ballast*), *cuarterdec* (<*quarterdeck*), *stabilizatori* (<*stabilizers*).

The final group of lexemes connected to shipbuilding designates on-shore elements connected to vessels: *ponton* (<*pontoon*), *bolard* (<*bollard*), *dispecer* (<*dispatcher*), *doc* (<*dock*, used as a noun), *a andoca* (<*dock*, used as a verb), *docher* (<*docker*).

Loan translations concern the phrases introduced into Romanian by translating the constituent elements which represent the structure of the English lexical formations. It is worthwhile emphasizing that already mentioned lexemes that may be used independently are also to be found in the patterns of compounds. When part of compounds, they are rendered into Romanian by means of two methods: with an equivalent Romanian form or with an explanatory pattern intended to be as specific as possible so as not to allow for technological misinterpretations.

The list of Romanian equivalent forms for syntagmas includes *perioadă de staționare* (<*standstill period*), *rozetele sprinkler-ului* (<*sprinkler roses*), *stopă de ancoră* (<*anchor stopper*), *întârziatori de foc* (<*fire retarding*), *chilă plată* (<*flat plate keel*), *cală de bluming* (<*blooming stand*).

'Multi-word' set phrases transposed into Romanian are exemplified by the pattern *signal-to-noise ratio* > *raportul semnal-zgomot*.

There have been recorded English two-word denominations transposed into Romanian by means of meaningfully similar patterns, which agree to the Romanian morpho-syntax. This is the case of *passenger ferry-feribot de pasageri*, *passenger liner – navă de linie de pasageri*. Some two-word denominations of types of vessels are rendered into Romanian with an explicit formula, such as *cruising yacht* which becomes *iaht de croazieră*, *peak tank* which is *tanc de pic*, *passenger ship – navă de pasageri*, *container carrier – navă container* or *navă portcontainer*, *cargo vessel – cargou*, while *roll-on roll-off ship* has been simplified into Romanian to the lexical formation *navă ro-ro*.

The tendency towards simplification is not always active since in some instances nouns used as modifiers become adjectives in Romanian. Thus, the noun *pontoon* enjoys various other meanings as an adjective: in the *pontoon-crane* compound the Romanian version is *macara plutitoare*, and in the *pontoon dock* it is also rendered by *doc plutitor*, where the noun *pontoon* is similar in meaning to the participial adjective *floating*; *pontoon* as a modifier has a more descriptive version in Romanian in *pontoon lifeboat* which is *barcă de salvare puntată*, while *pontoon raft* is *plută de salvare rigidă*.

The tendency to use more Romanian lexical units for a two-element English compound may also be illustrated by the cases of *bulkhead deck*, which is in Romanian *punte de compartimentare* or *puntea pereților etanși*; *the bulkhead stringer* is known under the form of the syntagma *stringher de perete de compartimentare*, and *bulk carrier* which is *navă de mărfuri în vrac* or, in an oversimplified Romanian version, *vrachier*.

The change of meaning noticed in nouns when they are used as modifiers was recorded in the case of *stringer* which, when associated with the noun *plate*, is known to shipbuilders in our country as *tablă lacrimară*.

The Romanian specialized vocabulary of shipbuilding consists of an impressive amount of English formations which, either adopted as such, or adapted to the peculiarities of our language represents a sample of linguistic contact which accounts for the flexibility and openness of the Romanian lexicon.

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PRAGMATIC PRESUPPOSITIONS IN ELECTRONIC CHAT

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1. Theoretical Introduction

The paper investigates what speakers assume their hearers know, which facilitates this highly restricted type of electronic communication. The research is limited to pragmatic presuppositions, i.e. different categories of general and specialized knowledge Internet users have. Another focus of the paper are the various means that speakers employ to resolve misunderstandings arising from wrong beliefs they may have about hearers' knowledge. This is part of a larger study of the register of electronic chatting, based on a corpus of around 2000 utterances in English and Serbian each.

One of the aspects of register analysis which deserves detailed investigation are presuppositions. The reason for this lies in the fact that presuppositions facilitate the communication process to a large extent, enabling the participants to avoid constant repetition of the information known by both sides. A presupposition is defined as "something the speaker assumes to be the case prior to making an utterance" (Yule, 1996:25). This definition, however, is not precise enough for the study presented in this paper. Namely, there is a need to distinguish between two types of presuppositions, semantic and pragmatic ones.

Semantic presuppositions are inherent for words or structures, regardless of the context they are used in. Yule (1996:27–30) lists six types of lexical presuppositions: existential, factive, non-factive, lexical, structural, counterfactual. These types are summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Types of presuppositions (after Yule (1996:30))

Type	Example	Presupposition
existential	The X	>> X exists
factive	I regret leaving	>> I left
non-factive	He pretended to be happy	>> He wasn't happy
lexical	He managed to escape	>> He tried to escape
structural	When did she die?	>> She died
counterfactual	If I weren't ill,	>> I am ill

In other words, these semantic presuppositions hold true for all cases of usage, regardless of the type of discourse or text where they are used. They

are not context-bound and are therefore not of much interest for the register analysis conducted in the study.

Of much more interest are pragmatic presuppositions, the assumptions speakers make about what hearers are likely to accept without challenge, generally known as the common ground of the participants in the conversation. As Stalnaker (1974:198) states: "The distinction between presupposition and assertion should be drawn, not in terms of the content of the propositions expressed, but in terms of the situations in which the statement is made – the attitudes and intentions of the speaker and his audience. Presuppositions, on this account, are something like the background beliefs of the speaker – propositions whose truth he takes for granted, or seems to take for granted, in making his statement." Depending on the type of discourse and the situation in which the language production takes place, speakers make different presuppositions about what their hearers know, which facilitates communication greatly. According to some theories, at the beginning of a communication process, each participant has his/her own presupposition pool (Brown & Yule, 1983:79–80), which contains information constituted from general knowledge, from the situative context of the discourse, and from the completed part of the discourse itself. As the communication proceeds, more and more information is added into the presupposition pool, ideally shared by all the communication participants.

Therefore, the speakers' ability to arrive automatically at interpretations of the unwritten and the unsaid must be based on these pre-existing knowledge structures. They function as familiar patterns from previous experience that chatters use to interpret new experiences. One of the aims of the paper is to attempt to define what pieces of information should be contained in the ideal presupposition pool of electronic chatters, while another aim is to conclude, based on the data at hand, how misunderstandings arising from false beliefs are resolved.

2. Classification Of Pragmatic Presuppositions

One type of pragmatic presuppositions held by the participants in electronic chatrooms are verbal pragmatic presuppositions. This refers to the knowledge of what various abbreviations mean and it can be divided into three groups: lexical, structural and sentential. The examples of what makes up this part of the presupposition pool are taken from the corpus and given in the three tables below:

Table 2. Presuppositions on the lexical level

Abbreviated	Full
k	ok
dbl	double
hrs	hours
msg	message
nvm	nevermind
pls, plz	please
ppl	people
yrs	years
b'day	birthday
abt	about
any1	anyone
b4	before
d	the
every1	everyone
l8r	later
r	are
thanx	thanks
u, ya	you
wer	were, where
yur	your

Although these lexemes have a more or less transparent structure, it is still necessary for participants to learn the principles of abbreviating (Radić, 2004) in order to be able both to interpret new structures and to make some themselves.

Table 3. Presuppositions on the structural level

Abbreviated	Full
bcnu	be seeing you
cu	see you
oic	oh I see
asl	age, sex, location
dbl	be back later
bfm	bye for now
brb	be right back
btw	by the way
jk	just kidding

lol	laughing out loud
rofl	roll on floor laughing
ttyl	talk to you later
wb	welcome back

Similar to the presuppositions on the lexical level, these structures are more or less transparent, primarily because they are abbreviated either on the basis of pronunciation or on the basis of acronymization (Radić, 2004). If participants are to be successful in interpreting these phrases, which have a very high frequency of occurrence in the corpus and in electronic chatting in general, then by learning what the existing phrases mean, the participants can, with more or less ease, interpret the newly coined ones.

Table 4. Presuppositions on the sentential level

Abbreviated	Full
Anyone wanna chat?	Does anyone want to chat?
hi! girls!!! wanna chat??	Hi, girls! Do you want to chat?
any arabian here?	Are there any Arabians here?
hello any gals here?	Hello! Are there any girls here?
hey fil!!! U wanna see my pic??	Hey, Fill! Do you want to see my picture?
u wanna get it through mail??	Do you want to get it through mail?
Anyway...be back later guys ok???	Anyway... I'll be back later, guys. Ok?
m from d milkyway.	I am from the Milky Way.
sorry for bothering u!!	I am sorry for bothering you!
don't think mine is either nike:((I don't think mine is, either, Nike.
noever bother us jelly!!!	You never bother us, Jelly!

In the case of sentential presuppositions, the main mechanism of abbreviation is the ellipsis of certain sentential elements. Chatroom participants add to their presupposition pool by learning which sentential elements are most likely to be omitted (Radić, 2004) and they apply the acquired knowledge in their own utterances, thus making the communication faster and their utterances more similar to those of their peers.

Another type of pragmatic presuppositions held by the participants in electronic chatrooms are nonverbal pragmatic presuppositions. This refers to the knowledge of what various emoticons mean. Emoticons are symbols

which consist of punctuation marks and letters of the alphabet, and are quite easily interpreted if one's head is tilted to the left and some imagination is used. The word itself is a blend of *emotion* and *icon*, which means that these symbols are mainly used to represent certain emotions or states. However, as it can be seen in Table 6, this is not always the case, since some of these symbols belong more to the realm of keyboard art than to the realm of emotions. Despite this, the term "emoticon" is used as an umbrella term for both groups of symbols.

The examples of what constitutes this part of the presupposition pool are taken from the corpus and given in the two tables below, Table 5. being quite self-explanatory:

Table 5. Most frequent nonverbal presuppositions

Emoticon	Meaning
:)	Smile
:(Frown
;)	Wink
:P	Sticking out the tongue
:*	Kiss
8)	Cool
:O	Yelling
:\	Undecided
:D	Laughing
:'(Crying
:	Embarrassed

Table 6. Less frequent nonverbal presuppositions

Emoticon	Meaning
d:-p	An adolescent
(:-)	A bald man
~:-o	A crying baby
0:-)	An angel/saint
\:-)	A man wearing a beret
:-{#}	A person wearing braces
!-(A person with a black eye
*:o)	A clown
:-)8	A person with a bow-tie

The emoticons from Table 5. are something chatters are very familiar with, something they use extremely frequently in chatting, while

the symbols presented in Table 6. are not so frequently used in electronic chatting, and therefore are usually not part of the chatters' presupposition pool. The main difference between these two groups is that the former is usually used to express chatters' emotions, while the latter is the expression of the chatters' creativity in combining the keyboard symbols to make imaginative and interesting emoticons with whole stories behind them.

3. Resolving Problems

In case chatters are not familiar with any of the above mentioned conventions in electronic chatting, the communication is hindered and sometimes comes to a stop. Then chatters have several techniques at their disposal to enrich their knowledge and add to the presupposition pool. First, they can ask other participants, who are in most cases willing to help and offer shorter or longer explanations regarding what something in a discourse means. Also, they can find web sites offering help to newbies (i.e. participants who recently started using the Internet and its different aspects) in the form of various links to the lists of abbreviations, lists of emoticons, or even to some electronic dictionaries of web-talk.

In case these ways of getting help do not provide the chatter with the needed information, the time spent on the Internet and in chatrooms often proves to be a great source of learning and acquiring information. In other words, chatters themselves add to their presupposition pool by becoming more and more familiar with the language of the Internet and, more specifically, with the language of chatrooms. Besides learning what different verbal and nonverbal aspects of language mean and how they are used, chatters become familiar with different commands in the chat programmes which enable them to change the status from a newbie to a more proficient user. These commands, also part of the ideal general knowledge of an Internet user, enable chatters to express themselves more fully and to build an online identity, thus gaining the respect and acceptance of other chatroom participants who already hold that status.

Author's Note: The author would like to thank the Vojvodinian Provincial Secretariat for Science and Technological Development for awarding the grant which financed the writing of the paper and the participation in the 15th Conference on British and American Studies, held in Timisoara, 2005.

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‘TREE’ COMPOUNDS AND THEIR ROMANIAN EQUIVALENTS

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Introduction

The word *tree*, ‘a perennial plant having a permanent, woody, self-supporting main stem or trunk, ordinarily growing to a considerable height, and usually developing branches at some distance from the ground’, may appear as an element in *hyphemes* (hyphenated compound words such as *tree-bordered*) or *solidemes* (solid compound words such as *treetop*), or as the first or second element in *two-word phrases* (such as *tree guard*).

Material and Method

We have inventoried 70 such compounds (i.e. entries) based on ‘tree’ in some very outstanding language dictionaries (Urdang, 1968; Benson, Benson, Illson, 1990; *The Webster Comprehensive Dictionary*): *Christmas tree*, *Christmas tree antenna*, *clothes tree*, *family tree*, *genealogical tree*, *rose-tree*, *shade tree*, *tree agate*, *tree-bordered*, *tree-boring*, *tree brier*, *tree calf*, *tree-clad*, *tree-climbing*, *tree-covered*, *tree creeper*, *tree-crowned*, *tree culture*, *tree-dotted*, *tree dweller*, *tree-dwelling*, *tree farm*, *tree-feeding*, *tree fern*, *tree-fringed*, *tree frog*, *tree-garnished*, *tree-girt*, *tree goose*, *tree guard*, *tree-haunting*, *tree heath*, *tree-hewing*, *tree-holder*, *tree-hopping*, *tree house*, *tree-inhabiting*, *tree insulator*, *tree-lined*, *tree ivy*, *tree kangaroo*, *tree like*, *tree-locked*, *tree-loving*, *tree-marked*, *tree-nail* (also, *trenail*, *trunnel*), *tree of heaven*, *tree of Knowledge* (of good and evil), *tree of life*, *tree-planted*, *tree planter*, *Tree-Planter-State*, *tree-planting*, *tree-protector*, *tree-pruning*, *tree resin*, *tree ring*, *tree-ripened*, *tree-sawing*, *tree-shaded*, *tree-skirted*, *tree sparrow*, *tree-spraying*, *tree surgeon*, *tree surgery*, *tree tag*, *tree toad*, *treetop*, *tree-trimmer*, *tree trunk*.

Results and Discussion

Of the 70 entries inventoried above, 33 are *hyphemes*, 1 is a *solideme*, 33 are *two-word phrases*, and 3 are Genitive Constructions.

1. Hyphemes. As one can easily see, there is considerable variation

and inconsistency in the use of hyphens – the sign (-) used to join words semantically or syntactically – in compounds (e.g. *coal field*, *coal-field*, *coalfield*). Basically hyphens are meant to aid comprehension. One useful convention is to separate with a hyphen vowels that could otherwise be run together in a word (e.g. *co-occur*). Another useful convention is to hyphenate words that would not normally be hyphenated, in order to avoid ambiguity (e.g. a *spare room-heater* is not the same as *spare-room heater*). Hyphens are also useful for showing a close connection between words that might otherwise be understood as separate and equal (e.g. a *black-bearded pilot*) and are normal when a sequence of words is, unusually, used in attributive position before a noun (e.g. a *tree-bordered* alley).

The 33 hyphenated compounds are the following:

- in 21 of these combining forms, *tree* forms an adjective together with a past/ present participle: 15 are made up of ‘*tree* + past participle’: *tree-bordered* ‘bordered with trees’, *tree-clad* ‘protected by trees’, *tree-covered* ‘covered with trees’, *tree-crowned* ‘bearing a tree in front’, *tree-dotted* ‘dotted with trees’, *tree-fringed* ‘fringed with trees’, *tree-garnished* ‘garnished with trees’, *tree-girt* ‘girt by trees’, *tree-lined* ‘having a line or lines of trees (a *treelined road*)’, *tree-locked* ‘locked by trees’, *tree-marked* ‘(of a road, etc.) marked with trees’, *tree-planted* ‘having trees planted on it’, *tree-ripened* ‘ripened while still on the tree’, *tree-shaded* ‘shaded by trees’, *tree-skirted* ‘bordered with trees’; and 6 are made up of ‘*tree* + present participle’: *tree-boring* ‘(about insects) boring trees’, *tree-dwelling* ‘dwelling in trees’, *tree-feeding* ‘feeding on trees’, *tree-haunting* ‘haunting in trees’, *tree-inhabiting* ‘inhabiting trees’, *tree-loving* ‘loving trees’;

- in 12 combining forms, *tree* is the object or goal of the action expressed by a verbal noun: 7 combining forms design an action: *tree-climbing* ‘getting to the top of a tree’, *tree-hewing* ‘the hewing of trees’, *tree-hopping* ‘hopping over a wooden obstacle’, *tree-planting* ‘the planting of trees’, *tree-pruning* ‘the pruning of trees’, *tree-sawing* ‘the sawing of trees’, *tree-spraying* ‘spraying trees to treat or prevent disease’; 3 combining forms design an instrument: *tree-holder* ‘a device for holding trees’, *tree-nail* (also, *trenail*, *trunnel*) ‘a wooden peg or nail of dry, hard wood which swells when wet, used for fastening timbers, especially in shipbuilding’, *tree-protector* ‘a small fence protecting a tree’; 1 combining form designs an ‘actor’: *tree-trimmer* ‘one who trims trees’; *rose-tree*, ‘a rose bush’ is a ‘Noun + Noun’ construction denoting a plant.

2. Solidemes. There is only one *solideme* in our inventory: *treetop* ‘the top of a tree; the uppermost branches of a tree’.

3. Two-word phrases. There are 33 *two-word phrases* in our corpus:

- 32 two-word phrases are nouns denoting objects, actors, and operations: 19 two-word phrases denote an 'object': *tree agate* 'an agate with ramified traces', *tree brier* 'an evergreen shrub of Southern Europe (*Erica arborea*) about 4 feet high, with white flowers', *tree calf* 'a calf skin bounding', *tree farm* 'a tree-covered area managed as a business enterprise under a plan of reforestation that makes continuous production of timber possible', *tree fern* 'any of various ferns (families *Cyathaceae* and *Dicksoniaceae*) with large fronds and woody trunks that often attain a treelike size', *tree frog* 'an arboreal amphibian (family *Hylidae*), having the toes dilated with viscous, adhesive disks', *tree goose* (also, *barnacle*) 'any marine crustacean of the group *Cirripedia*, usually having a calcareous shell, being either stalked and found attached to ship bottoms and floating timber, or stalk-less and found attached to rocks, especially in the intertidal zone; a thing or person that clings tenaciously', *tree guard* 'a small fence protecting a tree', *tree heath* 'an evergreen shrub of Southern Europe (*Erica arborea*) about 4 feet high, with white flowers', *tree house* 'a small house, especially one for children to play in, built or placed in the branches of a tree', *tree insulator* 'a fence insulating a tree', *tree ivy* 'a species of ivy', *tree kangaroo* 'any of various kangaroos (genus *Dendrolagus*) of Australia and New Guinea adapted for tree-dwelling', *tree resin* 'a resin obtained by distilling wood', *tree ring* 'a growth ring', *tree sparrow* (also, *Canada sparrow*) 'a North American sparrow (*Spizella arborea*) which nests in Canada and migrates southward in winter', *tree tag* 'a piece or strip of strong paper, etc., attached by one end to a tree as a mark or label', *tree toad* 'an arboreal amphibian (family *Hylidae*), having the toes dilated with viscous, adhesive disks', *tree trunk* 'the main stem of a tree'; 4 two-word phrases denote an 'actor': *tree creeper* 'any animal creeping trees', *tree dweller* 'any animal dwelling in trees', *tree planter* 'a person who plants trees' (also used in longer compounds: *Tree-Planter-State* 'nickname of Nebraska'), *tree surgeon* 'one skilled in tree surgery'; 2 two-word phrases denote an 'operation': *tree culture* 'the culture of trees', *tree surgery* 'the treatment of disease conditions and decay in trees by operative methods'. In the phrases in which *tree* appears on the second place, it is a notional noun whose meaning is particularised by the first term used attributively (7): *Christmas tree* 'an evergreen tree decorated at Christmas with ornaments and lights', *clothes tree* 'an upright pole with hooks near the top for hanging coats, hats, etc.', *family tree* or *genealogical tree* 'a genealogical chart showing the ancestry, descent, and relationship of all members of a family', *shade tree* 'a tree providing shade', *shoe tree* 'one of a pair of foot-shaped devices, usually of metal or wood, for placing in a shoe to maintain its shape when it is not being worn'. In *Christian tree antenna*, *tree* is part of a two-

word phrase used attributively.

- in 1 two-word phrase *tree* is used attributively: *tree like* ‘having the aspect of a tree’.

4. Genitive Constructions. *Tree* appears in Genitive Constructions in which it is particularised by the elements following it, as in *tree of heaven* (also, *ailanthus*) ‘a large ornamental tree (*Alianthus altissima*) of eastern Asia, with large green flowers, those on the male trees being very ill-scented’, *tree of Knowledge (of good and evil)* ‘(in the Bible) a tree in Eden whose fruit Adam and Eve were forbidden to eat’, or *tree of life* (also, *arborvitae*) ‘(in the Bible) the tree in the garden of Eden whose fruit conferred immortality; a similar tree in heaven’. (Figure 1)

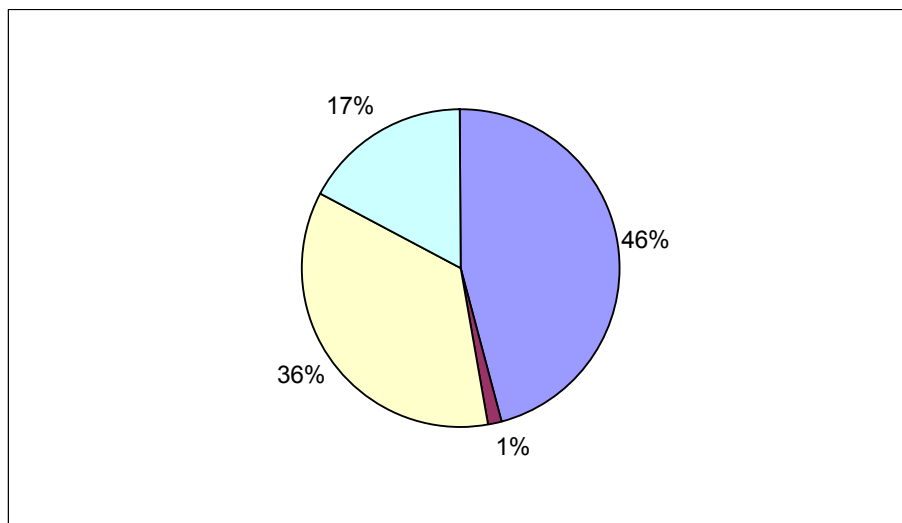


Figure 1. Combining forms of ‘tree’: hyphemes 46%, solidemes 1%, two-word phrases 36%, and more than two-word phrases 17%.

Conclusions

Irrespective of his/ her level of English proficiency, a non-native user of English should know that:

- as far as the hyphemes are concerned: 71.42% of the ‘*tree* + past participle’ type combining forms are rendered into Romanian by participial constructions of the ‘past participle + Prep + *arbori* / *copaci*’ type: *tree-bordered* = *mărginit cu arbori*, *tree-clad* = *protejat de arbori*, *tree-covered* = *acoperit cu copaci*, *tree-dotted* = *presărat cu copaci*, *tree-fringed* = *mărginit cu arbori*, *tree-garnished* = *împodobit cu copaci*, *tree-girt* =

înconjurat de copaci, *tree-lined* = *mărginit / străjuit de copaci*, *tree-locked* = *blocat de copaci*, *tree-marked* = *marcat cu copaci*, *tree-planted* = *plantat cu arbori*, *tree-shaded* = *umbrtit de copaci*, *tree-skirted* = *mărginit de copaci*, except for 2 forms – *tree-ripened* = *copt înainte de cules* and *tree-crowned* = *cu copaci în față* – that could also be reduced to this pattern; 28.58% of the ‘tree + present participle’ type combining forms are rendered into Romanian by adjectives (59%) *tree-dwelling* = *arboricol*, *tree-haunting* = *arboricol*, *tree-inhabiting* *arboricol*, or by attributive constructions (59%): *tree-boring* = *care găuresc arborii*, *tree-feeding* = *care se hrănește pe seama copacilor*, *tree-loving* *care iubește copacii*; the only hypheme in which tree has a second positions is of the ‘Nouns + Noun’ type in English and ‘Noun + Prep + Noun’ type in Romanian: *rose-tree* = *tufă de trandafiri*;

- the only solideme in our inventory of combining forms is rendered into Romanian by a construction of the ‘Noun + Prep + Noun’ type: *treetop* = *creastă / vârful de copac / pom*;

- the 25 two-word phrases denote an ‘object’ (19), be it inanimate (10): *tree agate* = *agată cu urme ramificate*, *tree calf* = *legătură de cărți în piele [de vițel] cu încrustație având formă de ramuri*, *tree farm* = *exploatație forestieră*, *tree guard* = *apărătoare de copac*, *tree house* = *căsuță de lemn construită în copac*, *tree insulator* = *gărduș protector*, *tree resin* = *gudron rezultat din distilarea lemnului*, *tree ring* = *inel de creștere anual în trunchiul copacului*, *tree tag* *tăbliță cu numele copacului*, *tree trunk* = *trunchi de arbore*, an animal (5): *tree frog* = *brotac*, *brotăcel*, *răcănel*, *tree goose* (also, *barnacle*) = *gâscă cu gât alb (Branta leucopsis)*; *specie de crustaceu (Lepas sp.)*, *tree kangaroo* = *specie de cangur arboricol*, *tree sparrow* (also, *Canada sparrow*) = *specie de vrabie canadiană*, *tree toad* = *brotac*, *brotăcel*, *răcănel*, or plant (4): *tree brier* = *arbust peren din sudul Europei*, *tree fern* = *ferigă arborescentă (mai ales din familia Cyathea)*, *tree heath* = *arbust peren din sudul Europei*, *tree ivy* = *iederă (Hedera helix)*; an ‘actor’ (4): *tree creeper* = *(pasăre) cățăărătoare*, *tree dweller* = *animal arboricol*, *tree planter* = *plantator de copaci*, *tree surgeon* = ‘doctor’ de copaci; or an ‘operation’ (2): *tree culture* = *arboricultură*, *tree surgery* = ‘chirurgie’ pe copaci, while the only two-word phrase in which *tree* is used attributively is rendered by an attribute: *tree like* = *ca un pom*, *dendroid*; when a second element, *tree* may be a notional noun denoting ‘objects’ whose meaning is particularised by the first term used attributively (7): *Christmas tree* = *pom de Crăciun*; (mine) *cap de erupție*, *armătura capului de erupție*; (mar.) *tabloul luminilor de bord*, *clothes tree* = *cuier tip pom*, *family tree* = *arbore genealogic*, *genealogical tree* = *arbore genealogic*, *shade tree* = *copac care dă umbră*, *shoe tree* = *calapod*; or it may be part of a two-word phrase used

attributively: *Christian tree antenna* = *antena brad / din pânză de dipoli, antena os de pește*.

- the Genitive Constructions, in which *tree* is particularised by the elements following it – *tree of heaven* = *copacul raiului (specie arboricolă din Asia)*, *tree of Knowledge (of good and evil)* = *pomul cunoașterii*, *tree of life* = *copacul vieții* – are rendered by Genitive constructions.

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**FROM 911 TO WOMBANISATION: VOGUE LEXEMES IN THE
LIMELIGHT
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1. Preliminary remarks

For the last five years, nonce lexemes have come to be sometimes identified with **catch phrases**, **clichés** or **vogue words**, due to the incredibly high proportion of overlapping between the lexical strata. However, despite the inherent migrations from one stratum to another, vogue words tend to stand out as lexemes intimately connected with and deeply rooted in the immediate reality, naming it in a manner that distinguishes them from any other stratum. The present study discusses the nature of vogue words from the point of view of the prestige they enjoy among language users, manifest in the status that linguists have acknowledged for some vogue words since 2001.

2. Terminological remarks and analysis

Researchers admit the existence of **vogue words**, i.e. lexemes which are extensively used by the members of a particular group, and which in some ways, are similar to **catch phrases**; however, **vogue words** usually lack the specific sources that can be found for most **catch phrases**.

A **vogue lexeme** (also known as a **buzzword**, or **fashion word**) is an idiom, often a new coinage, commonly used in technical, administrative and political disciplines, consisting of an over-used word or phrase. Vogue lexemes are ubiquitous, but their actual meanings are unclear. A vogue lexeme may or may not appear in a dictionary under a non-conventional definition (e.g. established lexemes do, while nonce forms do not). Vogue lexemes differ from other expressive strata in that their function is to impress or to obscure meaning. They have the same function as **jargon** in scientific disciplines: they are newly minted terms used to describe new concepts, without the danger of over-simplification and confusion that can arise from using words and phrases with previously established commonplace meanings. At the same time, since vogue terms are used almost exclusively by the young, they can easily be mistaken for **slanguage**, and, in some respects, the two expressive strata overlap, as it will be demonstrated in the analysis section of this study.

Crystal comments that **vogue words** are not the same as **neologisms** (Crystal, 1996:179). A lexeme that has been in the language for years may become a vogue word – as happened to *absolutely* in the late 1980s. A **neologism** must have a certain popularity in order to be considered a **vogue term** – the word must be taken up and used with extra frequency by large numbers of people, and must be extended to contexts beyond the one which originally gave rise to it. For instance, slang terms such as *cool*, *groovy*, *awesome*, *funky*, or terms of swearing and profanity have enjoyed their heydays; taboos will sometimes cause a word to disappear: *jakes*, *privy*, *latrine*: “Perhaps one of the most important factors is the tendency for words to fall into roughly synonymous pairs of which one is fashionable and the other unfashionable” (Ball, 1987:181). Compare *stove* / *cooker*, *peril* / *danger*, *torment* / *torture*, *dish* / *plate*, *cab* / *taxi*, *wireless* / *radio*, all pairs in which the first member is treated as markedly neologistic, the second to be considered archaic and obsolescent.

An example of **neologism** that has evolved into a **vogue word** is *funk*, used to denote a style of music mainly. It can also mean ‘smelly’ (it was used as such by Julia Louis-Dreyfus on TV’s ‘*Seinfeld*’), ‘frightened’, and ‘panicky’ (*The American Heritage Electronic Dictionary*, 1994). It is backformed from *funky*, which is polysemantic, dictionaries recommending *funky* as one of the words most difficult to define precisely: 1.a. Having a moldy or musty smell: *funky cheese*; *funky cellars*. b. Having a strong, offensive, unwashed odor. 2. *Slang*. a. Of or relating to music that has an earthy quality reminiscent of the blues: *funky jazz*. b. Earthy and uncomplicated; natural: “*At the opposite end of Dallas’s culinary spectrum is funky regional fare*” (Jacqueline Friedrich). 3. *Slang*. a. Characterized by self-expression, originality, and modishness; unconventional: *funky clothes*. b. Outlandishly vulgar or eccentric in a humorous or tongue-in-cheek manner; campy: “*funky caricatures of sexpot glamour*” (Pauline Kael). *Funk*, was probably derived from French dialectal *funquer*, ‘to give off smoke’, from Old French *fungier*, from Latin *fumigare*. The meaning of *funky* seems well captured by Geneva Smitherman in *Talkin and Testifyin: The Language of Black America*, where she states that *funky* means “[related to] the blue notes or blue mood created in jazz, blues, and soul music generally, down-to-earth soulfully expressed sounds; by extension [related to] the real nitty-gritty or fundamental essence of life, soul to the max.” Be that as it may, *funky* is first recorded in 1784 in a reference to musty, old, moldy cheese. *Funky* then developed the sense “smelling strong or bad,” which could be used to describe body odor. But *funky* was applied to jazz, too—a usage explained in 1959 by one F. Newton in *Jazz Scene*: “Critics are on the search for something a little more like the old, original, passion-laden blues: the trade-

name which has been suggested for it is 'funky' (literally: 'smelly,' i.e. symbolizing the return from the upper atmosphere to the physical, down-to-earth reality)." *Funky* comes from the earlier noun *funk*, which meant "a strong smell or stink." This noun can probably be traced back to the Latin word *fumus*, "smoke." (*ibid.*)

Commenting on the same term, corpora¹ list all the instances when funky is used usually referring to air thick with tobacco smoke (some readers may think of 'fug' in the same sense, but the two words are not connected). Though it was known in Britain, early examples came from America, and it stayed active there long after it had gone out of use over in Britain. It is further stated that the sense of abject fear or cowardice is about a century less old, first being recorded in 1743. It may have appeared first as Oxford University slang. In the same context, it is said to be a distinct word from the earlier sense, deriving from an obsolete Flemish word '*fonck*', "fear". Whatever its source, that sense stands alone and is not connected with any of the others, though 'blue funk' is directly linked. Differences in meaning are also pointed out as far as the two varieties of English are concerned: in Britain a 'blue funk' is a state of panic or great fear, while in the US it refers more to a state of dejection or depression. However, its modern sense referring to a musical genre and its Black English use for 'something excellent' seem both to derive from the surviving American sense of 'funk' as "bad smell", but the meaning has evolved in the following way:

"The progression seems to have been that 'funky' was invented in the 1920s to refer to an obnoxious smell, especially in reference to a person who smelled bad, say of sweat. That was soon after transferred in Black English to somebody or something objectionable or worthless. By a process common in Black English, by the end of the 1930s 'funky' was being applied to things that were satisfying, impressive, or generally approved of (think of 'wicked' and 'bad', two other examples of this kind of deliberate inversion). The music sense - unpretentious, down to earth, rooted in the blues - turns up in the early 1950s as a further evolution of meaning."(*ibid.*)

Sometimes a vogue word need not be a far-fetched term with an intricate structure. It can be terms such as *exceedance*, *impactful*, or *ignorals*, words that we think we recognise because their structure is similar to words that are familiar: *excess*, *impact*, *ignore*. Michael Quinion² was asked by a subscriber whether he should spell one of the words *exceedence* or *exceedance*, as the word is very rare (it appeared in very few dictionaries – the Fourth Edition of the American Heritage Dictionary being the only one, so far as the author knew). An online search through Internet search engines (AltaVista, notably), however, produced the remarkable information

that there were more than 30,000 uses of the word recorded (most spelling it *exceedance*, a form that one might expect from related compounds). Then, if the word, however spelled, is so common, why isn't it in most dictionaries? The same happened to *impactful* and *ignoral*; *impactful* is known from a learned journal of 1973 and is probably older still, and *ignoral*, the quality or state of being ignored, was championed by the British writer Richard Boston in the 1970s on the grounds that nothing similar existed.

In terms of birth date, the corpus findings³ lead to the conclusion that the majority of the **vogue lexemes** (as we decode the technical term nowadays) have been created in the late twentieth century; moreover, as we have sought and selected through the terms, each vogue lexeme is the quintessence of political, media, celebrity and cinema stories (scandalous or not), a fact which explains the cultural (and in some cases, national) parameter that should be taken into consideration when investigating vogue lexemes. Another observation is that the most spectacular are the lexemes created by users of American English, leading to increased interest in the coinages in the U.S. and among the American Dialect Society, while other language bodies have not included vogue words among their research interests.

For example, one of the most popular lexemes in the 2000's was *ground zero*; along with *9/11* and *Osama bin Laden* (which need no further decoding), it was the phrase that revolved around the WTC tragedy in September, 2001. According to the source (T6, issue 263, November 17, 2001), it was used first about the atomic bombs dropping on Japan at the end of World War II; It first appeared in the New York Times on 7 July 1946, about a year after the events. The devastating effects of the attacks on the twin towers of the World Trade Centre on September 11 reminded people of the aftermath of a nuclear attack, and so the term was instantly applied to the site, to the extent that it looked for a while as though it would displace the older meaning entirely.

3. And the winner is....

Newly-created lexemes in American English enjoy Hollywoodian status as there are awards given to 'Words of the Year'⁴. *9/11* or *nine-eleven*, which has come to be the shorthand in the US for the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001 was voted for as "the word of the year" in San Francisco at the Annual Meeting of the American Dialect Society. The term was considered to be the one *Most Likely to Succeed*. However, earlier in the same week, the Lake Superior State University issued its list of words that should be banished from the language. *Nine-eleven* was on that list, too, as a term that many people seem to have found trivialising or unnecessary.

Each year The American Dialect Society chooses a group of words in various categories that seem to be most representative of the previous year. The full list of the awards for 2001 is the following:

- *Most Outrageous*: *assoline*, methane used as a fuel.
- *Most Euphemistic*: *daisy cutter*, a bomb used by US Air Forces in Afghanistan (not new, but definitely a distinguishing word of 2001).
- *Most Useful*: there was a tie between *facial profiling*, videotaping a crowd to identify criminals and terrorists, and *second-hand speech*, overheard cell-phone conversation.
- *Most Creative*: *shuicide bomber*, a terrorist with a bomb in his shoe.
- *Most Unnecessary*: *impeachment nostalgia*, longing for the news of the Clinton era.
- *Least Likely to Succeed*: *Osamaniac*, a woman sexually attracted to Osama bin Laden.
- *Most Inspirational*: *Let's roll!*, the words of the late Todd Beamer, who mobilised passengers on Flight 93 on 11 September to overcome the terrorists who had hijacked the plane.

The site also comments that on every New Year's Day since 1976 the Lake Superior State University has issued a list of words that should be banished from the language for misuse, overuse or general uselessness. The list is compiled from nominations sent in to the University by people from all over the place. Also, it has to be taken more as a measure of words and phrases that generally annoy submitters than as a list of unwanted words of the year 2001. For example, the current set includes *synergy*, *car-jacking*, *infomercial*), and *no-brainer*, which I think to be representative for American new lexemes. Apart from *911*, in the same area of life, the phrase *then the terrorists will have won* gained much support as an annoying expression: as one nominator put it: "It has become so over-used as to become almost meaningless, especially when, for example, the Smallville Chamber of Commerce says, 'If you don't come to the annual parade, then the terrorists win'."⁵

In January 2003⁶ the members of the American Dialect Society gathered to select words and phrases that came to prominence in the previous twelve months. Among the words proposed were *weapons of mass destruction*, *regime change* (a change of leadership through external pressure), *axis of evil*, and the less serious *Saddameter* (an indicator showing the daily likelihood of war with Iraq), and *Iraqnophobia* (a strong fear of Iraq). The other major theme this year has been electronic communications, perhaps surprisingly so in view of the *dot.com* bust and the general slowing-down of economic activity in the field. Nominations here included the verb *to Google*, to seek online information by means of the Google search engine,

blog (a log of personal events that is posted on the Web), *datavalence* (surveillance using computer systems), and the prefix *war-* (as in *war-chalking* and *war-driving*) for various forms of unauthorised Internet access.

The more suggestive end of linguistic creativity and register continuum was also evident in nominations for the euphemistic *grid butt* (marks left on the buttocks by fishnet pantyhose), *sausage fest* (a party with more males than females), *unorthodox entrepreneur* (a panhandler, prostitute, or drug dealer in a Vancouver park), *diabulimia* (loss of weight by a diabetic skipping insulin doses), *neuticles* (fake testicles for neutered pets), and *dialarhoea* (the inadvertent dialling of a cell phone in a pocket or handbag). The final results in various categories, as voted on January 3, 2003 in Atlanta, Georgia were:

- *Most useful: Google*
- *Most likely to succeed: Blog*
- *Most creative: Dialarhoea*
- *Most outrageous: Neuticles*
- *Most unnecessary: Wombanisation*
- *Most euphemistic: Regime change*
- *Phrase of the Year: Weapons of mass destruction*

At almost the same time the corpus displays the 28th annual list of Banished Words from the Lake Superior State University at Sault Ste Marie, Michigan. This small college's yearly mini PR-fest is based on words that have been submitted by the general public in the previous 12 months, a selection that speaks volumes about the natives' perception of language (and degree of subjectivity). *Untimely death* was disliked by several people on the grounds that few deaths are actually timely, *on the ground* was cordially hated because it is where we spend most of our time anyway, while *must-see TV* is taken by its detractors to mean the opposite. Other contributors proposed *weapons of mass destruction*, *homeland security* and *now, more than ever ...* for various reasons, but in essence because they are becoming clichés through overuse. The contributors also objected against the overuse of *extreme* in sports and marketing, the common saying by sports commentators that *there is no score* (when what they mean, it was argued, is that the score is 0-0) and the too-frequent appearance of *having said that* and *that said* in the news media. No nonce forms, though.

The same prestigious members of the American Dialect Society gathered in January 2004⁷ to decide upon 'ADS Words of the Year 2003', those words and phrases of the preceding year that seem noteworthy. The 'Most Unnecessary Word of the Year' was vividly disputed, as the ADS members came up with *freedom*, replacing *French* in phrases or compound nouns such as *French fries* and *French kiss* (due to the open French

opposition against the military intervention in Iraq in 2003 there have been strong reactions of the American public against anything French, products, services, and even language). This easily beat *Bennifer*, a blended noun describing the couple Ben Affleck and Jennifer Lopez.

In the *Most Outrageous* category, nominations included *torture lite*, torture short of bodily harm, and *useful idiot*, a human shield for the enemy. But the winner, clearly a word which fits its slot perfectly, was *the cliterati*, a collective noun for feminist or woman-oriented writers or opinion-leaders.

The word voted as *Least Likely To Succeed*, that is, the word or phrase least likely to be here next year, was *tomacco*, a hybrid of tomato and tobacco. *Spider hole*, was voted *Best Revival*, a word or phrase brought back from the past (the American military term used in news reports for the hole in which Saddam Hussein was captured). The word voted *Most Likely to Succeed*, that is, the word or phrase most likely to be here next year was *SARS*, Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome. The award for the word or phrase which least says what it means was given to *pre-emptive self-defence* (noun phrase, an attack made before a possible attack).

The *Most Creative* award required several rounds of voting. Among those suggested were the several terms devised to refer to the new governor of California, Arnold Schwarzenegger: *governator*, *gropenator*, and *gropenführer*, variously referring to his part in the Terminator films, his origins, and the allegations of sexual harassment made against him. But the winner here was *freegan*, a person, nominally *vegan*, who eats only what they can get for nothing. Still on food, the 'Most Useful' category winner for a word or phrase which most fills a need for a new word was won by *flexitarian*, a vegetarian who occasionally eats meat. As for the 'Word (or Phrase) of the Year' (which, according to the same source, required three rounds of voting), the final winner was *metrosexual*, a fashion-conscious heterosexual male.

On January 7, 2005, The American Dialect Society awarded *ADS Words of the Year 2004*⁸. The winners include nominated words that are newly prominent, but not necessarily coined in 2004. The *Word of the Year* was *red state*, *blue state*, *purple state* (together a representation of the American political map); the *Most Useful* category winner was *phish* (that is, to acquire passwords or other private information, of an individual, an account, a web site, etc. via a digital ruse), the *Most Creative* category winner was *pajamahadeen* (denoting bloggers who challenge and fact-check traditional media); the *Most Unnecessary* lexeme was elected *carb-friendly* (low in carbohydrates), while the *Most Outrageous* was considered *santorium* (the frothy residue of lube and fecal matter which sometimes is the result of anal sex); the *Most Euphemistic* lexeme of 2004 was *badly sourced* standing for *false*; the *Most Likely To*

Succeed was still *red, blue, and purple states* (the American political map), while the *Least Likely To Succeed* was *FLOHPA* (naming, collectively, the states of Florida, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, said to have been important in the 2004 American presidential election, a blend of the postal codes for the three states *FL, OH, and PA*).

If compared, the vogue lexemes have changed inasmuch as semantic field and form are concerned. If 2001 witnessed the emergence of lexemes mostly relating to the attacks on the WTC, no matter the category in focus, in 2002 the members of the American society elected lexemes that denoted reality covering the war in Iraq, as well as computer use and cultural trends; the 2003 winners are more heterogeneous, addressing various semantic fields and areas of human interest, from lifestyles, to medicine, showbiz, media, and politics, while 2004 awards mainly concern the elections in the U.S. At the same time, the most recent winners, that is, the lexemes elected in 2004 lack the creativity and the spectacular blending forms of 2003 and 2002, while 2001 lexemes are mainly metaphors and metonymies.

4. Conclusion

Vogue lexemes impress or obscure meaning, in many respects overlapping nonce lexemes as newly minted terms. The most interesting aspect of this research resides in the fact that few of the nonce lexemes analysed in this paper have turned into neologisms and are listed in dictionaries, even though they are used, as demonstrated by their being nominated by specialists. Easily mistaken for slang, since they are used almost exclusively by the young, American English vogue lexemes enjoy Hollywoodian status, while being greatly indebted to nonce lexemes. The need for a clear distinction and a tenable framework of analysis derives from the many new coinages counting among the winners of such pageants.

Notes: Electronic corpora

¹ <http://www.worldwidewords.org>, issue 256 [2005, May 12]

² <http://www.worldwidewords.com>, issue 255 [2005, May 12]

³ <http://www.slanguage.com/timetunnel> <http://www.inthe70s.com/generated/terms>
<http://www.inthe80s.com/glossary>

<http://www.inthe90s.com/generated/>, and <http://www.lssu.edu/banished> [2005, May 12]

⁴ <http://www.americandialect.org/woty.shtml> for previous annual selections going back to 1990 [2005, May 9]

⁵ <http://www.worldwidewords.org>, issue 270 [2005, April 12]

⁶ <http://www.worldwidewords.org>, issue 322 [2005, April 12]

⁷ <http://www.worldwidewords.org>, issue 375 [2005, May 16]

⁸ http://www.americandialect.org/2004_WOTY_Final_Vote_.pdf,
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HEADLINES: MAPPING THE REALITY

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Thesis

Reality is a mind-generated concept. News maps the world as an abstraction rather than showing the world as it is. Headlines are among the most conspicuous signs typical of this type of discourse. If news discourse functions like a map, then headlines act in a way similar to that in which the legend symbols do: they *guide* the map reader in decoding the map.

Corpus

By subscribing to the *New York Times* on-line I was sent the main headlines on a daily basis and I decided to make an experiment and study to what extent the manner in which the headlines are written influences the manner in which the readers build up their pre-reading premises. The interval under scrutiny was an entire month, i.e. 1st – 30th August, 2004. The 327 main headlines were organized under 19 headings as follows: TOP STORIES, INTERNATIONAL, NATIONAL, BUSINESS, SPORTS, ARTS, TRAVEL, MEDIA & ADVERTISING, SCIENCE, DINING & WINE, HOME & GARDEN, APPRECIATIONS, NEW YORK REGION, OLYMPICS, WEEK IN REVIEW, MOVIES, MAGAZINE, EDITORIALS, OP-ED.

Method of analysis

After having identified 393 instances of metaphors structured on 145 conceptual metaphors, I tried to classify them in terms of target concepts, source concepts, frequency and predominant type (i.e. orientational, ontological or structural metaphors). Since more often than not the orientational metaphors either accompany one of the other two types of conceptual metaphors, or are embedded in them, I considered that only the ratio between the structural and the ontological metaphors are relevant for this study.

Results

From the total number of 393 metaphors, 341 were ontological (86.77%) and only 52 structural (13.23%). In the case of the *source*

concepts used in the ontological metaphors, whenever this was an object or a being, we chose to use the more general term suggested by Lakoff, viz. ENTITY. Consequently, there have been identified three major source targets in the case of the predominant type of metaphor: CONTAINERS, ENTITIES and TERRITORIES. As for the *target concepts*, COUNTRIES, STATES OF FACTS, CITIES, ACTIVITIES, TERRITORIES and INSTITUTIONS were among the most frequent ones.

Analysis

The high positions that the ontological metaphor takes in the hierarchy based on frequency is probably due to our psychological necessity as human beings, to think of *things* in terms of entities (be they beings or objects), most of all in the case of abstract concepts. In order to comprehend a concept and to operate with it or make assertions about it, one needs first to *see* it in a three dimensional manner. Because our mind is *trapped* in a body and due to the intrinsic nature of the connection between these two elements, everything around us had to be given some *shape*, certain *limits*. In the absence of this cognitive mechanism, we could hardly exist in a sane manner. This process of conceptualizing ideas in terms of entities manifests itself in various degrees, and the following list of examples is relevant from this point of view. Thus,

- silence is a brittle object that can be broken
Breaking the Silence
STATES OF FACTS ARE OBJECTS
- warnings could be used as objects behind which one can hide
Captured Qaeda Figure Led Way to Information Behind Warning
INFORMATION IS OBJECT, STATEMENTS ARE OBJECTS
- activities act as objects that can be had
Apple Chief Has Emergency Cancer Surgery
ACTIVITIES ARE OBJECTS
- feelings/ideas have a certain shape that can be preserved or are seen as entities that can be cast
Convictions Intact, Nader Soldiers On
IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, POLITICS IS WAR
New Doubt Cast on Crime Testing in Houston Cases
FEELINGS ARE OBJECTS, ACTIVITIES ARE TERRITORIES,
INVESTIGATIONS ARE CONTAINERS
- companies are objects that can be taken, overtaken, traded etc.
Cox Is Said to Consider Move to Take Cable Private
BUSINESS IS MOVEMENT, COMPANIES ARE OBJECTS,
United Appears Boxed In as Trouble Percolates

COMPANIES ARE OBJECTS

- even concepts as abstract as SOUL and TIME are seen as objects that can be crumbled or broken into pieces

Another Little Piece of My Heart

SOULS ARE OBJECTS

Bit by Bit, the Mets' Season Crumbles

TIME INTERVALS ARE (BREAKABLE) OBJECTS

A Race to Be First to Break Someone's Heart, but It's Only a Game

HEARTS ARE (BREAKABLE) OBJECTS

- documents are perceived as intricate mechanisms that can break and be mended

How to Mend a Credit Report That's Not Really Broken

REPORTS ARE MECHANISMS/ENGINES

We say that the hand is the extension of the mind because by the use of hands we can do things; we can move, twist, push, pull, make and even destroy various objects. It seems that the process is a two-way one, since the mind 'thinks' like a hand sometimes in order to be able to 'handle' certain concepts and ideas that might, otherwise, prove somehow difficult to grasp. This is the reason for which many *abstract activities* have to be encoded in terms of palpable objects that can be felt, seen or given.

The same need for concreteness (as one of the basic strongholds of human way of mapping reality) very often leads to conceptualising extremely abstract and ineffable notions like feelings in terms of three-dimensionally quantifiable entities. Thus,

- feelings are objects that can be gained, sent or had

Karzai Trying to Regain Political Backing

FEELINGS ARE OBJECTS

Proposed U.S. Base Closings Send a Shiver Through a German Town

ACTIVITIES ARE BEINGS, FEELINGS ARE OBJECTS,

CITIES ARE BEINGS

Nightmare Without Hope or Logic

CONCEPTS/FEELINGS ARE OBJECTS

The analysis has shown that, very frequently, we need to place ourselves *within* a concept in order to understand it. As a result, the source concept CONTAINER is extremely prolific, especially due to the orientational valences of prepositions such as *in, within, into*.

- cities and countries

Bombs Explode Near Churches in 2 Iraqi Cities

CITIES ARE CONTAINERS

Fire Kills 283 at Supermarket in Paraguay

Elaborate Qaeda Network Hid 2 Captives in Pakistan

COUNTRIES ARE CONTAINERS

Thriller Draws on Oppression of Italians in Wartime U.S.

MOVIES ARE ENTITIES, STATES/PROCESSES ARE TERRITORIES,
COUNTRIES ARE CONTAINERS

3 Palestinians Who Spied for Israel Are Killed in Gaza

COUNTRIES ARE ENTITIES,
TERRITORIES ARE CONTAINERS

- shows, organizations, states of facts

In Reality TV, Is It Thievery or Flattery?

SHOWS ARE CONTAINERS

Mutiny in the House

ORGANIZATIONS/BODIES ARE CONTAINERS,

POLITICIANS ARE SOLDIERS/SAILORS or POLITICS IS ARMY/NAVY

New Qaeda Activity Is Said to Be Major Factor in Alert

STATES (OF FACTS) ARE CONTAINERS

Woman With Leash Appears in Court on Abu Ghraib Abuse Charges

INSTITUTIONS ARE CONTAINERS

Conclusion

When speaking about *zoosemiotics* and *fitosemiotics*, Sebeok (2002) states that an organism does not perceive an object in itself, but according to its own specific pre-existent system of mental modelling which allows that organism to interpret the world of beings, objects and events in a biologically-programmed manner. For Sebeok (2002:14), this system has its roots in “the body of that organism which currently converts the external world of experience into an internal one of representation according to the specific features of the *system of modelling* with which a particular species is endowed.”

We cannot but notice a striking similarity of thought between Sebeok and his physical motivation lying behind our system of modelling the reality among us, on the one hand, and Lakoff’s explanation of conceptual metaphors, in general, and orientational metaphors, in particular. Just like the organism Sebeok was talking about, we humans are hardly capable of mentally surpassing the physical limitations of our bodies.

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