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Editorial

"Crossing Boundaries in Culture and Communication", the journal of the Department of Foreign Languages of the Romanian-American University in Bucharest, is a professional publication meant to bring together the preoccupations and contributions of those interested in human communication and cultural phenomena in the global context: foreign language educators, academic researchers, journalists and others, from schools, universities or alternative areas of humanistic approach around this country and abroad.

The 4ᵗʰ international conference with the same name facilitated the issuing of this journal. The articles published here represent a selection of the Conference presentations; they reflect a variety of perspectives and innovative ideas on topics such as linguistics, translation studies, FLT, literary / cultural studies and their related fields, providing opportunities for professional development and research.

The editorial board considers that the personal contributions included in this issue as well as in the next ones, come in support of multilingualism and multiculturalism due to their variety of topics and linguistic diversity. This would be, in fact, the challenge we are faced with: to put forth a journal which, in spite of its heterogeneous blend, should serve the goal of gathering under its covers the results of the pursuits and concerns of those interested in the ongoing development of culture and in the interpersonal communication which have been subject to various mutations as an effect of an ever-changing globalized world.

This unity in diversity should be achieved by connections established within and among a variety of fields which often blend into each other, proving the interdisciplinarity of modern research: education, teaching, literature, media etc. which also allow complementary approaches in linguistics, rhetoric, sociology etc.

The present issue includes two sections: linguistics, and cultural / literary studies. All the contributions published here share their authors' ideas in what we hope to become a large cross-boundaries "forum" of communication, debate and mutual cultural interests.

As we don't want to reveal too much right from the beginning, and in the hope that we have stirred your curiosity, we are inviting you to discover the universe the authors have shaped and described, the view upon life that they are imagining, which might be considered, in fact, the overall desideratum of our Journal.

Thanking all contributors, the editorial board welcomes your presence in this volume and invites the interested ones to unravel the various topics which put forward the concerns and the findings of a challenging professional community.

♦ LINGUISTICS ♦

French and German Idioms: Treatment and Translation by Italian Students

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Abstract

In this paper we analyse the processing of idioms by Italian students of French and German as foreign languages. In L2 acquisition of idioms, it is important to stress the difficulties a learner can encounter in both in comprehension and in translation. We focus on the cognitive operations made by learners in order to give an interpretation of a selection of idioms which do not allow a word-by-word translation. We asked the students to give either an Italian translation or interpretation. This paper will analyze the idioms from two different angles: cognitive and acquisitional. Those approaches can analyze idioms in order to show the conceptualization of fixed expressions and their treatment by non-native speakers, which could help to gain insights into the conceptual frames structuring the acquisition process.

Key words

idioms, lexicalisation, cognitive linguistics, L2 acquisition, translation.

1. Introduction

Not much has been written on conventionalized language forms, especially idioms, even if this does not reflect their importance in communicative competence. Idioms play an important role in second language learning since they are used by native speakers in spoken and written mode. The use of idioms is characteristic of advanced foreign language learners. It seems that due attention is not given to the learning of idioms, and students' competence in these forms is not appropriately developed, not only on the recognition level but also on the production level. Idioms are difficult to learn and teach for many reasons. Firstly, they are not literal. Moreover, idioms are frequently omitted in the speech addressed to second language learners. Native speakers tend to use simple, concrete, everyday vocabulary when they address second language learners. In an article on the use of idioms by Russian students, Kabakchy (1980) isolated one main factor responsible for learning idioms which is their accessibility to students. According to Kabakchy, idioms can be classified into four groups. First, idioms which have exact counterparts and these are the easiest; second, idioms which have semantic counterparts but are differently worded or structures; third, idioms which have no counterparts, although their meaning can be derived from the conjoined

meaning of their constituents. These are easier than those in group two where language interference can be expected; fourth, idioms which have no counterparts and which meaning cannot be derived from the conjoined meaning of their constituents, and these are the most difficult ones. Irujo (1986) investigated whether second language learners use their first language to comprehend and produce idioms in the second language. Subjects were 12 Venezuelan advanced learners of English. Results showed identical idioms were the easiest to comprehend and produce, while similar idioms were comprehended almost as well but showed interference from Spanish. The study also showed that the most difficult idioms to comprehend and produce were the different idioms which showed less interference than similar idioms.

The process of foreign language learning implies interdependence among many elements, such as the socio-cultural situation of the learner, his previous awareness and competence of linguistic phenomena and the cognitive means developed during his learning. At the same time, the learning process also includes the necessity to develop some tools suitable to comprehend the semantic opacity of some foreign words. In this sense, the L2 learner has to face the proper and the figurative sense of a word and he has to realize that the transition from the motivation to the opacity and from the lively figure to the lexicalised figure is a question of use and of language history (Gardes-Tamine, 2011: 18). From this perspective, it is interesting to analyse the treatment of ten idioms, taken from dictionaries and given in context, by advanced Italian students of French and German as foreign languages. The figurative dimension of lexicalised expressions required us to interview advanced students of L2 because the comprehension and the access to a figurative meaning characterise allophones in an advanced acquisition level. This study proposes to analyse the interpretation and translation processes of these fixed expressions given in a phrasal context. In particular, we focus on the cognitive operations made by learners in order to give an interpretation of lexicalised expressions not literally translatable into Italian. In this paper, we will use both a cognitive and acquisitional linguistic approach. On one hand, a cognitive linguistics approach can be useful to analyse the cognitive projections activated during the comprehension, translation and motivation process. On the other hand, an acquisitional linguistics approach can be used to analyse the identification and isolation processes made by the students and to identify the elements that act in the interpretation and translation processes. This analysis not only allows us to better understand the interpretation process of a figurative expression, but also makes it possible to identify the system of conceptualisation of some fixed expressions used by the L2 students. Furthermore, a comparative analysis of German and French lexical expressions can be useful to understand some cultural and cognitive dynamics in the learning process.

2. Lexicalisation and projection-analogical processes

The study of lexicalised expressions involves a digression on phraseology, a field that includes the analysis of formulaic sequences of words characterised by

a high degree of conventionalisation. Hudson (1998: 9) claims that the lexicalisation process depends on grammatical block and syntactical restrictions; in contrast, Gross (1996: 154) takes into consideration both syntactical block and semantic block. Another relevant and obligatory criterion in the lexicalisation process is the conventionality that appears when a group of words is considered as a unit (Nunberg et al. 1994: 493). According to Gross (1996: 9), criteria can include the "polilexicality" or the autonomy of the fixed sequence, the "semantic opacity" or the figurative aspect hidden in the words sequence, the "block of the transformational properties" and the "block of the synonymic paradigms". A lot of approaches (Hudson 1998; Moon 1998: 19-25; Norrick 1985: 72; Brinton and Traugott 2005) point out that there are various categories of lexicalisation. An idiom is "basically a fixed multi-word unit whose meaning cannot be computed from the meanings of its components" (Fontenelle 1994: 43). According to Moon (1998: 4), an idiom is an opaque sequence of words and "narrower uses restrict idiom[s] to a particular kind of unit: one that is fixed and semantically opaque or metaphorical, or, traditionally, 'not the sum of its parts', for example, 'kick the bucket' or 'spill the beans'".

Certain peculiarities of the fixed expressions have been analysed by cognitive linguists in recent years. In particular, some cognitively oriented tasks seem interesting in idioms analysis, such as the explication of the cognitive basis of motivation phenomena, the study of the function of underlying mental images for idiom usage conditions, or the exploration of culture-specific phenomena in idiom semantics (Burger 2007: 790). Moreover, the motivational relations among the lexical structure of an idiom, its conceptual representation in the lexicon and the actual meaning of figurative units allow us to recognize the image component of the idiom (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2005). However, to justify a cognitive based theory of fixed expression, it is necessary to draw from the cognitive theory of metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) consisting of the conceptual frames' analysis. In the case of metaphorical motivation, the cognitive process is developed by the projection between a source frame and a target frame; in contrast, in the case of metonymical motivation, the process is within one frame. Projection can be useful to gain insight into the process of translation and interpretation of fixed expressions made by L2 learners. In order to give a clear and exhaustive description of the treatment of fixed expressions, we will also consider the analogy. The analogical process gathers the understanding of a new situation by a similar known situation. Analogy is based on a constitutive resemblance between two entities in which two essential aspects emerge: an identity and an otherness (Monneret 2004: 14).

3. Idioms in second language acquisition

According to Hudson (1998: 139), phraseology responds to a principle of economy: learners repeat the expressions they have already heard instead of creating new ones. This activates a memorisation process with psycholinguistic implications. In foreign language learning, the treatment of those lexical units is completely different: according to Gibbs (1986), native learners do not activate the

literal meaning of the lexicalized phrases, except when the figurative meaning is not pertinent. In contrast, foreign learners attempt to activate a figurative meaning only when the literal meaning is perceived as non-pertinent.

As we pointed out, idioms have an ontological and a cultural motivation. For foreign language students, the cultural sphere is not always directly accessible. It is useful to distinguish second language learning from foreign language learning: in the first case, learners are more in contact with second language and culture, like in the case of immigrants. In second language learning, idioms can only be acquired in the classroom, so that the role of teachers and methods become primary. Our purpose is to investigate the proceedings students put into practice to interpret idioms that are not directly translatable into Italian. This could be useful to develop efficient methodologies in foreign language teaching as well as in foreign language learning.

4. Methodology

For our study, we chose 15 advanced students of French as a foreign language, and 15 advanced students of German as a foreign language (students study at the University of Palermo). Each one of them has studied the foreign language for at least eight years, and they all have an undergraduate degree in foreign languages and cultures. For the task, we selected 10 idioms which cannot be translated word-by-word. These were embedded into typologically different contexts including newspapers, internet forums, novels, magazines. We then asked students to translate or orally interpret the texts. We never specified that our study was about idioms. The conversations have been recorded and transcribed.

First, we focused our attention on how students isolated the idioms in the given context. We observed that, in most cases, they were perfectly able to isolate the idioms even without knowing them at all. Next, we tried to understand the strategies the students used to make sense of the idioms. Finally, we analysed the translations made by the students and the number of correct answers and mistakes.

We also considered the interferences taking place during the treatment of the idioms. In some cases, students had recourse to their mother tongue, but in other cases they were able to avoid interference showing a high degree of consciousness concerning the cultural peculiarity of idioms in a foreign language. We are particularly interested in interpreting strategies having recourse to metonymic or metaphoric proceedings, in which students abandoned the peculiar cultural sphere to engage themselves in the ontological sphere, trying to reactivate symbolic processes starting from the literal meaning of the single words composing the idiom.

5. Data analysis

Interpretation processes start with an analytical approach, allowing students to individuate and isolate the idiom in the text. Given the semantic opacity

of the lexical units, in most cases isolation was based on process of semantic pertinence: in the given context, the units composing the lexical phrase could not keep their literal meaning; so, compositionality being excluded, students proceeded with the interpretation of the idiom. The interpretation of the idiom is made following different proceedings, which are, moreover, combined by the students in different ways:
- Reference to the context
- Analogy with mother-language or other foreign languages
- Metaphorical and metonymical processes
- Analogical processes

In some cases, students renounced to interpret the figurative meaning of the expression and just gave a literal translation or no translation at all, as we can see in the tables below:

Table 1: interpretation processes of French idioms
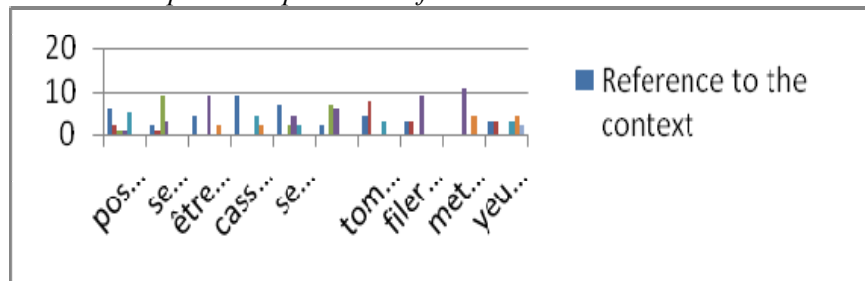
Table 2: interpretation processes of German idioms.
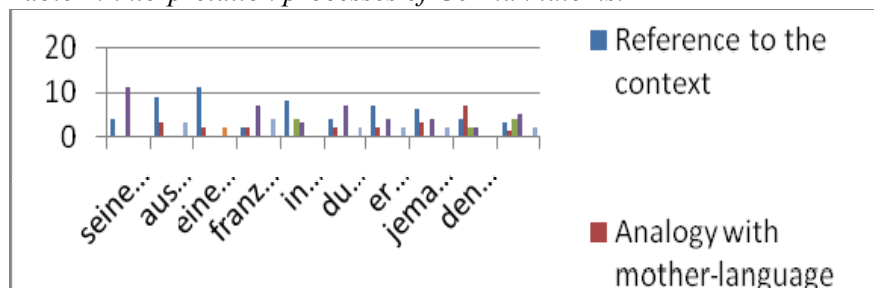
5.1 Analogy with mother-language or other foreign languages

Interlingual transfer (i.e. transfer from the mother tongue or any other previously learned language) in foreign language learning is a major cognitive strategy that learners fall back on when their linguistic means falls short of achieving their communicative ends. Needless to say, the mother tongue is an additional source for hypothesis formation that the first language learner does not have. The influence of the mother tongue and the pervasiveness of interlingual transfer is indisputable. Thus, interlingual transfer is a strategy that is readily available to the learners to compensate for the inadequacies when attempting to communicate in the foreign language.

The French expression *avoir la grosse tête* (lit.: having a big head) is translated with *montarsi la testa* (lit.: to have a swollen head, to get a swelled head; it means "be arrogant"), where in both expressions the idea of a big head is involved.

In German the expression *aus den Latschen kippen*, meaning literally "falling off one's slippers", is translated with *cadere dale nuvole* (lit.: falling down from clouds, meaning to be flabbergasted) focusing on the meaning of the verb.

An interesting case emerges when a similarity is found with another foreign languages like in this example: *einen franzosischen Abschied nehmen* (lit.: to give a French goodbye, meaning to leave without saying goodbye) is translated with the help of the similar Spanish expression *despedirse a la francesa*.

5.2 Reference to the context

When compositional meaning is impossible, students recur to the context to give the expression a coherent meaning. One of the texts we gave to the students was a French comic strip in which the expression *poser un lapin*, literally "to put a rabbit (to stand somebody up). The meaning can be deduced from the context: the last image of the strip showing a lonely and sad boy sitting on a bench, waiting for someone while it's raining.

Concerning German, we proposed the expression *Eulen nach Athen tragen* (to carry owls to Athens). The idiom's figurative construction is generated by the oddity of the action "to carry owls to Athens" meaning "to do useless or senseless things". This expression was given in the context of a blog in which users were giving comments on a post. The interpretation is made by students through the analysis of the context. Indeed, one of the blog users says, addressing the blogger, "*Du trägst im Grundsatz Eulen nach Athen. Anmaßend finde ich jedoch die Art deines Urteils, insbesondere der Hinweis auf den "Zwang zum Spaß"*; some students infer from the context that the blogger is trying to *bring grist to his mill*; some others interpret it as *not paying attention to other's advice*.

5.3 Metaphorical and metonymical processes

These cases are particularly interesting because students try to reactivate the semantic processes involved in idioms. For example, the expression *ne pas avoir la grosse tête* (lit.: not having a big head and meaning *not being presumptuous*) is correctly interpreted by most students. Only a few interpreted the expression as *being stupid*, basing their interpretation on a conceptual metonymy: the head of football player is not just a part of their body but a metonymy for their intelligence. From this perspective students take into consideration the conceptual metaphor *more is up* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). So, according to this process, the bigger is the head, the more intelligent is the person. This interpretation also reflects the cultural value of translator about the stereotype that football players are not intelligent.

In *se metre sur son trente et un* (lit.: to stand on one's thirty-one, fig.: to overdress) students conceptualise time. In the text, the idiom is related at the

moment in which the town of Greenville is preparing for its first presidential debate. Students based on the conceptual metaphor *time issituated in space* (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), and they considered the event to be taking place at the end of the month, the 31th.

Some cases of metaphoric reactivation are also present in German. Most of the students interpreted the idiom *sich in Schale werfen* (lit.: to flow into peels, fig.: to overdress) through a metaphor processing: one part of students conceptually considered *peel* as a protective surface. We can understand this metaphorical processing through the container metaphor (Ibid.) where the peel is the external part of something and it protects the content. Students interpreted the German verb *sich werfen* (lit.: to flow into something) as *to take off peel* and thus *to take away a protective wrapping*. So, they obtain the figurative meaning *to take a risk* and, basing on the context, *to take a chance* in the casino of Bregenz town. Some other students gave *peel* a negative connotation. The word was also semantically associated to some slots such as rubbish, dirt, stink and, consequently, *to throw oneself into peels* was interpreted as *to throw oneself into rubbish* with the target frame *looking for fortune in a unlikely place*, in this case, a casino.

5.4 Analogical process

Concerning analogical processes, it is important to distinguish semantic analogy from linguistic analogy. In the first case, students start from the literal meaning of the components and draw a rank of analogies to try to deduce the meaning of the idiom. In the second case, analogy is found between the linguistic structures of the target language and the linguistic structures of the source languages, at a semantic level and at a formal level as well. In this section we will focus on the first kind of analogy, the second having already been analyzed in the previous section.

Let's look at some examples: in the French comic strip we mentioned previously, we can see the idiom *yeux de biche*. One of the students started from the formal analogy of the French *biche* (doe) with the Italian *biscia* (grass snake) translating with: *snake eyes*. From this similarity, by analogy, he attributes to the person some negative characteristics that are usually attributed to the snake (viscid, creeping) and, by a process of conceptual metaphorisation, he finally translated with *yeux de salope* (bitchy eyes). Nevertheless, after reading the whole text and considering the global context, he changed his translation by referring to a similar Italian expression (*occhi da cerbiatta*, lit.: little doe eyes fig.: sweet eyes).

In *mettre de l'eau dans son vin* (lit.: to put some water in one's wine, fig.: to calm down), a native speaker wouldn't need to activate the literal meaning and would interpret immediately with to calm down or tone it down. For a foreign speaker, having no access to the figurative meaning of the expression, it is necessary to activate a compositional interpretation, *putting water in one's wine* meaning *to make wine less strong*, and by analogy to calm down. The analogies allow the speaker to get a correct interpretation by reactivating the metaphor that originated the fixed expression.

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In the third example the lexical phrase *filer à l'anglaise* (lit.: to leave in an English way, fig.: to leave without saying goodbye) draws a parallel between the way France President Hollande leaves and the way English people leave. Students started, at first, with a literal interpretation and then activated a delexicalisation process, trying to explain how English people leave. To do this, they referred to their social and cultural representations and stereotypes about English people. From each of the interpretations given, students drew a different translation. Stereotypically, English people are:

- the historical enemy of France (with a strong negative connotation) and the interpretation of the fixed expression was *to leave on the sly*;
- very discreet and for this reason the translation was *to leave unnoticed*;
- snobbish, so they leave with a private plane;
- punctual, so *filer à l'anglaise* is translated with *to leave perfectly on time*.

Some examples are also present in German: The idiom *seinen Senf dazu geben* (lit.: to give one's mustard on something, fig.: to mettle without being asked) is interpreted by the students through positive and negative analogies: in the first case, they analogically connected mustard with something conferring a good taste to food or with something used to trim dishes. Those students justify this choice through context because the user of the forum has to give his contribution in a positive way. So, mustard is food in the same way that opinion/contribution is mapped into the domain argument, and the analogical parallel is drawn between mustard and opinion/contribution. Some other students gave a negative interpretation of this expression, reading mustard as something acid or looking like faeces. So, the user of the forum is a person that gives a negative contribution.

6. Conclusions

The examples have shown how the semantic analyzability of idioms is developed by the students. In French language a higher degree of homomorphism between the structure of the actual meaning and the structure of the underlying metaphor seems to appear. Indeed, students are able to associate easily the constituent parts of the idiom with its actual meaning. In contrast, in German language, students are not able to handle the idiom because of the difficulties found in the analysis. These difficulties concern not only the general structures of the idioms, perceived as more familiar in French than in German, but also the interpretation of the context, which is more difficult in German. From this perspective, the semantic role of particular constituents can be understood through the comparison of different languages that are semantically similar, but not identical (Burger 2007: 809). In some cases, students have reconstructed the relations among the conceptual structures involved in the idiom through the understanding of the general figurative meaning. From this perspective, it is useful to define the motivation transparency of conceptual relations between source and target frames because it can help to gain insights into the actual meaning of the

idiom. Moreover, we have noticed that the motivation relation is provided by lots of general conceptual metaphors standing behind the idioms.

In foreign language acquisition, learners are confronted with a connotative and a cultural gap when they try to understand idioms. Like in natural context, they are forced to interpret the idiom in order to interpret the whole message. When the meaning of the idiom is opaque, they have usually recourse to the general context, exactly as they would do in a spontaneous conversation. Nevertheless, sometimes the context does not provide sufficient clues to coherently interpret the idiom. In those cases, learners try to activate metaphorical processes, as we observed in our examples, as well in French as in German. The differences in the treatment of idioms concern mainly the general level of opacity of the two foreign languages, which is higher in German than in French. Nevertheless, the strategies put to use are identical in both languages. Learners are perfectly conscious that the idiomatic units are based on metaphors which are culturally motivated. They try to activate all of their knowledge about the culture, religion, and history of the target language in order to translate the idiom, and they sometimes push their analysis to an ontological level. Kövecses and Szabo (1996) affirm that the presence of underlying conceptual metaphors in the mind is not enough to activate the use of idioms in foreign language learners. According to Gonzalez Rey (2007: 28), it is necessary to show the learners that a lot of phraseological expressions have a metaphorical motivation; the explication of the underlying metaphorical projections can help students to acquire the equivalences between the conceptual frames activating the idiom. The analysis of those processes confirms that, in order to acquire idioms, it could be useful for learners to understand and explicit the underlying metaphors, as they would try to do in a natural context. The efforts in order to negotiate the meaning of the idiom, in relation to the context as well as to the general meaning of its components, would certainly facilitate the stocking of the idiomatic unit as well as its further processing.

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Nigerian English. Similarities and Dissimilarities with Other West African Englishes

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to identify some phonological similarities and dissimilarities across West African New Englishes, namely to contrast Nigerian English[2] to Ghanaian English (GhE), Sierra Leone English (SLE), and Cameroon English (CamE). The analysis is intended to be a bottom-up approach, starting from particular cases (see Annex) which will eventually lead to generalizations regarding the way in which the vocalic system of British English has been restructured in the varieties discussed (with a special focus on the vocalic elements chosen for illustration), or the strategies employed in dealing with different types of consonant clusters from one variety to another. I am aware that important phonological phenomena are missing from the analysis but, unfortunately, I have failed to find exact corresponding transcriptions of words to be included for illustration in some cases.

Key words

phonological differences, similarity, uniqueness, map

1. Introduction

Platt et al. (1984: 37) identify some general tendencies which are shared by some or all of the New Englishes, which prove that the vowels of these new varieties exhibit a very high degree of restructuring: a tendency to shorten vocalic sounds, a lack of distinction between long and short vowels, a tendency to replace central vowels by either front or back vowels, and also a tendency to shorten diphthongs and to leave out the second element in a diphthong. Conversely, the consonants undergo some changes, according to the consonantal system of the

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[2] It has been split here into two subvarieties: Nigerian Southern English (NigSE) and Nigerian Hausa English (NigHE), the latter being spoken mainly in the northern part.

speakers' L1, but the most striking phenomenon in most of the new varieties of English is the restructuring of consonant clusters.

Schmied (1991: 58) captures five main aspects which characterize the behaviour of English phonemes in the African context, but I have selected only four of them which are relevant for the purpose of this study and which roughly correspond to the four points identified by Platt et al. (1984), as follows: the difference between long and short vowels is levelled, so that this phonemic feature is not used any longer in differentiating between meanings systematically, leading to widespread homophony; the central vowels /ə/, /ʌ/, /ɜː/, as in *writer*, *but* and *bird*, are avoided and glide towards half-open or open positions such as [ɔ, a, ɛ]; diphthongs tend to have only marginal status and to be monophthongized; consonant clusters are resolved by consonant deletion or by the addition of vowels (either via epenthesis, or paragoge).

The phonological standard used for reference and ease of comparison, to which I will refer hereinafter as RP, is Received Pronunciation.

2. The analysis of some restructuring patterns from RP to African New Englishes

The identification of similar as well as different patterns of restructuring focuses on the words presented in the pronunciation chart which constitutes the Annex, and I have summarized them in the restructuring chart below for clarification.

Table 1: The restructuring chart of some phonological elements from RP in various African New Englishes

RP		GhE	SLE	NigSE	NigHE	CamE
/ɜː/		[ɛ]	[a]	[a]	[a]	[ɛ]
			[ɔ]	[ɔ]		[ɔ]
/ʌ/		[a]	[ɔ]	[ɔ]	[a]	[ɔ]
/ɛə/		[ea]	[ea/ia]	[ea/ia]	[ea]	[ɛ]
/ɪə/		[ia]	[ia]	[ia]	[ia]	[iɛ/iə]
Final syllable /ə/		[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]
			[ɔ]	[ɔ]		[ɔ]
The treatment of *muta-cum-liquida*	Obstruent + lateral liquid (O + L)	maintained	maintained	maintained	epenthetic V – vocalic copy	maintained
	Obstruent + rhotic	maintained	O + uvular [R]	maintained	default epenthetic V	maintained

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clusters	liquid (O + R)				[ə]	
The treatment of consonant clusters[3]		± plosive deletion	plosive deletion	plosive deletion	plosive deletion	plosive deletion
Final NG - coalescence		yes	spelling pronunciation	spelling pronunciation	spelling pronunciation	yes

2.1 The restructuring of some vocalic elements

2.1.1 The RP vowels /i:/ and /ɪ/ are almost invariantly rendered as [i][4] in all the African varieties presented in the pronunciation chart, exhibiting a tendency to level down vowel length differences. The examples included in the chart display the following possibilities of restructuring:

(1) RP /ɪ/ → [i], either alone or as an element of a diphthong: *thirty* – [θɜ:tɪ], *beer* – [bɪə], *try* – [traɪ], *bring* – [brɪŋ], *quickly* – [kwɪklɪ], *single* – [sɪŋg(ə)l].

(2) RP /Vɪ/ → [V#], when it is the second, unstressed gliding element of a diphthong: *labour* – [leɪbə]

(3) RP /ɪ/: [+nas] _# → [e], in *journey* – [dʒɜ:nɪ].

(4) RP /i:/ → [i], in *teacher* – [ti:ʧə]

2.1.2 In what concerns the behaviour of the *bird* vowel, only GhE is unique in rendering it unanimously as [ɛ]. If we take a look at Map 1 below, all the others display it at least as [a][5].

Besides GhE, which has a single restructuring pattern, CamE stands out as it has the widest range of possibilities in restructuring this mid vowel. It patterns with GhE in rendering it as [ɛ], but also together with SLE and NigSE in rendering it as [ɔ]. It is noteworthy to mention that SLE and NigSE speakers have a unique pattern in rendering the /ɜ:/ vowel which comes from <*ir* > and <*er*> sequences,

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[3] Word-final /-st/ and /-ld/ here.
[4] This /i/ is short but it also has the feature [+ advanced tongue root], i.e. [+tense], which characterizes long vowels in RP (Brozbă 2010: 380).
[5] Simo Bobda (2000) does not include one in his chart but I have run across the example *maternity* in (Atechi 2004), who argues that Cameroonians pronounce it [mɛtaniti] instead of the RP [mətɜ:niti].

which goes to [ɔ] in the words *first* and *person*, when the expected variants would be [a] or [ɛ] if we take into consideration the word *thirty*.

Map 1 - Restructuring map[6] of the RP monophthong /ɜː/

- restructured as [a]
- restructured as [ɔ]
- restructured as [ɛ]
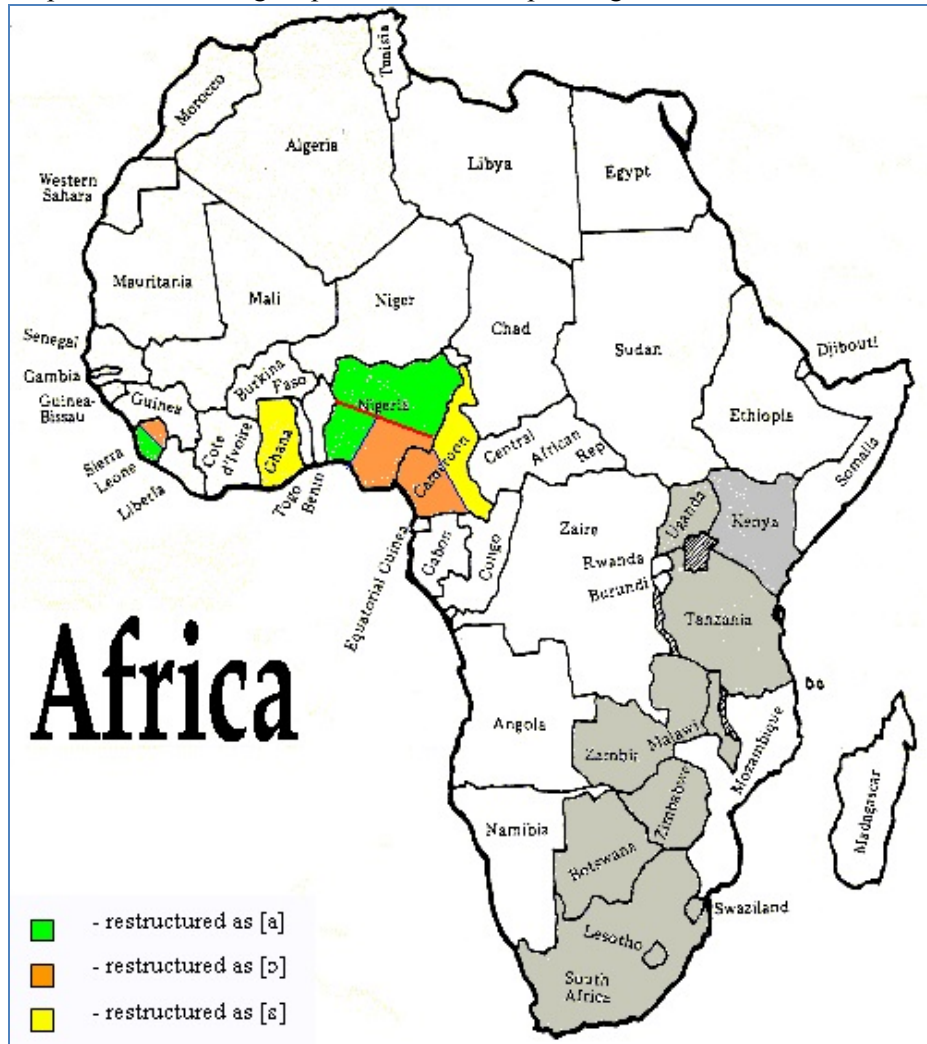
2.1.3 The mid vowel /ʌ/ displays two patterns of restructuring, as Map 2 shows, in which SLE, NigSE and CamE pattern together again in rendering it as [ɔ], while GhE and NigHE speakers pronounce it as [a].

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[6] All the lines have been conventionally drawn in order to enable the viewer to trace more easily the restructuring patterns. The gray areas represent the other former British colonies in Africa which are not included in this study. These comments apply to all the subsequent maps.

Map 2- Restructuring of the RP monophthong /ʌ/

Africa

☐ - restructured as [ɔ]
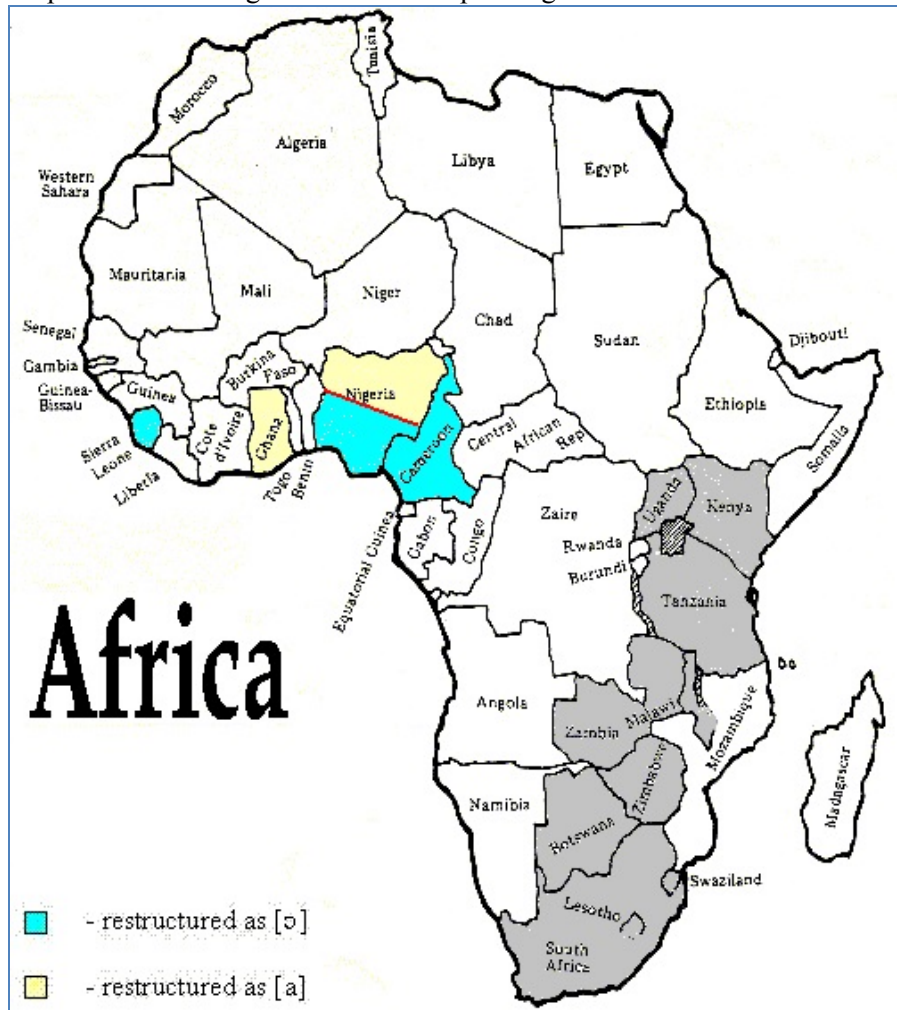
☐ - restructured as [a]

2.1.4 This diphthong is pronounced in four out of the five varieties discussed as [ea], as we can observe both in the restructuring chart (Table 1) and Map 3.

Parallel to this pronunciation we have another phonological pattern for this diphthong, i.e. [ia], in the southern part of Nigeria and in Sierra Leone, which is rendered in blue on the map[7]. Cameroon dissociates from the group altogether by monophthongizing the diphthong to its first vocalic element [ɛ].

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[7] Again, the feature is not to be found exclusively in the area delimited by the blue colour on the map, but all over of Sierra Leone and in Southern Nigeria, in competition with the alternative pattern of pronunciation [ea].

Map 3 - Restructuring of the RP diphthong /ɛə/
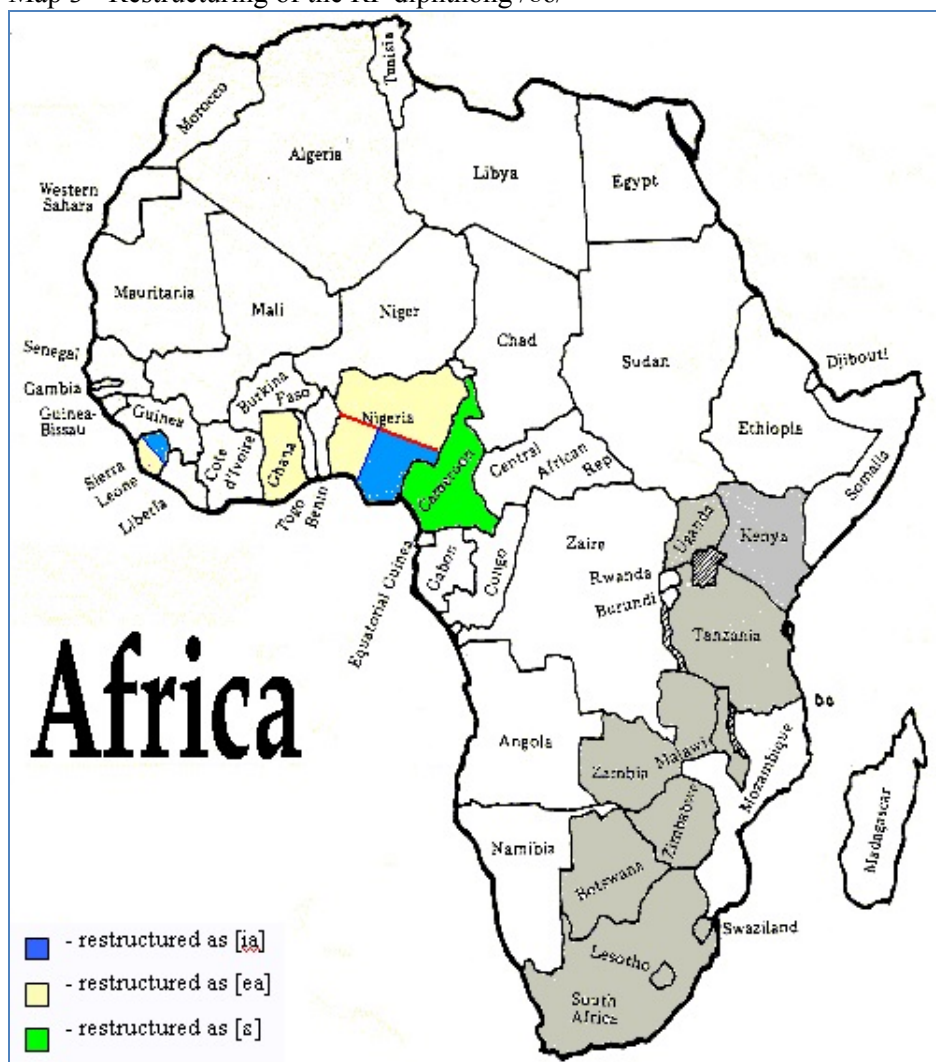
2.1.5 The two elements of the vocalic segment are preserved in this case but either one or both are restructured, as follows:

(5) RP /ɪə/ → [ia] in four of the studied varieties: both vocalic elements have undergone changes (in length, height/aperture);

(6) RP /ɪə/ → [iɛ/iə] in CamE: either both vowels display differences (the first is shortened and the second has been replaced by a front counterpart), or only the first vowel of the diphthong is affected.

The distribution of the two patterns is presented in Map 4 and in the Annex, under the pronunciations for the word *beer*.

Map 4 - Restructuring of the RP diphthong /ɪə/

- restructured as [ia̯]

- restructured as [iş̯]

- restructured as [iə̯]
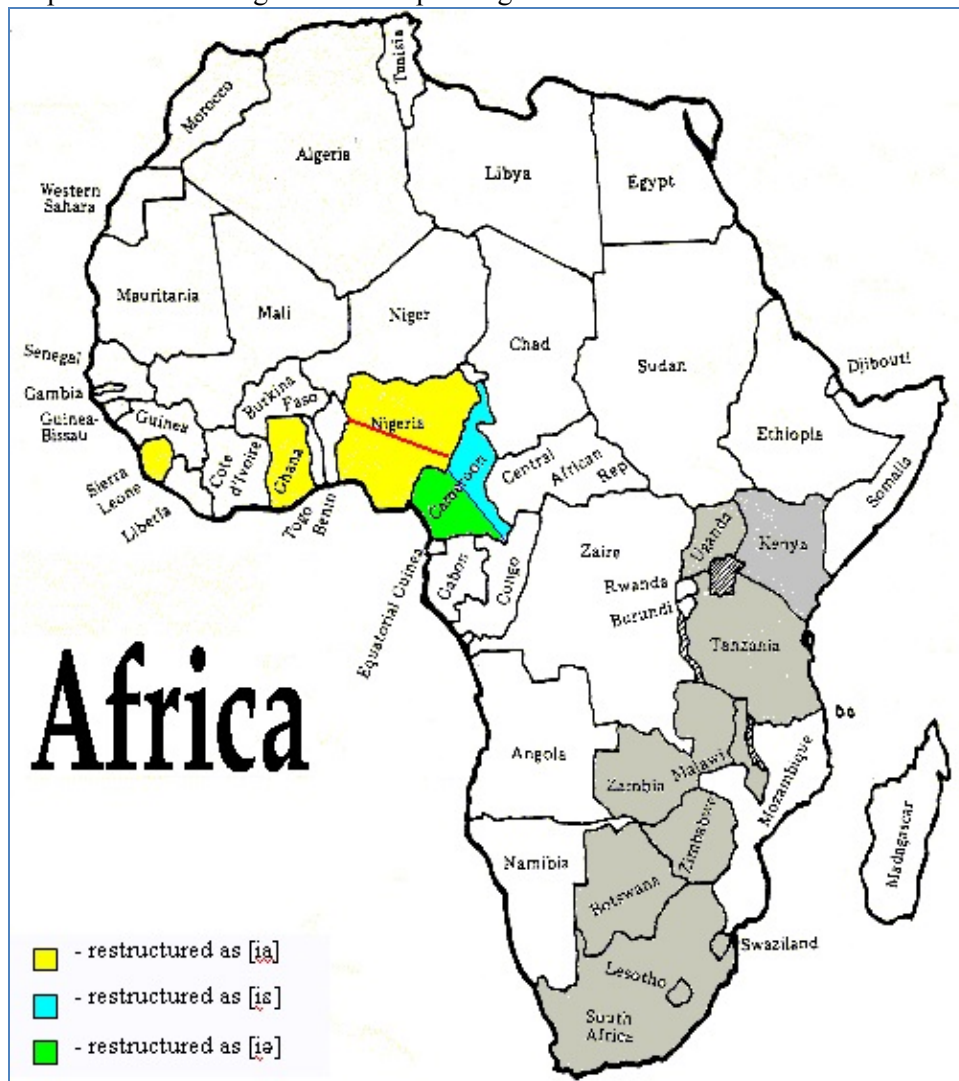
2.1.6 All the African New Englishes at issue replace [ə] in word-final position with [a], which is also visible on Map 5 and in the pronunciation chart (Annex), for a word like *teacher* or *murder*.

However, in Southern Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Cameroon, speakers pronounce it as [ɔ] in words like *structure*, *labour*, *sector*, *pompous* or *forum* (see Annex). I was first inclined to believe that in a word like *structure* – [strɔktʃɔ] or *forum* – [fɔrɔm] this transformation must be an instance of vowel copy, but if we look at *labour* – [lebɔ] one could say that this is a clear example of labial attraction. Moreover, a case like *pompous* – [pɔmpɔs] is undecidable, i.e. either

vowel copying or labial attraction can account for the nature of the vowel. The example of *sector* – [sɛktɔ] comes to clear things up: there is neither a neighbouring consonantal sound to assimilate it partially, nor a total assimilation at a distance with another vocalic sound. This is simply the default option of the speakers in the respective geographical areas in rendering the schwa in final-syllable position.

Map 5 - Restructuring of the RP final-syllable /ə/
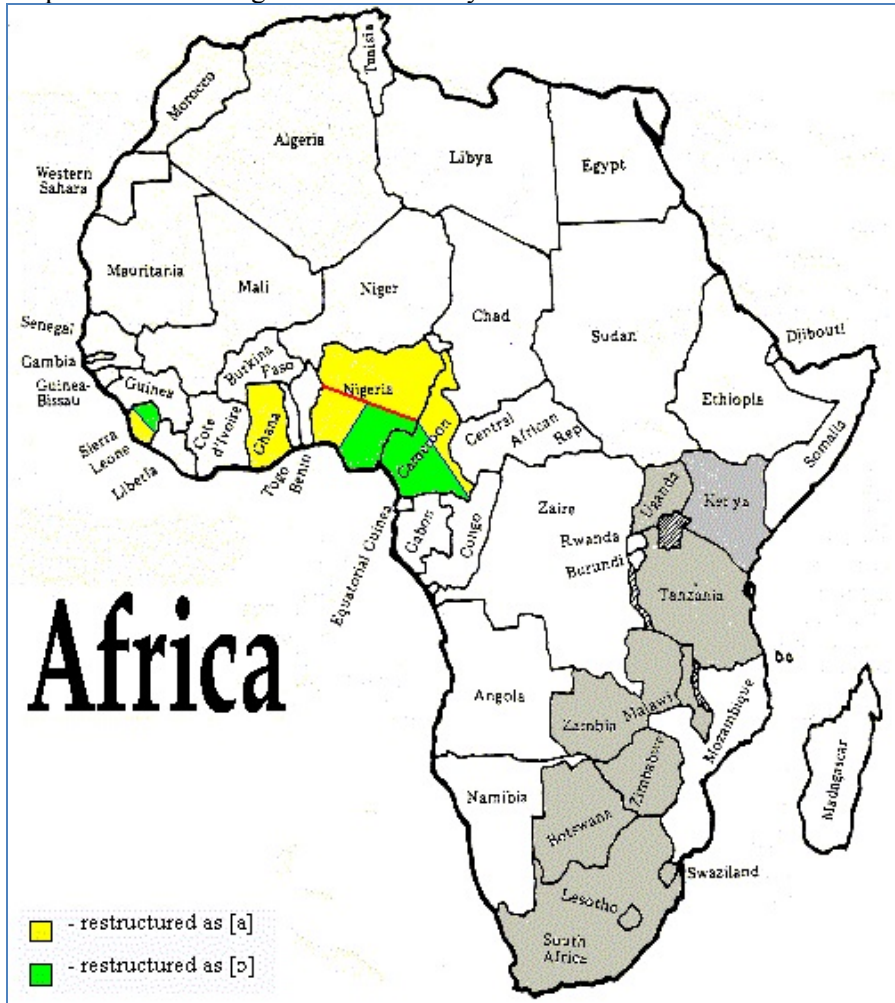
2.2 The restructuring of some consonantal elements

2.2.1 If we take a quick look at the pronunciation chart in the Annex we can see that in most of the varieties[8] the speakers do not have a problem with pronouncing consonant onset clusters as they are in RP, including the 's + obstruent' ones (see *structure*, *square*). The *muta-cum-liquida* clusters in the onset are preserved most of the times with a minor alteration for SLE which uses a uvular /R/. However, NigHE splits the 'obstruent + liquid' group by inserting an epenthetic vowel. For the 'obstruent + rhotic liquid' clusters, the speakers use the default vowel schwa, while in the case of 'obstruent + lateral liquid' clusters, we have a clear instance of vowel copy, as in the word *quickly*.

On the other hand, speakers across all these West African New Englishes simplify systematically the coda clusters. Irrespectively of the cause for which they do it (either these kind of clusters are dismissed as an effect of a transfer phenomenon if they are not attested in the L1 of the speakers, or as a connected speech effect), we can easily identify some 'repair' strategies of such coda clusters in all of the varieties at issue. In five of these, word-final consonant clusters are reduced to one element by deleting the oral stop. Simo Bobda (2000) claims that in some cases Ghanaian English speakers retain the oral stop in a word like *first*. This could be accounted for by the need to dissociate between words like *first* and *face* which would sound homophonous otherwise, since only the first gliding element of the RP diphthong /eɪ/ would be retained according to the restructuring pattern (see *labour*). However, I can only assume that in an expression like 'first man' the deletion is guaranteed.

2.2.2 Only two of the five varieties, namely GhE and CamE, maintain the original pronunciation, i.e. they coalesce the nasal and the voiced velar stop in word-final, with a minor difference affecting the length of the vowel. All the other varieties seem to illustrate spelling pronunciation.

3. Conclusions

I have underlined in all the above subsection points in which some or all of the African New Englishes studied are similar or differ strikingly in the way they render one or other of the selected phonological segments. If we are to look again at the pronunciation chart (Table 2) and at the patterns in the restructuring chart (Table 1), first horizontally and then vertically, we will see other striking similarities between some accents in restructuring some vocalic elements and a few unique features for some of the varieties.

On the one hand, a horizontal scanning shows that three out of the five varieties (i.e. SLE, NigHE and CamE) render as [ɔ] three RP vocalic elements: /ɜː/, /ʌ/ and /ə/, as predicted in the introduction of this investigation. Also, we can notice that, in one way or another, all the varieties discussed alter the coda consonant clusters so as to fit their speech needs.

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[8] There are some exceptions to which I will refer when discussing 'obstruent + liquid' clusters.

On the other hand, if we look vertically, we can identify one variety which has a unique behaviour in some respects, namely CamE. First of all, CamE has three distinctive features which separates it completely from the others: it is the only one to have three patterns of realization corresponding to the RP monophthong /ɜː/ (as shown in 7); it is again the only one to reduce the diphthong /ɛə/ to its first vocalic element and to have two distinct pronunciations for the diphthong /ɪə/ (see 8).

(7) RP /ɜː/ → CamE [ɛ]; [ɔ] or [a][9]

(8) RP /ɪə/ → CamE [i ɛ] or [iə]

Nigerian subvarieties of English resemble in our analysis one or more other West-African varieties, which is an indication that the structural nativization process is still under way.

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NOTE:
The source for the template of a blank map of Africa is http://abbott-infotech.co.za /africa map-blank.gif. I have operated the other changes myself

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[9] See footnote 7.

ANNEX

Table 2: Pronunciation Chart across West African English Accents[10]

Word	RP	GhanE	SLE	NigSE	NigE	NigHE	CamE
term	[tɜːm]	[tɛm]	[tam]	[tam]	[tam]	[tam]	[tɛm]
thirty	[θɜːtɪ]	[tɛtɪ]	[tati]	[tati]	[tati]	[tati]	[tɛti]
first	[fɜːst]	[fɛs(t)]	[fɔs]	[fɔs]	[fas]	[fas]	[fɛs]
person	[pɜːsn]	[pɛsɛn]	[pɔsɪn, pɜ-]	[pɔsɪn]	[pasən]	[pasən]	[pɛsin]
work	[wɜːk]	[wɛk]	[wɔk]	[wɔk]	[wak]	[wak]	[wɔk]
journey	[dʒɜːnɪ]	[dʒɛne]	[dʒone]	[dʒone]	[dʒane]	[dʒane]	[dʒone]
murder	[mɜːdə]	[mɛda]	[mɔda]	[mɔda]	[mada]	[mada]	[mɔda]
cut	[kʌt]	[kat]	[kɔt]	[kɔt]	[kat]	[kat]	[kɔt]
square	[skwɜːə]	[skwea]	[skwea, -ia]	[skwea, -ia]	[skwea]	[skwea]	[skwɛ]
beer	[bɪə]	[bia]	[bia]	[bia]	[bia]	[bia]	[biɛ, biə]
teacher	[tiːʧə]	[tiʧa]	[tiʧa]	[tiʧa]	[tiʧa]	[tiʧa]	[tiʧa]
sector	[sɛktə]	[sɛkta]	[sɛktɔ]	[sɛktɔ]	[sɛkta]	[sɛkta]	[sɛktɔ]
labour	[leɪbə]	[leba]	[lebɔ]	[lebɔ]	[leba]	[leba]	[lebɔ]
structure	[strʌkʧə]	[strakʧa]	[strɔkʧɔs]	[strɔkʧɔs]	[strakʧa]	[strakʧa]	[strɔkʧɔs]
pompous	[pʌmpəs]	[pɔmpɔs]	[pɔmpɔs]	[pɔmpɔs]	[pɔmpas]	[pɔmpas]	[pɔmpɔs]
forum	[fɔrəm]	[fɔram]	[fɔrɔm, -um]	[fɔrɔm, -um]	[fɔram]	[fɔram]	[fɔrɔm]
try	[traɪ]	[trai]	[tRai]	[trai]	[tərai]	[tərai]	[trai]
quickly	[kwɪklɪ]	[kwikli]	[kwikli]	[kwikli]	[kwikili]	[kwikili]	[kwikli]
told us	[təʊldəs]	[tol as]	[tol ɔs]	[tol ɔs]	[tol as]	[tol as]	[tolɔs]
bring	[brɪŋ]	[briŋ]	[briŋ]	[briŋ]	[briŋ]	[briŋ]	[briŋ]

Apecte ale deixis-ului în textul poetic postmodern

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Rezumat

Lucrarea „ Aspecte ale deixis-ului în textul poetic postmodern" abordează o temă de anvergură în lingvistica contemporană. Se încadrează în domeniul amplu al lingvisticii textului literar. Este un studiu de pragmatică şi de poetică. În această lucrare de cercetare, accentul este pus pe subiectivitatea enunţării. În ceea ce priveşte partea teoretică, din corpus-ul vast al deixis-ului valorificăm, selectiv, aspecte din câteva studii de referinţă. În ceea ce priveşte partea aplicativă, avem în vedere textul literar românesc postmodern. Asimilând componente pragmatice, interpretarea textului postmodern lansează o provocare, permiţând abordări interdisciplinare.

Cuvinte cheie

enunţare, subiectivitate, pragmatică, discurs, deixis.

1. Introducere

Studiile consacrate de Émile Benveniste subiectivităţii limbajului au generat abordări variate referitoare la fenomenul *deixis* [11] -ului. Natura egocentrică a limbilor naturale a impus ca o condiţie *sine qua non* raportarea la deicticul de persoană *eu* şi la momentul rostirii (Benveniste 1966; Levinson 1983; Lyons 1995).

Situat la interferenţa dintre semantică şi pragmatică, deixis-ul este ancorat în situaţia de comunicare. Expresie a intersubiectivităţii, *deixis*-ul determină referinţa unor componente dintr-un enunţ. În cadrul enunţării, relaţia dintre indicator (de persoană, de timp, de loc, de obiect) şi instanţa actuală de discurs este fundamentală.

În poezia postmodernă, reevaluarea subiectivităţii deictice conferă vocii lirice valenţe semantice suplimentare. În studiul de faţă, ne propunem o dublă abordare – teoretică şi aplicativă – a fenomenului, accentuând convenţia jocului enunţiativ.

2. Paradigme teoretice

Deixis-ul reprezintă un aspect fundamental al organizării pragmatice a discursului. Complexitatea fenomenului a generat o varietate de abordări. Definiţiile date conceptului evidenţiază raportarea la situaţia de comunicare.

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[11] gr. **deixis** = "acţiunea de a arăta, arătare, ostentaţie, indiciu, dovadă" (Dubois et al. 1973).

Inventarierea unităților subiective impune abordarea unor unități lingvistice, cunoscute sub denumirea de *deictice*[12], *shifters*[13] (Jakobson), *index* (Peirce), *indexical expression* (Bar-Hillel). Definiția dată deicticelor de Jespersen – "o clasă de cuvinte al căror sens variază în funcție de situație" (1922: 123-124), devine inoperantă în spațiul francez, în care deicticele sunt definite drept:

> "les unités linguistiques dont le fonctionnement sémantico-référentiel (sélection à l'encodage, interprétation au décodage) implique une prise en considération de certains des éléments constitutifs de la situation de communication, à savoir: le role que tiennent dans le procès d'énonciation les actants de l'énoncé [et] la situation spatio-temporelle du locuteur, et éventuellement de l'allocutaire" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1999: 41).

Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni atrage atenția asupra faptului că referentul unei unități deictice este cel care variază în funcție de situație și nu sensul acestuia. Din această perspectivă nu este admisă nici teza lui Émile Benveniste, care a marcat gândirea europeană, cu privire la statutul pronumelor înțelese ca forme vide (în afara discursului propriu-zis):

> "Limbajul a rezolvat această problemă prin crearea unui ansamblu de semne 'goale', fără referent în 'realitate', oricând la îndemână și care devin 'pline' de îndată ce un locutor și le asumă în fiecare instanță a discursului său" (Benveniste 2000: 242).

Aspectul controversat al non-referențialității este reluat polemic de Georges Kleiber care observă că deicticele au trăsături descriptive care permit identificarea referentului vizat, având un rol important în selecția acestuia:

> "La partie descriptive que comportent les déictiques fournit, non pas l'identification particulière du référent visé, mais joue le role d'un filtre: elle élimine tel ou tel type de référents possible de la situation d'énontiation" (Kleiber 1986: 9).

Existența deicticelor are importante consecințe teoretice. Émile Benveniste consideră deicticele o manifestare a discursului în interiorul limbii. Roman Jakobson observă caracterul particular al acestei clase de unități gramaticale (*embrayeurs*) a căror semnificație "ne peut être définie en dehors d'une référence au message" (1963: 178). Fiecare *embrayeur* posedă totuși o semnificație generală proprie: "Ainsi 'je' désigne le destinateur (et 'tu' le destinataire) du message auquel il appartient" (*idem*: 179).

Tipologia *deixis*-ului comportă la rândul ei abordări variate. Interpretarea descriptivă a lui Stephen C. Levinson (1983: 62) impune trei categorii tradiționale ale *deixis*-ului: persoana, locul și timpul. Sub influența lui John Lyons (1968, 1977) și a lui Fillmore (1971, 1975), acestora li se adaugă încă două categorii: deixis-ul

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[12] "Clasă de cuvinte și de forme gramaticale reunind totalitatea mărcilor deixis-ului, clasă omogenă din punct de vedere semantico-funcțional, dar eterogenă din punct de vedere gramatical" (Bidu-Vrănceanu et al. 2001: 156).

[13] Traducerea franceză: **embrayeurs**.

discursiv (textual) şi deixis-ul social. Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni, în schimb, acceptă, în descendenţa lui Émile Benveniste, doar categoriile tradiţionale ale *deixis*-ului (1999: 78). Această clasificare tripartită se raliază punctului de vedere al lui Dieter Wunderlich, care sesizase că valoarea de adevăr a enunţurilor depinde de *cine*, *unde*, *când* au fost exprimate:

> "[...] la déscription linguistique d'une phrase, qui peut être utilisée pour affirmer des faits, doit fournir tous les éléments qui entrent dans la formulation des conditions de vérité : la personne, le temps et le lieu de l'énonciation" (1972: 37).

În spaţiul românesc, există mai multe criterii de clasificare a *deixis*-ului. Gorăscu Adriana (2005, II: 635-655) distinge trei mari categorii: în funcţie de modul în care se realizează evocarea elementelor de context comunicativ de către expresiile deictice (simbolice, ostensive / gestuale, mixte); în funcţie de rolul în ancorarea deictică a enunţului (expresii referenţiale intrinsec deictice, expresii deictice relaţionale, expresii cu ancoraj deictic intrinsec, expresii ale "acordului" deictic); în funcţie de tipul de informaţie codificată: *deixis*-ul personal, *deixis*-ul spaţial, *deixis*-ul temporal, *deixis*-ul discursiv (textual), *deixis*-ul social, *deixis*-ul "descriptiv". În studiile de specialitate, s-au impus şase mari categorii: *deixis* personal, spaţial, temporal, discursiv (textual), social "descriptiv".

Cercetările actuale nuanţează analiza, observându-se suprapuneri tipologice. Astfel, Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu (1999: 106) asimilează *deixis*-ul personal şi cel social formelor *deixis*-ului propriu-zis, incluzându-le în categoria *deixis*-ului de *rol*. Actul concret al comunicării relativizează însă specializarea deicticelor, unele devenind polifuncţionale.

Acest fenomen complex al *deixis*-ului este răspunzător de organizarea pragmatică a discursului, deicticele favorizând activitatea discursivă propriu-zisă.

3. Textul postmodern. Proiecţii deictice
Distincţia dintre "locutor" şi "enunţiator" realizată de Émile Benveniste a avut un impact deosebit asupra studiilor ulterioare. În textul poetic postmodern, multiplicarea instanţelor discursive a conferit vocii lirice o notă distinctă. Subiectul uman devine un centru provizoriu al lumii.

Jocul enunţiativ permite experimentarea diverselor proiecţii deictice. Deixis-ul persoanei, asupra căruia insistăm, se distanţează de funcţiile din limba comună. În studiile de specialitate, este cunoscut faptul că "enunţătorul presupus al unui text literar" este "un eu indeterminat" (Genette 1994: 98).

Recuzita poeziei optzeciste circumscrie preferinţa pentru redarea unor conversaţii reale sau imaginare. Paradigma pronominală antrenează, în jocul enunţiativ, voci lirice concurente. În poemul *Viaţa e vis* (Bodiu 2008: 16), distanţa dintre momentul enunţării şi ipostaza lirică imaginară este realizată prin verbul performativ: "Am visat". Actul ilocuţionar face posibilă interferenţa vocilor prin abandonarea planului realităţii:

> "Am visat că sunt actor şi

joc într-o piesă eram îmbrăcat în alb ca personajele din piesele
puse de purcărete sau ca alea din hamletul lui vlad mugur
pe bune eram actor şi jucam
pe scena de la braşov
aveam un rol de martor care
tăcea într-o intensă hărmălaie cel puţin actriţa principală mică şi durdulie
ţipa întruna ţipătul ei m-a trezit”   (Bodiu, *Viaţa e vis*, 2008: 16)

Delimitarea subiectului enunţiator de propria imagine proiectată în lumea intratextuală este realizată prin imperfectul ireal. Modalizatorul de certitudine (“pe bune”) permite vocii enunţiatoare să menţină lectorului iluzia contactului cu lumea imaginară a textului.

Secvenţa următoare impune disocierea dintre eul enunţării şi eul enunţat. Modalizatorul de certitudine (“de-a binelea”) susţine breşa realizată:

“transpirasem de-a binelea sub păturile aspre
caloriferul electric mergea brici afară câinele vecinilor de internat
continua să latre din
noaptea când fusese aici lili hamzea liniştit
mi-am văzut de rol”.   (*ibidem*)

Intruziunea realităţii în proiecţia enunţiativă permite alternanţa planurilor real-imaginar:

“chiar ar fi trebuit să intru în scenă dar nu ştiu cum am nimerit în sala profesorală a fostului
meu liceu m-am întâlnit cu unul dintre foştii profi m-a
întrebat cum se dă anul ăsta admitere la noi la litere a durat ceva timp să-i explic
cum e cu dosarul
cu procentele între timp piesa
se terminase grăsuţa mi-a spus că fusese un mare succes după care a început
să ţipe la mine că am plecat ca un inconştient că-mi dispreţuiesc colegii”

                                                          (*ibidem*)

Concurenţa vocilor (ipseitate-ileitate) este marcată, în cazul non-persoanei, prin proiecţie anaforică (“actriţa”, “grăsuţa”,). Continuitatea referenţială şi tematică este susţinută de “pronumele-zero” (Manoliu-Manea 1993: 214). Eul *poietic* apare ca voce distinctă în mimarea revoltei (“asta a fost prea de tot”). Interferenţa planurilor este abandonată în final prin apelul la funcţia referenţială:

“[...] m-am trezit mi-am deschis mobilul
să văd cât e ceasul era 7 fără 3 minute era miercuri
şi aveam 12 ore de curs”.   (*idem*: 17)

Atitudinea enunţiativă susţine jocul pragmatic, contrariind cititorul. Acesta pendulează între apropiere şi distanţare de “lumea posibilă” a textului. Relaţia cu alteritatea este tensionată (“a început să ţipe la mine”; “a durat ceva timp să-i explic”). În planul reprezentării, centrul referenţial subsumează deicticele

persoanei, ale spaţiului şi ale timpului în discurs. Polifonia face posibilă apropierea discursului poetic de matricea oralităţii.

Mobilitatea poetică, jocul pragmatic favorizează spectacolul enunţiativ, susţinut de dinamismul imagistic în detrimentul celui prozodic. Proiecţia deictică, dublată de fluxul afectiv, glisează în proiecţie anaforică ("asta a fost prea de tot"). Anafora cumulativă face posibil ca vocea eului *poietic* să se disocieze de ipoteza imaginară, propunând o nouă dimensiune textului, şi anume cea referenţială.

Discursul postmodern anunţă o metamorfoză a subiectivităţii poetice, prin reevaluarea elementelor de recuzită poetică, din perspectiva proiecţiei deictice.

4. Concluzii

Situat la interferenţa dintre pragmatică şi semantică, *deixis*-ul este ancorat în situaţia de comunicare. Relaţia dintre indicator şi instanţa actuală de discurs este fundamentală.

Complexitatea fenomenului a generat abordări multiple (Jespersen, Peirce, Benveniste, Kerbrat-Orecchioni, Kleiber etc.). Denumirile variate date unităţilor deictice (*shifters*, *index*, *indexical expression*) nu exclud importanţa pe care o conferă discursului în interiorul limbii.

Tipologic, s-au impus şase mari categorii, operante şi în spaţiul românesc: deixis personal, spaţial, temporal, discursiv (textual), social, "descriptiv".

În textul literar, proiecţia deictică conferă vocii lirice o notă distinctă. Atitudinea enunţiativă susţine în textul lui Andrei Bodiu, *Viaţa e vis*, jocul pragmatic. Polifonia apropie discursul poetic de matricea oralităţii. Proiecţia deictică configurează o metamorfoză la nivelul subiectivităţii poetice.

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El turismo. Definiciones y perspectivas

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Resumen

El turismo es un fenómeno económico-social, específico de las sociedades modernas. Es una actividad fuertemente arraigada en la vida social y, por lo tanto, influenciada por la evolución de ésta. Las modificaciones sociales y económicas determinan una dinámica léxica y terminológica significativa. El fenómeno turístico es muy difundido y utilizado por la gran mayoría de las personas. Como consecuencia de esa extensa utilización, la terminología turística se muestra muy presente en el lenguaje, con usuarios de todos los niveles (especialistas o no), lo que le confiere un carácter bastante accesible.

Palabras clave

turismo, terminología turística, interdisciplinariedad

El turismo guarda relaciones con el *Grand Tour* al que se origina: se trata de una costumbre de la alta sociedad inglesa entre los siglos XVII-XIX, de viajar a la Europa continental por motivos políticos, recreativos, culturales o educativos. En el siglo XX, el turismo ya no es actividad privativa (de la alta sociedad) y se extiende a todos los estratos de la sociedad, convirtiéndose en un fenómeno de masa, una actividad encaminada a satisfacer las más diversas necesidades recreativas, culturales, espirituales, etc. del hombre moderno, "un método más de enseñanza" (de Juan 2013: 11). Con el avance de la industria y la tecnología y los consiguientes cambios en la sociedad, el turismo ha evolucionado y se ha convertido en uno de los sectores más rentables de la economía internacional, involucrando permanentemente un conjunto de relaciones entre las economías nacionales, que se realizan a través del comercio con bienes y servicios, y ha creado tipologías diversas y, a veces, sorprendentes, una amplia gama de vivencias, experiencias y comportamientos, siempre en concordancia directa con la demanda turística.

Como subrama de la economía, el turismo, definido como fenómeno económico y social, es la industria creada con el propósito de obtener satisfacciones generadas por la necesidad humana de conocimiento, recreo y recuperación física (y de la salud). Durante el período actual, el modo de administración de esta industria es muy diverso y extensivo, constantemente incorporando más campos de actividad, industrias, instituciones y organizaciones

específicas o de otra índole, que aseguran la producción, distribución, cambio y consumo del producto turístico, el uso y aprovechamiento de los recursos turísticos, así como la creación de la base técnico-material del turismo.

Teniendo en cuenta todas esas premisas, así como el hecho de que todo fenómeno indica y demuestra su durabilidad también por su inclusión en la lengua, el turismo crea su propio lenguaje, la terminología que trata de todas esas cuestiones siendo muy diversa y extensiva, creada por los que trabajan en los campos implicados en turismo, como también por los que lo administran. En consecuencia, así como en la industria turística participan más ámbitos independientes, de igual manera la terminología turística cuenta con un grado muy elevado de implicación de las nociones, de todos los campos participativos.

Si nos proponemos definir el turismo lo más exacto posible, es cuestión ardua y de difícil realización. Desde el punto de vista de la sociología y la antropología, el turismo es una actividad social, que pone en contacto personas, comunidades y tradiciones. Para la geografía, es cuestión territorial espacial, con límites bien identificables. Los ecologistas lo ven como un fenómeno de protección medioambiental. La economía lo identifica como fenómeno generador de ingresos y empleo. Casi siempre, a la hora de definir el turismo, se utilizan definiciones acumulativas, que ponen de evidencia todos esos aspectos anteriormente mencionados.

El término TURISMO, el denominador del campo, viene definido en todos los diccionarios de especialidad analizados (como también en los diccionarios generales), lo que pone de evidencia su estatuto terminológico bien delimitado y estable, y que, a través de su uso, puede emplearse también con significados metafóricos y, en consecuencia, con apertura hacia la interdisciplinariedad: TURISMO ELECTORAL [14], TURISMO POLÍTICO [15], TURISMO REVOLUCIONARIO, etc.

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[14] "[…] Vargas Valdez reconoce que "siguen existiendo prácticas que afectan al voto". En concreto: el desvío de recursos públicos y la utilización de programas sociales en favor de un candidato. La permanencia de lo que describe como un "turismo electoral", que consiste en el registro múltiple de grupos de personas en dos o más distritos. Las personas reciben un mínimo pago por prestar su nombre y, de ser descubiertos, son los únicos responsables a los que se les puede perseguir, explica. […]"http://internacion al.elpais.com/internacional/2011/11/25/actualidad/1322240581_739074.html [Fecha de consulta: el 25 de enero de 2014].

[15] "[…] Como antes hicieron otros dirigentes y eurodiputados del PP, Carromero entró a Cuba con visado de turista para sostener contactos con Payá y apoyar logísticamente a su Movimiento Cristiano Liberación. Estos viajes de turismo político opositor —también los hay de turismo revolucionario— suelen terminar antes de empezar con una expulsión en el mismo aeropuerto. Se consigue así el titular buscado. […]"http://internacion al.elpais.com/internacional/2012/07/31/actualidad/1343762627_706050.html [Fecha de consulta: el 25 de enero de 2014].

El turismo es parte de una disciplina científica: la economía[16]. La OMT[17] lo identifica como "fenómeno social y económico", los diccionarios lo describen como "actividad" o "conjunto de técnicas"; hay opiniones (Jafari 2005) que identifican el turismo como disciplina científica. Actualmente, es una disciplina en vías de convertirse en ciencia, tal como resulta también de las denominaciones que tienen las titulaturas de las facultades especializadas en turismo. Por ejemplo, en Rumanía las denominaciones de las facultades especializadas en turismo son diversas: "Administración de los negocios en comercio, turismo, servicios, estudio de las mercancías y gestión de la calidad" (Academia de Estudios Económicos, Bucarest), "Economía del Turismo Interno e Internacional" (Universidad Rumano-Americana, Bucarest), "Gestión Turística y Comercial" (Universidad DimitrieCantemir, Bucarest) o diferentes especializaciones: "Geografía del turismo" (Facultad de Geografía, Universidad de Bucarest), etc.

La definición universalmente aceptada desde el punto de vista académico es la formulada en 1942 por Walter Hunziker y Kart Krapf: "Turismul este ansamblul de relații și fenomene care rezultă din deplasarea și sejurul persoanelor în afara domiciliului lor, atât timp cât sejurul și deplasarea nu sunt motivate printr-o stabilire permanentă și activitate lucrativă oarecare"[18] (*ap.*Neacșu 2006: 20). Esta definición ha sido tachada de "demasiado general" o limitativa, por excluir diferentes formas de desplazamiento que incluyen también propósitos turísticos, generadas por ciertos fenómenos económico-sociales (participación en congresos y conferencias, turismo de negocios, ecuménico, etc.).

Otra definición, que incluye todo lo anteriormente mencionado, es la de Claude Kaspar ("Revue du Tourisme", 1981) "Le tourismeest un ensemble des relations et des faitsconstitués par le déplacement et le séjour de personnes, pourqui le lieu de séjourn'est ni le domicile ni le lieu principal d'activitéprofessionnelle…" (*ap.*Neacșu 2006: 21).

El turismo, en conformidad con la definición formulada por la Organización Mundial del Turismo (OMT/WTO), se define como: "el conjunto de las actividades que realizan las personas durante sus viajes y estancias en lugares distintos al de su entorno habitual, por un período de tiempo consecutivo inferior a

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[16] "Turismul – ramură a economiei naționale, cu funcții complexe, ce reunește un ansamblu de bunuri și servicii oferite spre consum persoanelor care călătoresc în afara mediului lor obișnuit pe o perioadă mai mică de un an și al căror motiv principal este altul decât exercitarea unei activități remunerate în interiorul locului vizitat." (Ordonanța Guvernului nr. 58/1998 privind organizarea și desfășurarea activității de turism în România).

[17] OMT = Organización Mundial del Turismo http://www2.unwto.org/es/cont
ent/por-que-el-turismo [Fecha de consulta: el 25 de enero de 2014].

[18] "El turismo es el conjunto de relaciones y fenómenos que se producen como consecuencia del desplazamiento y estancia temporal de personas fuera de su lugar de residencia, siempre que no estén motivados por razones lucrativas" (*n. t.*).

un año, con fines de ocio, por negocios o por otros motivos, y no por motivos lucrativos" (DTUR).

Cuenta también con otra definición, más técnica, como "conjunto de técnicas y actividades encaminadas a atraer y satisfacer las necesidades y motivaciones de los turistas en sus desplazamientos vacacionales. Por extensión, organización de los medios conducentes a facilitar esos viajes" ‖ "Afición a viajar por placer" (DTUR). Esos dos tipos de definiciones se refieren a dos aspectos: el turismo como técnica y profesión, la actividad comercial que ofrece viajes y servicios turísticos, y el turismo como actividad y experiencia (turística), la de viajar por placer.

Hay también definiciones que describen este fenómeno desde otros criterios. Morgenroth (*ap.* de Juan 2013: 11) lo describe como "tráfico de personas que se alejan temporalmente de su lugar fijo de residencia para detenerse en otro sitio con objeto de satisfacer sus necesidades vitales y culturales o para llevar a cabo deseos de diversa índole únicamente como consumidores de bienes económicos y culturales", atendiéndose a los aspectos económicos y culturales. Para Gluskman (*ap.* de Juan 2013: 12) el turismo representa "la suma de las relaciones existentes entre personas que se encuentran pasajeramente en un lugar de estancia relacionándose con los nativos". Esa definición implica principalmente los aspectos culturales e interhumanos. Son definiciones especializadas pero con diferentes niveles de especialización, dirigidas a lectores especializados o no especializados.

Los diccionarios especializados utilizados (DTT, DTTO, DTUR, LTT) incluyen definiciones especializadas, formuladas desde el punto de vista económico y estadístico en principal, que intentan explicar el concepto en su compleja totalidad y ponen de manifiesto su interdisciplinariedad a nivel del hiperónimo ("conjunto de técnicas" (DTUR), "conjunto de relaciones y fenómenos" (LTT), "conjunto de actividades" (DTT)).

Estas definiciones del turismo, formuladas por los especialistas y profesionales del campo, son definiciones acumulativas, con referencia a las actividades desarrolladas y sus implicaciones económicas y sociales, a diferencia de las definiciones de las ciencias, que buscan realizar definiciones exhaustivas. El turismo es un campo de conocimiento transversal, con objeto interdisciplinario, un fenómeno examinado desde diversas ópticas y enfoques (la geografía, la sociología, la economía, el ocio, etc.), lo que hace patente la ausencia de una definición conceptual clara, que delimite la actividad turística y la distinga de otros sectores.

Los diccionarios generales proporcionan definiciones generales, explicativas, que identifican primeramente el concepto a través del hiperónimo "*actividad*", no implicando el punto de vista económico-estadístico, propio de las definiciones especializadas. Contemplan el concepto desde el punto de vista del

turista (beneficiario), es decir de la persona no especialista en el campo. La definición del DEXI cuenta también con otra acepción, que viene marcada como perteneciente a la economía, y que es una definición científica.

> **TURÍSM**, *turisme* **1.** Activitatea cu carácter recreativ sausportiv, constând din parcurgerea pe jos sau cu diferite mijloace de transport a unei regiuni pitoreşti sau interesante dintr-un anumit punct de vedere. (DEX)
>
> **Turism1**.Activitate cu carácter recreativ sau sportiv, constând în parcurgerea unor distanţe, pe jos sau cu diferite mijloace de transport, pentru vizitarea regiunilor pitoreşti, a localităţilor, a obiectivelor culturale, economice, istorice etc. [...] **3**. (*econ.*) Latură a sectorului terţiar al economiei, unde activitatea prestată are ca scop organizarea şi desfăşurarea călătoriilor de agrement, de recreeresau a deplasărilor de persoane la diferite congreso şi reuniuni, incluzând tóate activităţile necesare satisfacerii nevoilor de consum şi de servicii ale turiştilor. (DEXI)
>
> **Turismo. 1.** Actividad o hecho de viajar por placer. **2.** Conjunto de los medios conducentes a facilitar estos viajes. **3.** Conjunto de personas que realiza este tipo de viajes. (DRAE)

El turismo, desde la visión de los estudios empresariales, se considera una industria. De aquí podemos considerar las dos unidades terminológicas (TURISMO e INDUSTRIA TURÍSTICA) como cuasi-sinónimas.

> "*La agrupación de todos los establecimientos con la misma actividad principal que atiende directamente las necesidades de los visitantes y que se trata de una de las actividades características del turismo constituye una* INDUSTRIA TURÍSTICA" (RIET 2008)
>
> "[…] *Aunque según añadió el directivo del BBVA, 'durante los años más duros de la crisis la* INDUSTRIA TURÍSTICA *ha sido capaz de remontar caídas de precios, diversificar mercados, mejorar distribución, transformarse... Y todo esto tiene que continuar. El* TURISMO *es desde luego uno de los sectores con menor riesgo'* […]."[19]

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[19] http://www.hosteltur.com/132990_banca-reabre-credito-al-turismo.html [Fecha de consulta: el 22 de enero de 2014].

Otro sintagma cuasi-sinónimo es SECTOR TURÍSTICO:

> "*El término* INDUSTRIAS TURÍSTICAS *incluye aquellas industrias que producen normalmente productos característicos del* TURISMO*; equivale al más coloquial de «*SECTOR TURÍSTICO»*" (*Normas metodológicas de la base de datos de estadísticas de turismo*, Organización Mundial del Turismo (UNWTO), Madrid, 2013)

La industria turística, en vista de una interpretación lo más correcta de las dimensiones de este fenómeno, cuenta también con otras denominaciones cuasi-sinonímicas, más expresivas: *la industria de viajes y turismo*; *industria del turismo y del ocio;industria del tiempo libre*; *industria del viaje y del placer*; *industria de los viajes de placer o de negocios*; *industria de los movimientos temporales a destinos fuera de los de la vida diaria, en los que se realizan actividades de ocio y diversión*; *la industria de la hospitalidad* (DTTO), incluso unas denominaciones muy sugestivas e inéditas: *industria de la felicidad*[20], *industria de las sonrisas*[21], *industria del optimismo*[22], *industria del bienestar*[23], *industria de los sueños*[24], atendiéndose en la hospitalidad característica y los efectos que produce en la vida de las personas.

El turismo es un fenómeno económico-social, específico de las sociedades modernas, fuertemente arraigado en la vida social y, en consecuencia, influenciado por su evolución. Contando con un contenido complejo, este fenómeno atrae y utiliza un potencial material y humano muy variado, con implicaciones muy importantes en la evolución de la economía y de la sociedad en general, como también en las relaciones interhumanas, nacionales e internacionales.

A través de la valoración de los recursos naturales, humanos, materiales y financieros, el turismo genera también efectos sociales que se reflejan en el crecimiento económico, el progreso y la civilización. De este modo el turismo contribuye al desarrollo socio-económico de los países.

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[20]*Hosteltur* [España], No. 231, Octubre de 2013, pág. 36.

[21] http://www.cronica.com.mx/notas/2003/57130.html [Fecha de consulta: el 3 de octubre de 2013].

[22] http://www.abc.es/agencias/noticia.asp?noticia=248067 [Fecha de consulta: el 3 de octubre de 2013].

[23]http://www.laopiniondemalaga.es/malaga/2012/06/17/turismo-sale-casa/51 3430.html [Fecha de consulta: el 14 de octubre de 2013].

[24]"Grecia, Spania, Franța, Austria, Turcia... Ce au în comun toate aceste țări? Trăiesc din turism sau, oricum, o mare parte a Produsului Intern Brut (PIB) le este asigurat de "industria viselor". Din urmă vin puternic vecinii noștri Ungaria și Bulgaria. La fel și Croația." http://www.dailybusiness.ro/bloguri/tr aian-badulescu/turism/turismul-si-exportul-de-servicii-288[Fecha de consulta: el 14 de abril de 2014].

El fenómeno turístico se encuentra en una estrecha relación con la civilización y la cultura. Entre turismo, cultura y civilización existe una fuerte relación dialéctica de interdependencia. El turismo es, en primer lugar, un acto de cultura, porque el turista va acumulando durante su viaje conocimientos muy variados. En segundo lugar, el nivel de cultura tiene una influencia decisiva en la elección de la calidad y de lo atractivo del producto turístico. Además del ocio, el turismo contribuye también a la creación de empleo y, en consecuencia, la reducción del desempleo.

En resumidas cuentas, la eficiencia social del turismo se traduce por su contribución en la realización de las actividades de ocio y recreo, "recargar las pilas" y rehacer las fuerzas para trabajar, aumentar el nivel de conocimientos, satisfacer las motivaciones de los turistas.

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DEX = *Dicţionarulexplicativ al limbiiromâne* (1998), EdituraUniversEnciclopedic, Bucureşti.

DEXI = *Dicţionarexplicativilustrat al limbiiromâne*(2007), coord. Eugenia Dima, Ed. Arc, Gunivas.

DRAE = VV.AA. (2001): *Diccionario de la Lengua Española, vigésima segunda edición,* 2 tomos, Real Academia Española, Ed. Espasa Calpe, Madrid.

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Surface discursive et pluralité des plans référentiels: ruptures de construction, détachements, passages à niveau(x)

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Abstract

Discourse analysis cannot have recourse to the models used in the grammatical tradition to describe the level of the sentence because, unlike the canonical (declarative) clause, which is the result of combining constituents with precise syntactic functions in a certain order, discourse – whose construction relies to a large extent on the parameters of the communication situation – allows the insertion of various pieces of information that surface accidentally or not while the speaker enunciates his or her message, fact which leads almost always to the more or less serious alteration of linearity, of the order of succession specific to ideal complex units seen as language units. Nevertheless, the utterance does not become chaotic, for the markers of the various "discourse spaces" – referential levels –, that indicate the "fractures" produced in the form of the sentence, and ensure at the same time the natural integration into the macrosyntax of the structures whose grammatical function remains to be identified. Whatever is seen in the traditional grammatical approach as a sentence/clause containing inversions, dislocations, perturbing incidental elements, regains the internal cohesion and the coherence we expect if the whole is seen as a complex unit of discourse. One of the models which make manifest, explain and justify the linkage between the grammatical level and discourse level is the model of discursive heterogeneities created by Liana POP in connection with the concept of "discourse space". This model can be successfully applied not only to the analysis of general discourse, but also to that of literary discourse or to the analysis of specialized, scientific and technical discourse.

Key words

discursive heterogeneity, referential levels, detached constituents.

Introduction

La tradition grammaticale veut que l'unité de base que l'on isole dans toute production discursive – dans tout texte, si on s'occupe principalement de la communication écrite – soit la *phrase*. C'est avec des unités de ce type qu'on opère d'ordinaire dans les analyses grammaticales. Linéarité, successivité des constituants, unicité des fonctions grammaticales sont convenablement illustrées par un exemple comme le suivant:

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[1] *Plusieurs docteurs demandaient la parole; d'autres la prenaient. Personne n'écoutait et tous les confesseurs agitaient tumultueusement leurs palmes.*
<div align="right">(A. France, L'île des pingouins, 61)</div>
<div align="right">(B.</div>

Mais dans le discours – oral ou écrit – foisonnent les structures qui, tout en restant linéaires, ne reproduisent plus l'ordre de succession des divers types de constituants qu'enseigne la grammaire, présentent des ruptures de construction et sont peu respectueuses du principe de l'unicité des fonctions grammaticales:

[2] *Mes hyperboréens ont, à vrai dire, les ailerons non point squameux, mais couverts de petites pennes; [...] bien que leurs jambes soient plantées un peu moins en arrière que celles des méridionaux , ils marchent de même, le buste levé, la tête haute, [...].*
<div align="right">(A. France, L'île des pingouins, 10)</div>

[3] *Le présent ouvrage appartient, je dois le reconnaître, au genre de la vieille histoire, de celle qui présente la suite des événements dont le souvenir s'est conservé, et qui indique, autant que possible, les causes et effets; ce qui est un art plutôt qu'une science.* (*id., ibid.*)

[4] *Mais saint Antoine, ermite, se leva [...].* (*id.*, 57)

[5] *De blanchisseuse, un dimanche, il ne fallait pas penser qu'il en vînt.*
<div align="right">(Proust, À la recherche du temps perdu, apud Wilmet 1997: 163)</div>

De pareilles ruptures de construction, de pareilles "turbulences" signalées dans le texte écrit par des marqueurs de divers types affectent la "belle ordonnance" des constituants de la *proposition* ou de la *phrase* donnée(s). Pourtant, si on examine ce "désordre" apparent en se plaçant au-delà de telle ou telle *proposition* concrète, en essayant de reconstituer le sens global de l'unité supérieure dans laquelle celle-ci est intégrée, disons le paragraphe ou la séquence descriptive / argumentative / narrative /…ou simplement la *phrase complexe*identifiés, on s'aperçoit que les incidentes, les constituants disloqués, les détachements, les coordonnants qui ne lient pas les contenus propositionnels des unités complexes entre lesquelles ils sont insérés sont autant de liaisons destinées à rétablir la cohésion et la cohérence au niveau discursif, au niveau de l'ensemble. Les "entorses" à la micro-syntaxe permettent l'intégration des segments "rebelles" dans la macro-syntaxe. Le grammatical et le discursif en viennent à s'articuler dans l'interprétation globale. La surface discursive demeure apparemment lisse et relativement homogène, mais les opérations discursives que le locuteur effectue au fur et à mesure que son discoursprogresse – et que l'interlocuteur devrait pouvoir reconnaître et traiter – créent, au niveau des dires, des plans référentiels ou *espaces* différents, à même de fournir, chacun à sa façon, un supplément d'information nécessaire au décodage correct du message, au succès de la compréhension.

Cette caractéristique appelée *hétérogénéité discursive* est bien visible non seulement dans le discours littéraire, mais aussi dans le discours non littéraire,

spécialisé ou non spécialisé. On pourraitmême défendre l'idée que le discours quotidien fournit les meilleurs exemples d'*hétérogénéité discursive*.

Quelles que soient les différences entre les genres de discours mentionnés, le travail du chercheur ne peut plus reposer sur des modèles phrastiques, mais sûrement sur des modèles complexes, pertinents pour le niveau discursif.

Ruptures grammaticales et liaisons discursives dans le texte littéraire

Un de ces modèles qui se proposent de rendre compte des hétérogénéités discursives, de les représenter et d'offrir en même temps "des repères à une articulation du grammatical et du discursif" est le modèle décrit par son auteur, Liana Pop, dans l'ouvrage intitulé *Espaces discursifs* (2000: 3 et suiv.). Il s'agit d'une "configuration pluri-espaces du discours", que L. Pop prend bien soin de situer par rapport aux autres théories du même type[25] connues en analyse du discours, et qui implique l'emploi du concept d'"espace", préféré – pour des raisons somme toute assez sommairement expliquées – à ceux de "plan" ou de "niveau", déjà utilisés par d'autres chercheurs. Notons toutefois que l'influence (de la terminologie) de G. Fauconnier (v.*Espaces mentaux*, Paris, Minuit, 1984)n'y est pas pour rien. Comme l'ensemble de la réflexion sur cette problématique, la conception de L. Pop part des diverses catégories d'"inanalysables grammaticaux", phénomènes difficiles à intégrer dans les descriptions/commentaires de la grammaire classique. Ces difficultés de la grammaire traditionnelle tiennent au fait que le discours se construit à mesure que les conditions de l'échange verbal lui permettent d'avancer, et l'insertion des différents plans référentiels – autrement dit des informations de toutes sortes envisagées simultanément par le locuteur – oblige celui-ci à faire des opérations discursives variées, au risque d'altérer la structure grammaticale de son expression, telle qu'elle estdécrite dans les manuels.

Si, pour la présente communication, nous avons choisi le modèle des "espaces discursifs", c'est parce que là où les autres modèles rendent compte de l'inscription dans l'épaisseur du texte de deux plans référentiels au grand maximum, les "partitions (musicales)" de L. Pop permettent de mettre en évidence la présence simultanée de quatre à sept, même à dix plans différents; et aussi parce que, pour vérifier et pour mesurer le pouvoir explicatif de son modèle, la chercheuse s'est penchée sur des textes littéraires roumains, en prose et en vers, rarement sinon jamais analysés, ainsi que sur la transcription de corpus conversationnels français hautement marqués par l'hétérogénéité discursive.

Les "espaces virtuellement présents comme des <couches> superposées" (Pop 2000: 3-4)dans l'épaisseur du discours sont suggérés par des marqueurs d'opérations discursives a) descriptives (D); b) subjectives (s); c) objectives (o); d) métadiscursives (Md); e) paradiscursives (Pd); f) interpersonnelles (Ip); g) interdiscursives (Id); h) présuppositionnelles (pp); i) prosodiques (Pro); j) intersémiotiques (Is).

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[25] La liste des chercheurs cités est bien longue et nous risquerions d'oublier plus d'un nom en voulant la reprendre, ici, intégralement. Nous renvoyons donc à la bibliographie finale du livre de L. Pop, tout en précisant que les noms des spécialistes français y côtoient des noms de spécialistes genevois, anglais ou roumains.

Arrêtons-nous sur un exemple précis pour voir en quoi consiste la gestion des opérations discursives par le locuteur.

[7] *Le lendemain, comme on dit (ou l'**en demain**, comme on devrait dire), je me présentai chez l'un d'eux, vieillard subtil.*

(France, *L'île des pingouins*, 7)

Plusieurs marqueurs de nature différente – des signes de ponctuation et des connecteurs – nous montrent comment une *phrase de langue* se transforme en une *phrase de discours*, dans une fiction narrative. Les virgules, qui sont des frontières d'actes-opérations, déclenchent, à l'intérieur de la proposition principale, un espace métadiscursif-interdiscursif, alors que le connecteur *comme* introduit le segment incident, qui n'est pas sans rappeler en quelque sorte le discours rapporté; les parenthèses permettent au narrateur d'ouvrir un espace de modalisation subjective – le verbe *devoir* au conditionnel: modalité déontique atténuée – qui correspond au point de vue de l'érudit Anatole France, soucieux d'étymologie et d'histoire de la langue française; la dernière virgule marque un nouveau passage à niveau, car au-delà de cesigne de ponctuation, un nouvel espace référentiel s'ouvre – celui de la caractérisation, empreinte de subjectivité, de l'historien auquel le narrateur veut rendre visite. Pour résumer, dans l'énoncé présenté sous [7] on peut distinguer les plans référentiels suivants: l'information contenue dans la proposition principale [*le lendemain je me présentai chez l'un d'eux*], qui est l'expression d'une opération discursive descriptive; trois autres plans permettant au locuteur-narrateur d'ajouter à la prédication principale (=l'information de base) des informations supplémentaires de nature différente, d'abord sous la forme d'explications-rectificationsmétadiscursives, ensuite sous la forme d'une caractérisation-évaluation. À remarquer que le segment *le lendemain* est le lieu d'une véritable superposition des espaces discursifs: il remplit la fonction de cadrage au niveau de l'information de base, ouvrant en même temps un espace présuppositionnel, car son interprétation implique un appel à la mémoire discursive;simultanément, en tant que "mot en mention", il est la principale raison de l'ouverture d'un espace métadiscursif-interdiscursif.

Cependant, les hétérogénéités en question, les différentes "entorses" à la micro-syntaxe n'annulent pas, à proprement parler, la cohésion interne, ni la cohérence de l'ensemble, dont l'unité, à tous les points de vue, est sauvée au niveau de la macro-syntaxe.

Au bout de cette analyse, il est peut-être plus facile de comprendre pourquoi de nombreux chercheurs parlent de l'épaisseur du texte qu'il faut essayer de découvrir derrière la linéarité incontournable du discours.

De quelques types de plans référentiels et de la variété des déclencheurs d'espaces discursifs

Les structures segmentées abondent, par exemple, dans les romans de Makine:

[8] *Allez, rentrez vite, jamais vous ne la verrez, notre bonne Alexandra.*
(A. Makine, *Le livre des brèves amours éternelles*, 72)

[9] *Moi aussi je les connais, les horaires.* (A. Makine, *Le livre des brèves amours éternelles*, 73)

[10] *Vas-y, Maïa!* (*id., ibid.*)

[11] *[...], ce jour-là, en regardant Ress s'essuyer les lèvres, c'est le passé de cet homme que je devinai [...].* (A. Makine, *Le livre des brèves amours éternelles*, 22)

[12] *Il restait courbé, battu par le fouettement de la toux, le mouchoir écrasé contre sa bouche.* (*id., ibid.*)

Si les signes de ponctuation jouent un rôle essentiel dans la segmentation des énoncés, s'ils contribuent à détacher certains segments à l'intérieur de chaque énoncé, il est évident que les types de détachements diffèrent d'un exemple à l'autre. En [8], les premiers segments détachés sont des expressions par lesquelles le locuteur réalise un appel interpersonnel; en [10], le vocatif *Maïa*, sans fonction grammaticale, est là pour préciser l'identité référentielle de l'entité à laquelle s'adresse l'impératif *vas-y*. En [8] et en [9], les expressions *notre bonne Alexandra* et *les horaires* sont des constituants périphériques, sans fonction grammaticale, des termes extraposés qui nous permettent de parler de *détachements avec reprise* – ou, si l'on veut, avec anticipation –, produisant certainement des effets de redondance. Il faut toutefois noter que les pronoms qui sont repris par des SN sont placés dans la proposition principale à l'endroit où se situe normalement le COD, dans le voisinage immédiat du verbe (ici, en position préverbale). La "place grammaticale" (COD) étant correctement indiquée dans la proposition principale par les pronoms cataphoriques mentionnés, les groupes nominaux extraposés ne peuvent remplir qu'une fonction discursive: donner une véritable consistance référentielle – en tant que *post-thèmes* – aux entités évoquées par ces pronoms. C'est aussi, en quelque sorte, le rôle de la forme tonique *moi* qui renforce, sur le plan référentiel, en l'anticipant[26], le sujet grammatical *je* de l'énoncé cité sous [9].

Le cas de détachement le plus intéressant qui se présente en [11] est fourni par le segment *en regardant Ress s'essuyer les lèvres*, forme réduite d'une subordonnée temporelle. Ce segment, qui contient une forme verbale non finie: le gérondif *en regardant*, suivie d'une (proposition) infinitive, implique l'existence d'un référent caché, en relation de coréférence avec le sujet grammatical *je* du verbe principal *devinai*. Au point de vue grammatical, les constituants détachés de ce type - constituants secondaires, périphériques – remplissent le rôle de

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[26] Comme il n'y a pas de virgule – autrement dit de détachement – entre *moi (aussi)* et *je (les connais)*, on peut y voir, à l'instar de certains linguistes, un cas de thématisation grammaticalisé. L. Pop (2000: 219) parle plutôt "d'un *semi-acte* de thématisation, transformable, en position détachée, en *acte*." En fait, il s'agit là d'une reformulation du thème." (*id., ibid.*). Les thématisations relèvent de l'espace paradiscursif (Pd).

circonstants auprès du prédicat de la phrase; mais leur fonction grammaticale est doublée d'une fonction pragmatique, dans la mesure où ils complètent l'information de base par des précisions supplémentaires, autant d'explications – parfois même de justifications –utiles à l'interprétation de l'énoncé long.

En [12] enfin, nous découvrons deux segments détachés, dont l'un: [*battu par le fouettement de la toux*], est une sorte d'épithète détachée mais en même temps apposée[27], et l'autre: [*le mouchoir écrasé contre sa bouche*], est traité de "construction absolue" par la tradition grammaticale. Là aussi, il s'agit de prédications secondes (ou de rhèmes secondaires), quoique la première construction détachée implique le prédicat *être*, alors que la seconde implique le prédicat *avoir*. On voit aisément que le premier segment détaché est là pour apporter une information supplémentaire: il justifie la position anormale, contorsionnée du personnage décrit dans la proposition principale [*il restait courbé*]; le deuxième segment détaché a certainement une fonction descriptive: il décrit un geste, une attitude physique du même personnage, et le geste en question est facilement lié par les lecteurs-interprètes du roman de Makine, qui possèdent de riches connaissances pragmatiques ou encyclopédiques, à un certain type de souffrance physique, à une grave maladie du poumon qui ronge l'homme en question. Si le premier segment détaché a pour fonction discursive d'informer sur la relation causale entre prédicat principal et prédicat réduit – une fonction de justification –, le second peut être considéré comme un ajout (v. L. Pop, 2005: 24) descriptif, mais qui n'est pas sans liaison avec le rapport causal identifié précédemment.

Même si les exemples [8]-[12] illustrent essentiellement le rôle de la virgule dans l'opération de segmentation de l'énoncé, les spécialistes établissent des listes beaucoup plus longues de marqueurs de la "conversion du *grammatical* en*discursif*", de la transformation des *phrases de langue* en *phrases de discours*. Y figurent, entre autres, de nombreux signes de ponctuation – parenthèses, tirets, deux points, point,… pour l'écrit, ruptures intonatives et/ou pauses, à l'oral –, des dislocations, des adverbes subjectifs, des "particules", des subordonnants et des coordonnants discursifs.

Ce qui est vraiment important, à nos yeux, c'est que, si de tels marqueurs pointent vers l'agrammatical, vers les ruptures de construction que la grammaire a du mal à expliquer, à intégrer dans le niveau phrastique, et que les spécialistes rejettent vers le discours, les langues trouvent le moyen de *lier* au terme régissantles constituants détachés, par delà les coupures, par-delà les passages à niveau(x): à preuve, l'accord marqué toujours, même à distance, dans l'aspect écrit,ou oral et écrit, de ces langues, ou encore le principe de coréférentialité, impliquant l'existence de référents cachés, etc. Ce qui semble se désintégrer, grammaticalement parlant, sur le plan local, s'articule sans faute, par des moyens et par des procédés divers, à un niveau supérieur, qui est ordinairement celui du discours (de la séquence).

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[27] En fait, une construction participe, qui ne sert pas à évaluer, comme, le plus souvent, les épithètes (adjectivales), mais à décrire, peut-être aussi à expliquer. Pour les divers types d'appositions proprement-dites, voir B. Combettes (1998: 24-28), M. Forsgren (2000), L. Pop (2000: 29-35), S. Caddéo (2008), J. Goes (2008).

Pour conclure

Dans un texte, littéraire ou non littéraire, les phrases formées de segments qui "décrivent le monde" (L. Pop 2005: 11), qui véhiculent l'information "forte" du message sont structurées par les fonctions grammaticales connues. Les signes de ponctuation – virgules, parenthèses, tirets,… – les dislocations, certains adverbes "subjectifs",… signalent des ruptures de construction qui indiquent l'apparition d'informations "secondaires", liées à l'énonciation, à la situation de communication.Les segments qui expriment de telles informations remplissent des fonctions pragmatiques ou discursives plutôt que des fonctions grammaticales, et nous permettent de reconnaître les manifestations concrètes d'un processus que l'auteure du modèle utilisé dans la présente contribution appelle "conversion pragmatique" (Pop 2005: 11). Contribuant à l'intégration dans la macro-syntaxe des formes de "désordre" apparent discutées ci-dessus, les signes de punctuation, les particules, les connecteurs,… assurent l'articulation du grammatical et du discursive, et jouent un rôle essentiel dans le rétablissement de la cohésion interne et de la cohérence globale.

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Basic Factors Triggering the Spelling Reform in the Bulgarian Language

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to focus on the spelling reforms in the Bulgarian language from a historical perspective and the factors which led to them. It also focuses on the analysis of the results after these reforms. For this purpose the three basic spelling reforms in the history of the Bulgarian language are chosen – the reform from 1899, the so called Drinov – Ivanchev spelling model; the reform from 1921 – Omarchevski spelling model; and the reform from February, 1945. The main reason for these reforms is the search for a unification of a standard form because of the diversity of dialects; the search for a cultural model, parts of which are intralingual changes and also some extralinguistic factors (social, political, etc.)

Key words

spelling system, factors, reforms, spelling models

The purpose of this article is to focus on a succession of spelling reforms taking place after the Liberation of Bulgaria from Ottoman rule aiming at the consolidation of the Modern Bulgarian literary language. The issue is approached from a historical perspective and attention is paid to the cultural factors which led to them.

Before focusing on the basic factors and the processes that took place between late 19th century and the middle of 20th century, a brief explanation of what spelling (or orthography) is will be presented.

> Spelling (or orthography [from Greek ορθογραφία] – both terms are used interchangeably) is the set of rules which determines a unified way for writing words in a language. Thus, providing ease in written communication among the members of a society who use this language. Every spelling relies on a particular alphabet. Spelling systems are changeable. They change periodically by omitting some old concepts and elements in order to keep pace with the spoken language. Usually radical or insignificant reforms in the spelling system are instituted in close relation with important social and political changes. Views and beliefs of the dominant social groups and classes of the time reflect the spelling systems too.[28] (Stoyanov 1999:152)

In the history of the Bulgarian language a lot of factors have played the role provoking the unification and codification of Modern Bulgarian. The focus in the

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[28] All the translations in the present article are the author's

present paper is set on the spelling reforms after the Liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman rule in 1878, since this was the period with the most important changes which led to the reform of the language, especially in the part concerning its orthography. Three basic spelling reforms took place during that period popularly known as the Drinov-Ivanchev spelling model from 1899, Omarchevski spelling model from 1921, and the so-called Fatherland's front spelling model from 1945.

These three reforms are not the only ones that took place throughout the history of the Bulgarian language, but they are the most remarkable ones that set their marks in the spelling system of the language. According to most of the Bulgarian historical linguists there are six periods in the history of the New Bulgarian Literary language where different and important processes happened. The periodization is taken from the History of New Bulgarian Literary language issued by the Bulgarian Academy of Science and is as follows:

1. First signs of Modern Bulgarian Language (from the second half of 18th century to the end of the first quarter of 19th century)
   This was the period when the idea of one common language norm with a vernacular basis was consolidated. It started with *Istoriya Slavyanobolgarskaya* (1762) or *Slavonic-Bulgarian History* written by Paisius of Hilendar and *Primer with Various Instructions* by Dr. Petar Beron (1824). This period of mixed use of a vernacular and a literary language, was characterized by the tendency towards giving priority to the vernacular written form rather than to the literary one.

2. The first steps of laying the foundations of codification of the Modern Bulgarian language were taken in the period from 1824 till the middle of 19th century. This was the period when the vernacular nature of the language was set.
   During this period the first periodical press appeared, as well as textbooks, the first poetry works, written in Modern Bulgarian were published, etc.

3. The period from 1853 till the Liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman rule, 1878 was characterized by more intensive building of the language and its codification
   This was also the period when literature had its peak, especially prose and journalism.

4. From 1878 to the end of 19th century was the period of completion of building the language when Modern Bulgarian was undergoing consolidation and codification of unified basic norms.

5. The period from the beginning of 20th century to 1944 was one of development and enrichment of Modern Bulgarian language when the whole normative system was consolidated and codified.

6. The period of recent development was placed after the 9 September, 1944, which is characterized by stabilization and improvement of the normative system, and also by enrichment of the lexis and enlarging the social basis of the language.

As R. Rusinov notes in his work (Rusinov, R. 1981) after the Liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman rule in 1878 the situation with the Bulgarian language system was very complicated. There was a great diversity of spelling models and the society at that time used many of them at the same time. The well-educated part of it continued using the spelling model they had used and learned during the Bulgarian National Revival. Publications written in accordance with the spelling models of at least three literary schools appeared. Different spelling models were applied and used in one and the same school, too. It was difficult even for the teachers who were already used to one spelling model and it happened that "one teacher who taught several classes had to educate the students in each class differently, and sometimes they even tried to suggest their personal views on spelling" (Rusinov 1981:53) This caused chaos among teachers, students, educationalists and bookmen. In order to avoid it five projects for unification of the literary language were suggested, but none of them lasted for long.

Then in 1899 the so called Drinov-Ivanchev spelling model was accepted by the Minister of Education – Todor Ivanchev, who confirmed " *A Guide to the Common Spelling*", November 5, 1899, as a compulsory model for the schools, but it turned out that all the other institutions started using it. At that time the Bulgarian alphabet contained 32 letters. Some of the changes this model suggested were:

1. The letters –**ъ** and – **ь** were still written at the end of the words thus retaining the specific for the Slavic languages soft and hard endings known as soft-correlation.
2. The letter – **й** remained in the alphabet
3. The letter – **щ** remained in the alphabet, which represents the consonant sound combination between **ш** + **т** as in /**штъркел**/ spelled *щъркел*.
4. The letter **ѫ** (*Big Yus*, which is a nasal *o*, existing in Old Bulgarian) had to be written inside the word according to its etymology, but had to be pronounced as – **ъ** (e.g. вс**ѫ**де, в**ѫ**дица)
5. All the nouns, expressing masculine gender, added the definite article - **ътъ**, - **ьтъ**, - **ятъ**; when they were the subject in the sentence; and the indefinite article – **а, -я**; when they were the object. (e.g.волътъ, вола, коньтъ, коня, etc.)

This spelling model put the end of a long period of chaos in the literary environment. "It was applied not only everywhere in Bulgaria, but also in the Bulgarian schools in Macedonia which were still under the Ottoman rule." (Rusinov 1981:82)

Two decades later some bookmen circles started expressing their discontent with this spelling model and created their own models (e.g. Petko Slaveykov – a Bulgarian publicist and a public figure - created his own spelling model and it was partly accepted by other writers; the circle of the bulletin "Misal" did not agree with the current spelling model). The teachers also complained that the Drinov-Ivanchev orthography model was difficult, set on etymological patterns and retaining letters that existed in Old Bulgarian, which was archaic for the modern language situation and which as a result caused a lot of problems in the process of both teaching and learning. In order to answer the need of updating the spelling in accordance with the development of the modern language in 1921 the government

made drastic reforms concerning not only the spelling problem. A committee of six members was appointed by the Minister of National Education – Stoyan Omarchevski. The committee had to revise the reform from 1899 and to decide whether it should be simplified or not. On 21st July, 1921 the spelling reform was a fact. Its basic changes were:

1. The letter –ъ was removed from the Bulgarian alphabet (now there were 29 letters left)
2. The letter – ь was also removed from the alphabet
3. The vowel – ъ had to be written with the letter ѫ (e.g. сѫд, тѫмен, etc.)
4. The letter – ѣ (called *ят* in Bulgarian, or double *e*) was removed from the alphabet and it was replaced by – я and - е

This reform was followed by a spelling project suggested by the Faculty of History and Philology at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The only changes they planned were:

1. the letters - ъ and – ь when written at the end of the words were kept,
2. the letter –ѫ when in the middle of the word was replaced by – ъ,
3. the letter – ѣ was replaced with –я and –е,
4. when softening of a consonant had to be made with the position before –о, the letter - й had to be put, and when at the end of the words the letter – ь (e.g. актьор, Гйоте)

In 1923 Drinov-Ivanchev spelling model was brought back. It was followed by a turbulent period, many debates, spelling projects, which resulted again in chaos.

It was only after 1944 when there was a good opportunity for different changes to be made, changes in the cultural, economic and political life in Bulgaria. "The democratization of the education and culture put the question of the immediate solution of the spelling problem at that time." (Rusinov 1981:107) One of the main concerns of the new government was to simplify and make more democratic the spelling of the Bulgarian language. The main goal was the old spelling model to be replaced by a new one which would be accessible for all the various strata of society. Thus, the illiteracy among the people would be eradicated easily. The reform was put into effect in February, 1945. The new model was now easier to understand, to learn and was thus more convenient for the aims of the government.

The main changes that were made by this reform were:
1. The letters –ь and –ъ were no more written at the end of the words (e.g. денъ, пролѣть, etc.)
2. The letter –ь was kept and written only to soften the sound when put in front of – О (e.g. Кольо, гьон, etc.)
3. The letters - ѫ and - ѣ were removed from the alphabet and were replaced by the letters -ъ and – е

Some examples :

Before the reform:	After the reform:
бѣли цѣлъ	Бели цял
Ваньо търгъ царь човѣкъ	Ваньо търг цар човек
Ще бѫдѫ тѣ сѫ	Щебъда те **са**

4. Some words were simplified the way they were pronounced in everyday speech (e.g. *сърце* instead of *сърдце*, *нужно* instead of *нуждно*, *празник* instead of *праздникъ*, etc.)
5. For the first time in the history of the language common punctuation norms were set.

Some results after these spelling reforms can be pointed. The spelling of the Bulgarian language has gone through a great number of changes and development. A lot of factors led to these and a unified spelling model has been achieved. Despite the difficult situation after the Liberation of Bulgaria from Ottoman rule, despite the struggles for one or another spelling model to be established, the language succeeded in stability for some time. It was only then when it could be said that the language achieved stability. Some of the factors responsible for the spelling reforms are:

1. The need for unification of the language because of the different dialects all over Bulgaria (before the Drinov-Ivanchev spelling model)
2. Ideological and political struggles – from 1899 to 1945
3. Changes in the Bulgarian government – new minister of education – new spelling reform ("*A Guide to Common Spelling*", November 5, 1899; 1921; 1923; 1945)
4. Because of the lack of specialists, bookmen were the people who were the social factor which influenced to a high extent the use of particular spelling models
5. The nature of the spelling reforms
6. The nature and level of the different philological beliefs and knowledge
7. The needs of the public education, etc.
8. The significance of the press in the development of the spelling in the language

All these factors played their role in the process of unification of the language. It was a hard period for the language itself, since there was no particular institution which would take the responsibility to introduce one model which would be easy to use, easy to understand and applied. All that diversity of spelling projects, models and reforms brought the language to its present condition. Each of the people

(publicists, poets, politicians, etc.) who put effort to unify and simplify the spelling contributed to some extent to the development of the language.

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Modalități lingvistice în analiza terminologiei arhitecturii

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Resumé

Le but de cet article est d'examiner les moyens linguistiques utilisés dans l'analyse de la terminologie de l'architecture. La distinction entre le statut de terme et de mot est très importante pour une communication adéquate, mais les dictionnaires ne font pas toujours ces précisions. Quand ces distinctions sont faites, on peut obtenir des modèles convenables pour la "démocratisation" des connaissances.

Mots-clés

terminologie, architecture, dynamique lexicale, langage, terme.

Prezenta lucrare se încadrează în tendințele actuale de abordare științifică interdisciplinară, a unor aspecte complexe, cu impact în domeniul lingvisticii, pe de o parte și în domeniul comunicării, limbajelor specializate, pe de altă parte.

Pentru discutarea modalităților lingvistice în analiza terminologiei, este esențială delimitarea a două tipuri de terminologii. Astfel, terminologia „internă" studiază problemele impunerii convenționale a termenilor-etichetă de către specialiștii dintr-un anumit domeniu dat, de unde caracterul normativ al acestei terminologii. Prin definiție, caracterul normativ sau convențional al acestei terminologii asigură comunicarea precisă, rapidă între specialiști, în măsura în care se păstrează unicitatea, monoreferențialitatea și monosemantismul termenului. Terminologiei „interne" i se opune terminologia „externă", care este descriptivă, realizată de lingviști și terminologi, fiind bazată pe descrierea lingvistică a termenilor specializați în relația dicționare-texte (Bidu-Vrănceanu 2010: 11-30).

Metodele corespunzătoare studiului terminologiei „externe" sunt analiza paradigmatică și analiza sintagmatică. Perspectiva paradigmatică urmărește în primul rând identificarea trăsăturilor relevante pentru sensul specializat la nivelul *definițiilor terminologice și lexicografice*, și a relațiilor ce se stabilesc între aceste două tipuri de definiții. Există uneori, pentru aceeași unitate lexicală, diferențe semantice remarcabile între cele două tipuri de definiții. *Definiția lexicografică* asigură decodarea sensului, oferind chiar informații privind uzajul, în texte și contexte specifice, astfel dicționarul general contribuie la dezambiguizarea ori laicizarea sensului pentru vorbitorul nespecializat. *Definiția terminologică* trebuie să aibă „caracter riguros, non-ambiguu convențional, prescriptiv, stipulatoriu" (Bidu-Vrănceanu 2007: 52), pentru a satisface condițiile comunicării specializate.

De asemenea, studiul *relațiilor semantice* de tipul *polisemie, sinonimie, antonimie, hiponimie*, este important pentru identificarea particularităților

lingvistice ale unei terminologii, fiind considerat drept o componentă esenţială în cercetarea sensului.

Analiza sintagmatică, bazată pe investigarea comportamentului contextual al termenilor, este o metodă auxiliară analizei paradigmatice, investigarea pornind de la texte şi contexte, pentru interpretarea sensului specializat.

Premisa interesului pentru termenii specializaţi din punctul de vedere al terminologiei „externe", constă în atestarea lor în texte de largă circulaţie, anume, în acele texte care deţin un grad de specializare inferior, mergând până la vulgarizare. Aceste texte aparţin mai ales, mass media sau limbii comune (Bidu-Vrănceanu 2010: 17).

Libertăţile sau preferinţele contextuale avute de termeni în textele de largă circulaţie pot antrena modificări de ordin semantic, legate de „dinamica" sensului. În analiza sintagmatică, o problemă importantă o reprezintă respectarea „nucleului" dur al fiecărui termen ştiinţific.

Combinarea celor două tipuri de analize în descrierea terminologiilor ţine cont de modificarea raportului dintre *terminologizare* (lexic specializat-LS) şi *lexicalizare* (lexic comun-LC), cu urmări majore în privinţa unei terminologii dinamice (Bidu-Vrănceanu 2010: 18). Relaţia dintre LS şi LC conduce la evoluţie semantică, datorată atât unor efecte lexico-semantice (banalizarea, determinologizarea), cât şi unor procedee ale extinderii vulgarizării ştiinţifice (parafraza, metaforizarea, mijloacele lexico-semantice- sinonimia şi hiponimia) (Bidu-Vrănceanu 2007: 155-176).

În cele ce urmează, vom identifica modalităţile lingvistice utilizate în terminologia arhitecturii. Dintre edificiile cu funcţii complexe de natură culturală, vom analiza din perspectivă terminologică, următorii termeni: TEATRU, CIRC, CINEMATOGRAF, OPERĂ, MUZEU, BIBLIOTECĂ.

Sursele utilizate în analizarea unităţilor terminologice sunt: *dicţionarele generale* (DEX şi DEXI), *dicţionarul specializat* (D.Art.), *textele specializate*. Înregistrarea şi definirea termenilor acestei paradigme este inegală, diferenţiată în *dicţionarele generale* şi cel *specializat*. Toţi termenii acestei paradigme sunt definiţi atât în DEX, cât şi în DEXI. În *dicţionarul specializat*, (D.Art.), se regăsesc numai termenii BIBLIOTECĂ, CIRC, TEATRU.

Semul comun al acestor termeni, /*destinaţie publică*/ implică solidaritatea cu un alt sem /*pentru a servi ocupaţiilor umane*/. Semele comune se combină cu seme variabile, în cazul nostru /*pentru divertisment*/ şi /*activitate cultural-artistică*/, stabilindu-se astfel, diferite relaţii semantice caracteristice.

O ordonare a acestor date sub forma „lecturii" definiţiilor poate fi utilă pentru diferenţierea riguroasă a sensurilor din această paradigmă:

TEATRU	CIRC	CINEMATOGRAF
-clădire sau loc special amenajat	-construcţie de formă rotundă	-local de spectacole
-reprezentare de spectacole	-spectacol de circ	-proiectare de filme cinematografice

MUZEU	OPERĂ	BIBLIOTECĂ
-instituţie	-clădire	-instituţie
-strângerea, păstrarea şi expunerea obiectelor de interes artistic, ştiinţific	-reprezentarea unei compoziţii muzicale	-colecţionarea de cărţi, periodice

Compararea *definiţiilor lexicografice* evidenţiază următoarea situaţie:

-prin arhilexemele CLĂDIRE, CONSTRUCŢIE, LOCAL (sensul de bază), considerate sinonime, se definesc unităţile: TEATRU, CIRC, CINEMATOGRAF şi OPERĂ, fie la sensul de bază, fie la un sens secundar;

-prin arhilexemul INSTITUŢIE, sunt definiţi termenii MUZEU şi BIBLIOTECĂ.

Există cazuri când cele două tipuri de arhilexeme, CLĂDIRE, respectiv INSTITUŢIE, se regăsesc în aceeaşi definiţie, ceea ce determină dificultatea de a dezambiguiza sensurile, „sediul" sau/şi „organizare", în care activează, ale unuia şi aceluiaşi termen.

În această situaţie se află termenul TEATRU, definit în *dicţionarele generale*, „clădire sau loc special amenajat în vederea reprezentării de spectacole", prezentând în cadrul aceleaşi *definiţii lexicografice*, extinderea - „instituţie de cultură care organizează spectacole". Interpretarea conceptului de „instituţie" este importantă pentru corectitudinea analizei semantice. Astfel, prin „instituţie" este desemnată „organizarea culturală", dependentă în cazul nostru, de profesia de actor. Corespondenţa între cele două arhilexeme CLĂDIRE, respectiv INSTITUŢIE, este biunivocă prin precizarea aceluiaşi */tip de acţiune/* - „reprezentarea/organizarea spectacolelor" şi prin raportarea la un singur tip de profesie.

Definiţia specializată din D.Art, oferă informaţii despre */forma arhitecturală/* specifică teatrului grec - „construit la poalele unei coline şi având o platformă circulară şi gradene construite pe pantă naturală", deosebită de forma teatrului roman - „prin aşezarea lui în semicerc şi prin faptul că era zidit în întregime pe un loc plan".

/Caracterul funcţional/ al celor două tipuri de edificii, este redat prin prezentarea părţilor componente:

-teatrul grec era compus din „orchestră, avanscenă (proscenium), scena, parascenium şi gradene";

-teatrul roman cuprindea „orchestra, proscenium, scena, culisele (postscaenium) şi cavea" (spaţiul destinat spectatorilor).

/Formele de manifestare/ sunt aspectate prin prezentarea „decorurilor" care variau după natura piesei: „tragedia – templu sau palat; comedia- villa rustica".

/Aspectul cultural/ este marcat prin evidenţierea evoluţiei tipului de construcţie: „în sec.16, TEATRUL are caracter de construcţie temporară până în sec.18, când capătă un rol urbanistic şi monumental".

Termenul CIRC este înregistrat drept „construcție de formă rotundă", semul variabil /maniera construcției/, fiind explicit reliefat – „cu locurile pentru spectatori așezate în amfiteatru și având la mijloc o arenă circulară". Spre deosebire de DEX, în DEXI, cel de-al III-lea sens marcat diastratic (*în antic. romană*), se referă la programul arhitectural din perioada Romei Antice: „incintă circulară, neacoperită, în formă de amfiteatru, unde se celebrau jocurile publice".

Dicționarul de artă confirmă acest sens, fiind precizat hiperonimul „edificiu". Sunt prezentate /destinația/ - „întrecerile de care" și /forma arhitecturală/ specifică din perioada Romei Antice: „rectangulară cu colțurile rotunjite".

CINEMATOGRAF este clasat în *dicționarele generale* drept „local de spectacole", având ca /destinație/ - „proiectarea filmelor cinematografice". Apar de asemenea, unitățile sintagmatice CINEMATOGRAF PANORAMIC și CINEMATOGRAF STEREOSCOPIC.

Contextul specializat prezintă complex din perspectiva informației oferite, traiectoria ascensională a CINEMATOGRAFULUI, /cauza/ acestei ascensiuni fiind determinată de existența unui tipar cultural, TEATRUL. /Efectul/ constă în „diversificarea ofertei de spectacole" și apariția CINEMATOGRAFULUI MULTIPLEX.

Aceeași clasare ca în cazul termenului TEATRU, se regăsește în definirea termenului MUZEU. Primul sens înregistrează hiperonimul „instituție", al II-lea sens consemnând unitatea supraordonată „clădire". Complicația interpretării conceptului de „instituție" reiese, din faptul că poate include clădirea specializată în care își desfășoară activitatea. În cadrul MUZEULUI, /tipul de acțiune/ desfășurat este reprezentat de - „achiziționarea, conservarea și expunerea obiectelor de artă, documentelor istorice, științifice, relicvelor, etc." având drept /scop/ - „educarea și delectarea publicului".

Dicționarele generale prezintă pentru termenul OPERĂ, un sens marcat diastratic (**muz.**), care ne oferă indicii în privința raportării termenului la domeniul muzical: „compoziție (de mari proporții) scrisă, pe textul unui libret dramatic […]", sensul al II-lea, marcat (**arhit.**), având incluse elemente conceptual-semantice ce descriu conceptul utilizat în **arhitectură**: „clădire destinată reprezentării unor asemenea compoziții". În terminologie, omonimia este o denumire alternativă pentru polisemia internă (a specialiștilor).

Dicționarele generale clasează termenul BIBLIOTECĂ, drept „instituție de cultură", /acțiunea specifică/ înregistrată fiind „adunarea, organizarea și păstrarea fondului de publicații (cărți, reviste etc.)".

Dicționarul de artă face referire la sensul subordonat „arhitecturii interioare", cel de „mobilă pentru păstrarea cărților".

Așadar, atât în *dicționarele generale* cât și în cel *specializat*, se observă o formă de polisemie internă a termenului BIBLIOTECĂ, care se manifestă sub forma următoarelor accepțiuni:

-„mobilă specială cu rafturi pentru păstrarea cărților";

-„încăpere, sală în care se păstrează și se citesc cărțile";

-„colecţie de cărţi, periodice, foi volante, imprimate”;

-„instituţie de cultură care colecţionează cărţi, periodice etc. spre a le pune în mod organizat la dispoziţia cititorilor”.

Termenul BIBLIOTECĂ reprezintă un edificiu reprezentativ, pentru domeniile **arhitecturii** şi **culturii**, ca urmare a */funcţionalităţii multiple/* a spaţiului interior, unde „în afara sălilor de lectură, pot exista auditorii, săli de conferinţă, [...] cu soluţii arhitecturale la scară monumentală” (Bussagli 2005: 62). Este evidentă interdisciplinaritatea manifestată în cadrul domeniului **arhitecturii**, dar şi a relaţiei dintre *lexicul specializat* şi *lexicul comun*.

În *analiza comparativă* a elementelor conceptual-semantice caracteristice termenilor TEATRU, CIRC, CINEMATOGRAF, MUZEU, OPERĂ, BIBLIOTECĂ, au fost întâlnite următoarele situaţii:

-înregistrarea şi definirea termenilor este diferenţiată în *dicţionarul specializat* (D.Art.), termenii CINEMATOGRAF, MUZEU, OPERĂ, nu se regăsesc în sursa enunţată;

-semul comun */destinaţie publică/* se îmbină cu semele variabile */pentru divertisment/* şi */activitate cultural-artistică/*, stabilindu-se astfel */tipul de acţiune/* specific fiecărui edificiu cultural analizat: */reprezentare de spectacole dramatice, muzicale sau coregrafice/* pentru TEATRU, */prezentare de numere de gimnastică de acrobaţie, de animale dresate, momente comice bufe/* pentru CIRC, */proiectare de filme cinematografice/* pentru CINEMATOGRAF, */strângerea, păstrarea şi expunerea obiectelor care prezintă interes istoric, ştiinţific/* pentru MUZEU, */reprezentarea unei compoziţii muzicale/* pentru OPERĂ, */difuzarea de cărţi/* pentru BIBLIOTECĂ.

-în funcţie de semul variabil */maniera (construcţiei)/* se disting alte trăsături distincte pentru fiecare termen analizat.

Deoarece „tipologia TEATRULUI modern derivă din cea a TEATRULUI GREC, prin medierea celui ROMAN” (Bussagli 2005: 58), ne vom raporta la */maniera de construcţie/* a celor două tipuri de teatru. Astfel, pentru TEATRUL GREC, */maniera specifică de construcţie/*, aşa cum reiese din (D.Art.), este „la poalele unei coline, având o platformă circulară şi gradene construite pe pantă naturală”, iar pentru TEATRUL ROMAN este reprezentativă prin „aşezarea lui în semicerc şi prin faptul că era zidit în întregime pe un loc plan”.

Definiţia lexicografică a termenului CIRC, este explicită, în ceea ce priveşte */forma construcţiei/* - „rotundă”, „cu locurile pentru spectatori aşezate în amfiteatru şi având la mijloc o arenă circulară”.

Edificiile culturale au o */amenajare interioară specifică/*, aşa cum este evidenţiată de *contextele specializate*, pentru următorii termeni: CINEMATOGRAF - „o sală cu locuri orientate către ecran, iar în spatele spectatorilor proiectorul (amplasat ulterior într-o cameră specială)” (Bussagli 2005: 59), MUZEUL - „compus dintr-o serie de galerii legate între ele, de-a lungul zonei centrale […] iluminate de sus, şi din încăperi care se deschid spre laterale” (Davidson Cragoe 2010: 19), OPERA – „multitudinea sălilor existente cu funcţii apropiate fac din această clădire o veritabilă megastructură cultural-artistică” (Constantinescu 1989: 443), BIBLIOTECA – „are ferestre mari, asigurând o bună

iluminare naturală în sălile de lectură aflate la etajele superioare" (Davidson Cragoe 2010: 20).

Există un dezacord evident în cazul diferitelor *surse* consultate. Astfel, *dicționarele* oferă informații normative, spre deosebire de *contexte* care oferă în general, informații descriptive, bogate cantitativ.

Interdisciplinaritatea termenilor este evidentă atât în dicționare, cât și în contexte. Se observă că termenii analizați desemnează edificii de cultură, având forme arhitecturale deosebite. Analiza noastră a urmărit aplicarea conceptelor din **arhitectură**, în contextul domeniului considerat secundar, în acest caz **cultura**.

Din analiza acestei paradigme, se observă că toți termenii sunt accesibili prin interesul larg pe care îl prezintă pentru vorbitorii obişnuiți şi nu pun probleme sub aspectul definiţiilor.

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The Unavoidable Whirlpool "Google Translate"

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Abstract

This paper treats one of the nowadays problems the translation faces today, which is translation of different documents using the "google translate" method. The paper emphasizes the fact that the majority of people in Albania who need translation for several purposes, usually do this by using the "google translate" machine on the internet, which is wrong due to the linguistic and communicative mistakes it imposes. Furthermore, such users do not worry about the very bad quality of these outputs which contain syntactical, spelling and communicative errors.

By approaching different text types analysis, this paper tries to shed light on the real translation problems found on target texts, problems which are deteriorated by the fact that these final target texts are not edited at all by their users in order to improve them and avoid the communicative blunts in the target language.

The article raises the concern about the great usage of such wrong translation materials by the university students, and not only, as a way of translating their course assignments or graduating thesis. The paper considers this concern important and legitimate to raise awareness on its users, in order to avoid such bad translations for the sake of serious work.

Key words

google translate, source text, target text, unavoidable, whirlpool

1. Introduction

Nowadays English language has turned into a must for everyone, in any area of life. There are a variety of texts and materials in English which need to be understood into Albanian, starting from the use of mobile phones by millions of users, students assignments and projects they have to prepare for their university courses, and continuing with lecturers' and researchers' articles which need to be written or translated into English, in order to be published in international bulletins or journals. In any case it is indispensable the translation of these texts into Albanian or vice-versa, into English.

2. Possible options?

There are some options for their translation: *First option* is to have really good knowledge of English language within your area of career and to make your own translation. *The second option* would be, that if you needed a short document to be translated, but you could not do it yourself because your foreign language knowledge is limited, you could go and ask a friend to do it for you for free. *A third option* might be to go and ask a professional translator to do it for you, but the majority of people in the place I live avoid this, as they have to pay for it. This is

done only when the document is a very important one, usually a legal document, or if the company or project investors are going to pay for its translation. *The fourth option,* which seems to be the most widespread (in Albania at least!) is using the *google translate* method which offers "solutions" for everyone, just in the blink of an eye, no matter how long the material you want to translate is. And above all, you do not have to pay anything at all for your translation.

Isn't this the solution we are all looking for? Quick translated versions of the materials we want, just in the last moment before we have to submit a paper for publication, an assignment or another document, a university or a job application? Your work is done in the flash of a light and there are hardly any people who are going to read your translated material into Albanian or in English for language accuracy, sentence structure, naturalness in translation and above all the transmission of the same message from source language to the target one. This is the solution, which is unfortunately used by a lot of students of different branches in our university, including even the students of the Department of Foreign Languages, for translating materials which they need for different course assignments, or even worse, when they are preparing their graduation thesis.

Despite the very bad quality translation of these materials into Albanian language, one can also notice the lack of our spelling letters like *ë* or *ç*[29] *in* the translated versions, which are not included in the usual computer keyboards, but they are found in the symbols category of any type of computer. Additionally, the sentence structures are a total disaster (as Albanian language has a different word order from English), or even worse, these versions lose their meaning or naturalness in our language at all. A lot of these google translated versions are delivered to the course lecturers for correction and evaluation then…

3. The powerful search engine "google translate"

Although there are a lot of CAT tools which facilitate the job of professional translators nowadays, it seems that *goggle translate* is undoubtedly the mostly used by the general mass of internet users, who need to translate different texts for their own purposes from one language to another as the most widely spread method, the easiest accessible by everyone and above all fast and free! But how accurate is the translation from source to target language using this computer method and can it be recommended for any typology of text?

Newmark [Newmark, 1988:196] emphasizes: *"…You know that the computer is useful for translation, in particular for LSPs (Language for specific purposes), that at present it can generally hand only" informative" texts and administrative texts, and that its output needs some kind of editing.*
……(idem) Clearly the more restricted the language and the greater the proportion of standard or technical terms, the more likelihood there is of Machine Translation being acceptable…."

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[29] The letters *ë* and *ç* are part of Albanian alphabet and Albanian spelling rules and they should be written as such in different word, as Albanian is a language which is written as it is spoken.

As a university lecturer I have asked the students during translation studies course exams, in Bachelor Degree, to translate different types of texts, except answering questions on the theoretical part. Taking into consideration their translations, I have observed that except the students who make a serious attempt to give good versions of translation, there is still a certain number of them who secretly translate them by using *google translate* method and writing these translations as part of their answers.

The paradox is that the students are allowed to use dictionaries during translation exams, but, some of them prefer the shortest and prohibited way: google translate on their mobiles. Is it worth the risk?

4. Google translation versus human translation.

To illustrate the previous ideas and to see how they work in practice two different extracts of text types are analyzed below from the translation point of view. These extracts were used during the seminars of translation course in the university where I work. Students were asked to analyze and then to translate them from English into Albanian.

Text.1 Advertisement – (Informative text)

The following extract is taken from the online *Lancome* advertisement for its perfume *"La vie* **Est Belle".** The extract gives a description of the ingredients of this perfume and how it makes its distinction from the other perfumes offered by this prestigious company.

*La Vie Est Belle is a new **Lancome** fragrance, available on the market from fall 2012. The concept of this fragrance is centered on the idea of natural and simple beauty, freedom from conventions and the choice of once own vision of happiness..*
This gourmand yet elegant composition is developed by perfumers Olivier Polge, Dominique Ropion and Anne Flipo. The final formula is the result achieved after three years of probation and 5000 versions. Iris is the key ingredient of the perfume, surrounded by orange blossoms and jasmine in the heart. The composition's opening provides fruity flavors of black currant and pear, while the base is warm, gourmand and powdery due to almond-like accords of tonka bean, praline, patchouli and vanilla..
[http://www.fragrantica.com/perfume/Lancome/La-Vie-Est-Belle-14982.html]

Albanian translation by **" google translate"**	Albanian translation by students
*La Vie Est Belle është një aromë e re Lancome, në dispozicion në treg **nga rënia 2012**. Koncepti i kësaj aromë është përqëndruar në idenë e bukurisë natyrore dhe të thjeshtë, **lirisë nga konventat dhe zgjedhjen e***	*"La Vie Est Belle" është parfumi më i ri i Lancome-it i hedhur në treg në **vjeshtën e vitit 2012**.Koncepti i kësaj arome përqëndrohet në idenë e bukurisë së thjeshtë dhe natyrale, largimit nga tradicionalja dhe*

vizionit dikur vet e lumturisë.. Kjo llupës ende përbërja elegant ështe zhvilluar nga parfumiere Olivier Polge, Dominique Ropion dhe Anne Flipo.Formula e fundit ështe rezultati i arritur pas tre viteve të provës dhe 5000 versione. Iris ështe përbërës kryesor i parfum, rrethuar me lule portokalli dhe jasemini në zemër. Hapja e përbërjes së ofron shije me shije frute e rrush pa fara i zi dhe dardhës, ndërsa baza ështe e ngrohtë, llupës dhe pluhur për shkak të bajame-si marrëveshjet e bathë tonka, Praline, patchouli dhe vanilje.	*zgjedhjes së gjithësecilit për vizionin e tij të lumturisë.* *Formula përfundimtare e parfumit ështe rezultati i tre viteve punë të palodhur dhe 5000 versioneve të krijuara. Zambaku ështe përbërësi kryesor i parfumit,i rrethuar me lule portokallli dhe jasemine në zemër. Aroma fillestare e parfumit ështe aromë stafidheje të zezë dhe dardhe, ndërsa baza ështe e ngrohtë për shkak të pranisë së tonkës,që ngjason me bajamen, pralinës, dhe vaniljes.*

If someone skimreads the Albanian version offered by *goggle translate* even if he has no knowledge of translation at all, can understand quite easily how meaningless and how many grammatical, syntactical, or spelling mistakes does the translated version offered by google contain. In a lot of cases the words are translated just by their denotative meaning which seem to be meaningless and totally out of context. Despite errors in information, another thing which can be noticed in the translated version is that the word word and the sentence structures seem illogigal and paradoxal as well. *e.g* " *Hapja e përbërjes së ofron shije me shije frute e rrush pa fara i zi dhe dardhës, ndërsa baza ështe e ngrohtë, llupës dhe pluhur për shkak të bajame-si marrëveshjet e bathë tonka, Praline, patchouli dhe vanilje."*

If I give a **back translation** of this Albanian sentence into English, we would have: "*If we open this composition, fruit taste, black currant, pear, whereas base is warm, dust and gourmant because of almonds, agreement and tonka bean, praline, patchuli and vanilla[30]".*

So this sentence, seems totally irrelevant whereas the version given by the student is much more logical and meaningful, though there are still some things which need to be considered again. "*Aroma fillestare e parfumit ështe aromë stafidheje të zezë dhe dardhe, ndërsa baza ështe e ngrohtë për shkak të pranisë së tonkës, që ngjason me bajamen, pralinës, dhe vaniljes."*

Back translation*: "Composition's opening is of black currant and pear flavour, while the base is warm due to the presence of tonka bean which is similar to almond, patchulli and vanilla"*

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[30] This is a back translation based on the Albanian version which in fact seems more meaningless due to the word for word translation and different word order it has from English.

Text 2. Literary text.

The following text, is another extract which is worked during the seminars, where the translation offered by google translate is not appropriate and does not come into one's help, because we have to do with a literary text where the words are used figuratively and the stylistic scale has to be conveyed correctly and as near the original as possible, a thing which *google translate* can not do of course.

In my own world

"I spent a great deal of time inside myself, as if in my own world, screened off from everything else. But there was no world there inside me, only a kind of nothing layer, a neither-nor, a state of being hollow without being empty or filled without being full. It just was, inside myself. This emptiness wasn't tormenting in itself. I was inside the emptiness and the emptiness was inside me – no more than that. It was nothing but an extension of time – I was in that state and it just went on. But the sense of unreality and of always being wrong when I was out in the world, outside myself, was harder to bear".

Albanian translation by Google translate	*Albanian translation by students*
"Kam kaluar një pjesë të madhe të kohës brenda vetes sime, **si në qoftë se në botën time**, *të ndara nga çdo gjë tjetër. Por nuk kishte asnjë botën aty brenda meje, vetëm një lloj asgjë shtresë, një as-as, një shtet për të qenë zgavrën pa qenë i zbrazët apo e mbushur pa qenë i plotë. Ajo sapo ishte, brenda vetes sime. Kjo zbrazëti dhe zbrazëti ishin brenda meje - jo më shumë se kaq. Kjo ishte gjë tjetër veçse një zgjatje të afatit - Unë kam qenë në atë gjendje dhe vetëm ajo vazhdoi. Por ndjenja e irealitet dhe e gjithmonë duke qenë i gabuar kur unë isha jashtë në botë, jashtë veten time, ishte e vështirë të mbajnë ".*	*Në botën time.* *Kalova shumë kohë i mbyllur në vetvete,* **brenda botës time, i shkëputur nga gjithçka tjetër.** *Por nuk kishte botë brenda meje, vetëm një shtresë kotësie, as më shumë e as më pak, por një gjëndje ku isha i zbrazur pa qën bosh, e i mbushur pa qën plot. Kjo gjendje mbizotëronte në botën time.* **Kjo zbrazëti ishte brenda meje dhe unë isha brenda saj**, *dhe asgjë më shumë se kaq.* **Nuk ishte asgjë tjetër veçse një shtrirje në kohë.** *Unë isha në këtë gjëndje dhe ajo thjesht vazhdonte...* **Por ndjesia e irrealitetit dhe e faktit që gjithmonë gaboja kur isha në botën e vërtetë, jashtë botës sime, ishte e vështirë për t'u përtypur.**

In *google translate* version can be easily noticed the numerous mistakes in meaning and the disaccordance with the original. These sentences are not correct into Albanian not only from the logical point of view, but even from the syntactical

one. For example, let us consider the sentence "***Kjo zbrazëti dhe zbrazëti ishin brenda meje*** *- jo më shumë se kaq". **Back Translation**- *This emptiness and emptiness were inside me-nothing more than that.* As it seems, it does not make sense due to the usage of the same noun *zbrazëti (emptiness)* twice which seems irrelevant and meaningless here.

The most challenging and problematic sentence to be translated into Albanian, seems to be the second sentence, for the complexity it offers not only to convey the right meaning, but also to preserve the author's style as much as possible. The translation offered by *google* contains a lot of errors and seems meaningless, whereas the translation made by the student seems more correct, and she has made attempts to be as nearer the original as possible in preserving the meaning of the ST.

*Google translation:Por nuk kishte asnjë botën aty brenda meje, vetëm një lloj asgjë shtresë, një as-as, **një shtet** për të qenë zgavrën pa qenë i zbrazët apo e mbushur pa qenë i plotë.*

Back translation: *But there was no world there inside me, only a kind of nothing, a nothing nothing, **a country** to be hole without being empty or filled without being full)*

Student's translation: *Por nuk kishte botë brenda meje, vetëm një shtresë kotësie, as më shumë e as më pak, por një gjëndje ku isha i zbrazur pa qënë bosh, e i mbushur pa qënë plot.*
Back translation: *But there was no world inside me, only a nothing layer, nothing more or nothing less, but a state where I felt hollow without being empty, or filled without being full.*

One can notice the same thing even in the rest of the text, where it can easily be noticed that student's translation seems much more correct and more meaningful than the translation offered by google translate. In my opinion, its absolutely irrelevant to use *google translate* versions for the translation of literary texts due to the figurative and metaphoric use of the language in such kind of texts, not to mention their stylistic scale as well.We have to emphasize here that google translate is programmed in such a way as to operate only with the denotative meanings of the words, and not their connotative ones.This can be seen in the translation of word ***state***, which in Albanian is given with its first meaning, a ***country***, which is of course far from the original which means ***a condition or mode of being***. That's why it seems inappropriate and meaningless in literary texts.

5. Conclusions

As it can be noticed from the translations of the above extracts made by google translate, there is much need for comment on the very bad quality of these translations.

The question which can be raised in this case is why should such a computer program exist when the translation it offers are generally wrong and above all, paradoxically, why is it used my so many internet users?

This happens because "Google Translate" is based on something called "statistical machine translation". This means that they gather as much text as they can find that seems to be parallel between two languages, and then they crunch their data to find the likelihood that something in Language A corresponds to something in Language B. In other words, for every word which belongs to A language, the computer automatically finds an equivalent in language B, as it programmed to do specifically this thing. [*http://www.quora.com/How-does-Google-translate-work-Do-they-have-database-for-all-words-of-a-particular-language Martin Benjamin, Lexicographer, Anthropologist, Tati*]

But in fact this is the main problem and the "whirlpool" which attracts and sucks in the computer user. According to translation scholars it is almost impossible to find the perfect equivalence between two languages, as not every word or exppression in language A can be translated and perceived the same by the users othef language B, for the simple fact that every language has its own inner way of organising and its inner rules which simply refer to the users of that language. Furthermore, if we consider the fact that English language is a polysimantic one, where a word in a certain context can convey its third or fouth connotational meaning, not the first dennotative meaning which the computer software contains, of course serious problems will appear in translated text. Additionally, if we refer to different culture perception problems carried by the users of source and target language for the same word, the problem became even more serious and the results are a total disaster.

The whirlpool "*google translate",* seems as if it is sucking in everyone who uses the modern technology for translation purposes, but is it worth sacrifying the good quality and style offered by proffesonal translators for the sake of quick and free translations, no matter how wrong and meaningless they are ?

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The Fine Difference between Irony and Sarcasm

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Abstract

These are two pragmatic phenomena that can be slightly distinguished. However, our opinion is that there is a fine difference between ironical and sarcastic enunciations which is important for us to depict as to understand the nature of the motives a speaker has the moment he utters them. The both types mentioned above imply a certain degree of criticism which has subjective or objective causes.

The more the causes are subjective, the more the enunciation is susceptible of a higher degree of criticism, and the more the causes are objective, the more the enunciation aims at a lower degree of criticism. Consequently, if the speaker is suspected of subjective reasons, he is more sarcastic than ironic, and in the case his reasons should be objective, he is more ironic than sarcastic.

These presuppositions can be verified on the grounds of the 'echoic mention' theory which will establish the idea that ironical enunciation has more to do with cooperation among speakers and the sarcastic enunciation is more connected to an aggressive impact on the speakers` public image.

Key words

irony, sarcasm, cooperation, conflict, image.

1. Preliminaries

Tracing the numerous articles which have tried to establish a clear distinction between irony and sarcasm we shall notice that their results have remained.

The idea of 'criteria' rather asks to be replaced by some 'perspectives' according to which the reader can recover an ironical or a sarcastic interpretation. What we can observe is that, as long as the both terms, namely irony and sarcasm, coexist in any language, there are points of view which direct the reader towards a fine difference between them, with distinct mechanisms of producing and recovering each type of enunciation, with pragmatic functions and effects.

These perspectives or criteria are 'grounded' in several theoretical aspects such as: the multiple forms irony can depict and the single form sarcasm can take; the dichotomic nature of the target when it comes to irony, on the one hand, and the only nature of the target when we discuss about sarcasm, on the other hand; the involuntary level for irony and the intentionality level for sarcasm; the lower degree of indirect criticism when we talk about irony and the higher degree of criticism when we identify a sarcastic meaning.

This enumeration is not made at random, but it is meant to be understood as a set of arguments in favour of the idea that irony and sarcasm imply not only coexistence but also contrastive frames in which they become present as distinct operational concepts and, consequently, suggestions for further research.

The theoretical background supports the argument that we meet irony with its multiple shapes such as: *self-irony* (a situation that exemplifies the 'echoic mention' theory of Sperber & Wilson in 1981: 308, according to which the ironical enunciation echoes, through quotation, the words the ironical speaker uttered in a previous context and to which the reader attributes a dissociative attitude of ridicule, critics, mocking, etc.); *the situational irony* (discussed by Haiman 1998: 20 *apud* Attardo 2001 *in* Gibbs & Colston 2007: 137); *the positive irony* (also called 'asteism' by Fontanier 1968: 150 *apud* Attardo 2006 *in* Mey 2009: 406) or *the kind irony* (Anolli, Ciceri &Infantino 2002 *in* Gibbs & Colston 2007: 363; see also *ironic praise/compliment* at Schwoebel, Dews, Winner & Srinivas 2000 *in* Gibbs & Colston 2007: 254; Dews, Kaplan &Winner 1995 *in* Gibbs & Colston 2007: 298; Lee & Katz 1998: 2); *the Socratic irony* (which alludes to the Greek philosopher Socrate, in Plato`s 'Republic', who dissimulates to empathize with his interlocutors in order to actually reveal the inconsistencies of their arguments, in Nilsen & Nilsen 2000 *apud* Attardo 2006 *in* Mey 2009: 408), a variety of forms (and our enumeration can continue, but it does not represent the aim of our present paper) that cannot be applied to sarcasm (so, denominations such as *self-sarcasm, *situational sarcasm, *kind sarcasm* or *Socratic sarcasm* are incorrect).

As we have already mentioned, another argument supporting the difference between irony and sarcasm consists in associating the latter term with the presence of a victim and a more general target for the former concept. So, the ironical intention might allude to a specific person, to the ironical speaker himself or herself in a previous context, or to a situation or to some general norms that have been disregarded or 'violated' (as to use a Gricean notion), in which cases we deal either with a subjective cause or with an objective one. For the sarcasm, things look quite different as it has a specific and not a diffuse target, that is, it goes together with a person who becomes the centre of the 'bitter' interpretation, so it mainly has a subjective reason.

Going further into the subject, irony is seen in relation to not being intended by the speaker, but only decoded or 'read' in an 'ironical key' or from an 'ironical point of view' (Muecke 1978: 364 *apud* Attardo 2006 *in* Mey 2009: 408), the community`s conventions of usage dethroning the individual speaker`s intentions. This theory is also sustained by Haiman (1990: 188 *apud* Attardo 2006 *in* Mey 2009: 408) who attributes an innocent role to the ironical speaker, the focus being reoriented towards the reader who has the duty to attach an ironical intention to the enunciation. Sarcasm, on the contrary, is a blatant case of intentionality, a type of indirect criticism addressed towards a person, with the clear intention to condemn him or her, similar to insults and with a higher aggressive, face-threatening potential (Brumark 2004 *apud* Sorea 2012: 253). The speaker who uses sarcasm is more susceptible of impoliteness than the one who appeals to irony in order to judge somebody`s actions, to express disparagement or to blame him or her (Gibbs 1994: 398 *apud* Sorea 2012: 353-354).

Barbe (1995: 28 *apud* Attardo 2006 *in* Mey 2009: 409) draws a line between irony and sarcasm in relation to whose face has more to suffer and she concludes that, in the case of a sarcastic speaker, his image is more submitted to compromise because of the incisive, more condemning attitude it attaches to the enunciation and, though it expresses an indirect criticism, it is more powerful than if it were a direct criticism because it communicates not only the real state of affairs, but also the way it should look like to be consonant with the speaker`s expectancies. In the case of irony, despite the fact that it communicates a discrepancy between the desired and the actual state of affairs, the latter being criticized and rejected by the speaker as not being in accordance to his wants, the level of criticism is diminished in comparison to a literal criticism, because the responsibility of both the speaker and his victim is lower (Colston 1997 *in* Gibbs & Colston 2007: 321-335).

Next, we shall try to pragmatically analyze some texts belonging to the parliamentary subgenre, dividing them, more or less intuitively, into the irony or the sarcasm categories.

2. An ironical interpretation

(1)   S-ar părea că noi nu vrem să construim drumuri durabile: parcă ar fi făcute de barbari pentru barbari. La prețuri cu mult mai mari decât în toată Europa, reușim performanța să avem cele mai proaste drumuri. Nu trece mult timp de la tăierea panglicii inaugurale că apare fisura - debutul gropii și-al craterului de mai târziu în   care își rup contribuabilii   mașinile. Așa că românii mai scot niște bani din buzunar: pentru repararea mașinilor mutilate de drumurile găurite, ciuruite, bombardate pe care sunt nevoiți să circule. Ce ar trebui făcut pentru ca șoselele noastre să fie ca acelea din Franța, Austria sau Ungaria măcar? Să oprim ploile? Să excomunicăm iarna? Să interzicem circulația autovehiculelor în toată țara? Să umblăm pe jos sau cu bicicletele? Dar poate că drumurile noastre n-ar rezista nici la biciclete. *(Ciocan Gheorghe, 17 martie 2010)*

(1)   It looks like we do not want to build lasting roads: they seem built by barbarians for barbarians. With much bigger prices than in all Europe, we succeed the performance of having the worst roads. It won`t take long time from cutting the chalk line and the fissure appears- the beginning of the hole, and the later crater in which the tax payers break their cars. So the Romanian people have to take some money out of their pockets for repairing the cars that had been mutilated by the holed, screened, struck roads they need to circulate on. What should be done for our roads to be like the ones in France, Austria or at least Hungary? To stop the rains? To vanish winter? To forbid the national driving? To walk or to ride our bikes? But maybe our roads would not hold either the bikes. *(Ciocan Gheorghe, 17th March 2010)*

In (1), the reader is faced with a chain of speculative-meditative questions which do not have the illocutionary force of a prototypical interrogation and, consequently, they do not expect any answer. Instead, the author asks himself if those situations (to stop the rains, to vanish winter, to forbid the national driving or to replace it by walking or riding bikes) can occur as if people could have the power to make them exist or to make them disappear. The ridicule of taking into consideration these situations as alternatives to make the Romanian streets durable

is doubled by a sense of humour they are responsible for. The reader 'laughs' at the possibility for these situations to become true at the same time revealing a sense of ridicule regarding the author as really believing in these perspectives.

Because the target has a diffuse nature – we do not know whether the author`s communicative intentions are directed towards the impossibility for these situations to come to life or towards a person who is in charge with the durability of the Romanian streets and who is verbally sanctioned because he is not able to do his job well and the reality contradicts the way streets should look like to some degree of expectancy-, the reader will rather confront with an ironical understanding that can be associated not necessarily with a 'biting' interpretation, but with a hint of humour, a sense of incompatibility between an expected state of affairs and the contradictory real state of affairs and an intent of 'bonding' (the use of the inclusive pronoun 'we' suggests that not only the author, but also any reader can think of those situations as alternatives that depend on people and that can repair human mistakes although it is only a dissimulated way of seeing things in which neither the author nor the reader really believe).

(2)   Doar, dacă urmărim firul banilor cheltuiți cu nemiluita de aceiași guvernanți - deși tot ei susțin că nu au niciun ban de risipit la dispoziție-, putem trage concluzia referitoare la noul hobby descoperit de domnul Boc și practicat cu insistență de toate echipele sale: construirea de stadioane pentru cei ce locuiesc în   mediul rural. Și banii direcționați în acest scop nu au fost deloc puțini. Ba chiar sunt distribuiți în continuare, cu obstinație, spre același prioritar obiectiv: sportul. <u>Acesta va fi practicat de mii de echipe comunale viitoare, ce vor fi formate din bătrânii satelor, care ar putea juca, eventual, contra fantomelor căpșunarilor.</u> *(Atanasiu Teodor, 19 octombrie 2010)*

(2)   Only if we trace the money that was excessively spent by the same members of the government- although they are the ones who keep saying that they do no longer dispose of any money to spend-, we can draw the conclusion regarding the new hobby discovered by Mr. Boc and insistently practiced by all his teams: building   stadiums for those who live in the countryside. And the money directed to this   purpose was not little at all. They are still directed, obstinately, to the same main   purpose: sport. <u>This is going to be practiced by thousands of future villages teams, which will be made of old people, who might play, in any case, against the ghosts of the strawberries reapers.</u> *(Atanasiu Teodor, 19th October 2010)*

In (2), the hypothesis that sport can be practiced in a village made of old people who would play against their children that do not longer live here, but they are gone abroad to pick up strawberries, turns into a trigger of an ironical interpretation that goes beyond the literal level. The two attributives contain the presupposition that such a situation can really take place, but once the reader has activated the contextual background (according to which the Romanian villages are populated with old people as a consequence of the youth leaving abroad in search of improved work conditions are a matter of fact and do not represent a wonder anymore), he will become aware of the counter-factuality of such an imagined state of affairs.

Our opinion is that the intended message of the speaker is aimed towards an ironical decoding because it focuses more on a discrepancy between a real state of affairs (presented in a playful way, as if the ironical speaker really believed old people were able to still practise sport against 'ghosts' as a metaphor for the youth who did not longer live in their native villages) and a desired one (as implied by the sorrowful atmosphere loaded with memories of situations that once had been true).This echo of a state of facts which the ironical speaker indirectly pines after makes the communicated message to have an ironical hint and not a sarcastic interpretation.

3. A sarcastic interpretation

(3)   Victor Ponta a reuşit să reînvie în memoria colectiva imaginea conducătorului Ceauşescu sau, mai bine spus, s-a transformat el însuşi într-un semi-zeu care aştepta osanalele şi ofrandele aduse de Mazăre şi de tovărăşii din ţară. De această dată, Carn(mazăr)avalul din Mamaia s-a mutat pe stadionul 23, un show care ne arată partea întunecată a comportamentului lui Ponta. Vă spun o curiozitate: mare conducător iubit, Ceauşescu, la vremea lui, aduna mai puţini oameni pe stadionul 23 August, la acea vreme capacitatea arenei sportive fiind de 60.120 de locuri iar, de ziua sa, tovarăşul Ponta l-a depăşit! Felicitările mele! Micul Pontaşescu din PSD, dragul nostru tovaraş, ne arată că acel tricou cu Che Guevara nu este o pură întâmplare, iar prietenia sa strânsă cu şmecheraşi de talia lui Mazăre readuce România într-un moment critic al democraţiei. *(Chiru   Christian, 23 septembrie 2014)*

(3)   Victor Ponta succeeded in bringing back to life Ceauşescu`s image in the joint memory or, better said, he himself turned into a semi-god who was waiting for the praises and the presents brought by Mazăre and his national companions. This time, the Carni(mazăr)val from Mamaia moved to the 23rd August stadium, a show which exhibits us the dark side of Ponta`s behaviour. Let me tell you something curious: a great beloved leader, Ceauşescu, used to gather less people on the 23rd August stadium, in those times its capacity being of 60.210 seats, and, on his birthday, the comrade Ponta exceeded him! My congratulations! The little Pontaşescu from the PSD party, our beloved comrade, shows us that the Che Guevara T-shirt is not a pure coincidence, and his tight friendship with cunning fellows such as Mazăre brings Romania back to a critical moment of democracy. *(Chiru Christian, 23rd September 2014)*

In (3), we can notice the presence of two political characters: Radu Mazăre, the mayor of Constanţa, and Victor Ponta, the Romanian Prime-Minister. If their names had not suffered for any modification, the reader would not have been faced with secondary or additional communicative intentions and, then, he would not have recovered any ironical or sarcastic meaning. But the reality of the text requires for a more profound interpretation. The name of the mayor is placed between brackets, without any supplementary intention, but inside the word 'carnival', a term which asks for contextual information as to correctly interpret it. In this sense, the reader will have to decode the term 'carnival' as an echo to a state of affairs that characterizes the mayor`s lifestyle. The attributed perspective (the mayor being a fan of feasts) is not in accordance with the perspective of the reader who tacitly dissociates in order to express a sense of ridicule or criticism towards a

'lusty' way of living. The victim of the reader`s sarcastic interpretation is verbally sanctioned for his disproportioned lifestyle.

Neither does the Prime-Minister escape a sarcastic decoding because the way his name appears is a proof in favour of an intended modification: his family name 'Ponta' has been derived with a suffix '-şescu', which has turned into 'Pontaşescu'. Again, the reader will have to activate shared background information as to correctly grasp this derivation which alludes at or echoically reminds him of a Romanian famous totalitarian leader, Ceauşescu, whose exaggerated way of spending his life in general, and his birthday in particular, is now associated to the Prime-Minister or to the mayor of Constanţa. This indirect comparison draws a sarcastic intention which communicates critics, disapproval, and threat to the victims` public image. These attacks do not regard an ironical interpretation (it should have been a kinder indirect criticism, closer to humour, less face-threatening), but, instead, they presuppose a sarcastic comprehension, more 'biting' and with a higher degree of impoliteness.

 (4)   Televiziunile şi-au amintit cât timp a petrecut la guvernare PDL-ul. Programul tv a punctat la ţanc - "Boc 1000 de zile!" Număr rotund, merita blagoslovit, tămâiat, comemorat... <u>Numai că atmosfera este pesimistă, mai potrivit ar fi să se vorbească despre "1001 de nopţi" cu Boc pe post de Şeherezada şi cu Băsescu în rolul califului.</u> E cineva care spune poveşti ca să supravieţuiască. Uite aşa, încet-încet, nici nu am băgat de seamă că fostul primar al Clujului, căruia nimeni nu îi dădea şanse să reziste, s-a încoţopenit la Palatul Victoria. Pare un pensionar al stabilimentului, un veteran, un pensionar pe viaţă. *(Nistor Laurenţiu, 27 septembrie 2011)*

 (4)   The televisions remembered how much time had passed since the PDL governing. The TV programme pointed exactly- 'Boc 1000 days!' A precise number, which deserved to be blested, incensed, celebrated… <u>Only that the atmosphere is pessimistic, it would be more appropriate to speak about the '1001 nights' with Boc as Scheherazade and Băsescu as the caliph.</u> There is somebody who keeps telling stories to survive. And this way, hardly did we notice when the ex mayor of the Cluj county, whom nobody gave the least chance to hold on, had got stuck to the Victoria Palace. He seems a veteran, a lifelong retired man of the establishment. *(Nistor Laurenţiu, 27th September 2011)*

In (4), an implicit comparison between Boc and Scheherazade, on the one hand, and between Băsescu and the caliph, on the other hand, does not remain without a sarcastic echo in the reader`s mind. In this sense, the reader has to surpass the dictum level and 'catch' the intertextual relationship between the two political figures and the two literary characters (Scheherazade and the caliph).

Beyond any apparent praise of the political figures (by means of putting them in analogy to some literary characters), the reader will recover a sarcastic, critical interpretation coming from the speaker. The latter indirectly endangers or threatens the ethos dimension of his victims (they both make promises they do not keep, but need them in order to 'survive', that is, to maintain their political positions and an image of credibility and authority). The reader dissociates from the dictum perspective for which the speaker assumes the responsibility so as to

'grasp' an intention of criticism, with face-threatening potential, and a trial to ridicule the victims, making them lose face.

4. Conclusions

There are two pragmatic devices, irony and sarcasm, under which any reader can label the kind of attitude or communicative intention an enunciation wraps out. The both devices have their theoretical arguments as if they were separate tools to express a sense of ridicule, criticism, insult, humour, aggressiveness, biting or bonding relations.

But we can notice a slight, sometimes invisible gap, between irony and sarcasm that must not be omitted as we would lose a difference in the degree of both criticism and indirectness. On the one hand, irony remarks itself as a meaning endowed with less maliciousness than sarcasm and with a more powerful degree of politeness than its literal counterpart. On the other hand, a sarcastic meaning highlights a sneering attitude, with a hint of insult and a stronger degree of impoliteness than if it were a direct form of critics.

As we noticed in the examples, irony is more connected to an objective target (for example, a situation or a norm which becomes dissonant in comparison to the reader`s expectancies), and sarcasm which is bound to a subjective aim (namely a person who becomes the centre of the speaker`s rudeness).

From these theoretical and analytical dates, we can draw the conclusion that it would be incorrect not to make a distinction between irony and sarcasm or, ultimately, to consider sarcasm as subordinate to irony and to use, if not only sarcasm, at least an etiquette known as 'sarcastic irony'.

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♦ CULTURAL and LITERARY STUDIES ♦

Niveo Candore tra metafora e metonimia

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Riassunto

L'Autore analizza niveo candore, locuzione italiana di origine latina. Da una ricerca su un corpus di autori latini sul nome nix, nivis e sugli aggettivi da esso derivati, emerge che niveus è il più frequente ed è quello che soprattutto è usato con valore metaforico, valore che è prevalente pure nelòlìaggettivo italiano niveo. Si discute, dunque, del valore di niveo in niveo candore, valore che più che metaforico appare metonimico e si avanza una proposta sulla esistenza di metonimie da metafore.

Parole chiave

metafora, metonimia, metaphtonymy, italiano, latino

L'espressione 'niveo candore' è usata in italiano in senso figurato, per esempio in *Il niveo candore della sue braccia*. Sebbene *candore* sia spesso usato nel senso di 'innocenza, purezza, ingenuità', per esempio in *Il candore dello sguardo; raccontare con candore* (Treccani online: *s.v.*), in *niveo candore* l senso traslato è su 'niveo' e non su 'candore'.

Una ricerca su Google, che è stata preferita a una ricerca diretta su fonti letterarie per avere una panoramica più completa, dà moltissimi risultati riguardo a niveo candore nella sfera della letteratura, del commercio della religione etc. Alcuni esempi: *il* niveo candore *e la semplicità [del Duomo di Torino] contrastano col cupo sfondo della guariniana cappella della Sindone* (sito Museotorino); *recentemente è stata Léa Seydoux, la nuova Bond girl d'Oltralpe, ad aver indossato larghi abiti setosi e di* niveo candore (libero.it); *caratterizzato da una spiaggia di sabbia bianca e finissima, costellata dal* niveo candore *di profumatissimi gigli bianchi, Molo 13* [...] (Salernomonanour); *O Vergine Madre purissima che ammantata di* niveo candore*, apparisti a semplici e innocenti pastorelli* (Novena alla Madonna di Fatima); *l'aspetto del rosso vivace della carne viene ulteriormante accentuato dal* niveo candore *del poco grasso che la racchiude* (Kingsprosciutti.it).

Inoltre, ricordiamo la *Crema Nivea*, una crema per le mani di un bianco purissimo, che ha dato il nome a tutta una serie di prodotti Nivea, come latte detergente e tonico. In realtà, *niveo*, pur essendo un aggettivo dotto (DELI: *s.v. niveo*), è di uso comune (De Mauro: *s.v. niveo*) ed è usato prevalentemente con il

significato metaforico di 'bianco (come la neve)': il valore letterale è solo poetico (Treccani online: *s.v. niveo*). Al contrario, l'aggettivo *latteo*, derivato da *latte*, ha pure il significato metaforico di 'bianco (come il latte)' ma in numerosi contesti, è usato con il senso letterale (Treccani online: *s.v. latteo*). Va notato come tra le varie sfumature di 'bianco' si usi *bianco latte/latteo, bianco calce, bianco gesso, bianco alabastro* (Treccani online: *s.v. bianco*) ma non **bianco neve* o **bianco niveo*.

Ci si può chiedere quale sia il rapporto tra *niveo* e *candore*, perché l'aggettivo in realtà non aggiunge alcuna informazione a *candore*; cioè, ci si può chiedere, dato che la 'neve' è 'candida', se 'niveo' sia davvero metaforico, come farebbe pensare la parafrasi *candore come quello della neve*. In italiano ci sono altri nomi derivati da aggettivi relativi ai colori, come *grigiore, rossore, biancore* ma gli attributi possono esser del tipo *cupo grigiore, forte rossore, tenue biancore*. Non occorrono esempi del tipo **rossore corallino*, mentre *rosso corallo, bianco panna, bianco latte* sono aggettivi che indicano sfumature di colore.

Già il rapporto formale tra *candido* e *candore* è diverso da quello tra *grigio – grigiore* e *rosso - rossore*, dove i nomi sono chiaramente formati sugli aggettivi con il suffisso derivativo *–ore*. *Candore* è un latinismo, da *candor candoris*, proprio come 'niveo' con la *–i-* mantenuta è un latinismo, da *niveus -a -um*, rispetto a *neve* da *niv-em* e forse a *nevoso*, o da *nivosus* o direttamente da *neve* (DELI: *s.vv. neve* e *nevoso*)

L'espressione 'niveo candore' ha origine nel latino. Nella letteratura latina *niveo candore* occorre in Stazio e Ovidio:

(1) cum sociam pastus niveo candore iuvencam / aspicit
     'quando vede una giovenca di niveo candore, compagna del suo pascolo'
     (Stat., *Ach*. I, 315)

(2) in niveo mixtum candore ruborem
     'in rossore misto a niveo candore' (Ov., *Met*. III, 423).

A questo punto si è deciso di prendere in considerazione un *corpus* di opere latine per analizzare gli usi di *nix, nivis* e degli aggettivi derivati. Il *corpus* è

costituito da: Plauto, Catullo, Virgilio, Orazio (Odi), Livio, Properzio, Marziale, Giovenale, Petronio, Apuleio[31].

In latino vi sono numerosi aggettivi derivati da *nix, nivis*: *nivalis, nivarius, nivatus, niveus, nivosus*, che hanno usi differenti. Dalla ricerca effettuata sul *corpus* di opere si evincono risultati interessanti.

Nivarius, -a, -um		
Valore	Referente	Attestazioni[32] - 3
Letterale	brocca (per acqua ghiacciata)	Mart. XIV, 166, titolo
	passino/colino da neve	Mart. XIV, 103, titolo
	sacco (per filtrare la neve)	Mart. XIV, 104, titolo

Nivosus, -a, -um		
Valore	Referente	Attestazioni - 3
Letterale	grandine	Liv., XXI, 7, 58
	inverno	Liv., V, 2, 13
	gioghi del Pangeo	Luc., I, 674

Nivatus, -a, -um		
Valore	Referente	Attestazioni - 1
Letterale	acqua 'ghiacciata'	Petr., 31

Nivalis, -e

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[31] Altri autori non presentano attestazioni dei derivati di *nix* oppure le attestazioni di *nix* non sono significative ai fini della ricerca.

[32] I passi sono citati, qui e nelle tabelle seguenti, secondo il sito Autori Latini dell'Università di Bologna (www.rassegna.unibo.it/autlat.html).

Valore	Referente	Attestazioni - 12
Letterale - 10	zona climatica	Luc., IV, 106; X, 205
	giorno	Liv., XXI, 6, 54
	Monte Algido	Hor., *Carm.*, III, 23, 9
	Emonia	Hor., *Carm.*, I, 37, 19
	Monte Otri	Verg., *Aen.*, VII, 675
	cima dell'Appennino	Verg., *Aen.*, XII, 702
	venti	Verg., *Georg.,* III, 318
	Tanai	Verg., *Georg.*, IV, 517
	onde = acqua ghiacciata	Mart. XIV, 118, 1
Metaforico - 1	cavalli	Verg., *Aen*. III, 538
Metonimico - 1	bacio	Mart., VII, 95, 2

Esaminiamo le due attestazioni di *nivalis* con valore non letterale ma in senso differente. In

(3) Quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine vidi
Tondentis campum late, candore nivali (Verg., *Aen*. III, 537-8)

'Ed ecco un primo augurio: nell'erba d'un prato

vidi quattro cavalli bianchi come la neve

Intenti a pascolare' (trad. Vivaldi)

Virgilio usa l'aggettivo in senso metaforico per indicare il colore dei cavalli. Si tratta dell'unico passo in cui *nivalis* è usato in senso non letterale dal Poeta che preferisce usare figuratamente *niveus*, come si vedrà più sotto. Considerato che *nivalis* con -*ā*-si presta alla posizione in sesto piede dell'esametro[33], posizione in

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[33] Anche nei due passi lucanei (IV 106 , X 205) *zona nivalis* è in fine di verso.

cui si trova in tutti i cinque passi virgiliani, si può pensare che l'uso figurato a proposito dei cavalli sia dovuto a esigenze metriche, perché *niveus* con –ĕ- non può stare in fine esametro.

In

(4) Bruma est et riget horridus December,
    audes tu tamen osculo nivali

    omnes hinc et hinc tenere

    et totam, Line, basiare Romam (Mart., VII, 95,2)

    'Inverno: duro ed orrido Dicembre.

    Tu, però osi coi tuoi baci diacci

    bloccare chiunque incontri

    e tutta, Lino, sbaciucchiare Roma' (trad. Ceronetti)

è il bacio dato in inverno da una bocca coperta di ghiaccio ad esser *nivalis*: il valore è metonimico.

Rispetto agli altri aggettivi, *niveus* è il più frequente ed è usato prevalentemente in senso traslato.

Niveus, -a, -um		
Valore	Referente	Attestazioni - 69
Letterale - 5	un monte	Catull., LXIV, 240
	mucchi 'di neve'	Verg., *Georg*., III, 354
	acqua ghiacciata	Mart., II, 85, 1
	onde/acqua	Mart., VII, 32,11
	acqua 'dei nevai'	Mart. XII, 17, 6
Metaforico - 64	corpo o parti del corpo	Catull., LXIII, 8; LXIV, 309; LXI, 9; LXIV, 364;

		Verg., *Aen*., VIII, 387; *Buc*., VI, 46, 53; Tib., I, 4,12; I, 5, 66; III, 4, 30; Hor., *Carm*., III, 27, 25**;** Prop. III, 6, 14; III, 14, 13; Mart., VI 3, 5; IX 59, 18; XIV 149, 2; Petr., 124
	uomini/donne	Verg., *Aen*., XI, 39; Hor., *Carm*., II, 4, 3; Prop. II, 13b, 37; Mart., XI 22, 1
	Quiriti 'biancovestiti'	Iuv., X, 45
	animali 'bianchi'	Catull., LXIIIb, 85; Verg., *Aen*., 699; *Georg*., I, 115; II, 199; Tib., II, 4, 28; II, 5, 38; III, 4, 67; III, 6, 8; Prop., II, 19, 26; III, 3, 39; Iuv., XII, 3
	vitellino con la luna sulla fronte	Hor., *Carm*., IV, 2, 59
	avorio	Mart., XIV 5, 2
	benda	Verg., *Aen*., VI, 665; *Georg*., III, 487
	bighe	Catull., LVIIIb, 4
	coperta di lino	Iuv., VII, 221
	denti di uomini, di vipere, d'avorio del tavolo	Mart., V 43, 1; Luc., X, 144; Apul*., Apol.,* 8
	farinata	Mart., V 78, 9
	lana	Verg., *Aen*., IV, 459; *Georg*., III, 391; Tib., I, 6, 80

	latte	Verg., *Buc*., II, 20; Tib., III, 2, 20; III, 5, 34
	secchi del latte	Verg., *Georg*., III, 177
	libretto	Tib., III, 1. 9
	luce dell'alba	Tib., III, 3, 25
	nettare	Mart., XIII 47,1
	pane	Iuv., V, 70
	Paro	Verg., *Aen*., III, 126
	perle gemelle, non ragazzi	Mart., XII 49,12
	sedie	Catull., LXIV, 303
	soglia del tempio	Verg., *Aen*., VIII, 720
	torso di un porro	Mart., XIII 19, 2
	vele delle tende	Verg., *Aen*., I, 469
	veste, toga	Tib., III, 8, 12; Mart., IV 34, 2; IX 49, 8: Apul., *Met*. 11, 9

Esaminiamo innanzitutto il valore letterale. *Niveus* è detto di un monte innevato e dell'acqua ghiacciata ma appare rilevante l'altra attestazione:

(5) Sed iacet aggeribus niveis informis et alto
    terra gelu (Verg., *Georg*., III, 354-5)

'ma giace ampiamente il suolo informe per mucchi di neve

e spesso ghiaccio' (trad. Canali)

dove l'aggettivo equivale al complemento di specificazione: *aggeribus niveis* = non '*mucchi innevati/nevosi' ma 'mucchi di neve' = 'neve a mucchi', come fa pensare l'altro ablativo coordinato *alto [...] gelu*, con un sintagma nominale con testa 'gelu'.

Il valore non letterale, molto più frequente, è sempre metaforico, come in

(6) *ceu quondam nivei liquida inter nubila cycni* (Verg., *Aen*., VII, 699)
    'come una volta nel cielo limpido i candidi cigni'

e in

(7) *non aliter / quam institor hibernae tegetis niveique cadurci* (Iuv, 7,221)
    'come il venditore di coperta invernale e di cadurco[34] niveo'

dove *nivei* a proposito del cadurco di lino, coordinato alla coperta di lana, può esser stato richiamato da *hibernae*.

In senso metaforico l'aggettivo è sempre detto di ciò che è bianco o comunque chiaro. La metafora verte sempre sul tratto del colore della neve[35]. Alcune volte *niveus* è contrapposto a 'nero': i denti finti che sono bianchi mentre quello veri sono neri *nigri* (Mart. V 43, 1), il *denticulum* della vipera di contro all'*atrum venenum* (Apul., *Apol*, 8), l'avorio su cui si dipingono lettere *nigra[e]* (Mart. XIV 5,2). Di rilievo appare l'uso di *niveus* a proposito della luce dell'alba (Tib., III, 3,25) nonché del latte (Verg., *Buc*., II, 20 e *Georg*., III, 177), nome su cui a sua volta si forma un aggettivo che può esser anch'esso di colore, come in *orbis lacteus* 'Via Lattea' (Cic., Rep., VI, 16) o in *lactea colla* 'colli lattei' (Verg., *Aen*, VIII, 660).

Ritorniano a *niveo candore*. È noto che il latino ha due aggettivi per 'bianco', *albus* e *candidus*, con duediverse sfumature di significato sfumature : 'bianco opaco' per *albus* e 'bianco lucido' per *candidus*[36] (Castiglioni & Mariotti 2007: *s.vv.*). Il bianco della neve rientra nella sfera della luminosità e dunque vengono usati sia *candidus* sia *candor* , sebbene le nevi, *nives*, siano dette *albae* in Lucr., VI 738. La neve è la pietra di paragone del bianco luminoso, come si vede dal sintagma *nive candidior* 'più bianco della neve' (Catull. 63, 70; Mart.IV 42, 5; VII 33, 2; XII 82, 7) e ancora in *qui candore nives anteirent* 'che superano le nevi in candore' (Verg., *Aen*., XII, 84).

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[34] Il cadurco è, metonimicamente, una coperta di lino tessuta dai Cadurci, popolazione gallica dell'Aquitania.

[35] Lo stesso nome *nix* è talvolta usato metaforicamente per indicare il 'bianco' dei capelli, come in
    (a)   [...+ te quia rugae
    turpant et capitis nives (Hor., Carm., IV, 13, 11-2)
    'perché rughe e nevi sul capo ti rendono brutta (trad. Turolla).

[36] In verità lo stesso si può dire dei due aggettivi per 'nero': *ater* 'nero opaco' e *niger* 'nero lucido' (Castiglioni & Mariotti 2007: *s.vv.*).

Si può pensare che *niveus candor* equivalga a *nivis candor* 'candore della neve', come *aggeribus niveis* in (5) equivale a *aggeribus nivis*. Poi *niveus candor* passa da 'candore della neve' in senso letterale a 'candore come quello della neve', come in (1) e (2), nonché in (3) con *nivalis*.

Veniamo ora al rapporto fra *candor* e *niveus* , o meglio fra *niveo* e *candore*, dal momento che, come si è visto in **1.**, l'espressione italiana risulta molto diffusa. Nei casi presentati prima in **2.**, *niveus* è sicuramente metaforico perché, secondo il criterio di Warren (1999), il colore 'bianco' e la 'neve' condividono un tratto, quello del colore. Per esempio, nel caso dei cigni 'bianchi come la neve', dato che la neve è la pietra di paragone del bianco il valore metaforico è chiaro: i cigni e la neve sono cose diverse che hanno in comune il colore bianco, dunque i cigni sono "bianchi come la neve > nivei". Alla base c'è un'analogia binaria (Monneret: 1999) resa con la sequenza N+A. Nel caso di *niveo candore*, è vero che la neve e il candore sono l'una concreta e l'altro astratto (Lakoff-Johnson 1980) e che nelle metafore il *mapping* è sempre parziale, unidirezionale e asimmetrico ma *candor* di per sé contiene, o meglio è, il tratto che ha in comune con *neve*. Di conseguenza, in senso stretto non si può parlare di metafora perché non si tratta di *cross-domain mapping* (Deignan 2005). Si può esplorare se si tratti di una metonimia o, meglio, di una *metaphtonymy*, termine coniato da Goessens (1995) per indicare le interrelazioni fra metafora e metonimia.

Deignan (2005: 53-71) pone fra la metonimia e la metafora una scalarità di metonimia che si sovrappone alla metafora:
-Metonimy within Metaphor, seguendo Goessens (1995): *bite one's tongue off* 'mordersi la lingua' = 'evitare di parlare': tutta l'espressione è metaforica ma la metonimia di *tongue* è immediatamente individuabile;
-Metaphor from Metonimy, seguendo Goessens (1995): *keep an eye on*; dove la metafora muove dalla metonimia di *eye*, 'occhio' per 'sguardo';
-Metonimy-based Metaphor, con mapping sia cross-domain sia intra-domain, *a warm welcome* 'un caldo benvenuto' Si tratta di una metafora basata sulla metonimia concettuale BODY TEMPERATURE STANDS FOR EMOTION (Lakoff: 1987)[37].
Con inversione delle denominazioni della Deignan, nel caso di *niveo* in *niveo candore* si potrebbe postulare una Metaphor-based Metonimy, cioè una metonimia che muove dal valore metaforico di *niveo*. Mentre *niveo* in *niveo braccio* è sicuramente metaforico in quanto [+bianco] non è un tratto inerente di *braccio*, in

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[37] La metonimia concettuale BODY TEMPERATURE STANDS FOR EMOTION sostituisce la metafora concettuale EMOTIONS ARE TEMPERATURES, in quanto le emozioni e la temperatura del corpo stanno in un rapporto di causa – effetto (Deignan: 2005)

niveo candore sarebbe metonimico in quanto [+bianco] è un tratto inerente di *candore*. Considerato il fatto che Goessens (1995) ritiene la metonimia da metafora possibile sul piano teorico ma non provata dai dati da lui analizzati, la proposta è tutta da verificare con ulteriori approfondimenti.

Rimane non spiegato il fatto che *niveo* non aggiunga alcuna informazione di significato a *candore*, come invece accade, per esempio, in *sub candore rubenti* 'sotto un candore venato di rosso' (Ov. *Met*., IV, 332), dove *rubenti* aggiunge un'informazione a *candore*. La nostra *competence* induce ad escludere la possibilità di una sfumatura di colore. Da una piccola e informale indagine in cui si chiedeva ad alcune persone di accoppiare un aggettivo a *candore*, è emerso che nessuno ha trovato subito un aggettivo che non fosse, in alcuni casi, il generico *grande*. Tutti, invece, hanno ammesso, in un secondo momento 'niveo, bianco come la neve'. Dunque, n*iveo candore* è un'espressione cristallizzata, cui l'origine dotta fornisce un'aura poetica che rinvia ad una forma di accrescimento dell'immagine del *candore*.

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The Fall of the House of Jack: The Ruin of Man
in Stephen King's *The Shining*

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Abstract

The present article focuses on Stephen King's horror novel The Shining and tries to explore the degradation of the character of Jack Torrance. Although initially Jack is presented as a normal guy who is fighting his demons in order to keep his family and sanity intact, in the course of the novel, he loses many battles because of his flaws and weaknesses. The various aspects of his degradation – as a father, as a man, and as a writer - are the reason for his ruin as a human, which terminates logically with his death. This turns Jack into something like a tragic hero and the novel can be seen as crossing different boundaries – the boundary between good and bad, protagonist and antagonist, Gothic and postmodern, light literature and high literature.

Key words

Stephen King, The Shining, horror fiction, character degradation.

The Shining is one of the bestsellers that established Stephen King's name in the world of horror fiction. It is a typical ghost story about a family of three that decides to spend the winter in an isolated hotel for financial reasons and to resolve a family crisis. Moving hedges, sounds beyond explanation, strange dreams, and eventually ghosts' appearances are just part of the horrors that furniture the fictional world of the novel. However, behind the ostensibly superficial story which at first sight does not seem to be taken too seriously, literary critics discover a variety of themes and social issues concerning the American society of that time.

The main focus of this article is Jack Torrance - the focal male figure in *The Shining* and the different aspects of his degradation. The novel finishes with the explosion of the hotel and Jack's death after a serious struggle between the evil ghosts inside him and his human parental instinct to save his son. However, before his physical death, the character walks downwards in more than one ways. He fails to be a good teacher, father, husband, and writer. Therefore, Tony Magistrale sees the book as "a scathing critique of patriarchal abuses" (Magistrale 2010: 101).

Before one starts discussing the metamorphosis of Jack's character it should be mentioned that one demon dogs him throughout the whole novel. Lurking in the shadows of the past and in the secret corners of the Overlook, it leads Jack into temptation and thus causes his ruin, both professional and private. This demon is a vice, a vice difficult to overcome, and almost impossible to live with – the vice of alcoholism, which is a central problem of contemporary

societies. When Jack comes to the hotel he claims that he has coped with the problem of heavy drinking and that he is clean. However, soon he resumes his drinking habits (having headaches, chewing Excedrin, abusing Wendy). Even though no alcohol can be found in the hotel, under the influence of the ghosts, Jack feels always drunk and eager to drink more. Thus, apart from the other numerous interpretations literary critics offer, the ghosts of the Overlook can be seen as a metaphor of heavy drinking. The illusion they create for Jack is so enticing that he is unable to resist it, and in his succumbing to the evil spirits one can recognize the succumbing of man to the spirit of alcohol. The ghosts of the Overlook devour Jack's life and sanity just like alcohol devours the addicted ones. Under the influence of the hotel Jack starts acting like an unreliable and unstable person, keeping secrets and lying to his family. He frequently puts the hotel before his own family. This image shatters the idea of the strong man as the head of the family and the leading power of society.

Alcohol addiction and Jack's inability to cope with it are at the core of the ruin of the character as they bring failure to all the spheres of his life. As the focus of the novel is primarily on the family, Jack's inadequacy is most striking in his relationship with his wife and son.

The development of the relationship of Jack and Wendy can be taken as an epitome of contemporary marriage. They love each other and struggle to keep their family. However, Jack's problems and weakness to overcome them, together with Wendy's inability to trust him, drive them apart from each other. At the end of the book, Jack, possessed by the Overlook, beats Wendy almost to death. Figuratively, this shows how bad habits can ruin a good marriage and leave people cripple and mutilated for life. It is also indicative of the role of violence in a marriage. The family in the novel is not seen as a stable unit of the society, but as an inept and vulnerable union, corrupted by doubt, vice and anger.

The next aspect of Jack's degradation is his failure as a father. The fathers in the novel (Jack, Jack's father, Wendy's father) can be seen as some kind of a determinant of their sons. "*The Shining* is as much about the sins of fathers as it is anything else; … extreme versions of masculinity and fatherhood are called into question because they legitimize the potential abuse of privilege and power that comes with these roles**.**" (Magistrale 2010: 100) Magistrale goes even further to interpret the hotel's ghost management as a representation of fatherhood and masculinity that has power over Jack. He concludes that "Fathers in this novel are pictured as selfish, misogynistic, alcoholic, and most important, prone to punitive acts of violence**.**" (Magistrale 2010: 100) One exception should be mentioned here and this is the image of Dick Hallorann whose fatherly role in the text is rather different.

Because of alcoholism or not, Jack proves to be inadequate as a father. The instances of him abusing Danny, feeling angry at him with or without any specific reason, represent his parental role as a higher institution that is there to judge and punish the boy. He loves his child but proves powerless to protect him and be his friend. Probably the most dramatic father and son scene comes at the end of the book, in the final confrontation between the ghosts and Danny. After a long chase, Jack, obsessed by the evil spirits, finally finds Danny to kill him with a mallet.

However, when the child dares him, confessing that he knows that this monster is not his real father, Jack comes to himself and utters: "Doc,… Run away. Quick. And remember how much I love you." (King 1992: 303) This somehow partly purifies his fatherly image at the end of the novel because finally he manages to redeem, to sacrifice himself and save his son. His love for the boy conquers his ghosts – real and metaphorical.

In a nutshell, if Jack is a condensed image of the father in our society, then this figure can be described as someone that loves his child and is willing to sacrifice himself, but otherwise proves to be inadequate in his parental care. This is a male possessed by his own world and often driven by egotistical motives and vice. In his individual universe Jack is the central figure and the child is just a part of the furniture and sometimes a burden. This aspect of the male desire to be dominant is felt throughout the book. Jack feels that the hotel wants him and this gives him real pleasure because it makes him feel important. When he realizes that actually Danny is the one that they are after, Jack is infuriated as thus he loses his dominant position of somebody considerable. This idea of the male individual's desire to be significant and important, to lead, and to compete with other males (even with his son) is another critique of the fatherly image.

Apart from alcoholism, masculinity and fatherhood, the character of Jack Torrance proves to be unsuccessful as a writer. The theme of the writer permeates the works of Stephen King. The problem of Torrance is that he is experiencing a writer's block, as Casebeer suggests "… the alcoholic Torrance (a playwright this time) is the monster. King sees this particular writer as a failure because he stops writing – Torrance's writing block leads to psychosis" (Casebeer 1996: 51). Jack allows the powers of the hotel to distract him from the play he intends to write. In an interview, Stephen King comments on Paul Sheldon – another writer protagonist of his: **"When the real world becomes so bad that a writer gives up the ability to make fiction, he gives up his soul"** (Magistrale, French 1992: 12). So Jack's flaws are topped with his incapability as a writer.

Jack's failures in all aspects of his life – as a teacher, father, husband, man, writer – somehow predetermine his destiny. The only option that remains to him is to prove that he is a good caretaker of the hotel, hence, his obsession with the management, which is seen by some analysts as an allusion to capitalist America.

Tony Magistrale sees the text as a critique on capitalism and class division in the Reagan historical period. "It is more accurate to say that the two forces—capitalism and supernatural evil—create a complementary nexus where the ghosts on board still represent the design and power of wealth and privilege" (Magistrale 2010: 95).

References to class-division can also be observed in the representation of the relationship that Jack has with Al Shockley – his friend and drinking buddy. Although they are very close mates and Al is the person whom Jack owes the job as a caretaker, Al's dominance as the richer and more powerful friend is obvious, especially in the telephone conversation in Chapter 21 when Jack asks him for permission to write a book about the hotel. Al's refusal and generally overlooking attitude make Jack feel on the verge of humiliation, completely dependent on his

rich friend's good will. This epitomizes a more global problem of class division. "Like the Torrance-Shockley relationship, America sustains the delusion of a democratic society, but the truth is that class anxieties are boiling just beneath the surface, just like the old boiler hidden in the Overlook's cavernous basement" (Magistrale 2010: 102).

Thus the private tragedy of Jack can be seen as caused by the flaws of the society. If metaphorically Jack Torrance represents the white male in the American society and the Overlook hotel represents the society itself, then King's message is clear: the degradation of man can be viewed not only as a result of his own weakness, but also as a failure of the society. The Overlook possesses Jack, turns him into a monster and eventually destroys him just like the society does with the individual. This metamorphosis of the good into evil is provoked not only by his personal weaknesses, but also by the surrounding world which is seen as something evil, breeding corruption and hatred. Thus evil is seen as inherent both in the individual and in the society. As Magistrale points, "works of horror become a kind of postmodernist celebration of self-destruction, and the inadequacies of conceptional and ideological absolutes" (Magistrale 1996: 7).

One of the main reasons why Stephen King did not approve of Stanley Kubrick's version of *The Shining* was that the character played by Jack Nicholson does not walk this path from good to bad character and the gradual degradation of a good man is spared as the focus of the work. Tony Magistrale quotes Stephen King saying: "The book is about Jack Torrance's gradual descent into madness through the malign influences of the Overlook… If the guy is nuts to begin with, then the entire tragedy of this downfall is wasted. For that reason, the film has no center and no heart" (King through Magistrale 2015: 189).

In an interview with Tony Magistrale King refers to Jack Torrance as "a dysfunctional personality" (Magistrale 1992: 18). Often compared to a Shakespearean tragic hero, he deliberately makes choices that lead to self-destruction. The idea that Jack Torrance's failure is caused not by the fact that he is inherently evil, but by his weakness to resist vice mirrors Shakespeare's great tragic heroes who became tragic because of some flaw or passion – jealousy (Othello), revenge (Hamlet), greed (Macbeth)… Leonard Mustazza talks about the transformation of the outlines of the tragedy as a literary form "in accordance with the outlooks, values, and tastes of the varying societies in which the genre has appeared." (Mustazza 1992: 74) In this respect, "…modern America, owing perhaps to its democratic leanings, has shown a preference for the form known as "domestic tragedy" or "tragedy of the common person". (Mustazza 1992: 74) Jack Torrance's tragedy is a tragedy of the individual, of the common person who has not many outstanding qualities to offer. On the contrary, he is just an ordinary man having his countless flaws, but driven by love for his family and a desire to be successful in life. Jack is generally a good man. He is a protagonist, not an antagonist, at least in the beginning. He is just too weak. Yet, does this lack of heroism and outstanding qualities mean that we might not feel fear and pity for the character?

On the contrary, one might argue that empathy is more at work when tragedy befalls an ordinary man who the public can easily self-identify with.

Finally, it can be claimed that Jack Torrance is a hero that crosses different boundaries – the boundary between good and evil, protagonist and antagonist, Gothic and postmodern, light literature and high literature. This puts Stephen King somewhere between traditional and postmodern horror. As Casebeer suggests, "… the traditional horror novel, such as Bram Stoker's Dracula, excises or conquers the antagonist; the postmodern horror novel, … , transforms the protagonist into the antagonist, or vice versa; and King's novels balance these processes" (Casebeer 1996: 47). That is why sometimes we are inclined to feel some kind of perverted sympathy for the monster, seeing that there is a devastated good man hiding behind its mask.

In his introduction to Aristotle's *Poetics* Joe Sachs speculates that

> the impact of tragedy is to leave us gazing at a human image with our habits of blaming and excusing blocked. We are not left saying 'he got what he deserved', but we can't say either that he was a helpless victim of a heartless or hideous universe. The poet has knocked all our moralism and sentimentality out of us. (Aristotle 2006: 16)

I would rather conclude that this explanation rings true about Jack Torrance. At the end of the novel he is destroyed together with the hotel that turns him into a monster. His house falls literally and figuratively. The Overlook finally manages to devour Jack physically, mentally and emotionally. However, the reader is left unable to rejoice because in the face of the defeated monster everybody can recognize themselves – a being deformed by personal and society's demons.

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Tres referencias temporales en la obra de Ricardo Palma

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Resumen

Ricardo Palma fue un autor de su tiempo y ha demostrado esto a través de todas las acciones emprendidas para rehacer la Biblioteca nacional y a través de su trabajo como lexicógrafo. Pero al mismo tiempo se refugió en el pasado y eligió de este aquello que consideró fundamental para estimular el sentimiento nacional de los peruanos con la ayuda de sus Tradiciones peruanas. Y lo hizo con el claro propósito de ofrecer a las generaciones futuras una versión asequible sobre la historia de su país y una identidad nacional bien definida.

Palabras clave

identidad, nacional, pasado.

Con respecto a la ubicación del tradicionista entre el pasado, al que Palma le dedica gran parte de sus tradiciones, el presente, del que prefiere estar alejado, y el futuro que está por venir, encontramos en uno de los ensayos de Antonio Cornejo Polar explicaciones sobre la relación de los tres referentes temporales en la obra de Ricardo Palma:"[...] su apego al pasado, a veces como incursión nostálgica en una época señalada como "poética", en oposición al "prosaísmo" del presente, y a veces, más bien, como tarea didáctica que quiere extraer lecciones de ese pasado para encauzar el presente hacia un futuro mejor" (Cornejo Polar 2000: 157). Las decepciones causadas por la situación política de su país y los conflictos provocados por los interesados en la adquisición del poder y no en el bien del pueblo consiguieron determinar a Ricardo Palma a refugiarse en la literatura y en el pasado. Otra explicación de la necesidad del tradicionista de alejarse de su presente, según la plantea Cecilia Moreano, puede hallarse en "las duras críticas que recibió por su estudio histórico "Monteagudo y Sánchez Carrión" (1877)" que "llevaron a Palma a desistir de hacer historia contemporánea"[38]. Palma declara en una carta escrita a Benjamín Vicuña Mackena que por haber estado desautorizado como historiador sobre todo por parte "de los bolivaristas de la antigua Colombia", quedó "escarmentado para no volver a escribir sobre historia contemporánea" (Palma 1949: 43, 48).

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[38] Cecilia Moreano, "Palma detrás de XYZ. Un aporte al catálogo de sus seudónimos". Edición digital a partir de *Revista de la Casa Museo Ricardo Palma*, n° 2, 2001. URL: http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/revista-de-la-casa-museo-ricardo-palma--1/html/0351912c-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_13.html#I_21_. Consulta realizada en 14 de junio de 2014.

Durante su destierro en Chile por haber sido acusado de haber participado en el asalto de la casa del presidente Ramón Castilla, Palma escribe una serie de cartas a su amigo José Casimiro Ulloa en las que expresa su decepción por lo que ocurría en su país:

> Tan profundos desengaños he recibido que mi fe vacila y estoy casi desesperanzado. En nuestro pobre Perú nadie hace justicia a la abnegación ni concibe patriotismo en la juventud. Todo martirio es estéril y acarrea sólo el ridículo a las víctimas. Sé que V. al leer estas líneas me va a calificar de joven perdido; pero si como yo pudiera contemplar la desnudez y miseria de nuestros hombres, si aleccionado con el infortunio viera que es imposible regenerar ya el Perú porque en él la corrupción toma creces de día en día, aseguro a V. que como yo se volvería indiferentista (Quesada 1974: 72).

La cita anterior explica el porqué del retiro del tradicionista de la vida política y su decisiónde escribir para los peruanos y para el Perú, escribir para sus connacionales, a quienes dedica una obra en la que fundamenta la conciencia nacional. Así lo expresa en innumerables ocasiones, por ejemplo en esas líneas de su epistolario donde reconoce que sus escritos demuestran su inmenso afecto por su patria y por su profesión: "Las *Tradiciones* son mi ofrenda de amor al país y a las letras" (Palma 1949: 66). Reconoce también que al escribir una segunda serie de crónicas nacionales no aspira "a ser un obrero del presente, sino del pasado" porque su interés no está en "fotografiar la actualidad" porque "escenas en las que hemos sido actores o espectadores no pueden sino tratarse sin pasión". Por esta razón el tradicionista confiesa que prefiere "vivir en los siglos que fueron". Y explica su elección afirmando que "en el ayer hay poesía, y el hoy es prosaico… muy prosaico. Es mejor armar, vestir y adornar esqueletos de los tiempos coloniales. La obra del sepulturero, y nada más, amigo mío: pero las tumbas tienen su poesía. Dejemos el presente para los que vengan después"(Palma 1949: 66). No existe cita que exprese más adecuadamente la intención del tradicionista que decidió buscar y encontrar la poesía en el pasado; necesitaba el equilibrio y la armonía de otros tiempos. Rubén Darío lo nombró "el orfebre buscador de hoyas viejas" (Darío 2007: 120). Palma consiguió a través de "la re-creación del pasado" hacer la historia "caliente, viva" y desde el punto de vista del crítico literario Augusto Tamayo Vargas "esto no es 'pasadismo' como se desprende de ciertas equívocas interpretaciones" (Tamayo Vargas 1971: 11).

Las tres referencias fundamentales en la obra de Palma son el pasado, el presente y el futuro. Si tenemos en cuenta la situación del país inmediatamente después de la Emancipación, estas referencias cobran aún más importancia. Al principio, en el ámbito literario el pasado colonial fue ignorado por haber sido la representación de la dominación hispana. Entonces, el costumbrismo se centró sobre todo en el presente y en el futuro de la nación. Pero, pasados los años, se gestó la necesidad de que el país se definiera como nación. Para ello, el regreso de la mirada hacia la historia, la cultura y la literatura colonial fue fundamental. Es así comolos románticos del país vuelven su mirada hacia el pasado colonial. Ricardo Palma, que inicia su andadura literaria en las filas del romanticismo, no podía ser

una excepción de su tiempo. Considera necesario construir una imagen de las tradiciones del Perú que existieron a lo largo de los siglos como herencia que recibirán los del futuro. Palma busca en el pasado esa base para construir en su presente lo que será fundamental en el futuro: la conciencia nacional. En el prólogo de la edición de 1958 de las *Tradiciones peruanas* encontramos la siguiente afirmación: "Palma ahondó en momentos pasados y en momentos contemporáneos" (Palma 1958: portada). Es justamente lo que intentaremos demostrar a continuación.

Aunque el tradicionista afirma que no aspiraba a ser un obrero del presente, él fue un hombre de su tiempo; se implicó mucho en política y en general en la vida literaria. Sin embargo, la segunda fue la opción más adecuada para Palma, que decepcionado de lo que ocurría a su alrededor desde un punto de vista político, busca refugio en rastrear las huellas del pasado. La crítica coincide en que el tradicionista funde literatura e historia para imaginar un pasado útil para forjar las ideas del presente republicano. Por lo tanto rescata documentos para poder reevaluar la literatura y comprender la historia como "un constructo discursivo obediente a factores e intereses siempre por emplazar y definir" (Martínez 2003: 25), con el fin de contribuir a la construcción de la identidad nacional. Por lo tanto no nos asombra que haya sido nombrado "forjador de la peruanidad en el país" (Miró Quesada 1969: 29). Así, por ejemplo, Palma cuenta en *Recuerdos de España* cómo consiguió despertar el sentimiento patriótico en dos frailes de Sucre que llevaban más de quince años de vida conventual en España:

> Eran dos cadáveres; pero el sentimiento de la patria no estaba aún del todo muerto en ellos; porque al hablarles yo de América, de Bolivia, del Perú, de nuestros infortunios bélicos, de nuestra fe en el mañana, algo como vislumbre de entusiasmo asomó en sus pupilas. Seguramente que después pidieron perdón a Dios y a San Bruno por haber olvidado, durante breves instantes, que habían abdicado de toda pasión humana, inclusive la del patriotismo. Para ellos fui el maligno tentador (Palma 1899: 92).

El insigne historiador y diplomático peruano, Raúl Porras Barrenechea, al comparar a Ricardo Palma con la otra gran figura en pugna de la literatura y la cultura peruana a finales del siglo XIX, Manuel González Prada, afirmó que: "de ambos metales, del culto y el respeto del pasado y de la esperanza del porvenir se forma el alma nacional de un pueblo. En ese sentido fueron tan peruanos el uno como el otro" (Porras Barrenechea 1969: 71). Ricardo Palma confía en el futuro del Perú y declara en *Corona Patriótica* que tiene fe y cree "en el porvenir que los cielos" le reservan a su patria. Considera que el futuro de su país "será espléndido, como tus bosques perfumados, inmortal como tus Andes, cuyas cimeras de plata penetran en el arrebolado firmamento, y en las que acaso posa su invisible planta el genio benéfico que preside tus destinos"[39].

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[39] Ricardo Palma, *Corona patriótica*, Alicante, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2001. Edición digital a partir de la edición de Lima, Tipografía del Mensajero, 1853. URL: http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/ 0182618576125827743257/p0000001.htm#1. Consulta realizada en 23 de mayo de 2014.

Mientras Manuel González Prada dedica sus escritos al presente, criticando la sociedad en la que vivía, Ricardo Palma se adentra en el pasado, decepcionado por la situación política presente de su país, y prefiere describir acontecimientos, costumbres, tradiciones de otros tiempos, más lejanos, que contar o criticar el presente. Sin embargo el tradicionista siguió anclado también en el presente y se implicó en la cultura de su país. Como reza la leyenda, se convierte en "bibliotecario mendigo" para poder reconstruir la Biblioteca Nacional –de la que fue director y a la que trató "como padre amante a su hija predilecta" (Tanner 1992: 1018)– y propone a la Real Academia de la Lengua la introducción de más de trescientas cincuenta voces americanas, clara muestra de un americanismo que defendió en toda su actividad intelectual, en este caso, como lexicógrafo[40]. Él mismo declara en "Explicaciones" al *Catálogo de los libros que existen en el Salón América* que gracias a su labor de rehacer la Biblioteca Nacional "documentos hay en ella de inmenso interés histórico, literario o político, que, estamos seguros, serán provechosamenteutilizados en bien del país" (Palma 1891: IV). No en balde Palma es considerado como "el restaurador de la Biblioteca Nacional" (Holguín Callo 2001:184).

Palma se sitúa exactamente entre pasado y presente porque con la ayuda de la tradición él quiso presentar la permanente relación que existe entre lo ocurrido y lo que ocurre, tal y como apunta Cecilia Moreano: "Palma se sirve de la tradición para ilustrar el continuum histórico entre el período colonial y la moderna República" (Moreano 2004: 14). Sería justo añadir también a este *continuum* histórico el período incaico que, a la hora de comentar las *Tradiciones* de Ricardo Palma, muchos críticos no mencionan; sin embargo las raíces indígenas aparecen en un gran número de las tradiciones, y más aún en las dedicadas al período colonial.

Sobre la inclinación del tradicionista hacia el pasado el crítico Oviedo (1968: 8) afirma que "la pluma del escritor […] se alimentó y vivió de recuerdos". Pero esta alimentación y esta vivencia ocurren en su presente, un presente en el que los lectores necesitan acercarse al pasado para que de esta manera puedan entender sus orígenes y además informarse de una manera agradable y entretenida. Palma se propone exactamente esto: optar "por un acercamiento literario al pasado, lo que permitirá además acercar ese pasado a los lectores y permitirles conocer de manera amena sus orígenes" (Moreano 2004: 34). El tradicionista es consciente de que la literatura es la que lo puede ayudar a presentar y revelar la sociedad peruana porque a diferencia de la historia los escritos literarios son más asequibles para el pueblo: "la tradición se plantea como representación amena de la historia" (Moreano 2004: 41).

En el artículo, "¿Por qué las *Tradiciones peruanas* constituyen un valor?", de Piotrowski, encontramos la explicación de la elección del tradicionista de trabajar más con la literatura y menos con la historia. Aunque utiliza a veces datos y fuentes

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[40] Cfr. Roy L. Tanner, "Ricardo Palma, neólogo por excelencia", Alicante, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2007. URL: http://www.cervantesvi rtual.com/obra-visor/ricardo-palma-nelogo-por-excelencia-0/html/016892de-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_2.html#I_0_. Consulta realizada en 15 de agosto de 2012.

históricas, fundamentalmente crónicas de Indias, Palma reviste todas las informaciones literariamente para que los lectores consideren sus *Tradiciones* una obra que enseña y divierte al mismo tiempo. La obra de Palma muestra las costumbres y manifestaciones de los habitantes de Perú desde el período incaico hasta el período de la Independencia. Lo que BogdanPiotrowski plantea es una pregunta razonable cuya respuesta es la clara evidencia de lo que se propone el tradicionista; la interrogación la hemos propuesto al inicio del trabajo: ¿en qué medida una obra literaria puede ayudar a fortalecer una sociedad? Desde el punto de vista de BogdanPiotrowski, cuya opinión compartimos, la literatura es "el testimonio lingüístico más fidedigno de los quehaceres del hombre, del desarrollo de las ideas, de la interpretación del universo, de la evolución de la ética y de la estética"[41]. Es este el motivo que determina a Ricardo Palma a revestir la historia en ropaje literario y ofrecer una versión propia del pasado de su país.

Lo que se desprende de su obra es que Ricardo Palma no sólo contribuyó a la consolidación de la sociedad peruana de finales del siglo XIX y comienzos del XX, basándose en lo que el pasado le ofrecía sino que despertó la conciencia nacional en la mente de sus lectores; hizo que los peruanos se dieran cuenta de la importancia de conocer sus orígenes, de no olvidar sus tradiciones, de aprender de los errores del pasado o de seguir los buenos ejemplos que hubo en la historia de su país. Además, el mismo tradicionista explica que a sus lectores con un nivel intelectual más bajo se les deben ofrecer informaciones que entiendan y que la historia no representa la opción más adecuada a la hora de hablar al pueblo sobre sus raíces: "Allá en los remotos días de mi juventud, ha más de un tercio de siglo, ocurrióme pensar que era hasta obra de patriotismo popularizar los recuerdos del pasado, y que tal fruto no podía obtenerse empleando al estilo severo del historiador, estilo que hace bostezar a los indoctos" (Palma 1900: 140).

El tradicionista afirma que sus tradiciones son apreciadas por el pueblo precisamente porque muestran el espíritu de los peruanos, tal y como escribió en una carta a Alberto Larco Herrera: "La tradición no es precisamente historia, sino relato popular, y ya se sabe que para mentiroso el pueblo. Las mías han caído en gracia, no porque encarnen mucha verdad, sino porque revelan el espíritu y la expresión de las multitudes" (Oviedo 1968: 30). Por su parte, José Miguel Oviedo, también considera que el tradicionista recuperó el pasado de su país, pero se trata de un pasado que no habla de las grandes figuras de la Historia: "Palma rescató del olvido un pasado peruano que la historia oficial no iba a registrar; un pasado doméstico, de quisicosas: migajas de un banquete solemne" (Oviedo 1968: 33). Esas migajas de las que habla José Miguel Oviedo podrían representar a los peruanos de clase media o baja, mientras que el banquete solemne podría ser el símbolo de la clase noble. Palma escribe para la multitud y por lo tanto debe mostrar "un pasado doméstico", un pasado que sea comprendido por todos. Las migajas son las que forman un todo; la multitud es la que representa la identidad de un pueblo.

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[41]BogdanPiotrowski, "¿Por qué las *Tradiciones peruanas* constituyen un valor?", edición digital a partir de *Revista de la Casa Museo Ricardo Palma*, n° 2, 2001. URL: http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/9137 2754103026274754491/p0000007.htm. Consulta realizada en 10 de mayo de 2008.

Palma distingue claramente entre la literatura y la historia y es consciente de que los lectores están más a gusto leyendo sus *Tradiciones* que complicados textos históricos porque "la tradición es la forma más agradable que puede tomar la historia: gusta a todos los paladares, como el buen café. La tradición no se lee nunca con el ceño fruncido, sino sonriendo. La historia es una dama aristocrática, y la tradición es una muchacha alegre"(Oviedo 1968: 30).Por lo tanto, tal y como indica también el título de este apartado, Palma está constantemente entre el pasado y el presente: por un lado, anclado en sus lecturas del pasado y por otra parte en el presente en el que escribe sobre ese pasado, tal y como plantea Oviedo: "Palma vivificó ese pasado y lo acercó al presente, para darle vitalidad y animación de cosa actual, plena de color y movimiento"(Oviedo 1968: 33). La ubicación del tradicionista entre el pasado y el presente la nota también una de las figuras clave de la historiografía peruana, José de la Riva-Agüero; acordándose de su relación con Ricardo Palma, a quien trató de anexar en las filas del hispanismo, afirma: "…y al oírle hablar con los míos, conjuntamente de personas familiares y de pretéritos sucesos, mi mente pueril adivinó en él un benigno brujo que *convertía lo lejano en próximo, lo muerto en redivivo, y que nos hacía contemporáneos de lo pasado*"[42].

José de la Riva-Agüero homenajea al tradicionista asegurando que es el escritor que mejor personifica el espíritu peruano por haber logrado que los peruanos revivan el pasado: "Sois señor, como nadie y antes que nadie, encarnación legítima del espíritu de nuestra patria, *viva y sagrada voz de su pasado*"[43]. En este mismo sentido Eva Mª Valero explica en su artículo "Evocaciones de la Arcadia Colonial en la literatura peruana: de Ricardo Palma a Julio Ramón Ribeyro" que el objetivo de Ricardo Palma es el de rescatar el pasado "tanto histórico como literario" con el propósito de "asimilar una herencia" (Valero Juan 2004: 230, 231). El mismo tradicionista se compara con un pintor que renueva, que repara representaciones del pasado y ofrece a estas representaciones aire fresco adecuado a las necesidades del presente:

> Nunca he aspirado a pasar por original en la creación de un argumento. Esa cualidad de la fantasía conviene al novelista; pero no a quien, como yo, vive en el enmarañado campo de la historia. *Mis tradiciones, más que mías, son de ese cronista que se llama pueblo*, auxiliándome, y no poco, los datos y noticias que en pergaminos viejos encuentro consignados. Mía es, sin duda, la tela que las viste; pero no el hecho fundamental. *Soy un pintor que restaura y da colorido a cuadros del pasado*[44].

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[42] José de la Riva-Agüero, "Homenaje centenario a D. Ricardo Palma", Alicante, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2008. Edición digital a partir de *Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo,* Santander, Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo, 1933, págs. 275-296. URL: http://www.cervantesvirtual. om/obra-visor/boletin-de-la-biblioteca-de-menendez-pelayo--40/html/3Dir00 929_005.htm.Consulta realizada en 15 de mayo de 2014.
[43] *Ibídem*, pág. 193. Las cursivas son nuestras.
[44] Carta del 18 de enero de 1878 a Carlos T. Robinet, en Ricardo Palma, *Epistolario*, Lima, Cultura Antártica, 1949. Cit. en Luis Jaime Cisneros, "Palma en su epistolario", edición digital a partir de *Revista de la Casa Museo Ricardo Palma*, nº 2, 2001. URL: http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/s ervlet/SirveObras/9137275410302627475449 1/p0000002.htm. Consulta realizada en 11 de mayo de 2008. Las cursivas son nuestras.

Una vez más Ricardo Palma explica que su obra pertenece al pueblo peruano porque él compone su obra para que los habitantes de Perú conozcan su historia, acepten sus raíces y por lo tanto el autor de las *Tradiciones* reescribe el pasado para que todos y cada uno de los peruanos lo entiendan. Sobre esta fusión de Palma con su patria, Augusta Palma, una de las hijas del tradicionista, encontró una curiosa analogía entre las iniciales del nombre del escritor y las del país: "La R y la P, letras que tanto significan para mí; ellas representan República Peruana, mi grande amor a la patria; Ricardo Palma, mi íntimo sentir filial" (Porras Barrenechea 1971: 111).Además de haber escrito "una obra que sólo tiene en Garcilaso un antecedente digno de su trascendencia, de su significación esencial" (Miró 1953: 177), el tradicionista cumplió con todas sus obligaciones y responsabilidades, "como ciudadano, como escritor, como hombre"(Miró 1953: 177). En definitiva, y para concluir con esta introducción al anclaje de Palma entre el pasado y el presente, recurramos a una de sus más significativas declaraciones: "literariamente, tengo lamanía de vivir en el pasado. El ayer siempre es poético: es una especie de sol al que apenas se le ven manchas, porque está muy lejos" (Palma 1952: 490).

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Lenea şi beţia reprezentate
în proverbele româneşti şi spaniole

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Rezumat

Proverbele sunt formulări sintetice ale unor adevăruri general valabile care fac referire la o întreagă filosofie a vieţii, prezentând o societate rurală, tradiţională. Această societate de odinioară a fost condusă după norme tradiţionale nescrise, acceptate de întreaga comunitate. Însă, când aceste norme erau încălcate, se distrugea echilibrul social şi moral. Rolul proverbelor morale constă în surprinderea caracteristicilor comportamentale ale individului şi în restabilirea normelor eticii încălcate. Prin aceste proverbe morale se obţine un tablou al valorilor morale ale unui popor. Astfel, prin caracterul didactico-moralizator, proverbele încearcă să refacă echilibrul social prin indicarea, sancţionarea şi corectarea viciului. Două dintre defectele cele mai grave într-o societate rurală sunt lenea şi beţia, care sunt aspru sancţionate în proverbe, „purtătorii" acestor vicii fiind supuşi râsului şi ridicolului. Atât lenea, cât şi beţia sunt reprezentate în proverbe mai ales prin numirea directă a viciului, sau prin purtătorul acestor vicii: leneşul sau omul leneş; beţivul sau omul beţiv. Pe lângă aceste reprezentări directe, lenea şi beţia sunt zugrăvite şi prin actanţi umani, care aparţin mediului rural (în special preotul) şi non-umani (în special din mediul animal). Mentalitatea populară a transmis de-a lungul timpului, din generaţie în generaţie, respectul pentru muncă în formarea individului, dar şi comportamentele lipsite de exces, concretizate mai ales prin cumpătare la mâncare şi băutură. De aceea leneşul şi omul beţiv trebuie reabilitaţi în societatea rurală prin intermediul proverbelor, prin care se încearcă refacerea echilibrului moral.

Cuvinte cheie

actant, beţie, lene, proverb, viciu.

Introducere

Obiectivul acestei lucrări este de a prezenta câteva dintre proverbele reprezentative despre beţie şi lene, două dintre viciile cel mai frecvent întâlnite la membrii unei societăţi, precum şi protagoniştii prin care se realizează cele două vicii sau care se identifică acestea. Dorim să observăm, de asemenea, gradele de echivalenţă dintre proverbele româneşti şi spaniole, precum şi asemănările şi deosebirile culturale. În mentalitatea colectivă s-au înrădăcinat stereotipuri care redau prin diferiţi actanţi, umani sau non-umani, caracteristici şi comportamente umane (în cazul acestui articol beţia şi lenea). Prin proverbe se stabileşte o relaţie între limba şi gândirea populară, care converg către experienţele umane. O analiză a limbajului paremiologic este importantă pentru a cunoaşte şi înţelege cultura şi viaţa cotidiană rurală, dar este şi un mijloc de a reliefa caracteristicile lingvistice ale acestor microtexte didactico-moralizatoare. Proverbele au extras de-a lungul

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secolelor pedagogia populară, deoarece nu sunt altceva decât rezultatul experienței și al valorilor unei comunități. Rolul acestora este de a sancționa și îndrepta membrii comunității care se abat de la regulile morale stabilite în comunitate. Astfel, prin fina ironie, dar și prin sfaturile și învățăturile cuprinse în proverbele despre lene și beție, se încearcă îndreptarea purtătorilor acestor vicii. În cultura paremiologică românească și spaniolă se observă asemănări atât la nivel conceptual, cât și la nivel moral. Există proverbe asemănătoare atât prin conținutul semantic, cât și prin purtătorii acestor vicii între cele două culturi, ceea ce conduce la o luptă universală împotriva viciilor.

Lenea și beția în proverbe

Proverbele redau viziunea autorilor populari anonimi într-o formă scurtă și concisă, exprimând adevăruri cu valoare generală, care abundă de informații despre viața și membrii comunităților rurale. Există proverbe universale care exprimă o reflecție sau o învățătură general umană și proverbe care reflectă particularități socioculturale ale unei comunități. Ion Dodu-Bălan considera proverbele

> o formă a conștiinței etice a omului și a popoarelor, o *formă de exprimare…* O formă de autodefinire și de mărturisire a superiorității omului; un mijloc de cunoaștere și autocunoaștere, de pătrundere în tainele universului spiritual și de existență social-istorică a ființei umane; o cale de tezaurizare a înțelepciunii multimilenare a umanității. (Bălan 1974: VI)

Colecțiile de proverbe cuprind materialul paremiologic al unei culturi, fiind adevărate panorame ale mentalității unor comunități, cel mai adesea rurale, a viziunii acestora asupra lumii înconjurătoare și a activităților zilnice desfășurate în cadrul acestor comunități. De asemenea, sunt arhivele stereotipurilor comportamentale redate și transmise din generație în generație prin proverbe. Stereotipul comportamental se manifestă în proverbe prin diferite imagini, protagoniști sau idei acceptate de o întreagă comunitate, fiind doar o concepție simplificată a unui personaj sau tip de personalitate. Ca forme ale limbii, proverbele prezintă o varietate de caracteristici artistice și gramaticale, precum și o particularitate lexicală, precum arhaismele și regionalismele. Din punct de vedere lingvistic, Gloria Corpas Pastor (1997: 148 și 150) identifică "cinci caracteristici definitorii [ale proverbelor]: lexicalizarea, autonomia sintactică și textuală, valoarea de adevăr general și caracter anonim", iar printre particularități sunt amintite: "sensul metaforic, caracterul tradițional și scopul didactic și dogmatic." Majoritatea proverbelor prezentate au echivalente în cele două limbi, română și spaniolă. Gradele de echivalență sunt: echivalență totală (proverbe care corespund total în cele două limbi la nivel formal, lexical și conceptual), echivalență parțială (proverbe care corespund parțial în cele două limbi la nivel formal, lexical și total la nivel conceptual) și conceptuală (proverbe care nu corespund în cele două limbi la nivel formal și lexical, dar corespund din punct de vedere al conținutului semantic). Există, de asemenea, proverbe care au caracter național sau tradițional, care nu au echivalente în cele două limbi. Acestea sunt cele mai numeroase, deoarece redau modul de a gândi și particularitățile unui popor. Astfel, vom

identifica cu uşurinţă în corpusul folosit pentru realizarea acestui articol cele patru tipuri de echivalenţă.

Două dintre cele mai întâlnite şi blamate vicii în cadrul unei comunităţi sunt lenea şi beţia. De-a lungul timpului, oamenii au încercat să păstreze un echilibru între membrii comunităţii, un echilibru bazat pe dogme şi învăţături bisericeşti, care au ca scop răspândirea valorilor morale, a virtuţilor. Religia creştină consideră lenea un păcat capital, deoarece starea de inactivitate generează alte păcate precum hoţia, minciuna etc., care au efecte nocive şi periculoase asupra membrilor unei societăţi. Atât în limba română, cât şi în spaniolă există două proverbe echivalente parţial care susţin ideea că lenea este mama, sursa şi suportul tuturor viciilor: *Lenea e începutul răutăţilor - La ociosidad es la madre de todos los vicios* (proverb echivalent conceptual), deoarece acest viciu împiedică omul să-şi conducă viaţa prin intermediul virtuţilor şi să ajungă la valorile morale prin comportamente pozitive. Purtătorul acestui viciu este lipsit de acţiune, negând orice activitate, fapt care conduce la anumite lipsuri: *Cine mult iubeşte somnul, hainele de pe el curg ca aluatul - Mucho dormir causa mal vestir* (proverbe echivalente parţial); la lipsa hranei: *Cine nu munceşte nu mănâncă - El que no trabaja, no come* (proverbe echivalente total), *Cine vara petrece cântând/ Iarna rămâne flămând, Cine ziua e leneş rămâne flămând pe noapte, Lenea e cucoană mare/ care n-are de mâncare, En esta vida, caduca,/ El que no trabaja no manduca;* la sărăcie: *Lenea este începutul sărăciei - Pereza, llave de pobreza* (proverbe echivalente conceptual), *Lenea merge încet şi sărăcia o ajunge din urmă - Anda tan despacio la pereza, que siempre la alcanza la pobreza* (proverbe echivalente parţial), *Cine munceşte, pâinea nu-i lipseşte, iar cine se leneveşte, sărăcia de el se lipeşte* şi uneori chiar la moartea individului cuprins de inactivitate: *Leneşul moare de foame şi doniţa la gură nu poate s-o ridice, Sârguinciosul se desfată mâncând, iar leneşul şi moare flămând, Vara-ntins la umbră doarme/ Şi iarna moare de foame.* Pe lângă lipsurile pe care le atrage după sine lenea şi pe care purtătorul acestui viciu le suportă, de omul leneş se lipeşte defectul limbuţiei, deoarece lipsa de activitate dezvoltă şi alte defecte umane: *Are bună gură,/ Dar la şură nu-i strânsură - La lengua larga es señal de mano corta* (proverbe echivalente conceptual), *Bun de gură, rău de lucru - Hombre hablador, nunca hacedor* (proverbe echivalente parţial), *Care tot mereu vorbeşte/ El treaba şi-o zăboveşte - Cuando anda la lengua, paran las manos* (proverbe echivalente conceptual).

Alături de proverbele care au ca protagonist viciul propriu-zis (*lenea – la pereza*), actanţii cel mai frecvent întâlniţi sunt bărbatul şi femeia, însă apar uneori şi actanţi non-umani. Bărbatul este reprezentat fie prin viciul pe care îl poartă, *leneşul, trândavul – el perezoso*: *În casa trândavului e sărăcie lucie - El perezoso siempre es menesteroso* (proverbe echivalente conceptual), *Cine la tinereţe e leneş, suferă la bătrâneţe, Cucul cântă, iar leneşul stă şi numără, În casa leneşului totdeauna e sărbătoare, Leneşul ca o piatră aruncată în tină zace, El hombre perezoso, en la fiesta es acucioso, El mozo perezoso por no dar un paso, da ocho,* fie prin identitatea etnică, întâlnită în două proverbe spaniole *ţiganul – el gitano: Si quieres ver a un gitano trabajar, métalo en un pajar* şi *evreul – el judío: No es el judío para el trabajo, ni el trabajo para el judío.* Femeia este reprezentată prin viciul pe care îl poartă, *leneşa – la holgazana, la haragana*: *Leneşa, când se*

scoală,/ Pare că are ouă în poală, A la haragana en la tarde le viene la gana, La holgazana vieja, el sábado coge rueca, Mujer ociosa ante el espejo se pasa las horas, prin poziția pe care o ocupă în societate: *Al alba de la duquesa, que da el sol a media pierna* sau activitatea zilnică pe care nu dorește să o îndeplinească: *La cântare e vestită/ Însă nu ştie face pită, La horă mă îndes, mă îndes, iar de furcă fug cât pot, Mama-mpunge, fata trage,/ Mândră cămăşuică face, Muierea bărbată, de abia intră în război şi se încurcă iţele, Muierea care nu vrea să plămădească, toată ziua cerne, Zena până se îmbracă/ A supt viţelul la vacă.* Ca actanţi zoomorfici prin care este reprezentată lenea în proverbe am întâlnit vulpea în două proverbe echivalente parţial în cele două limbi: *Vulpea care doarme nu prinde găini - A raposa durmiente no le amanece la gallina en el vientre* (proverb echivalent parţial) şi pisica tot în două proverbe echivalente parţial şi un proverb fără echivalent în limba română: *Cu papuci în picioare nu prinde pisica şoarecele - Gato con guantes no caza ratones* (proverb echivalent parţial)*, Peces quiere el gato; mas no entrar en el agua.*

Beția este, de asemenea, un viciu prin care „se distrugea echilibrul social şi moral" (Canciovici 1984: 7) al unei comunităţi, în special rurale, şi care este foarte bine conturat în proverbe. Acest viciu se manifestă prin necumpătarea la băutură, ceea ce conduce către o decădere morală a individului. Băutura în exces deformează realitatea şi îl face pe om să îşi schimbe caracterul şi să piardă controlul asupra comportamentului său, fapt subliniat în proverbul românesc *La beţie omul este pisică, maimuţă şi la urmă porc*. Beţia, deşi nu este în sine un păcat capital (fiind inclus în păcatul lăcomiei), conduce la alte defecte morale, deoarece purtătorul acestui viciu, prin pierderea raţiunii poate acţiona inconştient. Astfel, beţia este asociată cu lenea: *La muierea băutoare,/ Nu treabă cuptorul mare, Unii muncesc până mor/ şi alţii beau cu capul gol, Vai de bărbăţelul meu,/ El munceşte şi eu beu,* cu sărăcia: *Ce-a câştigat într-o vară a beut într-o seară, Cine bea vin îşi bea punga şi mintea, ba şi sănătatea, Cu mâncarea nu prăpădeşti cărarea,/ dar cu berea-ţi prăpădeşti averea, Pocalele multe de-ţi plac,/ Te face om sărac* cu pierderea raţiunii: *Fie omul cât de bun,/ Vinul îl face nebun - El buen vino hace mala cabeza* (proverbe echivalente parţial), *Unde intră vinul, ruşinea iese de acolo - Donde el vino entra, la verdad sale* (proverbe echivalente parţial), *Omul la beţie/ Cade-n nebunie - Do entra beber, sale saber* (proverbe echivalente conceptual), *Bea de se turteşte şi cocă se face, Cine bea mult vin îşi bea şi minţile, La buciumul viţei trei vlăstari cresc: unul al sănătăţii, altul al veseliei şi altul al tulburării, Omul beţiv nu ştie ce face, Omul când e beat se crede împărat, El mucho vino, saca al hombre de tino* şi cu limbuţia: *Ce e în inima treazului,/ Stă în gura beatului - Cuando el vino entra, el secreto sale afuera* (proverbe echivalente conceptual), *Cel cuprins de băutură/ Nu ştie ce-i iese din gură - Después de beber, cada uno dice su parecer* (proverbe echivalente conceptual), *De la nebun şi de la beat adevărul este lesne de aflat, Multe spune românul la beţie, El vino da buena lengua.*

Alături de proverbele care au ca protagonist viciul propriu-zis (*beţia – la borrachera*): *Omul la beţie îşi dă arama pe faţă, Beţia e sărăcie grozavă, Fala şi beţia/ Aduc sărăcia, Beţia e nebunie cu voie, Beţia e uşa tuturor răutăţilor* şi de

mijlocul prin care se realizează acesta (*băutura – la bebida*): *Băutura e sămânţă de vorbă*, *Cine băutura iubeşte,/ de sărăcie se găteşte*, actanţii cel mai frecvent întâlniţi sunt bărbatul şi femeia, însă apar uneori şi actanţi non-umani. Bărbatul este reprezentat prin viciul pe care îl poartă, *beţivul – el borracho*: *Beţivul, când este beat,/ Îi pare că e împărat, Omul beţiv, la beţie, scoate din gură ceea ce are la trezie, Beţivul îşi bea şi straiele şi minţile, Al borracho fino, ni el agua basta ni el vino, Dice el borracho lo que tiene en el papo* sau prin funcţia pe care îl ocupă în societate *preotul: Gâtul popii, litră dreaptă, Popa bat/ şi Ivan nici gustat.* Femeia apare în proverbe prin asocierea acesteia cu viciul *femeia beţivă/băutoare – la mujer vinosa, beţiva – la borracha.* Spre deosebire de proverbele în care apar bărbaţii purtători ai acestui viciu, unităţile paremiologice despre beţie în care apar femeile redau o imagine mult mai aspră, deoarece pentru mentalitatea populară o femeie care bea este mai aspru condamnată: *Baba învie de răchie,/ Moşu moare de jigoare, Mândra bea şi chiuieşte; mândrul tace şi plăteşte, Ţara piere de tătari şi ea bea cu lăutari, La borracha no quiere pasas, La mujer de mal recado, de beber tiene cuidado, La mujer que mucho bebe, tarde paga lo que bebe, Mujer que al vino se da, ¿a qué vicio no se dará?, Mujer vinosa, desastrosa, Mujer vinosa, mujer lujuriosa, Mujer vinosa, no hay en el mundo peor cosa.*

Concluzii

Proverbele au fost create în timpuri îndepărtate de către autori populari anonimi, care au redat mentalităţi, comportamente şi imagini cotidiene care sunt marca unui popor. Aceştia au captat în proverbe măiestria limbii orale, care s-a cristalizat, prin intermediul paremiografilor, în colecţii, iar colecţiile au transmis de-a lungul secolelor înţelepciunea populară. Unele proverbe, cu caracter universal, se întâlnesc în mai multe limbi, existând între ele diferite grade de echivalenţă. Altele, sunt proprii poporului şi culturii pe teritoriul cărora au fost create, având un caracter naţional sau regional. Am observat în materialul paremiologic folosit în acest articol faptul cele mai multe proverbe nu au echivalent în cele două limbi, ca urmare a realităţilor sociale şi morale specifice fiecărui popor în parte. Următoarea categorie este aceea a proverbelor care corespund gradului de echivalenţă conceptuală; proverbele echivalente parţial sunt inferioare numeric celor echivalente conceptual, iar cele mai rare sunt cele care au un grad total de echivalenţă (un singur proverb). Compararea proverbelor din două sau mai multe limbi şi identificarea gradelor de echivalenţă dintre acestea ne indică un mod de multe ori comun de a gândi şi de a interpreta realităţile cotidiene, precum şi o luptă a comunităţii împotriva viciilor şi a dezechilibrului social şi moral. Astfel, prin intermediul ironiei proverbelor despre lene şi beţie membrii comunităţii, care pun accent pe muncă şi pe valorile pozitive, doresc să-i reabiliteze pe purtătorii acestor vicii.

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Diversité multiculturelle, francophonie
et les études de genre

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abstract
Resumé

Ayant comme prémisse l'idée que l'écriture féminine est différente de l'écriture masculine, Virginia Woolf a abordé dans ses œuvres la mentalité « androgyne » plutôt parce qu'elle est naturellement une intellectuelle créatrice, de même on peut affirmer qu'elle utilisait le syntagme écriture féminine, en mettant l'accent sur l'aspect sensible et mystérieux.

Le mystère qui caractérise par ailleurs l'écriture féminine est apparemment ce qui manque dans l'écriture des hommes. La quête qu'elle mène est un argument pour l'authenticité, pour l'honnêteté de l'écriture, pour l'inconvénient d'être réduite –en tant que femme - à quelques rôles qu'elle aurait joués dans la société.

J 'ai choisi pour cette analyse les écrits de cinq femmes écrivains qui viennent d' espaces différents (Amélie Nothomb, Anaïs Nin , Abla Farhoud, Ying Chen, Nelly Arcan) qui proviennent de cultures différentes, avec un passé différent et ayant des formations différentes, cinq femmes écrivains qui mettent l'accent, dans le contexte du multiculturalisme qui caractérise le XXe siècle, sur l'appartenance à un certain type de littérature, notamment, la littérature féminine, ayant des traits distinctifs, avec des accents qui viennent d'un sentimentalisme exacerbé, calme, sensible et choquant en même temps, dans le cas de l'être féminin, auteur et personnage de la littérature érotique. Le trait qui les unit sur l'axe imaginaire du temps, c'est l'écriture. Ces écrivains femmes montrent leur désir de surmonter la condition de la femme, épouse ou mère, maîtresse parfois. Les réalités de ces femmes, le plus souvent des réalités funestes, sont mieux perceptibles que les réalités révélées par les hommes.

Mots-clés

diversité, multiculturalité, francophonie, féminisme, études de genre.

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1. Francophonie, multiculturalisme francophone - sources de diversité

Le concept de *multiculturalisme* (en même temps le concept d'*altérité* - n.n.- culturelle) sera analysé en fonction de la relation diachronie/synchronie, essayant de réaliser une délimitation dans le temps et une distinction entre les deux espaces temporels.

Le multiculturalisme offre aussi des informations sur l'origine politique d'un pays, il ne cible pas seulement la langue ni uniquement les aspects d'ordre administratif.

Si l'on parle de multiculturalisme en France ou en Belgique c'est une chose, mais au Canada la situation est différente. La partie dite " française" est souvent l'espace géographique où les gens parlent le français, tandis que la partie dite "anglaise" est souvent le territoire où les gens utilisent l'anglais. Les différences sont nettement acceptables, même si les deux parties n'arrivent pas à avoir des choses en commun, sinon dans le pays appelé le Canada. Les différences de mentalité sont assez difficiles à comprendre et il y a de même celles économiques, culturelles, sociales.   Chaque pays nous montre un modèle; modèle de citoyenneté, modèle d'une société, modèle des valeurs et modèle des typologies culturelles, personnelles, des gens, etc. La diversité en multiculturalisme nous donne la définition de l'échange perpétuel en essayant de communiquer et aussi de comprendre les différences qui nous apportent une richesse extraordinaire.

La littérature migrante / Le métissage culturel

Dans le chapitre Une « migrance » postcoloniale, introduit dans La pensée postcoloniale: considérations critiques, esthétiques et éthiques, écrit par Marie Carrière, Prof. HDR à l'Université Alberta de Canada, elle parle "d' appartenance" et de "désappartenance" quand se pose la question des choses caractéristiques des écritures migrantes. Elle parle aussi du fait d'aborder la littérature migrante avec une influence transculturelle.

Selon Pierre Nepveu, ces relations transculturelles représentent "une étape nouvelle de la culture " (Nepveu 1989: 29), elle se définissent d'emblée comme "l'expérience même de la rupture et de l'indétermination [...] un processus infini, inachevable, de liaisons à même de créer une série tout aussi infinie de ruptures" (Nepveu 1989: 19).[46]

Il existe aussi l'idée, liée au métissage des cultures, d'un choc culturel, comme la " transculture " est le fait qui génère des conflits entre les générations aussi. La transculture est, en effet, le résultat d'un "choc culturel" (Caccia cit. ds. Harel 2005: 105), qui donne à la fois, le mélange des langues.

2. Les études de genre

Les études de genre ont deux parties importantes à analyser: la partie éducative et aussi la partie de recherche. Une question s' impose toujours: pourquoi les femmes sont elles définies par rapport aux autres? L 'héritage biologique fait la

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[46] *Marie Carrière- La pensée postcoloniale: considérations critiques, esthétiques et éthiques,* en ligne.

différence entre femmes et hommes mais quelle est vraiment la différence par rapport aux autres héritages du point de vue culturel aussi et le privilège de l 'éducation , l 'image que la femme a dans la société? Pourquoi l 'activité au sein de la maison n 'est - elle pas évalué comme travail, par exemple? Quand on sait, que, de plus, surtout dans les sociétés plus traditionnelles, sont les femmes qui sont plus actives?

Sous la titulature des études de genre/ ou études féminines, les recherches ont essayé d'aborder des visions interdisciplinaires, multidisciplinaires, et transdisciplinaires, de voir quelles sont les différences entre les femmes et les hommes. Même dans le domaine de la sociologie l' optique a plutôt changé, avec une alternative introduisant une autre variable : " la différence sexuelle", comme point de départ.

Les études de femmes ou de genre c' est un concept qui vient d' Amérique , et il est utilisé dans les pays anglophones , tandis qu' en Europe est utilisé le terme d' études féministes, qui place sur une autre position les études de genre, qui est la dernière expression utilisée pour ce type d' études.

Anne Marie Houdebine, qui a publié plusieurs recherches sur le sujet de la féminisation, a posé une question: " Or, l 'identité sociale passant par la nomination, pourquoi les femmes ne seraient- elles pas nommées dans leurs métiers par des désignations scientifiques qui les feraient reconnaitre aussi comme citoyennes et êtres sociaux ?*" (*Cécile Mathieu - *D 'une idéologie de la femme à l 'élaboration d' un point théorique linguistique* , dans *Le féminin est toujours à revisiter. Une introduction* dans *Avatars du féminin dans l 'imaginaire francophone* , Editions Junimea, Iasi 2008)

C 'est une question de genre féminine ainsi posée qui met l 'accent sur la position de la femme dans la société . Dans ces livres choisis pour l' analyse on a plusieurs types différents:

Dounia, le personnage principal de *Le bonheur a la queue glissante* d'Abla Farhoud, n 'as pas de travail, son mari est le seul qui a un boulot et qui connait tout. Elle sait seulement comment préparer la nourriture pour ses enfants. Elle ne connait pas le français et c' est le motif principal pour la manque d' emploi. Son exil sera toujours le même: à l ' intérieur du foyer, avec sa famille.

La solitude, l 'échec probablement, l 'apparence contrastante inconnue, la nécessite de réaliser un instrumentaire parfait et nécessaire pour survivre, sont aussi d' autres thèmes importants à mentionner et à analyser.

Dans ce premier roman, publiée en 1988, Abla Farhoud raconte l 'histoire du personnage principal intitulé Dounia (qui signifie "univers" en arabe), une vieille femme de 75 ans qui ne sait ni écrire ni lire et qui ne parle que l 'arabe. Dounia parle très peu et elle croit d' elle même qu'elle est muette , en utilisant dans son langage des dictons de son pays d' origine et aussi des proverbes. Par contre, l 'importance qu'on accorde aux mots ou au silence se reflète au cours d' un monologue intérieur du narrateur et de la protagoniste. *Le bonheur a la queue glissante* raconte un double exile: d' une famille libanaise /exile géographique, physique, mais aussi un exile intérieur. Dounia, Salim (son mari), en même temps que leurs enfants (Abdallah, Farid, Samir, Samira et Myriam – Kaokab qui est né au Québec) quitte le Liban pour émigrer au Canada, pour vivre là- bas une période,

après ils rentrent encore une fois en Liban. Quand la guerre commence en 1975 en Liban, la famille doit émigrer pour la deuxième fois, ce qui a des répercussions sur toute leur famille, surtout pour Dounia, aussi pour Salim et pour Abdallah, le plus aîné de leurs enfants .

Le huitième roman *Stupeur et tremblement,* écrit par Amélie Nothomb, est publié en 1999, aux Editions Albin Michel. Amélie, originaire de Belgique, mais qui vit les années d' enfance au Japon, grande admiratrice des cultures et de multiculturalisme des pays dont elle fait partie, découvre des univers parallèles. A l'âge adulte, elle retourne pour travailler pour la prestigieuse compagnie japonais Yumimoto, et vivre comme une véritable Japonaise plus qu'un employée. La femme intellectuelle ou mieux dire la typologie du femme intellectuelle, est ici représentée par ce personnage qui a un rôle très bien déterminé dans une corporation de succès: (Office lady = personnage type représenté dans le roman). Mais la situation professionnelle ne l 'aide pas du tout à trouver sa place dans la société, parce qu' elle doit suivre les ordres de tout le monde. On a ici la femme qui n'a pas les opportunités professionnelles qu' 'elle désire (la femme commune, qui doit accepter un rôle dans la société, dans la famille, caractéristique au pays d' Asie, la Chine, le Japon et aussi d' autres aspects culturels de tout ce qui signifie soumission: thème qu'on va retrouver aussi chez Abla Farhoud dans ces romans) éventuellement l 'humiliation qu' 'elle doit ressentir à cause du fait qu' 'elle est femme.

La lutte permanente à laquelle elle est soumisse pour avoir une vie décente, la différence entre les systèmes, qui met l 'accent sur la rigidité et l ' inflexibilité afférente, sont des thèmes qu' 'on retrouve dans ce roman. On pourrait prétendre aussi qu' 'on a le modèle de femme libre , esprit francophone par excellence. De ces deux instances, on a l 'histoire d'un échec cruel , et injuste en même temps : elle chute sur la hiérarchie de la société jusqu'au poste de "dame pipi " poste duquel elle refuse en même temps de démissionner désirant à garder son honneur (notion fondamentale dans la culture japonaise). L 'honneur pour laquelle lutte chaque personnage de ces romans est tout d' abord une notion élémentaire et inédite qui a des profondeurs secrets à la fois. Dans tous les romans les personnages tendent à garder leur intégrité, même quand ils chutent à cause des principes/ des normes morales. Les personnages sont en essence, corrects.

Le livre a eu part aussi d' une adaptation cinématographique réalisée par Alain Corneau : Stupeur et Tremblement dans lequel le personnage d' Amélie Nothomb est joué par la comédienne Sylvie Testud et aussi une adaptation théâtrale du Théâtre Le Petit Hébértot en 2011 , le rôle principal a été tenu par Layla Metssitane.

Le roman expose le système japonais des emplois, en soulignant le désir de perfectionnement des employées et en même temps la nécessite de maintenir à distance ou d ' exclure et de persécuter les éléments déviants. La femme dans ce contexte n'est plus humaine ou tolérante parce qu'elle ne s' inscrit pas dans ces limites concrètes acceptés par la société, ou par la corporation: le concept d' individualisme - l 'individu qui est employé n 'existe pas ici, sauf l 'idée d' un robot qui doit arriver à des résultats prévus (*madogiwa* "coin de fenêtre",est ici le

meilleur exemple pour exclure un employé qui est à la fois jugé inutilement, une sorte d' humiliation jusqu'au moment où lequel celui- ci prend la décision de démissionner ou de recevoir sa licence.

En ce qui concerne le rapport entre multiculturalité et la différence de mentalités entre les Occidentaux et les Japonais , l 'auteur fait une analyse succincte, et souligne le point dans lequel se réfère à une situation particulière et même à une fantasme.

Dans *La mémoire de l'eau* de Ying Chen, on retrouve un autre type de femme, une histoire des femmes chinoises et celle des pieds, de soumission (thème qu'on trouve aussi chez Abla Farhoud), mais aussi de l 'émancipation tout au long de ces décennies, qui bouleversent la Chine. *La mémoire de l'eau* est un roman de longueur modérée écrit par Ying Chen dans lequel on raconte l 'histoire d'une vie vécue par la grand mère du personnage principal, Lie-Fei.

Née avant la proclamation de la république, dans une famille dont le père est fonctionnaire impérial, l 'enfant a le destin fractionné: soumise aux hommes de sa vie mais plutôt à l' HOMME (le roi, le supérieur hiérarchique, le père et le fils) à cause d'une sorte de tradition qui mettait l 'accent sur *le danger naturel* que le confucianisme reconnaissait pour les femmes à leur égard.

Pendant des millénaires la société *han* a ajouté des énormités et tout sort de prescriptions morales à cause desquelles les personnalités ont été mutilées mais leur autonomie aussi: qui prend ici une forme inédite: l' emmaillotement des jambes. Etant glorifiées ces éléments corporelles pour leur esthétismes mais aussi pour le fondement érotique, par la majorité des exégètes masculins, *les pieds de lotus* permettent un très grand control social sur les jeunes et les femmes, en les condamnant à une dépendance continue. [47]

Ce signe de démarcation - et de marcation en même temps devient très souvent le signe de la richesses sociale et familiale, le signe d' un statut qui montre que les femmes font partie d' un type de famille riche et très bien vue dans la société. Souvent la signification de cette opération est plus importante que la richesse matérielle.

Dans *Paradis clef à main,* de Nelly Arcan , Antoinette, le personnage principal, veut mourir. C 'est une femme qui a cessé de lutter avec la vie, une femme immobile. Mais, pour cela, elle doit être malade ou folle pour que l 'Etat prends sa mort dans les mains. Antoinette demande l 'aide à Paradis, une organisation parallèle qui fournit des services pour tous ceux qui ne sont pas malades, mais tout simplement, ne veulent plus vivre. Antoinette n'est pas morte. Tout simplement, elle est une jeune paraplégique, liée aux câbles d' une machine qui pompe le sang et l 'air dans ses organes.

Et surtout elle raconte. Elle raconte sa vie et son désir de ne plus vivre. Elle parle aussi de son oncle qui était un modèle pour elle et qui a utilisé le premier les services de Paradis, Clef en Main. Et elle parle aussi de Paradis et de son processus

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[47] Chroniqué par Philippe Cottet le 16/11/2013, http://ventdest.cottet.org/service-de-presse/outremer/ying-chen/la-m%C3%A9moire-de-l-eau

de sélection, des tests et des ouvrages que tout le monde doit aussi suivre. Elle parle également de sa mort ratée.

Dans *Putain* et *Folle* Nelly Arcan fait une autre distinction entre femme aimée et femme prostitué, ayant une certaine relation avec ses clients. C 'est une femme opposée à celle qui est caractérisée par la soumission , c 'est à la fois la femme qui soumise elle - même ou qui entends la soumission sexuelle surtout comme une preuve de l 'abandon sexuel.

En ce qui concerne l 'œuvre d' Anaïs Nin, *Inceste. Du journal de l 'amour-ne censurée 1932-1933*, On peut constater que la femme atteint les sommets de la sexualité, elle choque comme écrivaine parce qu'elle raconte a haute voix ses expériences sexuelles avec plusieurs hommes, même au dehors du mariage. C 'est aussi le sommet de la typologie féminine d' une femme indépendante, autonome, qui connait très bien ses limites et aussi ses désirs (la sexualité dans ce cas n 'a pas de limites).

3. Conclusion

La littérature féminine, dès le départ, a crée un autre univers, plus personnel, plus ouvert et plus intéressant que l'univers masculin. Même si, au début, on a défini la littérature féminine par rapport à l'écriture masculine, la contemporanéité et surtout la seconde moitié du XXe siècle ont mis l'accent sur quelques traits évidents de l'écriture féminine. Les femmes ont une vision plus ouverte, plus claire et elles commencent à avoir de la voix.

Les cinq femmes écrivains choisies pour l'analyse viennent toutes des espaces francophones différentes, mais leur message est le même: les femmes peuvent écrire malgré toutes les traumas dont elle prennent conscience et malgré le sentiment d'infériorité qu'elles pourraient avoir. Du point de vue littéraire, les thèmes exigent plutôt des questions et non pas nécessairement des réponses: la migration, la solitude, le manque d'une compréhension élémentaire, l'impossibilité de transmettre leurs émotions et aussi le courage de se confronter avec un monde masculin. Les romans sont " des manifestes" contre la pratique du pouvoir, contre les menaces masculines, contre le désir féminin exacerbé et isolé à la fois, à cause des préjugés de la société.

Du point de vue culturel, les femmes écrivains ont la capacité de maintenir leur identité même si elles sont forcées de changer d 'environnement et aussi d' emprunter la nouvelle identité du pays où elles ont émigrées. Cela donne une autre définition au terme *multiculturalisme,* car celui-ci, dans leur cas, est aussi mélangé avec l'identité primordiale et il est aussi l'effet de luttes intérieures intenses.

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Trust Linked to Culture and Communication

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Abstract

We may all have our idea about trust, what it is, how to deal with it even if it is 'hidden from view', (like culture!) Trust affects everyone in both their private and professional lives. It's obvious that trust influences our behaviour and our relationships. But how exactly? That's what we are going to see in this analysis about different aspects surrounding trust. Do we live and work in a high- or low-trust culture? What about trust in a 'Work to Live' society? Is it different from where people 'Live to Work'?

Stephen Covey compares high-trust and low-trust organizations in the areas of supervision, evaluation, span of control, motivation and structure and systems very clearly. We'll have a closer look at how it is possible to increase trust across cultures, even much faster than we might think. And we will see how important the economics of trust can be in our companies by linking trust to speed and cost.

Increasing our trust towards others is a key ingredient for successful communication and cooperation, particularly across cultures.

Key words

Trust, Communication, Cultural dimension, Relationships (non-kin).

1. Introduction

Can trust be considered as a cultural dimension? Not per se, but when we say that trust is an important issue in business and even a key in management, most of us will agree. If we want to link trust to culture we have to accept that people from different cultures have a different perception of trust.

Can we feel trust? Many people are convinced that we can feel it, but I'd rather prefer saying that we discover what trust represents when it's not there any longer, a little like oxygen. In my opinion feeling trust is an unreliable criterion within an intercultural context. Being myself from a low-context-culture, I may mistakenly not trust the person that comes too close. I just didn't realize that this person has another idea of 'close' because he/she is from a high-context culture where sitting close to each other is a sign of mutual trust. When some weeks ago I received a big envelop from The Netherlands, I interpreted the big amount of tape used on it as a lack of trust towards the French post. I asked the sender who actually confirmed that she had doubts about the French way of doing things.

Can trust be increased? Yes, fortunately we can build it up, which is not always easy, in particular when managing a team. But didn't Lao Zhu say that 'He who does not trust enough, will not be trusted'. So many people believe that either you have trust or you don't or in other words, if you don't have it, you can't do

anything about it. This is a belief or basic assumption that does not correspond to the truth. Stephen Covey is on the contrary convinced that we can increase trust and probably much faster than we think. Paying more attention to people's behaviour may often be perceived as trusting them which can finally lead to more trust indeed.

2. What is trust?

There are numerous definitions from different people but let's have a closer look at Stephen Covey's definition since he has been one of the pioneers in the field of trust. In his opinion trust is the glue of life and the most essential ingredient in communication. Who says communication says relationships that in many cases have to be built up. This is however not a quick-fix technique particularly in low-context cultures as the USA or northern Europe where building up relationships is considered being too time-consuming. People there are pretty direct and don't waste time on asking questions about trips, hotels and family. On the other hand if we want to do business in Asian countries for instance, we should take some time to get to know the people a little better by exactly asking those questions about trips, hotels and family. Does this mean that trust doesn't exist in a low-context culture? It's unfortunately a little more complicated than that and I will come back on this a little further in my paper.

Let's keep in mind that trust is the foundational principle that holds all relationships. Trust gets you to the core roots of ethical behaviour and integrity.

3. Trust and culture

Trust in particular when linked to culture may cause frustration. One of my colleagues, a professor at Novancia in Paris had learned during his studies that being in front of the classroom gave him the role of the boss, a person with status (in France) and the power to punish his students. In The Netherlands on the opposite, I had learned how to motivate my students. Or in other words how to trust them and vice versa.

Trust and culture are closely linked. Thanks to Simona Vasilache, an Assistant Professor of Cross-Cultural Management and Business and Media Communication at the Academy of Economic Studies in Bucharest I had the chance and the pleasure in discovering Francis Fukuyama, an American political scientist and economist. Making use of Fukuyama's vision of trust, Ms Vasilache wrote an interesting paper about trust in Romania that I read with much interest in order to prepare my own trip to Bucharest.

Now you can ask yourself what a political scientist and economist has to do with trust linked to culture? Because of his Japanese parents that got settled in the USA, Yoshihiro Francis Fukuyama is what we call a Third Culture Kid (TCK) to be confronted from the begin of his life with multicultural issues. Being a Third Culture Individual makes moving between cultures a very natural attitude. In his research Francis Fukuyama often refers to cultural diversity and in his theory about trust he looks at the amount of trust a society displays in terms of non-kin relationships. Fukuyama divides non-kinship trust in two categories: low and high.

A low-trust society needs the intervention of the state-in-control-of-everything, in order to make people working together. People rely on their relatives and kin relationships. In a low-trust society people work to live.

On the contrary, high-trust societies are more likely to prosper since people have no problems in setting up voluntary associations which is particularly interesting in business. People here live to work.

4. Low-trust societies

Four countries/cultures are typical examples of low-trust societies, where the levels of non-kin trust are low mainly because these nations are family- or state-minded. I will try to develop the reasons for the different countries one by one.

1) China according to Fukuyama, is a low-trust society due to the ethical philosophy of Confucianism. In the Chinese society the family and family ties are put above all. Because they don't trust outsiders – non-kin relationships – Chinese people focus on small but very successful family-owned businesses that unfortunately are very difficult to be developed into large corporate companies.

2) Italy, another of the low-trust societies mentioned by Fukuyama, is also a family-based society. There s however a difference between the north and the south. In the southern area of Italy, the residents do not have non-kin trust this as a result of the change from agriculture into industry. Many of the poor southern farmers were forced off their land and for this reason people have developed distrust for the government as well as for anyone who is not a family member. In the northern part on the contrary, the level of non-kin trust is much higher mainly because of all the industries that were set up and invited the people to work together. Here the companies have the capacity to compete on world level.

3) France is also a low-trust society but for different reasons than those that apply to China and Italy. The family unit is strong in France but is not seen as the most important unit of cohesion. France is dependent on the state to intervene and provide for the needs of the people. In China and Southern Italy people have the same amount of distrust for both outsiders and the government. The French have a strong inclination to allow the government to stick its nose into business. Many young people study at the Grandes Ecoles to become senior bureaucrats in order to better the nation. This is how several large scale corporations are run by the government. On the opposite, there is a lack in France of smaller intermediate voluntary associations that would create privately owned middle range companies. In France the people believe in their immediate family or in the government, seldom in both at the same time.

4) South Korea as the last low trust nation, can be seen according to Fukuyama, as an example of the state inducing companies to grow. This is why in Korea we are witnessing the development of many multinationals, much like those of Japan. But much like in France, Korea is missing the smaller intermediate privately owned middle range companies.

5. High-trust societies

On the other hand, by having a closer look at some of the high-trust societies where non-kin trust is exhibited at a high level, we will discover that these nations are able to develop many voluntary associations because their values are more than just the family ones.

1) Japan. In spite of having cultural habits that promote the growth of the whole, the Japanese communitarian society presses their population to belong to more than just a family structure, even if the leading moral guide is a form of Confucianism. In Japan the belief system has however been modified including changes in philosophy with respect to the patrilineal system followed by China. Where formerly the inheritance went to only the oldest son, the Japanese system now accepts the adoption of outsiders meaning that a successful business can be passed to someone outside the immediate family often leading to economic growth.

2) Germany. After World War II, as a response Germany starts to make use of a government sponsored system, called co-determination. These schemes make it possible for workers and management of large scale companies to cooperate towards a common goal. What we witness here is both a high level of social capital and a high level of trust. Another factor that helps Germany to develop economically is its sense of national unity. In spite of their numerous small companies being family-operated, the Germans are willing to count on the world market as they realize the importance and need to be competitors of the other nations.

3) In The USA as the last of Fukuyama's high-trust societies, the people have on the contrary a natural talent for voluntary associations, whether in the business world or outside in their private lives, by joining church groups or school associations to give some examples. Being highly individualistic their economy relies on the trust in others, in particular since the USA is a low-context culture where people don't take the time to build up relationships before doing business. Like in the two formerly mentioned countries, Japan and Germany, people in the USA do trust their co-workers. According to Fukuyama this natural gift for joining groups outside the family unit help develop a sense of trust. Trust that remains very high inside the family unit, even small sized as a consequence of industrialization.

6. Romania, a high- or a low-trust society?

Since the conference was organized by the Romanian-American University in Bucharest I was very interested in learning more about the hosting country also as far as trust is concerned. Romania being a high-context culture, we can imagine that it is a low-trust society where the family stands central. The family is the foundation of the social structure in Romania and forms nowadays the basis of stability for most people. The individual will turn towards their family in times of need. Romanians prefer to do business with people they know already, so building relationships before business is very important.

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But there is another important factor besides these family ties and business relationships that shouldn't be rushed, to explain this level of low trust. Like many other eastern European countries, Romania's 'membership' to the group of low-trust cultures is also due to its past when Communism and their intervention of the state-in-control-of-everything in order to make people work together, was their daily goal. Communist regimes denied the right to free association, and replaced it by tight social control. This heritage can still today be seen as a factor of distrust, in particular to outsiders (someone who is not family or a friend) that will be treated with utmost formality. But once a relationship has been developed, it is with you personally and not necessarily with the company you represent that people will seek the contact. Then everything becomes trust.

7. Implication for business

If in a low-trust society people need time to build up relationships because they want to know each other better before doing business, negotiations go much faster on the contrary, in a high-trust society where socializing is very often seen as a waste of time. Coming straight to the point is something American and northern European businessmen always keep in mind. That this can create frustration in low-trust societies/companies to form an obstacle to doing business is not always clearly understood by American and European business people.

A logical aspect of low-trust is that companies replace it by a heavy bureaucracy. You can compare it to Hofstede's Uncertainty Avoidance index when he explains how the only way to avoid uncertainty is to set up rules. High-trust societies are on the opposite allergic to bureaucracy that in their opinion is an obstacle to business in so far that it slows down the speed of work in an office as well as the speed of business transactions.

8. The economics of trust

When trust is going down, speed is going down as well, whereas at the same time the cost is going up (A). On the other hand, when trust is going up, speed is going to do the same with an interesting consequence: the cost is going down (B). To get a better understanding, I'm giving you two examples:

(A) When travelling to a foreign country, let's say the USA, most of us, not to say everybody needs a visa. In order to get one you have to comply with the country's – the American here – procedures: a visit to the embassy, on-line forms to be completed, back to the embassy to get your stamped documents. And all this has a cost eventually.

(B) A vendor of donuts in New York started to lose clients. So many people were standing in line at his shop that the wait time discouraged some of them to make them walking away to go elsewhere. He found a solution by putting a small basket filled with dollar bills and coins on the side of his stand, trusting his customers to make their own change. Most people responded by being completely honest, often

leaving him larger-than-normal tips. His customers liked being trusted and kept coming back.

9. Conclusion

Even if trust can't be considered as a 'real' cultural dimension, we can't deny its importance in situations involving people from different cultures. People don't always realize that trust can bring them much closer to a good and rich relationship, either in business or privately, meaning that trust can easily be linked to culture and to cultural dimensions such as Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance and Time Perception. Aren't our behaviour and relationships constantly influenced by our own perception of trust, just as when working or socializing across cultures, by our own trust in trust?

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La pintura verbal: aproximación a los conceptos de descripción, hipotiposis y écfrasis desde la Retórica y la Teoría literaria

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Resumen

En este artículo analizamos el concepto de "pintura verbal" en clave retórica y poética. Desde la definición deenárgeia pergeñada por Aristóteles, como la portentosa cualidad reconocible en aquellas representaciones vívidas que intentan poner el objeto ante los ojos del oyente/lector, la noción ha sido objeto de una profunda evolución, la cual entraña un considerable elenco de dificultades que determinan su ontología. Como consecuencia de la tensión que presentan las diferentes formalizaciones verbales de la imagen literaria, abordaremos el análisis teórico de las tres variantes descriptivas a la luz de la Poética y la Retórica: la descripción en un sentido general, entendida como aquella representación literaria de un referente, tanto espacial como visualmente; la hipotiposis oaquella descripción pictorialista de escenas y lugares que implica la concepción del objeto como una obra de arte plástico; y la écfrasis, definida por Heffernan como la representación verbal de una representación plástica. No obstante, ante la imposibilidad de limitar nuestra perspectiva a los criterios clásicos de la retórica por el avance conceptual que han experimentado las variantes descriptivas en el contexto de la Teoría literaria del siglo XX, defenderemos en este artículo la consideración de determinados aspectosque pueden ayudarnos a establecer una clara distinción entre descripción, hipotiposis y écfrasis como figuras discursivas.

Palabras clave

Pintura verbal, Enárgeia, Descripción, Hipotiposis, Écfrasis.

La distinción entre descripción, hipotiposis y écfrasis no viene marcada tanto por sus rasgos esenciales cuanto por la función poética que tales figuras desempeñan dentro del discurso. No obstante, ni siquiera una demarcación funcional de las tres especies descriptivas enfrentadas tradicionalmente a la narración en el contexto de la Retórica y la Poética es suficiente para delimitar el ámbito de cada una de ellas.

Es necesario, por ende, no sólo atender a sus funciones como figuras poéticas sino también no perder de vista la problemática que estas establecen entre signo y referente. Dicha problemática impide que en numerosas ocasiones sea poco menos que una quimera distinguir entre una descripción y una hipotiposis, es decir, entre una descripción que representa verbalmente la realidad y sus objetos de acuerdo a sus circunstancias y accidentes, y aquella que, al representarlos, los presenta de tal

forma que el lector tiene la impresión de tener ante los ojos no tanto una realidad física cuanto una obra de arte[48].

Así mismo sucede con la ya clásica oposición establecida entre hipotiposis yécfrasis, si seguimos la afortunada definición de esta última enunciada porJames A.W. Heffernan: "verbal representation of visual representation" (1993: 3). Hasta tal punto es problemática la distinción entre las diferentes variedades descriptivas, en especial entre la écfrasis y la hipotiposis,que W.J.T. Mitchellha llegado a afirmar, no sin cierta ironía, que "no hay nada que distinga gramaticalmente la descripción de una pintura de la descripción de una naranja sevillana o un juego de béisbol" (2009: 143).

En realidad, podemos alegar que ni siquiera los retóricos clásicos parecen ponerse de acuerdo al respecto. En parte, porque hablamos de figuras del discurso que han estado presentes desde los orígenes mismos de la poesía y han sufrido a lo largo de la historia cambios tan drásticos y tan profundos que es imposible entregar definiciones exactasy unánimes de las mismas. Podemos alegar que, desde la Antigüedad clásica, cada época ha ofrecido su propia definición dela descripción, siempre de acuerdo a aquellos ideales estéticos que la identificaban como tal.

Como sabemos, el término descripción procede de la voz latina *descriptio*: el acto de representar por medio del lenguaje las circunstancias que permiten reconocer una realidad. La descripción se contrapone pues al concepto de diégesis o narración, esto es, la representación secuencial de hechos o acontecimientos. Ambas son formas de mímesis poética: en tanto que la narración representa fundamentalmente acciones, la descripción "pinta" sus circunstancias. Pero tales circunstancias no sólo se limitan al mero hecho de escenificar las acciones narradas por parte del historiador, el poeta o el orador, sino también de figurar verbalmente lo inanimado. Esta última apreciación es clave para entender el contexto en el que nace el concepto de *enárgeia*, el término con el cual, desde la crítica alejandrina,

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[48] Si bien Quintiliano entronca la facultad de la *enárgeia* tanto con la evidencia como con la hipotiposis, llegando a comportarse como sinónimos puros en *Instituciones oratorias*, optamos por considerarlas a efectos teóricos de forma independiente. Los diferentes pasajes en los que el retórico latino reflexiona sobre la facultad enárgica, por la cual el objeto es puesto por el orador o poeta "sub oculussubiectio", nos dan pie a contextualizar y restringir el alcance de la evidencia al plano de la retórica, y de la hipotiposis al marco de la poética, conforme a los diferentes roles que cumple la *enárgeia* en uno y otro contexto. Así lo interpretaron los autores renacentistas de los *progymnásmata*, donde la finalidad persuasoria de la evidencia oratoria se desliga de la hipotiposis, gracias a la influencia de ReinhardLorich, Juan Lorenzo Palmireno y Alfonso de Torres a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI, de la hipotiposis poética. Según María de la Almudena Zapata Ferrer, "el fin de la ἔκφρασις oratoria va íntimamente ligado al fin del discurso; es decir la descripción clara y evidente tiene como finalidad última la persuasión, mientras que el fin fundamental de la ἔκφρασις poética es una mejor comprensión del relato por medio de la evidencia" (Zapata Ferrer 1986: 12-13). A fuerza precisamente de la evidencia desatada por la pintura de los hechos, el orador consigue demostrar la veracidad de su alegato; en tanto que merced a la pintura detallada que propicia la hipotiposis los poetas logran provocar la *ekplexis* o conmoción en sus oyentes/lectores como expone Pseudo-Longino. He aquí la razón que fundamenta nuestra división.

designamos la ilusión de vivacidad visual que las palabras proyectan sobre nuestra imaginación[49].

La potencialidad visual de la poesía fue discutida por primera vez por Aristóteles en la *Retórica*, tratado en el que el Estagirita estudia este peculiar efecto por el cual las palabras ponen lo representado ante los ojos. Según el filósofo ateniense, la *enárgeia* cobra vigor cuando dichas palabras forman "signos de cosas en acto" (Aristóteles 1994: III, 539, 25). De acuerdo con Quintín Racionero, de la *enárgeia* se desprende un efecto sensibilizador que está estrechamente relacionado con la *enérgeia* (acción, energía) y de ahí la confusión habitual entre ambas nociones[50]. En términos literarios, cobra vigor cuando o bien el poeta personifica una realidad inanimada por medio de la prosopopeya; o bien, merced a la correspondencia conceptual implícita en toda metáfora, dota a la expresión de *enérgeia*, es decir, de movimiento anímico, de fuerza poética, de acción, de energía (cfr. Hagstrum 1958: 12).

Ya el maestro de Aristóteles, Platón, había hecho hincapié en el efecto visual de las palabras, al comparar en *Filebo* el recuerdo con un escritor y a la imaginación con "[u]n pintor, que después del escribano traza en las almas las imágenes de lo dicho" (1997: 39b, 74). La comparación de Platón aunque extremadamente bella procede de un hecho tan significativo como que los antiguos griegos carecían de una palabra que designase de forma individual el acto de escribir, por cuanto la escritura dentro de la mentalidad oral griega no venía a ser más que un dibujo de las grafías, valga la redundancia. Tanto es así que en este peculiar pasaje señalado de *Filebo* los dos verbos griegos que designan la labor del "gramático" y la del "zoógrafo" son el mismo: γράφω[51]. Si bien la escritura perdió su cariz original

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[49] Preferimos traducir en este artículo *enárgeia* como evidencia o vivacidad para evitar la confusión con la nitidez (*nitidiora*) y la claridad (*perspicuitas*), ambas propiedades del discurso para Quintiliano en *Instituciones oratorias*. Si bien la ilusión visual de la *enárgeia* implica siempre la nitidez y claridad del discurso, los retóricos no la consideran una propiedad sino un efecto visual ligado a la figura de la hipotiposis o evidencia. Así pues, es posible defender que la *enárgeia* (visualidad imaginaria) se contrapone a la *opsis* aristotélica (visualidad ocular).

[50] "Con esta expresión (*pròommátonpoieîn*, 'poner ante los ojos' o 'saltar a la vista') designa Aristóteles la consecuencia fundamental de la *léxis*, cuando ésta se aplica a *hacer sensible* (o *representar sensiblemente*) el contenido del mensaje. Esta virtud aparece sistemáticamente relacionada [...] con la metáfora por analogía, lo cual puede interpretarse o bien como que es con tal metáfora como principalmente se consiguen dichos efectos sensibilizadores, o bien —lo que así mismo es posible— como que la operación de hacer sensible el contenido de la *léxis* es lo que hace en particular elegantes a las metáforas por analogía [...] [E]ste efecto sensibilizador se hace depender de la 'nitidez' (*enárgeia* […]) o capacidad evidenciadora de la *lexis* […] Aristóteles señala, además, que el efecto sensibilizador (y, por lo tanto, también la 'nitidez') se consigue cuando la expresión es 'signo de una cosa en acto'. Acto (*enérgeia*) está aquí tomado lo mismo en su sentido técnico —opuesto a potencia (*dýnamis*)—, como también en el sentido original de 'acción'" (Aristóteles 1994: 539, n. 212).

[51] João Adolfo Hansen corrobora esta idea aquí introducida. En su excelente artículo dedicado a la écfrasis a la luz de los postulados retóricos en torno al género demostrativo o epidíctico en el que se encuadra como figura, el teórico brasileño también circunscribe el origen de la expresión "pintura verbal" a la polisemia del verbo griego γράφω: "A equivalência de escrita e pintura no grego *graphein* permite não a identidade da poesia e da pintura, por exemplo, mas a homologia dos procedimentos miméticos aplicados a uma e outra" (Hansen 2006: 91). Por ejemplo, Dionisio de Halicarnaso, al referirse al poder descriptivo de Tucídides, emplea a semejanza de Platón el verbo griego "γραφω". Este doble sentido que encierra el verbo "dibujar" o "trazar" en griego explica por qué Luciano de

como dibujo una vez derivada en la concepción ya no gráfica sino literaria de los latinos, la connotación se mantuvopor extensión para el acto de describir: el "dibujo" o "pintura" de imágenes o fantasías en la psique del oyente/lector.He aquí el origen de la expresión "pintura" verbal que se mantendrá como sinónimo de descripción hasta nuestros días.

Así pues, aunando Cicerón el legado retórico griego bajo el signo ecléctico del periodo helenístico,no sorprende que identificara plenamenteen *De finibusbonorum et malorum*, como bien ha recogido Heinrich F. Plett (2012: 14)en su excelente trabajo sobre la *enárgeia*,el acto de describir con la pintura verbal ("verbisdepingere") y la ilusión de tener ante los ojos ya no tanto el objeto descrito comouna representación pictórica del mismo ("si modo id picturaintellegiposset"). Pero no fue Cicerón el único autor que, en los albores de la retórica romana, se vio atraídopor aquello que Platón (1986: X, 462d, 469)denominaba "pintura sombreada" de la poesía.El autor de la *Retórica a Herenio*, por ejemplo, da cuenta de diferentes figuras,cuya importancia es crucial para la historia de la teoría descriptiva posterior, tales como la *effictio* (prosopografía, retrato), la *notatio* (etopeya, caracterización) o la*demonstratio*, siendo esta última uno de los múltiples términos latinos que designan la *enárgeia*griega. De hecho, tanto Cicerón como el autor anónimo de la *Retórica a Herenio* no emplean el verbo latino *describere* sino*depingere*(pintar) y *effingere* (figurar)[52].

Aun con todo, se le suele adjudicar a Quintiliano el honor de haber sido uno de los primeros retóricos en abordar con propiedad la naturaleza de la descripción. Precisamente gracias a él tenemos noticia de que términos tales como *enárgeia*, evidencia o hipotiposis circulaban ya entre los gramáticos latinos. A raíz de la fortuna alcanzada por *Instituciones retóricas* a partir del Renacimiento, dicho efecto se convertirá en uno de los pilares centrales de la teoría descriptiva; de tal modo que, todavía en nuestros días,la *enárgeia* sigue siendo fuente de confusióny polémica entre los especialistas en la materia, a causa de la compleja teoría que forjó Aristóteles en torno a ella, y la facilidad con la que esta se ha venido identificando erróneamentecon su parónimo *enérgeia*.

Así las cosas, es de notar que Quintiliano no ofrece una definiciónde *descriptio* empleando la terminología a la que solemos referirnos cuando hablamos

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Samosata en *Los retratos* (1988: 8, 429) ensalza a Homero como el mejor de los "pintores" o artistas figurativos ("μαλλονδέτόναριστοντωνγραφέων"), consideración que alcanzará el grado de máxima dentro de la doctrina renacentista *ut picturapoesis* por influencia de Petrarca, quien en el "Trionfodella Fama" considera al aedo griego "primo pintor dellememorieantiche".

[52] Cabe apuntar que del verbo latino *effingere* deriva el nombre de la *effictio* y la *effiguratio*retóricas. Según Casilda Elorriaga, "[e]l término latino *effiguratio* significa propiamente cuadro en relieve, y recoge los dos significados griegos de hipografía e hipotiposis" (1990: 316, n. 3). La propia noción de figuración entronca con la etimología de ficción, siendo esta en origen una creación artística por medio de representaciones visuales, es decir, imágenes, o bien icónicas o bien imaginarias. Asimismo, el verbo *effingere* cuya variante original es *ecfingere*, establece un significativo paralelismo con el verbo griego □κφρ□ζω (exponer o explicar por medio de palabras una realidad). El sentido en ambos casos se orientan hacia la representación, la mímesis, de una realidad inanimada y por tanto muda. En el caso de la mentalidad griega, dotándola de voz; en el caso de la latina, mediante la figuración de su apariencia física.

de aquellas explicaciones literarias detalladas y ordenadas que representan una realidad, de manera que décabal idea de su apariencia visual; antes bien, el retórico latino define la descripción a la luz de la hipotiposis, término poco frecuentado por los críticos actuales, equivalente a *demonstratio*, *evidentia*, *hipographé* o *diatyposis*, pero de vital importancia para entender no sólo la evolución de la *enárgeia* y el establecimiento de la doctrina *ut picturapoesis* en el Renacimiento, sino también parael desarrollo del pictorialismo enunciado por Jean H. Hagstrumen la década de 1950:

> Pero aquello de poner una cosa, como dice Cicerón, delante de los ojos, se suele hacer cuando se cuenta un suceso, no sencillamente, sino que se demuestra cómo sucedió, y no todo, sino por partes; lo cual comprendimos en el libro anterior en la evidencia, cuyo nombre dió Celso también á esta figura. Otros la llaman hipotiposis, esto es, una pintura de las cosas hecha con expresiones tan vivas, que más parece que se percibe con los ojos que con los oídos (Quintiliano 1916:IX, 2, II, 92-93)[53].

Como se puede observar, el retórico latino suscribe en todo momento la hipotiposis o evidencia a la*enárgeia*,en virtud de la cual, como ya hemos adelantado en referencia a Cicerón, el orador o el poeta logra poner el objeto representado delante de los ojos ("sub oculussubiectio") por medio de una "pintura verbal".

La vivacidadenárgica que evocan las palabras merced a la hipotiposis centra buena parte de las reflexionesde Quintiliano con respecto al adorno. Apoyándose en lo expresado por Cicerón, retoma el planteamiento de Aristóteles desde un enfoque nuevo. Si bien el Estagirita ya había hecho hincapié en la capacidad de la *enárgeia* para mover el ánimo a través de la imaginación, el autor latino ofrecepor añadidura un elenco de criterios formales que explican la razón de ser de la

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[53] Es oportuno anotar que Rodríguez y Sandier traducen la voz latina empleada por Quintiliano en este pasaje, "forma rerum", por "pintura de las cosas", tal vez influidos o bien por la identificación entre hipotiposis y pintura ya presente en las retóricas del Siglo de Oro o la afortunada identificación sugerida por Dumarsais y Fontanier entre esta y la figura conocida en la crítica francesa neoclásica como *tableau*. Asimismo, cabe advertir que la traducción española de Rodríguez y Sandier de este pasaje del Libro IX de la obra de Quintiliano está mutilado. En la traducción al español no se encuentra traducida la crucial reflexión de Quintiliano acerca de la *diatyposis*. El autor latino identifica la diatiposis con aquella "translatiotemporum" (μετ□στασις en griego) que persigue la evidencia del alegato oratorio no a través de los hechos sucedidos sino por medio de una narración ficticia de los hechos potenciales que bien podrían suceder. A juzgar por la sutil diferencia señalada, podemos sostener que mientras la hipotiposis, para lograr la evidencia de los hechos, presenta una descripción enárgica de un caso real ya pasado, la diatiposis lo logra mediante una descripción vívida de los acontecimientos futuros, hipotéticos, irreales, esto es potencialmente factibles. Es interesante observar que el fundamento enárgico de Quintiliano reposa sobre el contraste, procedente de Cicerón, muy discutido en el Renacimiento a la luz de la doctrina *ut picturapoesis* entre el sentido visual exterior de los ojos y el sentido visual interior del intelecto: "non vidistis oculis, animis cernere potestis" (Plett 2012: 67, n. 7). De crucial importancia es además la máxima incluida en este pasaje referido y no presente en la traducción española en el que el retórico latino establece la distinción ejemplar para la actual teoría literaria entre el relato temporal de la narración y la ilusión visual de la descripción: "non enim narrari res sed agi videtur" (Plett 2012: 68, n. 7). Por último, cabe recordar que la figura de la diatiposis también se halla presente en los *Ejercicios de estilo* de Teón (1991: 109, 123) como una equivalencia de la hipotiposis, hecho que nos permite establecer un *rapport de fait* entre uno y otro autor, como veremos.

vivacidad visual como figura retórica. Es aquí donde encontramos la semilla que hará germinar la teoría de la écfrasisrecogida por losprogymnásmata atenienses y bizantinos[54]:

> A veces de muchas circunstancias resulta la pintura de lo que intentamos representar. […] Por este medio se pondera la compasión en la toma de una ciudad. El qué dice que fué tomada, sin duda alguna comprende cuanto sucede en tal calamidad; pero esta fría narración no penetra hasta lo interior del alma. Pero si se descubre lo que esto encierra dentro de sí, se verán las llamas volar por los templos y casas, el estallido de los edificios arruinados, la confusa gritería y ruido de los lamentos de todos, el huir unos sin saber adónde, el abrazarse otros con los suyos en el último aliento, el llanto de niños y mujeres, los miserables ancianos reservados para ver esta calamidad, el saco de lugares sagrados y profanos. Demás de esto se verá á unos cargados de la presa; á otros que vuelven por lo que ha quedado; á los que van encadenados delante de los saqueadores; á las madres forcejando por no soltar de los brazos á sus hijos, y finalmente la pelea de los mismos vencedores por sacar de cada uno más ganancia. Todo esto, aunque yava comprendido en el nombre de saqueo,es menos decirlo todo junto que cada cosa de por sí (Quintiliano 1916:VIII, v, 49-50).

A tenor del modelo que ofrece Quintiliano, observamos que la descripción entendida como hipotiposis no alcanza la *enárgeia*únicamente a través de los recursos enumerados por Aristóteles; bien al contrario, el autor latino proporciona nuevos criterios que amplifican el alcance y dimensión de la "pintura verbal" más allá de la metáfora y la prosopopeya. A su juicio, tres son los modos fundamentales de alcanzar la *enárgeia*: el primero, "cuando con palabras ponemos una viva imagen de la cosa"(1916: VIII, v, 48); el segundo, cuando "de muchas circunstancias resulta la pintura de lo que intentamos representar" (1916: VIII, v, 49); y el tercero, "cuando aquella mutua correspondencia por la que se comparan ambas cosas, las pone á la vista y las manifiesta á un mismo tiempo" (1916: VIII, v, 52). El primero corresponde al estilo pictorialista, rasgo esencial de la "pintura verbal" por antonomasia; el segundo, encuentra su fundamento en la *amplificatio* y que Quintiliano ejemplifica en virtud del modelo ofrecido de la hipotiposis del saqueo; y el tercero, que entronca con el criterio aristotélico, cuyo fundamento, conforme ala lectura de María Luisa López Grigera, vendría a identificarse con "lo que llamamos nosotros alegoría, es decir, el presentar delante de los ojos, en imágenes sensibles ideas abstractas, virtudes, vicios" (1994: 135)[55].

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[54] La concepción de Quintiliano se ve claramente respaldada por la definición de descripción que brinda Teón: "una composición que expone en detalle y presenta ante los ojos de manera manifiesta el objeto mostrado" (1991: 118, 136). Esta misma definición es compartida por los autores de la *progymnásmata* posteriores —Hermógenes, Aftonio, Nicolao, etc.—, y se halla presente en los manuales de retórica actuales para definir la evidencia o hipotiposis (cfr. Azaustrey Casas 1997: 124).
[55] Según Grigera, del primer modo señalado por Quintiliano derivan las descripciones o hipotiposis estáticas; del segundo modo, las dinámicas. Las primeras representan objetos como si fueran cuadros; en tanto que las segundas, representan las acciones como si fueran escenas dramáticas. Como veremos a continuación, la diferencia entre narración y descripción, aunque presente ya en la retórica helenística, no será asumida hasta la llegada de la retórica renacentista (cfr. Elorriaga 1990).

En resumen, para Quintilianola hipotiposis tiene lugar cuando el orador, historiador o poeta representan la realidad en función de la conceptualización del referente en términos plásticos por medio de símiles, metáforas, correspondencias o alegorías; pero asimismo, he aquí la novedad, presentandoante el oyente/lector cada cosa de por síde manera detalladay minuciosa (*ex pluribus*), merced a la amplificación del discurso por medio de una enumeración de rasgos (*amplificatio*).

La *enárgeia*,según el autor latino, es uno de los efectos más destacadospara dotar de*ornato*el discurso. Su función es favorecer la demostración de los argumentos en virtud de la *evidentia*o*demonstratio*, así como la claridad (*perspicuitas*) de la "pintura", "por cuanto esta se deja ver, y la otra evidencia la cosa" (Quintiliano 1916: VIII, v, 48). En el contexto de la oratoria, la hipotiposis lograpresentar de manera evidente la veracidad de su alegato ante el foro―de ahí que Quintiliano la denomine en tal contexto *evidentia*―; en tanto que en la poesía, conduce a la presentación de cuadros imaginarios en la mente del lector (*phantasias*).

Por otra parte, si bien el retórico latino no establece criba alguna entre la descripción y la hipotiposis, sí introduce una clara contraposición entre las variantes descriptivas mencionadas y la diégesis.El poeta que se limita a narrar el saqueo "sin duda alguna comprende cuanto sucede en tal calamidad"; en cambio, "esta fría narración no penetra hasta lo interior del alma" (Quintiliano 1916: VIII, v, 49-50)[56]. He aquí el pilar sobre el cual en lo venidero la Poética construirá la consabida distinción narratológica entre recreación de entidades y representación de acciones.

Ahora bien, en la mentalidad retórica clásica, la descripción, así como sus distintas especies, podían tener por objeto referentes que hoy consideramos tanto más propios de la narraciónque del quehacer descriptivo. Tenemos constancia de la apenas existente distinción en la Antigüedad entre relato y pintura,a juzgar por los diferentes tipos de descripción enumeradaspor los autores de los *progymnásmata*. Sorprende, por ejemplo, que los principales representantes junto a Quintiliano de la teoría descriptiva en el periodo helenístico ―Teón, Hermógenes, Aftonio y Nicolao― incluyan dentro de los posibles referentes de la écfrasis,acciones tales como cercos, batallas o combates.

Las categorías ecfrástica recogidas por la retórica clásica dan habida cuenta de que las acciones no eran territorio exclusivo de la narración en la Antigüedad. Incluyentanto cronografías ―descripción de estaciones― como pragmatografías ―descripción de objetos y acciones―. No obstante, será el retórico Nicolao quien cristalice la oposición entre narración y descripción a efectos de la *amplificatio* ya presente en Quintiliano:

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[56]Esta idea tambiénfuerecogidapor el retóricobizantinoNicolao a partir de Quintiliano, para establecer el criteriosobre el cual, en lo venidero, se articulará la oposición entre la descripción y la narración: "[Ecphrasis] differs from narration in that the latter examines things as a whole, the former in part; for example, it belongs to a narration to say 'The Athenians and Peloponnesians fought a war', and to ecphrasis to say that each side made this and that preparation and used this manner of arms". (Nicolao 2003, 68-69, 167).

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> Peloponnesians fought a war", and to ecphrasis to say that each side made this and
> that preparation and used this manner of arms (Nicolao2003: 68-69, 167).

A juzgar por el término empleado por Nicolao, cabe reparar en el cambio que se ha obrado desde el tratado de Quintiliano a las colecciones de ejercicios retóricos de los autores neosofistas. En tanto que el autor latino se refiere a la descripción como evidencia, en el caso de los retóricos atenienses y bizantinos, se emplea el equivalente griegoécfrasis o, en su defecto, diatiposis/hipotiposis[57].

El desdoblamiento del término para enunciar el fenómeno descriptivo viene forzado, como hemos visto, por la problemática adaptación latina de la vozcon que los griegos designaban la representación verbal de la realidad. Ahora bien, al asumir el legado retórico los latinos no tradujeron el término griego original por "pictura" sino que introdujeron una palabra nueva, "scriptio", dando fe así de la nueva concepción literaria en Roma. A su vez, el acto de describir pasa a designarse en latín "descriptio", esto es, una transcripción de la realidad por medio de palabras desde un modelo dado. Obsérvese que este significado casa a la perfección con la etimología de hipotiposis (bajo un tipo o modelo), hecho por el cual podemos intuir que tal vez el término en cuestión, como se interpreta a partir de la mención de Quintiliano, ya circulase entre los retóricos griegos anteriores para referirse a aquellas descripciones amplificadas de los oradores que provocaban la *enárgeia* o *evidentia* en la audiencia.

Pero la evolución de la terminología descriptiva se ve jalonada con la llegada de la neosofística. *Ekphrasis* es el término con el cual Teón designa a la *descriptio*[58]. Según María Dolores Reche Martínez (Teón1991: 35-38), Teón y Quintiliano son contemporáneos, lo cual desestima que el retórico griego se haya inspirado en el autor latino y se trate pues de una traducción. Si bien Teón no emplea el término hipotiposis, sí se refiere a la evidencia oratoria con la variante *diatyposis*, como ya hemos adelantado. Este hecho nos permite concluir que los

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[57] Ya hemos indicado anteriormente que el término écfrasis procede etimológicamente del verbo griego □κφρ□ζω. Hagstrum define la écfrasis, porejemplo, de acuerdo a unainterpretaciónepigramática de suetimología: "I use the noun 'ecphrasis' and the adjective 'ecphrastic' in a more limited sense to refer that special quality of giving voice and language to the otherwise mute art object" (1958: 18, n. 34). La écfrasis pudo estar en su origen estrechamente relacionada con la figura retórica de la prosopopeya, la cual, como hemos visto, es uno de los principales procedimientos designados por Aristóteles a fin de poner ante los ojos el objeto representado por medio del efecto enárgico.

[58] Según Graham Zanker el primer registro de la écfrasis se localiza en la *Ars retórica* que durante años fue falsamente atribuida a Dionisio de Halicarnaso. A juicio del crítico, es posible que la noción sea anterior al siglo I a.C., pero alega que si su uso fuese habitual entre los tratados de retórica, tanto Dionisio de Halicarnaso como Cicerón, con toda seguridad, se habrían hecho eco del término: "Εκφρασιςitselfseems to be a relatively late coinage and, so far as weknown, Theonisthefirst to havegivenit formal definition. We do not find an example of the noun till the first century A.D. to which the *ArsRhetorica* […] for its criticism of □κφρασις must be ascribed […] In the light of the fragmentary nature of our evidence it would be wrong to exclude the possibility that the term was current earlier, but Cicero, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and others would surely have used it in their treatises if it existed in their time" (Zanker 1981: 305).

términos *ekphrasis* y *diatyposis*/*hypotyposis* eran los equivalentes en la retórica griega para los latinos *descriptio* y *evidentia*/*demonstratio*.

Pues bien, la introducción de la voz griega*ekphrasis*no hace sino favorecer una confusión todavía mayor entre los múltiples términos en latín y griego que designan la "pintura verbal", confusión que en cierta medida ha llegado a nuestros días.Con todo, todos los términos se ven vinculados a través de la connotación epigramática implícita en la etimología de la mayoría de figuras descriptivas, por cuanto designan la figuración verbal de la realidad inanimada y, por consiguiente, muda, dando vida así al ideal que da sentido al manido aforismo de Simónides de Ceos. Este sentido se halla presente en Hermógenes (1991: 14, 187), quien emplea el término griego *hypographe* como sinónimo de écfrasis, para referirse a una representación conforme a un modelo visual. Laśecfrasiso hipografías griegas, así como las descripciones o hipotiposis latinas,son formas de representación que figuran, explican y exponen su referente mediante una enumeración de sus rasgos visuales. Asimismo, la *enárgeia*, que es el fundamento del quehacer descriptivo, le permite al poeta, historiador u orador presentarnos no sólo una figuración de la realidad sino también una "pintura" de las acciones, poniendo ante los ojos de su audiencia la realidad representada o bien como si fuera un cuadro o bien una escena dramática.

A este respecto, observa acertadamente Plett que la hipotiposis o écfrasis en el sentido retórico va más allá de una mera variante descriptiva y supone tanto una figuraciónpictorial de las circunstanciascomo una dramatización narrativa de la acción: "Thiseffectisproducednotonlybytheallegoricalframe of presentation, butalsobyitsgraphicvividness, forthereisnothingstatic in thisnarrative, but a dynamic forward movement of theaction, as in a drama" (Plett2012: 27). Este argumento es el que propiciará el doble sentido moderno de la hipotiposis señalado por Grigera: la descripción estática o hipotiposis de figuras como objetos de arte y la descripción dinámica o hipotiposis de acciones como escenas dramáticas.De hecho, la caracterización de la hipotiposis como descripción dinámica queda perfectamente reflejada en la definición que Nicolao nos brinda de la misma: "Hypotyposisis a headingbringingwhat has been done beforetheeyes and bydescription (ekphrasis) makingusspectators of monstrousactions" (2003: 7, 45, 153).

Por lo tanto, las diferentes variantes terminológicas de la retórica y los *progymnásmata*helenísticos —*descriptio, evidentia, diatyposis, hypotyposis*, *hypographe,* etc.— remiten a un mismo fenómeno literario: la "pintura verbal". Al igual que acontece en Quintiliano, en el caso de los autores de los *progymnásmata* el uso de los términos que designan tal "pintura verbal" es indistinto, a excepción deNicolao, quien establece una clara separación entre una descripción desnuda o simple y una descripción minuciosa o detallada:

> [E]cphrasis will practice us for the narrative part, except in so far as it goes beyond bare description, but what is elaborated in ecphrasis incorporates clarity and brings before the eyes those things with which the words are concerned, and all but makes spectators (Nicolao, 2003: 69-70, 167).

A tenor de lo expresado por el retórico bizantino, si la descripción va más allá de una representación desnuda y simple, en el sentido de poco minuciosa y adornada, no le servirá al orador para entrenar con propiedad su técnica narrativa; en cambio, le servirá para dotar a su discurso de *enárgeia* al poner ante los ojos el objeto representado y convertir así al oyente/lector en un espectador. Este contraste es expresado con rotundidad por Juan Sardiano en sus comentarios a los *progymnásmata*:"Thereis adifference, however, because fable gives a description in fewwords, ecphrasis in many. A description would not be the chief thing in afable, whereas in an ecphrasis it is the one characteristic thing" (2003: 216, 218).

La distinción establecida por Nicolao y Juan Sardianoentre la descripción "desnuda"de la fábula y las descripciones amplificadas de la écfrasis—entendida en este contexto como descripción enárgica— se aproxima sobremanera a la separación que establecemos actualmente entre la descripción, definida como la acciónde "plasmar verbalmente la esencia o apariencia de los sujetos, objetos o conceptos" (Azaustre y Casas 1997: 121), y la evidencia o hipotiposis, concebida a la luz de las definiciones de Quintiliano y Teóncomo "presentación detallada de una realidad, poniéndola 'ante los ojos' del lector" (Azaustre y Casas 1997: 125).

Pero no son estos los únicos argumentos que nos brindan los retóricos bizantinos. En los *Ejercicios de estilo* de Nicolao se localizaademás la primeraalusión a la écfrasis, tal y como la entendemosennuestrosdías: "Whenever we compose ecphrases, and especially descriptions of statues or pictures or anything of that sort, we should try to add an account of this or that impression made by the painter or by the molded form" (2003: 69, 167).

La consideración de las descripciones de cuadros y estatuas ("ἐκφράσειςἀγαλμάτων") como una categoría específica dentro de la tipología ecfrástica por parte de Nicolao sirve como precedente de la definición de écfrasis pergeñada por Leo Spitzer (cfr. 1955). Tanto es así que podemos concluir que todas las definiciones modernas de écfrasis, cuyo sentido pasa por identificar a su referente con un objeto de arte, no vienen a ser más que una reducción de la descripción a una de sus especies.

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Culture et Management en Algérie - Décalages

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Resumé

L'étude qui est présentée ici a démarré suite à une rencontre entre un chercheur et un homme d'affaires désirant s'implanter en Algérie. Il s'en est suivi de nombreux échanges et une volonté de part et d'autre d'entamer une collaboration sur le long terme au niveau de l'accompagnement des hommes sur cette destination peu pratiquée. Le contexte particulier est celui de la France et de l'Algérie, son ancienne colonie ; les managers français étant pressentis pour aller travailler avec et chez les Algériens. Quel serait leur ressenti?
Nous avons interviewé une douzaine de personnes actives dans des entreprises en Algérie dans divers secteurs d'activité.
L'analyse de départ a dégagé des décalages sur plusieurs niveaux : la religion, la place des femmes, le rapport au temps, le rapport à l'Etat et le rapport à la collectivité.
C'est ce dernier aspect que nous avons choisi de vous présenter dans cet article.

La sociologie de l'Algérie a été bien balisée par les travaux de Bourdieu, déjà anciens. Au vu de l'évolution du monde d'aujourd'hui, des rapportsdevenus encore plus complexes entre monde musulman et Occident, des transformations lentes mais visibles de l'Algérie même, il semble tout à fait à propos à l'heure qu'il est de redémarrer des études de fond sur les potentialités algériennes.

Les traumatismes avérés de la colonisation française et de la guerre effroyable qui s'en est suivie laissent une certaine ambiguïté planer sur les relations franco-algériennes. En parallèle, 80% de la population a moins de 25 ans et n'a pas connu ces heures sombres, auxquelles se sont superposées les crises terroristes des années 90 qui ensanglantèrent le pays pendant 10 ans et générèrent une méfiance au sein des interactions individuelles dans la société, dont il ne semble pas que l'on soit encore guéri. L'économie, longtemps assujettie à une idéologie de type soviétique, se laisse pénétrer par l'économie de marché depuis environ 2007, du fait des prises de conscience et des évolutions politiques. L'Etat, néanmoins, continue d'avoir la main mise sur toutes les grandes stratégies, dans un climat d'économie parallèle nécessaire à la survie des citoyens. C'est aussi dans ces

univers que règne l'informel, rendant difficile voire incompréhensibles, les mécanismes de gouvernance et de prise de décision.

Dans ce contexte comment envisager d'accompagner des managers français en Algérie ? Pourquoi des managers spécifiquement français ? Justement en raison de ce passé commun, riche, et à la fois handicapant et prometteur. Le handicap du passé s'estompe dans le temps des générations qui se succèdent. Il reste ce que les Algériens appellent le « trésor de guerre » : la langue française. Elle permet de nouer des liens de fraternité, tant il est vrai que les mots qui nous bercent dans l'apprentissage du monde peuvent se substituer à ceux issus d'une terre commune, parce qu'ils ont le goût de l'enfance. Même si l'anglais semble gagner du terrain comme partout ailleurs, la presse d'information reste de langue française comme celle des affaires.

De nos recherches menées dans le cadre d'un Master II à Paris Dauphine, nous ne retiendrons ici, par manque de temps et de place, qu'une seule dimension pouvant fournir une des briques des fondations du pont de liaison entre les habitudes managériales des deux pays.

Le rapport à la collectivité

En prenant pour hypothèse, le rapport que les cultures algériennes entretiennent avec l'idée de communauté, on entre dans un des paramètres essentiels des modes de négociation et d'un point clé de la rencontre. Les entreprises algériennes sont structurées autour des liens du sang. Les rapports entre individus s'inscrivent socialement dans des cercles concentriques allant du modèle du noyau familial, à la famille élargie, au voisinage du quartier ou du village dans une culture collectiviste où le vivre-ensemble est aussi affaire de proximité géographique, à la culture régionale de cette mosaïque de peuples (kabyle, berbère, arabe etc.), et plus loin, aux cercles qui se forment au long de la vie par les circonstances du travail et des rencontres. La solidarité s'inscrit arbitrairement, solidement et de manière dégressive au fur et à mesure de l'agrandissement de ces cercles. Un proverbe arabe dit : « *Moi contre mes frères, moi et mes frères contre mes cousins, moi, mes frères et mes cousins contre tout le monde* ».

La séparation public/privé est donc ici privée de sens. La question n'est pas là mais dans la position à l'intérieur de tel ou tel cercle de l'environnement de l'individu. Ce que les Européens vont appeler tradition est ici habitus et transmission. Concrètement, nous avons observé au cours de la quinzaine d'interviews semi-directifs que nous avons mené au sein de plusieurs branches professionnelles, l'importance de la famille dans les relations de travail (par exemple : intervention de la famille en cas de conflit au sein de l'entreprise)
Bien que nous ne nous situions pas en Afrique Noire, nous sommes sur le continent africain et nous retrouvons le modèle circulatoire de gestion prôné par le

sociologue EvaldeMutabazi qui précise qu'en se définissant comme membre d'une famille ou d'un clan, l'Africain fait circuler les biens (don contre don) et les personnes (réseau), l'énergie humaine (entraide), le pouvoir (l'âge et l'expérience) et les informations (socialisation). (Mutabazi, 2007)

Dans la lignée de la solidarité, s'inscrit naturellement le rapport entre générations et donc la place du respect des anciens dans les familles et les entreprises, jusqu'au sommet de l'Etat, gouverné aujourd'hui par un groupe gérontocrate où la moyenne d'âge est de 83 ans. La vérité appartient à l'homme sage et âgé et à l'imam.

L'Algérie est un pays complexe, son passé à soubresauts en fait un jeune lion vigoureux que l'on a calmé. La richesse du sous-sol et des industries pétrolières aurait dû en faire une tête de pont de l'économie africaine. Malheureusement la rente facile a amolli les énergies, centralisé les ressources entre quelques mains peu distributrices en investissement et favorisé les économies souterraines laissant les populations démunies et arriérées économiquement et structurellement, ce que les économistes ont appelé la « Dutch desease ». Mais l'Algérie a la force d'un pays jeune : jeune d'histoire indépendante et jeune d'une population assoiffée de travailler, réussir, investir et participer à la mondialisation des moyens et des avancées. Leur territoire imaginaire est celui des images de réussite de l'Occident avec ses rêves-pièges et ses ressources de renouvellement. Face à la montée de l'Islamisme, le souvenir cuisant du terrorisme est une digue de protection. Le seul remède au chômage endémique est la possibilité d'investissement étranger. Ce que le gouvernement semble avoir compris. La chance est donc que les entreprises étrangères y voient depuis l'ouverture des années 2007 un gisement de ressources et de développement qui permettra le décollage économique, financier et social d'un pays en pleine mutation.

Plus concrètement, comment accompagner les managers français en poste en Algérie ? Quels sont les éléments de décalage à prendre en compte à part le rapport à la communauté, au groupe dont chacun fait forcément partie.

En ouverture, nous ferons allusion à 4 autres aspects : la religion, la place des femmes dans la société et dans le travail, le rapport au temps et à l'Etat qui sont autant de chaînons sociaux par lesquels s'expriment différentes manières de vivre et de travailler.

La religion musulmane est omniprésente. Les questions de la prière, du ramadan, du port du voile, de l'alimentation à la cantine de l'entreprise sont plus ou moins présentes selon les situations. Il faut néanmoins noter la remontée des pratiques religieuses dans la société civile depuis les 25 dernières années. L'Algérie se situe en terre d'Islam, où celui-ci « est à la fois di noua dounya (religion et Etat), une religion qui organise les rapports de l'ici-bas et de l'au-delà » (Madoui, 2012). Ce système fondé sur la fusion des pouvoirs politiques et religieux

transforme chaque échec politique en crise religieuse et chaque problème religieux en crise politique.

La place des femmes dans les divers secteurs d'activité peut varier ; elles sont généralement soumises, sauf dans le secteur bancaire où elles évoluent dans un milieu plus égalitaire. Elles sont aujourd'hui plus diplômées que leurs confrères étudiants. Elles peuvent s'imposer par la légitimité de leur expérience.

Le rapport au temps est le malentendu récurrent dans toute approche interculturelle. Il faut veiller à ne pas le laisser devenir le facteur d'échec économique ! En Algérie, le temps sacral et le temps profane sont imbriqués (et rythmés par les prières, les fêtes, le ramadan), si bien que les faillites ou les échecs professionnels peuvent être analysés comme la conséquence d'un décret divin. Aucun engagement ne se prend sur le futur (Inch'allah) quiest soumis à la volonté d'Allah. L'atout majeur pour travailler en Algérie est la patience.

Le rapport à l'Etat est particulier vu son interdépendance vis-à-vis de la religion et l'imbrication du religieux dans la vie de la Cité. La figure du leader est liée au charisme du prophète. Le caractère militaire de l'élite gouvernementale tient des origines maquisardes de ses dirigeants. La rigidité soviétique ajoutée, force est de constater l'impact sur l'administration ainsi que l'omniprésente bureaucratie. Celle-ci a aujourd'hui encore des retombées importantes sur les relations économiques des entreprises étrangères voulant s'installer ou simplement travailler avec l'Algérie.

Quel accompagnement pour les managers français appelés à travailler en Algérie ? Manager en Algérie en tant que Français n'est pas chose facile dans la mesure où on se trouve à cheval entre deux modèles culturels qui imprègnent la gestion des organisations. Il faut viser la performance de l'entreprise tout en tenant compte des difficultés liées aux contraintes du contexte spécifique au pays. Il est loin le temps où le management reposait sur le « one best way », les managers doivent apprendre à gérer de manière multiforme l'insurrection des différences sur la base de valeurs communes.

L'avenir qui se profile est prometteur : l'Algérie est un pays plein de ressources dont les deux principales sont sa démographie et son sous-sol. Sa population est très jeune et prête à s'investir dans le développement du pays, même si pour l'instant le chômage est prédominant, les jeunes algériens font plus d'études et certains d'entre eux ayant immigrés souhaitent retourner au pays pour contribuer à l'essor de celui-ci. Car il s'agit bien de cela. L'Algérie est une manne qui ne demande qu'à être exploitée. Sa deuxième principale ressource en est une première preuve : le sous-sol richissime en hydrocarbures qui fait « tourner » en « détournant » l'économie représente 98% des revenus du pays. Gageons que cette situation puisse s'assainir bien vite afin de laisser ce merveilleux pays s'ouvrir, prospérer et jouer dans le concert du monde.

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1. Jean Stilwell PECCEI, *Child Language- A Resource Book for Students*, 2006, London and New York, Routledge, xiii + 192p.

by Alexandra PESCARU

This book is part of the *Routledge English Language Introductions* series published by Routledge imprint. It is the sixth in a series whose aim is to provide an accessible overview of language study for readers who are assumed to possess no prior knowledge. The book is made up of four sections, which in their turn are divided in eight units each, the references and the glossarial index.

In Section A, "Introduction: Key Concepts in Language Acquisition" (pp. 1-40), we are firstly presented with the existing approaches to language acquisition, namely the nativist and empiricist ones, the latter having gained greater popularity with the emergence of Chomsksy's *Principles and Parameters Theory,* as well as the importance of the input (pp. 1-6). Further on, the section covers the core areas of language acquisition, drawing on a range of examples corresponding to different ages. These include the phonological development (pg. 9-12) along with children's tendencies to employ substitution, assimilatory and syllable structure processes; the lexical development (pp. 13-17), including their ability to segment the speech stream into separate words and to associate concepts with words, phenomena such as over-extension or under-extension being explicitly illustrated.

When discussing the morphological development (pp. 18-20), the author points to the late assimilation of inflectional forms by English learning speakers as compared to the Turkish ones, which have a different inflectional system, as well as children's growing awareness of the Productivity Principle when constructing new words. The chapter dedicated to syntactic development (pp. 20-26) revolves around the gradual building up of language from individual words to larger and more complex units.

In as much as the discourse development (pp. 26-32) is concerned, the author centers his presentation on the difficulty which children encounter at first when having to establish, keep, develop or change a topic in a dialogue and what learning the communicative competence, named the recipient design, involves. The following chapter reviews literacy development (pp. 32-35) in terms of the steps which are to be taken in order to acquire the orthography of a language, the stages in learning to read and in learning to spell, the effects that explicit knowledge about language itself triggers (also called metalinguistic awareness).

The last aspect addressed in this section refers to infant and child bilingual acquisition, the author relying on various views with regard to the linguistic strategies used by children: Genessee (1993) who supports that both monolingual

and bilingual children apply the same strategies, as opposed to Fillmore (1976) that sustains the use of unanalyzed expressions and formulas in the case of children who learn a second language, as well as Ann Peters' classification (1977) of monolingual children into analytic learners and gestalt learners (pp. 36-37). How easily bilingual children forget a language if they are no longer exposed to it, the interference of certain structures from one language to another in the early stages of acquisition, the factors which cause code-switching and code-mixing, and the advantages of bilingualism, such as cognitive versatility and flexibility (pp.37-39), are also presented and exemplified in this last chapter.

Section B, "Development: Analyzing Children's Language" (pp. 42-70) comprises a set of guided practices which involve comparisons, analyses and commentaries on the aspects already introduced in Section A.

The first chapter (pp. 42-50) provides a closer look at child directed speech and how this influences children's linguistic acquisition. To exemplify how it works, the author presents Cazden' study (1970) that compares three different ways of approaching communication with children: paying no special treatment, giving deliberate expansions of children's utterances into complete and correct ones or continuing the child's utterance with a related and well-formed sentence that brings in new information.

Next chapter (pp. 50-52) looks into the process of producing the sounds of words, establishing patterns based on examples taken from Lucy Barker' and Neil Smith' studies. Chapter three deals with types of over-extension: categorical and analogical, which are established in terms of perceptual and functional features. There is also presented Bowerman's opposing belief (1978) that supports the analysis of processes of learning the meaning of words and processes of over-extension as based on association with prototypes which already are in the child's lexicon.

In the fourth chapter (pp. 53-55), the emphasis is turned on children's awareness of internal word structures which is testified by generalizing the most productive affixes to all items of vocabulary or by subtracting them from a word. The way in which a child forms words with the prefix "un-" exemplifies the discovery of cryptotypes, which take a longer time to be assimilated. The author's own research proves that children are also sensitive to phonological cryptotypes.

Chapter five summarizes Brown's (1973) finding that age is not a good point of reference when analyzing linguistic development, proposing, therefore, a child's mean length of utterance (MLU) as a more precise tool to be used, also providing us with the necessary rules for calculating it. Further examples present children's tendencies for a telegraphic speech. The author looks then into two different approaches to learning negation, Bellugi's view of negation as outside the

sentence in the first stage of acquisition and Bloom's negation inside the sentence which he views as the outcome of deletion of pre-elements for ease of processing. The chapter ends with a classification of types of negative meanings, acquired in the following order: nonexistence, rejection and denial, this way suggesting some differences in cognition.

In chapter six (pp. 62-64), the author provides data with regard to children's ability to acquire appropriate communicative competence in different social situations, while the seventh chapter (pp. 64-66) provides a closer look at the common errors made in spelling. The final chapter (pp. 66-70) of this section treats the subject of vernacular and standard dialects, drawing a comparison between AAVE (African-American Vernacular English) and SE (Standard English).

Section C, titled "Exploration: Data for Investigation" (pp. 71-110), looks in more detail at child language acquisition, provides the reader with data for his own analysis and suggests more advanced literature in each area.

We are introduced to research methods in child language acquisition, namely naturalistic and experimental paradigms, with both their advantages and disadvantages, following a guideline for projects involving children and a set of activities that refer to *The CHILDES database*, a website that includes major research projects. The section continues with a number of activities and suggestions for investigating children's pronunciation patterns (pp. 76-80), lexicons (pp. 80-84), their understanding of word formation via compounding, conversion and affixation (pp. 85-89), how they build a grammar in terms of lexical and functional categories, negation and wh- questions (pp. 90-97), their perception of politeness and use of directives as well as the types of directives that adults address to young children (pp. 97-99). In chapter seven, the author presents Kroll's (1981) identification of four stages in the development of writing: preparation, consolidation, differentiation and integration, and goes on to show children's reliance on oral structure in written language and their use of punctuation (pp. 100-105). Chapter eight focuses on the role of conversational interaction in second language learning (pp. 105-110).

In section D, "Extension: Readings in Language Acquisition" (pp. 111-176), the author included eight research studies meant to accommodate us with a variety of theoretical perspectives.

Chapter one (pp. 111-120) advances David Messer's overview of the debate and points to various research directions concerning children's language development: whether the environment and the Child Directed Speech assists language acquisition, or whether social interaction helps children correct their own grammatical mistakes given the fact that adults very rarely express an overt correction, but rather produce an expansion, and whether linking of speech with relevant nonlinguistic information helps children learn new words. Another debate

opposes those who see language acquisition as a process of acquiring formal rules and those who support the so called "verb islands". The chapter ends with a brief description of the three approaches to language acquisition: input factors, innate linguistic capacities (Chomsky) and connectionism.

The second chapter (pp. 120-127) deals with Neil Smith's model of how the words in a child's vocabulary are mentally represented and how he accounts for his son's mispronunciation.

In the next chapter (pp. 127-134), Roger Brown explains children's acquisition of words as depending on the naming practices of adults (the utility principle) and also presents the contrary beliefs on the cognitive development, one taking the direction of increasing differentiation and the other of increasing concreteness. Chapter four (pp. 135-148) approaches Judith Becker's case study on child's invention of new words, types and frequencies of innovation, at the same time drawing a comparison with Clark's research studies.

The section continues with Richard Cromer's experimental paradigm (pp. 148-155) which tries to account for the growth and change in children's grammar. In this case, Cromer exposed a number of children to a certain syntactic structure without giving any feedback, hypothesizing that the extra experience of these structures accelerated their acquisition. Another experiment, Jean Gleason's (pp. 155-162), aimed at showing how the acquisition of the social functions of speech differs from that of referential speech or syntax, since adults take a more active part in it, explicitly teaching children politeness routines. The observations center on the kind of cognition that is required to the child (the ability to recognize a particular social situation and apply the appropriate formula).

The seventh chapter (pp. 162-169) deals with a cross-linguistic approach to dyslexia developed by Usha Goswami. The review discusses English children's low score at accuracy in reading compared with their European peers in early childhood, as an effect of spelling-sound inconsistency in English, then assigns dyslexia to a lack of phonological awareness and explains the different manifestations of dyslexia in different languages. The final study discussed (pp. 169-176) refers to J.Normann Jørgenson's analysis of the factors which cause code-switching in bilingual children: global power factors and local factors, and how children learn to manipulate them according to their own desires.

This book is a valuable addition to the field of child language acquisition, as it offers a unitary and accessible overview of the subject and serves as a very helpful introduction to readers that possess no prior knowledge of it, as the author clearly states in the preface that "technical notation has been kept to minimum".

Child Language is divided into four sections which are structured both vertically and horizontally to facilitate, as the preface states, both a general

overview of the subject and the study of one area in depth. The eight chapters of each section abound in quantitative and qualitative analyses, so that they can stand as starting point for further research. Additionally, there is a theoretical uniformity which ensures that the four sections make sense in the reader's mind.

While the book does not bring very many new insights into the features of child language but rather summarizes earlier research from an objective point of view, this contribution manages to gather successfully various types of analyses, comparisons, references, activities and examples from important figures such as Messer, Smith, Brown, Cromer, Becker, Gleason, Jørgenson and Goswami. Moreover, at the end of each chapter from section A, the book provides further introductory reading and even a website with current research (pp. 72). Another strong point consists in the use of tables that summarize previously specified data, helping this way the reader have a clearer overview of the subject.

The volume is structured in a clear-cut and organized manner, making use of the same written conventions all throughout the book, and it is logical in the thread of arguments. Although overall the book is beautifully edited, it displays some minor editorial flaws: in one case an example is one time italicized and another time appears in regular font: "a simple word like cot, there is […] for the initial or final consonant of *cot*" (pp.163-164); misspellings: "trabscriber" (pp. 56) instead of transcriber, "For example, of you counted" (pp. 56) instead of "For example, if you counted", "Inititiation" (pp. 64) instead of initiation, "once they start added the *-ing* ending" (pp. 56) instead of "once they start adding […]", **"**Whey find it difficult" (pp.116) instead of "They find it difficult", " mothers ant fathers" (pp. 159) instead of "mothers and fathers". Another problem consists of the omission of words: "you will not be able look at" (pp. 42) instead of "you will not be able to look at", "an example […] would a child" (p. 50) instead of "an example […] would be a child", "in control the discourse" (pp. 63) instead of "in control of the discourse", "exact echoes the adult's English utterances" (pp. 106) instead of "exact echoes of the […]","the tendency to produce that response and related ones s strengthened" (pp. 117) instead of "[…] is strengthened", lack of final full stop in "[…] and contrastive compounds Contrastive compounds were […]"(pp. 83); a word written with a hyphen inside a line: "direc-tion" (pp. 173).

To sum up, in spite of its editorial shortcomings, Jean Stilwell Peccei's book innovates at the level of its flexible two-dimensional structure and contains valuable information on the most important aspects of language acquisition in children, abounding in empirical data which are judiciously analyzed and explained to the uninitiated reader.

2. Jillian CAVANAUGH, *Living Memory – The Social Aesthetics of Language in a Northern Italian Town*, 2009, Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 272 pp.

by Roxana UNGUREANU

The book at issue is a sociolinguistical study of a Northern Italian dialect, the *Bergamasco*, spoken in Bergamo, a city from Northern Italy. The study is realised at the ground, during many visits of the author to Bergamo. It is made up of seven chapters, among which an Introduction, a Conclusion, five main chapters and a distinct final section of Notes, References and Index.

In the first chapter, "Introduction" (pp. 20-45), Cavanaugh presents the purpose of her going to Bergamo.She went there to make a study on language ideology about the Bergamo dialect, or as she herself puts it, to study *la questione della lingua* (the language question). A comparison between the standard language and the vernacular is drawn. Each one has its own status within the local culture. The main distinction between them is that while Italian is the mark of cultivated and refined people, the Bergamasco is regarded as a crude and ugly dialect (p. 23), a sign of *confidenza* (intimacy), used either by the peasants or by those with lower education (p. 28).

In the second chapter, "Bergamasco in use: the feel of everyday speaking" (pp. 46-82), Cavanaugh makes a classification of the types of Bergamasco spoken in that territory, and tries to delineate each one's speakers. According to her, people who had a higher position were not likely to speak this dialect. She demonstrates that Italian and Bergamasco, although so different, were interrelated. It was not a fair interrelation, though, as Italian tended to be prevalent. People used Bergamasco accent when speaking Italian, or Italian words in Bergamasco structures or Italian with Bergamasco syntax. Each one of them had its own criteria for evaluating the correctness of the speaker. While Italians were classified in good and bad speakers, Bergamaschi were identified as real or inauthentic. As a landmark, a good Italian was considered the one that did not contain Bergamasco elements in it (p. 51). The vernacular was seen as something bad even by some of those who spoke it. The Bergamasco dialect was considered by women as a sign of social stigma. Italian began to be learnt and spoken as standard language only in the post World War II period. Until then, each province had its own dialect. For Bergamaschi, speaking without their accent meant arrogance, because it did not sound sincere.

What made Bergamasco sound unique was its phonology and lexicon. As regards the phonology, there are certain vowels who drop withing the word, such as 'v' from the imperfect forms (diceva – standard versus dicea – Bergamasco); regarding the lexicon, Bergamaschi use calques after Italian.At the end of this chapter, she concludes that while Bergamasco is a manner of intimacy, allowing the speaker to get more familiar with his interlocutors (provided that they knew too this dialect), speaking it too much was a sign of roughness.

In the third chapter, "Gendering language" (83-101) a clear division of the speakers of the two languages is made. The standar language is spoken in a bigger

percentage by women,especially the younger ones, who also wanted to raise their children using it, while the vernacular, being rougher and 'harder in terms of pronunciation' was spoken by men or boys, who were entering factories as soon as they were graduating their middle school, being thus surrounded by older men, who spoke Bergamasco. Even so, the purest Bergamasco was spoken in small numbers at that time, only by persons who had no relation with the modern society, such as shepherds, who lived in the top of the mountains. This division beetween the gender of the speakers, was also related to a type of social censure. Women speaking Bergamasco were 'socially forced' to give up upon it, because they were considered less attractive than the ones who spoke Italian. At the same time, men who spoke Bergamasco too much, were regarded as undesirable partners. A father within his own family tended to speak a combination of the two languages, while mothers, even they were in an intimate sphere, tried to be consecvent with Italian , because what they were pursuing was to give their sons and daughters a 'gift, something they could treasure' (p. 92).

In the fourth chapter, "Bergamasco on stage: poetry and theater" (pp. 93-138), there are presented the means wherby the Bergamo vernacular was preserved at that time. These were poetry and theater, both high genres but at the same time containing humour and nostalgia. The poetic activity from the town was concentrated around the *Ducato di Piazza Pontida*, a groupcreated in the 1920s. The Bergamasco poetry was centered around the past, the Bergamasco values, characters or situations. As for the theatrical representations, the most important company was *Tradizione e Novità* (Tradition and Innovation), made up of aproximately 20 members. As far as regards the age of the audience, there was a clear preponderence of the older people belonging to the working class over the youth but as far as genders were concerned, there was an even percentage.

In the fifth chapter, "Modern *campanilismo*: the value of place" (pp. 139-174), Cavanaugh makes a topographical description of the *Città Alta* (Upper City), the borough of Bergamo where she lived and tries to establish which area was more dominant for each language. She also describes the transition that the *Città Alta*underwent throughout the last decades.

With the sixth chapter, "Bergamo, Italy, Europe: speaking contextualized" (pp. 175-207), the discusion is drawn towards the political sphere. The vernacular is contextualized from this point of view. During the fascist period, there was a unanimously recognition of the Italian over the numerous dialects, which were considered remnants of less modern times and had to be eliminated in order for people to speak the same language. Not only the dialects had to be eliminated but also all the foreign words. After the facsist perios, the Bergamasco began to be popularized again. The main actants in this scene were the *Northern League*, a political party, along with the *Ducato di Piazza Pontida* and*Giopì* (a Bergamasco newspaper). The Ducato tried to popularize not only the Bergamo dialect but rather all the Italian dialects. It organized contests of poetry where people were incouraged to write in dialects. She then presents the situation of the immigrants, talking about their integration in Bergamo's circles.

In the last chapter, "Conclusion" (208-225), the author sticks to the status that the vernacular has within the comunity, presenting once again,in a few words,

the circles in which it was spoken and the factors that contributed to its preservasion; in other words she draws the attention, again, towards the social aesthetics of the dialect.

The book is a study which presents some aspects of the Bergamasco dialect. The concept of social aesthetics of language is introduced and is very insisted upon.

However, although the study approaches from a dettached and objective point of view the question of the language spoken in that particular territory, sometimes the tone used by Cavanaugh is very subjective. In fact, what she does is to transcribe sentences or framgments recorded during her interaction with the locals, helped by persons who understand both Italian and Bergamasco. There are descriptions of the places that she went, the people she met or the social context. She interacted with many locals, who had their share in the study. She met Bergamasco families, attended cultural meetings such as theater performances, poetry readings. Her purpose was to be in contact as much as possible with the language, so that she could do transcriptions that she could further use in her study.

As regards the information and the way in which information was provided, one can hardly find any fault except for maybe a minor issue. It was related to the erroneous translation given in English of an Italian word. The word was *sposata* and the translation given is related to the English verb 'to move'. The correct translation of the lexem would be *married*, while the translation that she identifies should have been assigned to another (very similar indeed) word: *spostata*. At this level, given the discreet notability of the mistake, I may assume it was just an error of printing.

All in all, the book which is a sociolinguistical study of the Bergamasco dialect from Northern Italy, presents this dialect in a descriptive manner, introducing the notion of social aesthetics of language. Apart from the linguistic description, it also gives the reader a complex perspective over the society, customs and institutions from Bergamo.