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MASCULINE PRESENCE IN ADVERTISING

Olga BĂLĂNESCU¹

***Abstract:** The present study is meant to analyze the way the theories of advertising communication may be made use of when the guarantee is a man. We will focus our attention on various masculine hypostases and on the degree they are exploited by the advertiser in order to promote a certain category of products and services. We also mention that we have limited our research to commercial advertising only, leaving out of our consideration the social or the political ones, as they are governed by their own rules of construction.*

***Key words:** cognitive dissonance, discourse cohesion, learning, guarantee*

Advertising has turned into one of the most representative symbols of our industrial society, a mirror of it. It is only by simply looking at the advertisements built within a specific cultural space, and we will be able to enter the universe of mentalities and values of the respective social community. The procedure is facilitated by the **signs** which contribute to an efficient construction of the advertising message:

- I. Linguistic signs (slogans, verbal clichés, inter-textualities which are specific to a certain epoch);
- II. Aesthetic signs (certain hypostases of feminine character or masculinity as well, which are representative for a certain group or for the whole society)

The human typology developed by the guarantee within an advertisement is specific to the community it belongs and illustrates real typological varieties.

In the present study, we will focus our attention upon the **masculine guarantee** as we consider him to have been ignored out of strictly economical measures.

Advertising will be viewed from pragmatic point of view, as pragmatics is the science of spoken language, and advertising represents the most obvious way of identifying the real locutors of nowadays life. The publisher uses items of everyday talk in order to make his message closer to the target. The **theory of speech acts**, keeping or breaking **the principles of communication**, as well as **the deictic categories**² will be taken into consideration in analyzing the way the advertising message is built.

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² Geoffrey Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, London, Routledge, 1983.

As long as marketing and psychology studies have proved that the feminine image can sell everything, as long as AIDA principle has been proved to work more successfully in the presence of feminine beauty or nudity, why should we not all be concerned with Eve`s delicate heiress? ³

But the masculine typology presents us an interesting variety of hypostases in Romanian advertising.

Thus, The well-known typology (the macho man, the business man, the sportsman, the husband, the specialist in manlike domains) is on the point of being improved with new identities. This is a clear proof of our Romanian mentality opening towards other realities. The man has been recently presented as a sensitive nature, too.

The universe of domestic cleaning, which has been not so long ago related to the feminine guarantee, started to be dominated by the presence of the man-specialist. So that, his opinion and piece of advice should be taken into consideration. Whether it is about domestic cleaning (see PRONTO products, Mr.Proper), or hair-styling, the man is there to give a helping hand to any woman in need: the hair/stylist recommends what cosmetics she should use to get a better look, the mechanic recommends what ablutents she should try to offer a longer life to her washing-machine.

So that, the feminine presence is little by little reduced to a strictly decorative one next to the main guarantee who turns out to be the man.

The present study is meant to analyze the way the theories of advertising communication may be made use of when the guarantee is a man. We will focus our attention on various masculine hypostases and on the degree they are exploited by the advertiser in order to promote a certain category of products and services. We also mention that we have limited our research to commercial advertising only, leaving out of our consideration the social or the political ones, as they are governed by their own rules of construction.

It is a fact that advertising fulfills two major necessities:

A. material necessities (based on the argument of quality, of improving everyday life by means of different products supposed to create and keep life happy: cleaning products, household appliances, banking services, touristic services, etc);

B. spiritual necessities (based on the argument of remodeling, reshaping the personal image of the consumer in the sense that the promoted product or service might succeed in making him look younger, sexier, prettier, more handsome, more successful).

We have thus mentioned one of the roles the guarantee has: to offer the consumer a pattern of a better life.

³ Vasile Sebastian Dancu, *Comunicarea simbolica. Arhitectura discursului publicitar*, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 2006; Mihaela Miroiu, *Gandul umbrei. Abordari feministe in filosofia contemporana*, Editura Alternative, Bucuresti, 1995; Mieke Bernard, *Societatea cucerita de comunicare*, Editura Polirom, Iasi, 2000.

The pragmatic act of the advertisement could be: `If you buy this type of car, you will be the same successful as I am`.

Owing to this **double sided structure**, advertising has been considered to be `the rational study of the irrational human behaviour`.⁴ What should we understand out of this? That the contemporary consumer purchases goods not only because he really needs them, but because he wants to be trendy, to get a better image in front of the eyes of his friends. It has been stated that the contemporary consumer is being induced a certain need by the publisher, only to increase the profit of the producing company.⁵

This is why persuasion plays an important part together with conviction by means of specific strategies.

Thus, advertising has been attributed a mythic dimension and a sociologic one, as well. They are meant to exploit certain features the target has or would like to have:

- the image of the macho man (for promoting perfumes);
- the image of the protective father (for promoting bank services);
- the image of the savior (for promoting cleaning products);
- the image of the rebel and nonconformist youngster (for promoting mobile phone services);
- that of the specialist whose scientific authority improves the impact of the product on the public (for promoting tooth paste: the dentist, the hair-stylist).

Let us follow the relationship established between the theories of advertising communication and the way they have been applied to different categories of products or services (the type of guarantee made use of should be also taken into account).

The advertising art is the result of activating several main levels.

The first level might be advertising approach to other arts: photography, literature, movies, posters. Thus we simply cannot go on without mentioning the major role the painter JEAN TOULOUSE LAUTREC played in the development of advertising. The banners created by him were considered to be real pieces-of-art promoting the new –by that time- Moulin Rouge night club.

Another source could be the fact that advertising contains a mixture of codes:

- the utilitarian code;
- the commercial code;
- the socio-cultural code;
- the mythic code.

⁴ Daniela Roventa Frumusani, *Introducere in semiotica*, Editura Univers, Bucuresti, 1991.

⁵ John O'Shaughnessy, Nicholas O'Shaughnessy, *Persuasion in Advertising*, London, Routledge, 2004.

The masculine guarantee is able to activate all the codes mentioned above. Let us exemplify.

The new BCR Campaign makes the masculine guarantee activate the utilitarian code (the promoted banking services are presented as being useful for the consumer who is invited to make `banking with BCR`), as well as the socio-cultural one, at the same time: the masculine guarantee appears in more hypostases: the tennis-man who makes the public be tensioned until it does not know the bank he is working with.

The mythic code presents us the image of the savior: the bank clerk is able to bring safety and release to citizens (the image of a couple walking on a rope, or that of the child running in the street for his ball). The same campaign activates the commercial code as it sells the product.

Our Romanian advertising activates, under such circumstances, **the theory of cognitive dissonance**. It is made use of when the consumer has already made up his mind and decided what product to choose (he had applied the **theory of learning**⁶) and even more, he wants to be sure that his choice is the best one.

So that, a new procedure is on the point of being done: it is a **post-behaviorist scheme** meant to fix his certitude.

The cognitive dissonance was applied especially for those products which were implying great expenses, or major changes of the life style of the consumer. It is about those categories of products for whose purchasing the consumer is seriously involved:

- either because they are very expensive and needs to know on what he is spending his money (motor-cars, electric or electronic household appliances, banking or insurance services)
- or because they trigger a great responsibility in the process of purchasing, for himself or for his family (medicine).

The masculine presence offers **credibility to the promoted product**. Here is a brief typology:

- the bank clerk (Transylvania Bank)
- the mechanic (Calgon);

⁶ Claude Bonnage, the quoted work: this theory was formulated during the span of time between the two World Wars, at a time when very few companies were interested in promoting their products by means of advertising. As long as competition was not that tough, the people needed only to be informed, not to be persuaded as well. So that, the role of advertising was strictly informative. The first companies who made use of this theory of learning were the producers of cleaning staff: PROCTER&GAMBLE, COLGATE, LEVER. They even created a so-called `code of thinking`, a certain `creative strategy` made up of three main steps: *the promise* (our product can whiten your clothes better than other abluent can do), *the benefice* (you will get stainless clothes, result which you could not get so far) and *the proof* (the testimonial of the beneficiary). These three steps were supposed to be accompanied by an informative and new tone, attentive to the promoted event. But very soon, all the producing companies started to take benefit of the advantages of technology. The consequence was that they were all bringing the same benefits to the consumer, their products were alike. Under such circumstances, this theory was dangerous to be used any longer by the producing companies.

- the dentist (Blend-a-med tooth paste);
- the hair-stylist.

In promoting medicine, the masculine guarantee is as persuasive as the feminine one: the father who, having caught a cold, is afraid of not being able to attend his daughter's first concert (Aspirin +C), the grandfather eager to play with his grandsons (Fastum Gel).

This theory also offers us a special creative strategy: at the beginning (the first step) the advertisement addresses to people fully satisfied with the product they use; the next step is to introduce an element which is not known by the consumer, pretending that there is a product which is better than what they have been using so far.

A mood of **anxiety** is thus induced, a **state of dissonance for the consumer** who starts asking himself in a doubt: *'should I give up the trademark I have been using so far? That one which has made part of my life for some good years?'*

The third step is the answer to this tensioned question: No, he should actually not give up the known trademark as (what a happy coincidence!) the new revolutionary product belongs to... the same trademark he has been used for years. So that, he should be even proud of his qualitative choice, envied by so many others.

We could represent the three steps in a graphic as it follows:

1. satisfaction;
2. anxiety;
3. increased satisfaction.

We may say that this strategy succeeds in making the target more confident and trustful in the respective trademark.

The advertiser will succeed in positioning the respective trademark as a leader in the market, surpassing the other similar products in the market.

Another source of advertising art consists of making use of a new **linguistic and iconic rhetorics**, owing to which a new concept is activated: **discourse cohesion** (we understand by 'discourse cohesion'⁷ the procedure of matching the textual image with the iconic one, the two of them making sense together.)

The greater the semantic distance between them (we refer to the textual message and to the iconic one as well), the stronger the impact on the consumer will be.

This is the **strategy of association**, meant to draw the attention of the public by means of this very discrepancy which exists between **cut** and **text**.

Let us exemplify.

Iconic message: - a young shepherd is making karate in the field, while being with his sheep around. The image is quite shocking as we do not expect such a scene (a shepherd making karate) to happen in such a context (in the field),

⁷ Angela Goddard, *Limbajul publicitatii*, Editura Polirom, Iasi, 2002.

while surrounded by his sheep. We obviously ask ourselves: ‘What does he want to promote?’ So that, we start reading the text.

Textual message

Headline: *Want more action?*

Body text: *Here you are the only TV channel exclusively for action movies: BOOM channel.*

If you subscribe till May, 1st, get 10% discount.

Slogan: *BOOM Action*

The semantic distance is obviously, considerable, between the iconic message and the textual referent. The advertisement under discussion perfectly illustrates the strategy of association and the **theory of promotion** as well.

This theory is developed of the following pattern: **do – learn – like** in the sense that the consumer is determined to purchase the service almost on the spot (he is given a discount), and after that he will find out more information about his decision: he will watch the movies and see that the new TV BOOM channel is exactly what he has been dreaming about: dynamism and action, the attitudes adventures fans are fond of.

The masculine guarantee, under such circumstances, presents an identity familiar with our Romanian universe: the image of shepherd, well known by our people, much seen even today in the mountains. The strategy of association appears when this patriarchal cliché is put together an up-to-date service: BOOM TV channel, dedicated to action movies. We should also bring out into strong relief that this cliché is familiar to our mentality, to our system of values, and that it would not have worked within a foreign advertising field, a French one, for instance.

Specialists have seen that the most successful advertisements which are accepted and ‘listened to’ by the consumers are those which trigger the process of **implying the target by means of anxiety** and **implying the target by means of pleasure**⁸.

When the consumer implies himself by means of anxiety, the respective product or service is connected somehow to risk (in the sense that it may turn out to be dangerous, risky). When the danger belongs to the financial side of life, the advertiser makes use of a masculine guarantee.

This procedure is explained by the fact the products with a great (high) degree of implying on behalf of the consumer generally belong to the masculine culture: banking or insurance services, motor-cars. Electronic or electric household appliances, etc. The consumer needs to be given a guarantee for the quality of the product he intends to purchase, needs to know for sure that the product is credible enough in the market, among the other similar products. The features of the masculine personality are, by excellence, safety, courage, strength, having

⁸ Bernard Williams, *Truth and Truthfulness*, Princeton, New York, Princeton University Press, 2002.

everything under control. It is exactly what a consumer would expect to have after purchasing a product.

When such products are promoted by making use of the attributes of the feminine personality, the credibility of the product (or service) is diminished, even spoiled (because the attributes would be romanticism, sensibility, emotion, tenderness, sensitivity, weakness, need to be protected, and they reflect themselves upon the promoted product or service, inducing the idea that it bears the same attributes).

It is the case of the campaign initiated by MILLENIUM BANK in 2009. It developed under the slogan `life inspires us`.

Iconic message: a bunch of pink orchids, placed near a feminine body, whose face cannot be seen.

Textual message

Headline : *It is all about emotions. It is all about you!*

Body text : *When it is about banks, most people think about money. But we think it is about anything else: it is about life, namely emotions, dreams, it is about the wishes each of us has.*

Slogan: *Millenium Bank. Life inspires us.*

The textual level induces the specific elements of the feminine universe, as well as the iconic level does> emotions, dreams, wishes, that is a clear cut of the bank from all those who `think about money when it is about a bank`. I dare ask: what should we think about when we intend to choose a bank to save our deposits? Are we not supposed to choose that bank on criteria of safety, power of protection, `strength` in the market?

The masculine presence, even funny, is more credible in promoting banking and insurance services, than the feminine one. Humor does not spoil at all the efficiency of a message. Let us think of the slogan uttered by the funny dwarfs in promoting TIRIAC BANK, the credit for personal needs⁹.

The household appliances keep on belonging (within our Romanian context) to the category of products with a high degree of implying the consumer.¹⁰

Even for the cleaning products (as far as we know, the so-called `cleaning field` is related, by tradition, to woman) , the masculine guarantee, under the hypostasis of the specialist is more credible than the feminine one. We all remember the male-specialist coming to help the woman out of her trouble when she does not know how to perform a better and a quicker cleaning operation, or

⁹ www. Bancatiriac-creditdenevoipersonale. ro

¹⁰ Claude Bonnange, Thomas Chantal, *Don Juan sau Pavlov?*, 35, the authors consider that the household appliances do not belong any longer, within the American society, to the category of products with a high degree of implying the consumer, and that these products are very much alike biscuits and tooth paste in point of responsabilizing the consumer.

how to fix her hair better under difficult weather conditions, like windy or rainy days (Mr. Proper might be a good example for the cleaning products.)

The theory of minimal implying make a very clear distinguish between the two categories of products: those with a high degree of implying the consumer, and those with a low degree of implying the same consumer. The phenomenon was firstly used by Krugmann who noticed that the so-called `cheap` products (with a low degree of implying the consumer) need a special strategy of being promoted.

This strategy might consist of making these products appear more often in TV spots in order to help the consumer keep them in his mind. At first, he, the consumer, will not pay any attention to them, as he considers them to be unimportant. It is not a big deal, after all, to choose a tooth paste on the shelf in supermarket. Any will do!

Little by little, he will find himself able to render every single piece of information he was provided with, concerning the respective product: price, ingredients, advantages, he will also remember the musical background and will gladly sing it out of his will.

The scheme of minimal implying will be the following:

1. a simple but very often repeated message, either by means of the print or the audio-video media;
2. no perceptive defense on behalf of the consumer (namely the target will not take into consideration the great frequency of the message in media, but it will unconsciously enter his mind and remain there against his will);
3. the unconscious altering of the level of knowledge concerning the respective product (the consumer will remember its name at first, then he will start singing the song which accompanies the commercial, and little by little he will keep in his mind the features of the product as they are contained by the song,);
4. the appearance of a new consumer behavior: that of purchasing the respective promoted product.

A new hypostasis of the masculine guarantee is brought out into strong relief: the funny guy who will join his mates for a drink. It is a typical Romanian hypostasis in which a great part of the masculine target recognizes itself, and thus it has a huge impact on the public who will purchase the product as it feels that the advert directly addresses to it.

We will break now the classical procedure and will not draw any conclusion as experience proved that what it might be of interest for us, might not be of interest for you and the other way round.

Actually, the theme of the respective study is too strongly linked to our contemporary life and too representative for our advertising for us to limit it to several conclusions only. It is a fact that nowadays we witness the process of our entering the great concert of globalization. We enter the great concert of the

European nations synchronizing ourselves with them, but not forgetting a bit who we really are, and what makes us different from the others around us. This might be the very principle on which the whole activity of the European Union is based: unity in diversity.

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GRAFFITI: MOYEN DE COMMUNICATION SANS FRONTIÈRES

Elena PREDESCU, Mihaela RUS¹

Abstract: *From their earliest age, children like to draw on the walls and everywhere, so sometimes, parents do not know how to stop them. There is a natural human disposition to communication through activities like engravings, sculptures, scratches, drawings applied to walls, trees, rocks and other kind of surfaces. Graffiti's story overlaps with mankind that, along its evolution, has developed multiple types of graffiti. They swing between document and leisure, between sense and non-sense, between vandalism and art. As a deviant manifestation, vandalism has been identified in the late 18th century, when the term itself was invented to stand for this kind of reproachful conduct. Graffiti is a social behaviour, a way of life, a manifestation, more or less aggressive. The anti-graffiti campaign takes various forms and intensities. In this context, young people grow and live, being attracted by the models, driven by a strong desire to immitate and overcome the ancestral impulses to which they must resist in order not to enter in conflict with the law. It appears that the multiple scientific approaches to education have some limits as long as children are advised on what they are supposed "not to do", and almost never what "to do", especially when it comes to natural tendency, as is proved by the history of mankind.*

Key-words: *graffiti, communication, vandalism, the anti-graffiti campaign*

Dès leur plus jeune âge, les enfants aiment griffonner sur les murs des pièces, sur les meubles, les sols ou les portes. C'est un penchant instinctif, non conscient, difficilement contrôlé par les parents qui, parfois, ne savent plus quoi faire pour déterminer leurs enfants à ne plus gribouiller toute la maison. Un peu plus tard, à mesure que les enfants grandissent, ça continue sur les palissades, les murs extérieurs des maisons ou des institutions publiques et privées. Ainsi, les jeunes s'occupent à des pratiques qui, peu à peu, s'encadrent dans le phénomène connu sous le nom de *graffiti*, activité largement répandue chez les enfants et les adolescents.

1. DÉFINITIONS, BREF HISTORIQUE ET ACCEPTIONS DU PHÉNOMÈNE

Graffiti vient de l'italien *graffito*, terme désignant un stylet à écrire. De même, *graffito* dérive du latin *graphium* signifiant *éraflure* qui, à son tour, tire son

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étymologie du grec *graphein* qui signifie, indifféremment, écrire, dessiner ou peindre. On utilise le mot *graffiti* tant au singulier qu'au pluriel. Les auteurs de ces graffiti sont appelés *graffeurs* ou *graffiti-artists*, *graffiteurs* ou *writers*, en anglais. Les graffeurs se font connaître en apposant leurs œuvres sur des supports du type murs, métros ou encore flans de camions.

Pour la réalisation des graffiti, à l'époque moderne, les outils les plus utilisés sont la *peinture aérosol* et les *marqueurs*. La *peinture aérosol*, ou précisément, la *peinture en aérosol*, est une peinture que l'on applique au moyen d'une bombe aérosol.

Les spécialistes du graffiti disent qu'il en existe de plusieurs catégories selon leur contenu, mais nous retenons seulement:

Le *tag* (marque, signature) est le dessin du nom de l'artiste: chaque tagueur a un pseudonyme et une signature (blaze). Le dessin est généralement très travaillé, à la manière des calligraphies chinoises ou arabes. Le *tag* c'est plutôt un logo qu'une écriture, et souvent, seuls les habitués parviennent à déchiffrer le nom écrit. Les techniques utilisées sont généralement l'aérosol, le marqueur, l'autocollant et, depuis la fin des années 2000, le pulvérisateur.

Le *flop*, est une forme intermédiaire entre le tag et la pièce, c'est une performance graphique, un graff peint en un seul coup de bombe. En général, un *flop* est réalisé en quelques minutes, à l'aide de deux couleurs (un remplissage et un contour). Ce procédé est assez difficile à réaliser et certains graffeurs préfèrent considérer que peindre lettre par lettre, en un coup, relève du *flop*.

La *pièce* est un travail élaboré par le graffeur qui a du temps pour dessiner et qui utilise des endroits légaux: murs d'expression libre, commandes professionnelles ou des endroits situés dans des usines désaffectées, sous des ponts ou dans des terrains vagues. Dans ces circonstances, le graffeur peut laisser libre cours à la technique et aux finesses du graffiti en réalisant des *pièces* bien plus riches en couleurs et en formes. Il n'est plus contraint par le temps, comme dans l'action illégale, et le style individuel de l'artiste peut se révéler pleinement.

1.1. Graffiti des tréfonds de l'histoire

La recherche historique soutient que l'existence des *graffiti* remonte aux temps reculés, dont certains exemples jusqu'à la Grèce antique et à l'Empire romain² et peut aller de simple griffures à des peintures élaborées de murs.

Les graffiti ont une grande importance en archéologie: ils font partie, avec les textes épigraphiques, des témoignages écrits non littéraires, populaires, des aspects inédits des sociétés qui les ont produits. Les graffiti antiques pouvaient être aussi bien des annonces électorales, des messages de supporters à certains athlètes (sportifs ou gladiateurs), des messages à contenu politique, religieux, personnel,

² "Graffito", in *Oxford English Dictionary*, second volume, Oxford University Press, 2006.

etc. Ces graffiti sont, généralement, rédigés en latin vulgaire et ils apportent des informations bien précieuses aux linguistes comme, par exemple, le niveau d'alphabétisation des populations, car ces textes comportent des fautes d'orthographe ou de grammaire. La présence des fautes dans les textes fournissent aussi des indices sur la manière dont le latin était prononcé par ses utilisateurs.

Les graffiti sont, par essence, éphémères mais on peut encore trouver des graffiti remontant à deux millénaires à Pompeï, l'un des rares sites qui soit suffisamment bien conservé. De l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge on a encore de nombreux exemples de graffiti: l'Agora d'Athènes, la Vallée des rois en Égypte, les grands caravansérails du monde arabe, etc. gardent des inscriptions qui ont parfois une importance historique remarquable,

Les chercheurs ont découvert de nombreux autres exemples anciens: graffiti maya à Tikal en Guatemala, graffiti vikings en Irlande ou à Rome, runes varègues en Turquie, etc.

On trouve souvent des graffiti, parfois très anciens, dans les cellules de prisons, les réduits monacales, les casernes, les cales des bateaux, les caves, les catacombes (les graffiti des premiers chrétiens, dans les catacombes romaines, sont une importante source de documentation à leur sujet), etc. Certains meubles en bois sont souvent gravés d'inscriptions comme, par exemple, tables et bancs d'écoles.

A travers les siècles, de nombreuses églises romanes ont été gravées de graffiti recouverts immédiatement par un enduit.

1.2. Graffiti des temps pré-modernes et modernes

Au XVIII^e siècle en France, Restif de la Bretonne³, écrivain libertin, vers l'âge de la cinquantaine, rapportait des événements de sa vie sous forme de graffiti qu'il faisait sur les parapets des ponts de l'Île Saint-Louis lors de ses promenades quotidiennes. Cette activité maniaque a duré environ sept ans, puis, il l'a abandonnée en constatant la disparition trop rapide de ses mots qu'une main « malveillante » effaçait⁴.

Les contextes de tensions politiques ont déterminé le développement du graffiti urbain, ainsi: pendant les révolutions, sous l'occupation, (par exemple, le reichstag à Berlin a été couvert de graffiti par les troupes russes), pendant la guerre en Algérie ou dans les régions où se posent des problèmes d'autonomie (Bretagne des années 1970, Irlande du Nord, etc.). A partir des années 1960, à la suite de la disponibilité d'aérosols de peintures « émaillées » (à l'origine destinées à la peinture automobile), une partie des graffiti a gagné une vocation esthétique.

³ Nicolas Edme Restif, dit Restif de La Bretonne ou Rétif de La Bretonne (1734-1806), fils de paysans devenu ouvrier typographe; à son tour polygraphe, il fait paraître de très nombreux ouvrages touchant à tous les genres littéraires

⁴ Il effectue alors le relevé de ses propres mots qu'il transcrit dans un recueil publié à titre posthume et intitulé *Mes inscriptions*.

Les spécialistes affirment que le phénomène a été très spectaculaire dans le métro de New York dont les rames se sont soudainement couvertes de noms: *Taki 183*, *Tracy 168*, *Stay High 149*, etc⁵. En quelques années, ces *tags* (signatures) se sont sophistiqués et sont devenus de véritables typographies. Le but du graffiti était dès le départ l'obtention de la célébrité, la reconnaissance des autres taggers ou graffeurs. Pour faire reconnaître leur existence, tous les moyens étaient bons. La simple affirmation de l'identité (*je me surnomme Taki, j'habite la 183^e rue⁶, mon nom traverse la ville tous les jours, j'existe*) s'est doublé d'ambitions plastiques. Ce n'est plus seulement le graffeur le plus actif ou celui qui prend le plus de risques qui acquiert la renommée. Produire les plus belles œuvres est un autre moyen de se faire remarquer et de devenir célèbre.

1.3. Les styles standardisés

Très rapidement, des styles standardisés se sont cristallisés et des groupes se sont formés permettant aux graffeurs de s'unir pour exécuter des actions spectaculaires (peindre plusieurs rames d'un train par exemple), pour ajouter un nom collectif à leur nom individuel mais aussi pour s'affronter entre groupes, de manière pacifique ou non. Ces groupes sont souvent constitués par origines ethniques et ont pour noms des acronymes en deux ou trois mots: *Soul Artists* (SA), *The Crazy Artists* (TCA), etc.

Le *New York Magazine* lance, en 1973, le concours du plus beau graffiti du métro ce qui a émulé la participation des jeunes. Pendant les années 1970, la culture du graffiti est plus ou moins figée dans son fonctionnement et dans ses productions. La culture *hip-hop* émerge du graffiti mais aussi d'autres formes d'expression nées en même temps: une nouvelle danse plutôt acrobatique (break dance), un genre musical à base de textes parlés (rap), de mixage de disques (deejaying), (scratch) et de fêtes en plein air (sound systems). Les deux pionniers les plus célèbres d'une conjonction entre break dance, rap, deejaying et graffiti sont Phase 2⁷ et Fab Five Freddy⁸.

Mais, la situation change à la fin des années 1970, quand le graffiti a été sévèrement réprimé dans le métro de New York. Le graffiti a commencé à se « diffuser » sur les murs des quartiers défavorisés de la ville avant d'essaimer dans d'autres grandes villes américaines (Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphie, Houston)

⁵ Souvent, le pseudonyme était accolé au numéro de la rue où résidait le graffeur

⁶ A l'époque, cette rue se trouvait dans le quartier le moins aimé de New York (South Bronx)

⁷ On lui attribue la paternité de plusieurs styles, tels que le style « bubble » ; il est un des principaux fondateurs de la conjonction entre rap, break dance, deejaying et graffiti ; en 1982, Phase 2 a sorti le single, *The Roxy*, dédié au célèbre club *The Roxy* ; en 1984, il lance le *International Graffiti Times*, qui est historiquement le premier fanzine consacré au graffiti.

⁸ Fred Brathwaite (né en 1959), connu sous le nom de Fab Five Freddy, est un artiste de graffiti des années 1970. il apparaît et signe en 1981 le clip « Rapture », de Blondie, le premier cut de MTV. En 1988 Fab Five Freddy devient l'animateur de l'émission musicale *Yo! MTV Raps*.

et dans diverses grandes villes européennes: Paris, Londres, Berlin, Amsterdam et Barcelone surtout.

En France, à Paris 1960, Brassai⁹ publie le livre *Graffiti*, fruit de trente ans de recherches qui propose le graffiti comme une forme d'Art brut, primitif, éphémère. Picasso y participe. C'est la première fois que l'on évoque le graffiti comme un art.

Dans la foulée de mai 1968, les messages politiques de la rue parisienne gagnent en poésie et en qualité graphique grâce aux étudiants en philosophie, en littérature, en sciences politiques ou en art qui font souvent preuve d'humour absurde et de sens de la formule plutôt étudié. Des exemples de graffiti de l'époque sont du type: « Cache-toi, objet ! », « Une révolution qui demande que l'on se sacrifie pour elle est une révolution à la papa. », « Le bonheur est une idée neuve. », « La poésie est dans la rue », « La vie est ailleurs », « Désobéir d'abord : alors écris sur les murs (Loi du 10 mai 1968.) », « J'aime pas écrire sur les murs. », etc.. Ces slogans étaient écrits au pinceau, au rouleau, à la bombe de peinture (plus rarement) ou sur des affiches sérigraphiées¹⁰.

À la fin des années 1970, l'artiste Ernest, Pignon-Ernest¹¹ produit des affiches sérigraphiées, sans slogans, qu'il expose dans plusieurs grandes villes: « les expulsés », collés sur les murs de maisons en démolition et représentant à taille réelle des personnes tenant des valises ou un matelas, « Rimbaud », représentant le poète, jeune, toujours à grandeur nature et d'autres encore. Les sérigraphies urbaines d'Ernest Pignon-Ernest interpellent le passant et lui demandent quelle est la place de l'homme ou de la poésie dans la cité moderne.

Pour se faire connaître, les groupes de musique PunkRock parisiens utilisent la bombe avec ou sans pochoirs, les marqueurs sur tous supports. Leurs références artistiques sont le mouvement Dada ou CoBrA (Copenhague, Bruxelles, Amsterdam) et bien sûr la scène Punk.

Pour annoncer leur « premier supermarché de l'art », depuis 1982, les membres du Groupe Dix10 placardent des édifices, dans le quartier Beaubourg, de grandes affiches aux personnages de Comic's; vingt ans plus tard, toujours actifs, on les retrouve dans le mouvement Une nuit. C'est l'époque où de nombreux artistes s'intéressent à l'art urbain et clandestin, qui peint des silhouettes évoquant les ombres macabres restées sur les murs d'Hiroshima ou des hommes, peints en blanc, qui courent sur les quais de la Seine. C'est aussi l'époque de la Figuration Libre, quand la créativité joyeuse et humoristique, née du Pop-Art, de Bazooka, du vidéo clip, est présente dans la rue. C'est l'époque du groupe Banlieue-Banlieue qui commence ses actions en 1982 avec des performances pendant des expositions-

⁹ Brassai, pseudonyme de Gyula Halász, né le 9 septembre 1899 à Braşov (en hongrois: Brassó - ville alors austro-hongroise et rattachée à la Roumanie depuis) et mort le 8 juillet 1984 à Nice, était un photographe français d'origine hongroise, et aussi dessinateur, peintre, sculpteur et écrivain surréaliste

¹⁰ Procédé d'impression à travers un écran de tissu, dérivé du pochoir

¹¹ Pignon-Ernest, Ernest Pignon, dit Ernest, né en 1942, à Nice; il fait de la rue le lieu d'un art éphémère, collant sur le sol ou les murs des villes des dessins et des sérigraphies en noir et blanc

concerts et colle, en banlieue, d'immenses fresques peintes sur papier kraft. C'est l'époque où des graffeurs se faisaient enfermer la nuit dans le métro pour pouvoir en détourner les affiches. Outre la rue, les catacombes de Paris étaient aussi à l'époque un lieu important du graffiti.

1.4. Les particularités locales

Le graffiti apparaît et se développe avec des particularités locales dans presque toutes les grandes villes du monde. Ainsi, en 1961, on construit le Mur de Berlin pour séparer symboliquement et physiquement l'Europe « de l'Est » de l'Europe « de l'Ouest ». Tandis que les Allemands de l'Est n'ont pas le droit de s'approcher du mur, ceux de l'Ouest viennent de leur côté écrire des slogans, bénéficiant d'une totale bienveillance des autorités de l'Allemagne fédérale qui fait de Berlin, à l'époque, la capitale allemande de la liberté et de l'art. De nombreux artistes viennent alors du monde entier pour peindre sur le mur qui est à peu près intégralement maculé au moment de sa destruction, en 1989.

En Palestine, la barrière de séparation israélienne est depuis le début de sa construction un support d'expression. Au début recouverte seulement de slogans, elle est vite devenue le support d'œuvres d'art engagées, sous la forme de tags, graffitis et affiches,

En Espagne, la culture hip-hop a percé plus tardivement que dans le reste de l'Europe. La ville de Barcelone accueille pourtant une quantité extraordinaire de graffiti atypiques et créatifs qui mélangent revendications sociales et politiques, graphisme underground et culture hip-hop.

Au Brésil, à São Paulo, le *pixação* est un genre de graffiti particulier, caractérisé par l'ampleur des zones couvertes, car les *pixadores* s'expriment, avant tout, sur les murs de la mégalopole et la recherche de visibilité les pousse à peindre des façades entières ou des surfaces situées dans des zones très difficiles d'accès.

2. LES MOTIVATIONS COMMUNICATIVES DU GRAFFITI

Les spécialistes de l'histoire du graffiti décèlent de nombreuses raisons pour expliquer son existence. Certains graffiti relèvent de la communication¹² et beaucoup servent à *diffuser un message*, par exemple, un message politique, souvent clandestin: nationalismes régionaux en Irlande du nord, en Bretagne ou en Corse, « V » de la victoire et de la liberté sous l'occupation nazie, etc. C'est le cas aussi des étoiles de David ou des mentions « *juden* » peintes ostensiblement sur les

¹² « *J'ai une preuve vraiment splendide du théorème de Fermat à vous montrer, mais je ne peux la rédiger maintenant parce que mon train arrive* » - lu dans le métro de New York

boutiques de commerçants juifs par les nazis dans les années 1930, inscriptions qui étaient souvent des appels à vandaliser les lieux, à molester leurs locataires et à boycotter leurs commerces.

Il y a des graffiti qui contiennent des *informations secrètes*, par exemple, les graffiti discrets et codés laissés par les cambrioleurs sur des habitations pour indiquer à leurs collègues que le lieu est intéressant, dangereux, mal gardé, etc.

Certains graffiti servent à *baliser un territoire*, comme le font les gangs criminels tels que les Crips et les Bloods à Los Angeles.

Parfois les graffiti sont des *réactions à d'autres messages* diffusés dans l'espace urbain, telles que les publicités détournées (*Le Pen se voit ajouter is ou dre*) ou commentées (« *non à la malbouffe !* », « *halte au porno !* »), ou bien des détournements d'autres graffiti (« *vive le roi* », qui devient « *vive le rôti* » dans les années 1930 en France).

De nombreux graffiteurs-artistes créent des images en *réaction à la saturation publicitaire* : à des images aux buts vénaux, ils offrent des images gratuites; à des messages concernant la promotion de produits standardisés, ils opposent une publicité pour eux-mêmes. Certains graffiti, anonymes ou non, sont des *expressions de sentiments*: cris de joie (« *il fait beau et je suis content* »), déclaration d'amour (« *Mélissa je t'aime* ») ou de haine.

Depuis l'Antiquité, on recense de nombreux exemples d'*hommages à des défunts*, sur leurs sépultures (voir par exemples les tombes de certains artistes ou poètes au cimetière du Père-Lachaise à Paris) ou dans d'autres lieux: l'attaque terroriste du 11 septembre 2001 a généré beaucoup de graffiti mémoriels, ainsi que des graffiti rendant hommage aux services publics (police, pompiers).

Rendre hommage est souvent liée à la notion de *propriété*, dans le sens où, les tagueurs apposent le *blaze* d'amis, collègues, etc. d'abord pour faire plaisir à la personne dédicacée, qui recevra ensuite la photo du graffiti comme présent. Ce rituel se fait aussi beaucoup pour montrer aux autres qu'il existe un lien entre le "dédicacé" et le "dédicaceur" si le premier a de la notoriété.

Garder *la mémoire* sous forme de trace est un aspect important du graffiti: en gravant sur un arbre le nom de sa bien-aimée, en dessinant sur les bancs d'école ou en inscrivant sur un mur le témoignage de son passage (comme les pionniers de la piste de l'Oregon¹³, en 1864, ou comme « Kilroy »¹⁴ en 1944), l'auteur de graffiti

¹³ La piste de l'Oregon était la principale voie terrestre franchissant les montagnes Rocheuses utilisée par les pionniers au XIX^e siècle pour se rendre depuis différentes localités situées sur les rives du Missouri jusqu'au pays de l'Oregon

¹⁴ «Kilroy was here» est un célèbre graffiti qui apparaît pendant la Bataille de Normandie. Il se compose d'un dessin schématique représentant un personnage à gros nez, timidement caché derrière un mur, et du texte: « Kilroy was here ». Alors que les troupes américaines progressaient, elles avaient la surprise de découvrir que l'inscription « *Kilroy was here* » (Kilroy était là) les avait précédés. La légende d'un super-soldat dénommé Kilroy a été entretenue par les troupes qui, par jeu, se sont employées à écrire « Kilroy was here » dans les endroits les plus incongrus, les plus inaccessibles ou les plus risqués. La célébrité de ce graffiti est allée jusqu'à Staline qui, pendant la Conférence de Potsdam, a demandé à son assistant, en russe : « Qui est Kilroy ? ».

transforme son support en un document de mémoire : mémoire des événements, mémoire individuelle, mémoire collective.

Parfois, le graffiti relève de l'*art visuel*, de la *littérature* ou de l'*humour* et constitue une manifestation d'esprit humain, poétique par son aspect éphémère et altruiste et par son mode de diffusion.

Certains graffiti relèvent du simple *vandalisme*, de l'*incivilité*, ce sont des actions que les sociologues considèrent comme une manière d'affirmer son existence (« je casse donc je suis »).

3. POURQUOI LES JEUNES D'AUJOURD'HUI RECOURENT-ILS AU GRAFFITI?

Des catégories de jeunes peuvent, en effet, trouver à travers le graffiti, un désir d'affirmation de soi, ou encore un moyen d'oublier la morosité et la tristesse de leur vie.

Le graffiti *hip-hop*, ou *tag*, représente 90 % des graffiti dans la plupart des pays. Les jeunes qui adhèrent à cette manifestation ont des ambitions esthétiques et veulent, en même temps, utiliser une forme de langage secret, destiné à être compris seulement par une population limitée, ce qui ne va pas sans irriter le grand public qui perçoit bien qu'on lui impose la vue d'images qui ne lui sont pas destinées.

Le *tag* se caractérise par le paradoxe suivant: les tagueurs recherchent les meilleurs emplacements et apposent un maximum de tags mais ils sont le plus illisibles possibles. Le *tag* a effectivement sa culture propre. Chaque tagueur revendique la reconnaissance de ses œuvres mais aussi (plus couramment, car c'est plus facile), la reconnaissance de sa présence dans le lieu, transformant la ville en une sorte de jeu de piste et de stratégie géant.

Il y a des graffeurs qui vendent leur travail, sous forme de toiles peintes, ou le déclinent sous forme de Tee-shirts et autres décorations vestimentaires, de prestations graphiques, d'illustrations pour des pochettes de disques, de bijoux, de planches de skateboard, etc. Des graffiti sont parfois exécutés, contre rémunération, en présence du public pendant certains événements tels que des concerts ou des matchs de sports populaires.

Le motif pour lequel les jeunes préfèrent le *graffiti* est apparemment difficile à expliquer: adrénaline? célébrité locale?... La forme de graffiti déclenche le plus de controverses, notamment du fait de l'ampleur du phénomène mais aussi, sans doute, du fait qu'il est l'expression d'une culture bien définie.

4. GRAFFITI ET VANDALISME

On constate que, tandis que pour certaines personnes le graffiti est un art de vivre, pour d'autres, il est du vandalisme. D'ailleurs, la frontière entre ces deux interprétations est parfois inexistante: un graffeur ayant fait une superbe fresque colorée, dessinée sur un mur, avec l'accord du propriétaire, pendant la journée, peut aller pendant la nuit et inscrire sa signature rapidement, illégalement, sur un autre mur.

Le vandalisme est défini comme attitude d'une personne qui détruit ou mutile des objets, qui commet des déprédations, par volonté de nuire ou sans raison précise¹⁵

A mesure que les mentalités évoluent, le contenu sémantique du mot *vandalisme* s'enrichit et se nuance. Le *vandale* est celui qui s'attaque aux choses, même dénuées de valeur patrimoniale, qui détruit le mobilier urbain, brûle les voitures, couvre les murs de graffiti, envoie des virus ou insère des commentaires impertinents sur Internet.

Au cours du temps, des différents auteurs ont distingué divers types de vandalisme selon les motivations des graffeurs. Ces distinctions permettent de classer rétroactivement, dans la catégorie vandalisme, des actes qui, à leur époque, auraient été qualifiés différemment.

5. LUTTE ANTI-GRAFFITI

Le graffiti soulève de problèmes financiers et de liberté d'expression pour les autorités qui ont toujours cherché à le limiter ou l'interdire.

Ainsi, à New York, les autorités ont décidé d'interdire le graffiti, suite au fait que, depuis 1984 à 1989, mille employés du métro se sont acharnés à nettoyer leurs 6 245 wagons et 465 stations, pour un coût annuel de 52 millions de dollars. Les graffiteurs ont abandonné le métro pour peindre sur des murs et sur des toiles

En France, les autorités se sont insurgées surtout contre le graffiti politique; en ce qui concerne le graffiti à vocation visuelle, il est plutôt considéré comme une curiosité. A partir des années 1980, la ville de Paris s'équipe de machines à pression pour effacer les graffitis sur les murs et pour retirer les affiches publicitaires sauvagement remplacées.

Une évolution comparable a été observée dans d'autres capitales d'Europe touchées par le phénomène. Ainsi, les mairies et les sociétés de transport investissent dans des machines anti-graffiti, ce qui représente un coût non négligeable¹⁶.

¹⁵ Larousse, 2008, p. 1055

¹⁶ Depuis 2006, sur les lignes du RER parisien, les graffiti sont « vandalisés » par la SNCF : ils sont badigeonnés de peinture blanche dans le but de décourager les graffeurs d'opérer sur ses voies dans le cœur de Paris.

En guise de conclusions

Le phénomène du graffiti est né en même temps que l'être humain. Le côté utilitaire, en tant que documents historique du graffiti, est indéniable. Le fait que, partout dans le monde, les petits enfants aiment dessiner sur les murs et sur toute autre surface, montre que cette manifestation humaine est génétique, car personne n'apprend aux enfants à dessiner, mais ils savent le faire, de même, personne ne les apprend à têter, mais ils savent bien le faire.

Tout comme l'histoire de l'humanité qui s'est développée différemment dans les divers endroits de la terre, le graffiti a connu des formes et des types divers dus aux situations et aux conditions sociales, techniques et culturelles où il s'est produit.

Les sociologues affirment qu'un certain comportement est considéré déviant ou non, par le prisme des entrepreneurs de morale, face aux normes instituées à un moment donné, ce qui mène à la conclusion qu'une même manifestation déviante, c'est-à-dire différente des normes instituées, peut être positive ou négative, selon les critères d'appréciation, selon les principes de vie d'une époque donnée.

Au cadre de ce contexte objectif, le graffiti remplacé dans des endroits publics doit être considérée plutôt comme un défaut d'éducation, un résultat des influences de la société que les sciences de l'éducation ne sont pas encore à même de connaître et de maîtriser. Quelque chose échappe aux sciences de l'homme, quelque chose qui puisse établir des procédées éducationnelles efficaces.

Le graffiti est un mode de vie, une manière de s'affirmer, de se faire connaître, ou bien d'avancer dans une certaine hiérarchie sociale. Même si on convient que le graffiti soit une manifestation sous-culturelle, en fin de compte, la sous-culture est une réalité depuis que le monde est monde, une réalité qu'il faut accepter, car il existe des catégories de gens dont le mode de vie se limite à la sous-culture. D'ailleurs, tout le monde est d'accord que les graffitis sont souvent de vrais œuvres d'art qui mériteraient une place d'honneur dans les musées.

Dans le contexte du graffiti sans frontières, considéré comme moyen de communication, comme un possible cadre de vie, comme une manifestation naturelle d'expression de sentiments, d'idées ou d'informations, le problème de ce phénomène doit être vu sous une autre lumière.

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ABSTRACT LINGUISTIC FIELDS. CUVÂNT – BINECUVÂNTARE – IUBIRE – MULȚUMIRE (WORD – BLESSING – LOVE – GRATITUDE)

Ancuța NEGREA¹

***Abstract:** In the interpretation of the sense of the abstract concepts, there intervenes a series of subjective elements which have been analyzed from a linguistic perspective, proposing a referential interpretation on several levels in relation with the linguistic context. The studies have shown that despite the subjectiveness and variability in the interpretation of the abstract concepts, there is always a semantic core or a semantic average or a predictable sense that makes it possible for the locators to understand one another from a linguistic perspective; the specialists insisted on the need to make the sense of the abstract concepts tangible (or to reify it) through diverse contextual situations (note 1). Developing through a process of abstractization, the lexeme WORD acquired a large array of significations, of which the most important is, of course, the one of “linguistic unit, utterance, term”. In Old Romanian, WORD was used more frequently than today and its meanings were more numerous. Especially in the **vocabulary of affectiveness** (of which we have selected for analysis the terms GRATITUDE, LOVE) there are difficulties in the delimitation and the definition of the senses, difficulties given by the polisemy of the words in this domain.*

***Key words:** abstract linguistic field, word, blessing, love, gratitude*

1. Introduction

Polisemy is considered a very important aspect for the definition of the abstract concepts. Some support a hypothesis according to which, in the beginning, the abstract names had a vague meaning, because during the first stages of development of the language, man did not dissociate the thing from the effect produced on him or did not distinguish the cause from the effect; the changes of interpretation, connected to the social-historical interpretation, led to developments of meanings on determined patterns: “action” and its “result”, constituting:

- a definite polysemy based on the distinction abstract/concrete and
- a less certain polysemy (with figurative meanings not always lexicalized) from the “names of qualities”.

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2. CUVÂNT (WORD)

Term by excellence abstract today, CUVÂNT comes from the Latin *conventus*, meaning “gathering, reunion” (from the verb *convenio* “to gather, to reunite; to relate well with”, a derivative of *venio* “a veni”). This semantic evolution is as logical as possible: the gathering together of several people is a chance for *conversation*, for... *word*. So, we can say that this term bears, in a visible way, even since its birth, the mark of the social nature of the language, considered as a means of communication among people. At the same time, the *word*, in the sense of “*sermo*”, is “a gathering” of ideas, “a reunion” of some particular ideas into an idea of general value. The primary meaning of *conventus* is recognized in the Romance language descendants: Fr. *couvent*, It. *convento* etc.

In some languages, the two meanings coexist, as in the case of the Albanian *kuvënd*, coming from Latin as well, which means both “gathering, reunion” and “conversation, word”. Both of these senses appear as well in *cantio*, *-onis* “gathering of people; sermon, discourse”, which seems to be, etymologically, a particular form of *conventus*. In Greek, *omilia* (ὀμιλία) also has the same meanings as Lat. *cantio*, Alb. *kuvënd*.

In Romanian there are as well other words with similar evolutions to the Latin *conventus* (see *taifas*, a synonym with the meaning “familiar, pleasant, intimate conversation” (note 2)).

In the Aromanian dialect, *sobor* “reunion” (in Dacoromanian: *sobor preoțesc*), from the Old Slav *sŭborŭ* “reunion”, lies at the basis of *zbor* “word, discourse, gathering”, from which the verb *zburăscu* “to speak” derives (note 3); compare as well the Serbo-Croatian *zbor* “gathering; word”, *zboriti* “to speak, to give a speech”; Bg. *sbor* “gathering”, from which the old and regional dacoromanian *zbor* comes, meaning “market, fair, annual fair”, and less often “public market”, while in Banat it can also mean “conversation” (note 4).

The logical connection between “gathering of people”, then “reunion of ideas” and “word, conversation, discourse” is highlighted by many other examples from different languages (note 5).

Developing by means of a process of abstractization, *cuvânt* has acquired a rich array of senses, of which the most important is, of course, that of “linguistic unit, utterance, term”.

In Old Romanian CUVÂNT was more frequently used than today and had more numerous meanings.

Compared to *vorbă*, its most important synonym, *cuvânt* has acquired the nobility of written language; it is adequate for the language of culture and science, while *vorbă* characterizes the popular aspect of the language and its affective areas. This distinction, made, of course, with all the approximation, can be illustrated by a

large number of expressions and idioms based on the term *vorbă*, in which the substitution of this by *cuvânt* is not possible:

- *vorbe de clacă* “flecăreală” (gossip) ;
- *lasă vorba!* “tăcere!” (silence!);
- *din vorbă în vorbă* “din una în alta” (from one thing to another);
- *nici vorbă* “negreșit, desigur; nici pomeneală” (sure; not at all);
- *nu-i vorbă* “fără îndoială, firește” (naturally);
- *a umbla cu vorba* “a bârfi” (to gossip);
- *a face vorbe* “a peți” (to ask for marriage);
- *a ține de vorbă* (to keep sb. talking) and many others (v. DEX).

The lexeme *vorbă* has acquired even a “derogatory nuance”, highlighted in expressions such as:

- *a-și auzi vorbe* (to hear someone speaking ill of you); *a-i ieși (cuiva) vorbe;*
a scoate (cuiva) vorbe (to speak ill of someone).

Even derivatives and compound words such as *vorbărie*, *vorbăreț*, *vorbă-lungă* have a pejorative value.

Vorbă (and the verb *a vorbi*) gradually became part and parcel of the popular and familiar vocabulary. The neological significations, determined by modern influences, have gone to *cuvânt* and to the verb *a cuvânta*, integrated in the cult variant of the language. Actually in the old language as well *cuvânt*, along with the verb *a cuvânta*, the noun *cuvântare*, and the adjective *cuvântător* were used mainly in cult religious texts: “*La început era Cuvântul și Cuvântul era la Dumnezeu și Dumnezeu era Cuvântul* / In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God” (John 1, 1).

So, we are dealing with a sinonimic pair (*cuvânt – vorbă*) constituted of a term of Latin origin and another term of Slav origin, which the language, in its evolution has distinguished stylistically: the Latin one has become dominant in the cult area of the language, while the Slav has become prominent in the popular area of the language. Examples of this kind concern, in essence, the relationship between the Latin and the Slav vocabulary of the Romanian language.

3. *BINECUVANTA* (BLESS)

One can rarely find the indicative present variant *BINECUVÂNT* – coming from the reunion of the adverb *bine* and the noun *cuvânt* (note 6). The sense of the adverb *bine* is so abstract, that it can indicate “noțiunea de bine” (the notion of good): *un bine, binele* (note 7).

CUVÂNT is present as well in the expression *A pune un cuvânt bun* “a interveni (favorabil) pentru cineva” (to intervene in favor of someone) (note 8).

BINECUVÂNTA (to bless) < *bine* + *cuvânta* is a compound realized according to the pattern of the Slav *blagosloviti* ; this transitive verb of the first conjugation is used:

- with reference to God: “a revărsa harul divin, a blagoslovi” (to pour divine grace, to bless),
- with reference to priests: “a revărsa harul divinității asupra unui lucru sau asupra oamenilor ; a blagoslovi” (to pour the grace of the divinity on a thing or on people, to bless). By analogy, “a dori prosperitate și fericire cuiva (invocând adesea numele lui Dumnezeu)” (to wish prosperity and happiness to someone, invoking the name of God often);
- with reference to people, who glorify the divinity, through their words: “a lăuda, a slăvi pe Dumnezeu” (to praise God); by analogy, it also means “a lăuda, a preamări pe cineva în semn de recunoștință” (praising someone as a sign of gratitude).

BINECUVÂNTARE (blessing) – a compound term made up of *bine* + *cuvântare* – refers to the “action, formula or gesture of a *binecuvânta* (blessing)“.

The term is present in the expression: *A (a-și) da binecuvântarea* = “a fi de acord (cu ceva); a aproba” (to approve of something) (note 9).

Synonyms: 1. (churchly) *blagoslovire*, (bookish) *benedicțiune*, (popular) *blagoslovenie*, (old) *urăciune*;

2. see *preamărire* (note 10).

4. IUBIRE (LOVE)

Most of the senses of the words considered polysemantic in the vocabulary of affection belong to the same domain, which, according to some researchers, makes the existence of the polysemy questionable. New senses develop according to a quite uniform model, in the case of the present term through the metonymy whole / part:

IUBIRE = s.1 “sentiment de afecțiune în general” (feeling of affection in general),
s.2 “sentiment de afecțiune pentru o persoană de sens opus” (feeling of affection for a person of the opposite gender).

4.1. The lexicographic definitions increase the ambiguity of the interpretation of the sense as “sentiment of *affection*” (creating the impression of a semantic identity with: AFECȚIUNE (affection) = main term of this class in the dictionaries of other languages, such as the Robert, for French).

The access to the sense of the abstract words is difficult in the absence of the context; the importance of the context in the analysis of the abstract words must be correlated to their lack of referential autonomy, a feature considered as fundamental.

(A) *Contextual compatibilities*, by means of which distinctive paradigmatic values are designated, are, in the case of the noun IUBIRE also adjectives such as *puternică, mare, nemărginită* (strong, great, unlimited) etc.; such contexts explicitly express a “**very great intensity**”;

Some adjectives determining the respective noun designate values expressed in isolation from a paradigmatic viewpoint, like “**exteriorization**”, for instance: IUBIRE *fățișă / ascunsă* (overt/hidden love).

(B) *Contextual restrictions / incompatibilities* are much more relevant from a semantic viewpoint:

- (a) a series of adjectives, such as *maternă, frățească, divină* (maternal, brotherly, divine) combine only with the noun IUBIRE, expressing explicitly an important semantic distinction for disambiguating the senses of the polysemantic word ;

- (b) other adjectives, such as *ardentă, dulce, duioasă, curată, sinceră, gingașă* (fiery, sweet, true, sincere, delicate) combine, as well, only with IUBIRE, expressing supplementary (virtuale) semantic features compared to those that can be distinguished paradigmatically;

4.2. Definitions related to the actants in the vocabulary of affection (note 11)

Justified by theoretical arguments, the definition related to the actants has grown and adapted to a part of the vocabulary of affectiveness, a thing that can be useful from a semantic perspective as well. The premise of such a solution is constituted by the fact that for some **denominations of sentiments** (first class terms: AFECȚIUNE, PRIETENIE, IUBIRE, AVERSIUNE, URĂ, .../ affection, friendship, love, aversion, hate...), the lexicographic definitions consistently mention *the actant-patient (A2)*, which can be “*animate*” (for someone) or “*inanimate*” (for something). *The actant-subject (A1)* is always “*animate-human*” for the words of the **vocabulary of affectiveness**, which only has an implicit semantic importance.

In the situations in which the *Actant-subject (A1)* is *God and actant-patient (A2)* is individualized through the the *Son* or through a man or through the *world*, the definition related to the actants has a semantic definition for the precise definition of certain names of sentiments:

Tatăl iubește pe Fiul și toate le-a dat în mâna Lui / The Father loves the Son and has placed everything in His hands (John 3, 35) ;

„... Dumnezeu așa a iubit lumea, încât pe Fiul Său Cel Unul-Născut L-a dat ca oricine crede în El să nu piară, ci să aibă viață veșnică / ...God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life” (John 3, 16) – (God – the Divine Person – makes the supreme sacrifice out of love for His Creation);

„Iubite-voi Doamne, vârtutea mea” (“I shall love You, God, my strength”) (Psalm 17) – (man’s love for his Creator).

4.3. Other contextual ways of analyzing the **vocabulary of affectiveness**

The specialized literature dealing with abstract words from a morpho-syntactic perspective proposes numerous contextual solutions, yet their importance for the identification of the meaning is low. We are thinking about the highlighting of combinations with certain verbs, specific either for the **names of sentiments**, or for the **names of attitudes**.

The specialists consider that the *names of sentiments* are a very well delimited syntactic class (note 12). There are contexts allowing the differentiation of the “sentimentului” from „attitude”: a simți, a avea IUBIRE (to feel, to have love); a manifesta, a arăta IUBIRE (to manifest, to show love). The possible combinations of these names of sentiments with the verbs *a arăta / manifesta* (to show, to manifest) can be considered a form of exteriorization and implicitly of reification of these feelings. A “gliding of the sense” occurs, which makes it even more difficult to to draw the line between sentiments / attitudes / states.

A more complex contextual way of studying the behavior of **abstract words** concerns their presence in *evaluative phrases or in phrases of identification*. Leaving aside certain syntactic goals, the objective pursued from a semantic viewpoint is the identification through context of a referent able to make the sense of the abstract words more tangible and, implicitly, accessible. Reification via the construction of a concrete referent is possible in such contexts as:

IUBIREA și hazardul sunt doi **copii**. (Love and hazard are two children.)

Liniile curbe semnifică MELANCOLIE. (Curved lines signify melancholy)

The analysis of several types of texts and contexts (note 13) shows that, in numerous situations, reification is disputable, the relation being established with yet another **abstract word**: IUBIREA *este un ideal / un scop / o stare* ... (Love is an ideal/ a purpose / a state...). At the same time, it results a very large, varied, heterogeneous array of combinations that do not favor stabile or categorical semantic distinctions (except for the recognition of a predictable sense of the affective term). This situation can be observed:

- both in the case of *evaluative phrases*:

IUBIREA *adevărată / lumească / pământească / completă*...
(True/worldly/earthly/complete love)

- and in the case of *phrases of identification*:

IUBIREA *este un ideal / un scop / o stare sufletească / o himeră*... (Love is an ideal/ a purpose / a condition of the soul / a chimera)

The contextually-built referent of both types of phrases can nevertheless contribute, in each case in turn, to the identification of some aspects of the meaning (or to the activation of certain semantic features).

5. *MULTUMIRE* (GRATITUDE, CONTENTMENT)

Polisemantic word of the vocabulary of affectiveness, the term *MULTUMIRE* (gratitude) develops new meanings according to a quite uniform model, through the relation (metaphor) abstract / concrete:

MULTUMIRE = s.1 “sentiment” (feeling),

s.2 “forma concretă de manifestare a lui” (its concrete form of manifestation);

“The gliding of the meanings” characteristic for the abstract words, complicates even more the exact interpretation of the meanings. There where explicit and clear definitions are given, where there appear distinctions between “sentiment / atitudine / stare” (feeling/attitude/state), the dictionaries represent an auxiliary for the analysis of the semantic features.

MULTUMIRE (*NEMULTUMIRE*) (contentment/discontentment) designate “states” (according to the lexicographic definitions, valid as well for (NE)FERICIRE, VESELIE, TRISTEȚE (unhappiness, happiness, merriment, sadness) – terms belonging to the second class of the vocabulary of affectiveness), unlike the less numerous terms (*BUCURIE*, *SATISFACTIE*, *MÂHNIRE*, namely joy, satisfaction, blue) which are defined as “feelings”.

The intensity of the affective state is rendered using a lexicographic metalanguage: “high intensity” is designated using different elements: *din suflet*, *adâncă*... (from the soul, deep...)

5.1. Definitions related to the actants in the vocabulary of affection

As it has already been shown, justified by theoretical arguments, the definition in terms of actants has been extended and adapted to a part of the vocabulary concerning affection; this definition can be useful from a semantic perspective as well. The premise of such a solution is constituted by the fact that for some denominations of feelings (terms of the first class: *AFEȚIUNE*, *PRIETENIE*, *IUBIRE*, *AVERSIUNE*, *URĂ*, .../ affection, friendship, love, aversion, hate, ...), the lexicographic definitions consistently mention the *actant-patient* (*A2*), which can be “animate” (for someone) or “inanimate” (for something). The *actant-subject* (*A1*) is always “animate-human” for the words of the vocabulary of affection, which only presents an implicit semantic importance.

The terms of the second class do not admit definitions in terms of actants, with some exceptions: for example (*NE*)*MULTUMIRE* (discontentment, contentment) concerning something (for instance, concerning the situation created / concerning the realization of the work etc.). Under these circumstances, it results that, in the second

class of the vocabulary related to affection, the definition in terms of actants has limited applications both concerning the “sentiments”, and concerning the “states”.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The lexical-semantic analysis of the biblical texts supports the prominence of a characteristic **affective matrix**. Feelings are grouped methodically on types of actants and situations. So, feeling genres are lexicalized, according to actant types: **God the Father – love** (for the Son, for mankind and for the entire creation); the **Savior Jesus Christ – love** (for mankind, for whom He sacrifices His life); **man – love** (for God, for his fellows, for himself: *Să iubești pe Domnul Dumnezeuul tău din toată inima ta și din tot sufletul tău și din toată puterea ta, iar pe aproapele tău ca pe tine însuți* / Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength and with all your mind, and your neighbor as yourself (Luke 10, 27)).

So, as one can see, LOVE is the feeling that, by means of the WORD, binds together all the actants of the Holy Scripture and affectively defines the entire biblical text.

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THE ROLE OF THE WRITTEN MEDIA IN COVERING NEWS AND EVENTS – A CDA PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract: *Media coverage of news or major events is almost always controversial and subject to debates. In the attempt to grasp the meaning, the causes and effects of the respective 'events' related in and by the media, one finds himself/herself in the difficulty to perceive what is written between lines, what lies behind words, what the media is actually trying to 'cover'. For analysts, it is even harder. CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) proves a helpful tool in analysing media discourse in relation to shedding light upon social, cultural or political events of major interest. It is what the following article undertakes to bring forth by showing how CDA manages to play a basic, theoretical role in a study that proceeds to discourse analysis of a certain type.*

Key-Words: *media discourse, political discourse, CDA, discursive practices*

In the introduction to his book, *Analysing Newspapers. An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*, John E. Richardson looks into newspaper discourse by referring to his views of *society, journalism and language*. In his view, 'Journalistic discourse has some very specific textual characteristics, some very specific methods of text production and consumption, and is defined by a particular set of relationships between itself and other agencies of symbolic and material power' (Richardson 2007: 1) which sets of characteristics 'that is, the language of journalism, its production and consumption and the relations of journalism to social ideas and institutions – are clearly inter-related and sometimes difficult to disentangle. In other words, 'they are different elements but not discrete, fully separate elements' (Fairclough, 2000, cited in Richardson, 2007: 1). In his opinion, news are in close connection to the actions and opinions of powerful social groups and, while it is evident that they have to be understood in connection to the target and intended audiences, it is wrong to consider that important issues such as 'contemporary democratic politics, social values and the continuing existence of prejudice and social inequalities' should be looked into outside the influence of journalism. They are key themes that are also the result of the 'structures, functions and power of journalism' (2007: 1). He argues from the beginning that his analysis of newspapers is from a CDA perspective, because CDA starts by identifying a

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social problem, then takes the side of those who suffer most and critically analyse 'those in power, those who are responsible and those who have the means and the opportunity to solve such problems' (van Dijk, 1996: 85), and because 'in response to social inequality and the abuse of power, CDA demands 'politically involved research with an emancipatory requirement' (Tischer et al., 2000, cited in Richardson 2007: 2).

When discussing his view of language in the book, Richardson declares that his book is based on 'five fundamental assumptions about language', of which the first one is that 'language is *social*': it is 'central to human activity', 'it is through the use of language that we grant meaning to our actions; equally, it is through our use of language that we can attempt to remove meaning from our actions. As Blommaert (2005: 10-11) puts it:

[...] there is no such thing as 'non-social' language [...] Any utterance produced by people will be, for instance, an instance of oral speech, spoken with a particular accent, gendered and reflective of age and social position, tied to a particular situation or domain, and produced in a certain stylistically or generically identifiable format.' (cited in Richardson 2007: 10)

Richardson then refers to the the 'kind of dialogue' language has with society, in which 'language is produced by society and ... goes on to help to recreate it' (mind the dialectical relationship), and when he says that, he does not just refer to 'the way things are done'; language use 'goes on to recreate these social and sometimes institutional expectations – expectations that we all have when we pick up a newspaper or a magazine, that it will be written in a particular way' (2007: 10). The same 'recreation' of expectations is available when we listen to a *certain* political figure/leader preparing to make a statement on a *certain* subject in reference to which we have *certain* expectations. Also, depending on the political figure in question, we may have different expectations that depend on the speaker's political background and views, on his/her educational background, but ours as well, on the context in which the discourse was created, on the general statement which is aimed at by making the respective statement. All these factors and aspects come to contribute to the use of language. To give an example, when, immediately after the London bombings from July 7 2005, the Prime Minister was announced to make a statement, there were definite expectations about the way in which language was going to contribute to expressing, explaining and accounting for *certain* events, the specific events that had just occurred. The expectations of people referred first to the amount of information they were going to receive from the statement (*who* was responsible, *when* did the events exactly take place, and most importantly, *how* it happened), then to the way authorities were doing everything possible to care for the injured and diminish the number of casualties, to

what the authorities were planning to do next: whether any measures were going to be taken as a result of the attacks, whether they were going to try to counteract the event in any way. All these are expectations given by the 'context' in which the event occurred and by the people's understanding of the events, their political views, their involvement in the events, direct or indirect (whether they personally were part of the events or someone in their family, or someone they knew), and even, why not, the place where they were when the events took place or when they found out about them. All these contribute to the use of language and to what Richardson calls the 'social-ness' of language, in that 'language *first* represents social realities and *second* contributes to the production and reproduction of social reality or social life.' (Richardson 2007: 10)

The second assumption about language that Richardson takes into consideration when analysing newspapers is that 'language use enacts *identity*'. 'What this means is that people project themselves as a certain type of person, and that the identity that a person projects relates, in part, to the activities that they're attempting to accomplish.' (Richardson 2007: 11) In the case of political leaders this is an obvious situation, as, by the type of identity they construct for themselves, they seek to project a certain image of themselves and to impose certain assumptions about what they aim at. Even more, because the aspects of communication are open to a certain degree of interpretation, listeners may interpret the meaning of an utterance in relation to the speaker's identity and to the context as well. But, 'in order to fully appreciate communication you have to recognise the identities and the activities that are being acted out. Put another way, our understanding of the communicative act is shaped, in part, by who is speaking/writing and the context in which this occurs.' (2007: 11) This entails that the listener/reader has to have a certain knowledge of the speaker's identity and of the area in which the speaker acts, in our case, this implies that the listener has knowledge about the events the speaker talks about and also about politics or political aspects involving the issue under debate.

Richardson's third assumption about language and 'perhaps the most important one to grasp' is that 'language use is always *active*; it is always directed at *doing* something; and the way in which language achieves this activity is always related to the context in which it is being used' (2007: 12) He makes his point by relating to certain verbs expressing the *active* nature of communication that he uses to describe journalists' activity: 'journalists may use language to *inform* us of an event, or to *expose* wrongdoing, or to *argue* for or against something. Each of these verbs – inform, expose and argue for – demonstrates the active nature of communication in these cases.' (2007: 12) This same assumption, we would add, is valid in political speeches and statements when the speaker uses language to *announce* something, or to *debate* upon something or *argue* for something, with the aim of *convincing* of something. All these verbs denote the active nature of the communicative act.

The fourth assumption, the one according to which 'language use has *power*', refers to the way in which some people's opinion is 'more credible and authoritative than the opinion of others' and how this is of great interest and worth taking into account when analysing discourse. In our opinion, as far as media discourse is concerned, this is language's most important aspect, as, when it comes to shaping opinions, the media's role is probably the most important one and the language used by the media and the way in which that language is used may act as a trigger for a whole manner of thinking, may create *trends* of thought, and this is, we think, a great responsibility.

The power of journalistic language to *do* things and the way that social power is indexed and represented in journalistic language are particularly important to bear in mind when studying the discourse of journalism. Journalism has social effects: through its power to shape issue agendas and public discourse, it can reinforce beliefs; it can shape people's opinions not only of the world but also of their *place* and *role* in the world; or, if not shape your opinions on a particular matter, it can at the very least influence *what* you have opinions on; in sum, it can help shape social reality by shaping our *views* of social reality. For these reasons, and many more, the language of the news media needs to be taken very seriously. (Richardson 2007: 13)

The fifth assumption about language is that it is *political*, which comes, in Richardson's opinion as the natural outcome of the fact that language is social and has power. These two aspects of language combined inevitably produce a third one, which is that language is political. The assumption according to which 'language is 'clear' and acts as a neutral window on the world' needs to be contested, according to Richardson, because it can even be a dangerous assumption and, in order to sustain his argument, he quotes George Orwell and his essay on 'Politics and the English Language' (1946) where 'he argues two basic points: first, that ugly or offensive thoughts corrupt language; and second, that language can corrupt thought.' (2007: 13) As a socialist, Orwell suggests that 'the decline of a language must ultimately have political and economic causes: it is not due simply to the bad influence of this or that individual writer. But an effect can become a cause, reinforcing the original cause and producing the same effect in an intensified form, and so on indefinitely.'² 'Thus, language is a medium of power that can be used to sediment inequalities of power and legitimate iniquitous social relations.' (Richardson 2007: 14) Then, Richardson quotes a larger part of Orwell's essay that we shall render in what follows for the sake of its relevance for contemporary politics:

² George Orwell, 'Politics and the English Language', http://www.orwell.ru/library/essays/politics/english/e_polit

In our time, political speech and writing are largely the defence of the indefensible. Things like the continuance of British rule in India, the Russian purges and deportations, the dropping of the atom bombs on Japan, can indeed be defended, but only by arguments which are too brutal for most people to face, and which do not square with the professed aims of the political parties. Thus political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness. Defenceless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called *pacification*. Millions of peasants are robbed of their farms and sent trudging along the roads with no more than they can carry: this is called transfer of population or rectification of frontiers. [...] All issues are political issues, and [...] When the general [political] atmosphere is bad, language must suffer. (Orwell cited in Richardson 2007: 14)

The same thing happens to language nowadays. In current political discourse, terms like 'democracy' and 'liberation' 'have become transformed to mean open markets and military occupation' (Cox 2004: 312).

Discourse analysis is inevitably always subject to 'change'. This makes it a complex and diverse field if we think of it in methodological, theoretical and analytical terms (see Wodak and Meyer, 2001; van Dijk, 1996; Brown and Yule, 1983; Fairclough, 1992). Discourse has become a concept because it is largely used today in academia and because of its different interpretations by different authors. According to Schiffrin (1994), there are two general approaches to discourse: the *formalist* or *structuralist* definition, the one that sees it as a particular unit of language (specifically, a unit 'above' the sentence), and the *functionalist* definition, according to which, language should be studied as 'language in use': '[...] the analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs.' (Brown and Yule 1983: 1). For functionalists, language is active, and discourse analysis is the analysis of what people *do* with language. (Richardson 2007: 24) Those theorists who take to this definition of discourse are preoccupied about '*what* and *how* language communicates when it is used *purposefully* in particular instances and contexts' (Cameron 2001: 13) What this kind of research does, and our present work evidently goes for this type of research, is to assume that 'language is used to *mean* something and to *do* something and that this 'meaning' and 'doing' are linked to the context of its usage'. 'In other words, in order to properly understand discourse we need to do more than analyse the inter-relations of sentences and how they hang together as a cohesive and coherent text. To properly interpret, for example, a press release, or a newspaper report or an advert,

we need to work out what the speaker or writer is *doing* through discourse and how this 'doing' is linked to wider inter-personal, institutional, socio-cultural and material contexts.' (Richardson 2007: 24)

CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) represents one of the bodies of work that take up the functionalist definition of discourse. Critical discourse analysts go further than accepting that discourse is 'language in use' and promote the aim 'of linking linguistic analysis to social analysis' (Woods and Kroger, 2000: 206). Responding to the idea that discourse must play a part in producing and reproducing social inequalities (as a result of accepting that language use contributes to the (re)production of social life), CDA 'seeks to have an effect on social practice and social relationships' (Tischer *et al.*, 2000: 147) – of disempowerment, dominance, prejudice and/or discrimination – and that such critical analysis may take place 'at different levels of abstraction from the particular event: it may involve its more immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within, or the yet wider frame of the society and the culture' (Fairclough, 1995b: 62). Out of the general principles of CDA established by Wodak (1996) and cited by Richardson, there are four key themes that require more profound discussion as they apply both to political discourse and media (newspapers) discourse: 'the constituted and (re)creative character of discourse; power and social relations in discourse; ideology; and hegemony.' (Richardson 2007: 27)

Discursive practices in critical media studies

Richardson discusses discourse in relation to 'idealism' and 'materialism', to reach the conclusion that CDA 'appears to adopt elements of both Materialist and Idealist perspectives on social structure: language use is shaped by society and goes on to (re)produce it.' (2007: 28), as CDA views discourse 'as a form of social practice. Describing discourse as social practice implies a *dialectical* or a two-way relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them.' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, cited in Richardson 2007: 28, his emphasis). However, Richardson argues that there is a tendency in CDA to regard discourse independently, 'as a thing that *in itself* can include or exclude, reproduce social inequalities or effect social change' and that, for instance, Fairclough's going as far as suggesting that contemporary social changes are 'constituted to a significant extent by changes to language in practice' may come close to 'an Idealistic conception of social reality' which contradicts 'Fairclough's commitment to Marxist social theory.' To his support, he brings Fairclough's critique of Tony Blair's representation of the global economy, analysed by Jones and Collins who, in response to Fairclough's arguing that, in Blair's speech, 'alternative ways of organising international economic relations are

excluded from the political agenda by these representations' (1992: 129), point out that '[...] all the excluding and marginalizing, within mainstream politics and media, not just of forthright anti-capitalist critique but even sustained and honest factual examination of political events and their history, is being done not by 'these representations' but by people.' (Jones and Collins cited in Richardson 2007: 29) It would seem that, 'idealizing' discourse, Fairclough omits that the 'agents' are always the 'people', except that, we would add, maybe Jones and Collins do not understand by 'representations' what Fairclough understands, which is 'relations, identities and institutions which lie behind them' (i.e., behind 'the norms and conventions' of discourse), and by that we understand 'people' as well. 'Discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning.' (Fairclough 1992: 64)

Richardson considers that CDA may sometimes run the risk of 'abstracting' issues under discussion to such an extent as to 'isolate' them from the real subjects, the *people*. A materialist perspective would hold that language use 'cannot *in itself* alter the course of society. Racism, for instance, is not something that can be isolated as a 'thing' in a text, but exists as a relationship between the text, its producers and inequalities in society. To be clear, social change is only possible through people acting upon the world. Therefore, the approach to CDA that we adopt 'conceives at once of a *subject* who is produced by society, and of a *subject* who acts to support or change that society. [...] this human subject is constituted in ideology, and at the same time acts to make history and change society' (Coward and Ellis, 1997, cited in Richardson 2007: 29). Because, Richardson argues, 'language use is one way in which subjects – people – may act upon society.' (2007: 29).

Discourse, power and social relations

The fact that questions of power are of central interest to CDA may be interpreted in two different ways: on the one hand, critical analysts interpret a piece of text or talk looking at the relations of power that are given by the *context* in which the text or talk occurs: either *local* (setting, time, participants) or *global* (as part of organizational, institutional actions) (see van Dijk, 1996); and on the other hand, the piece of text or talk is regarded as empowering language use, that is, discourse that contributes, by content, context, purpose, rhetoric, to social change. (see Fairclough, 1992) It is commonly agreed upon that power bears upon the production, consumption as well as the understanding of discourse. Admitting that CDA 'engages with, analyses and critiques social power and how this is represented and, both explicitly and implicitly, reproduces in the news', Richardson formulates the question 'what *is* social power?'. Although power is 'another incredibly slippery concept', one that has been endlessly dealt with in academic discussion about what

is *is* or what it *means*, Richardson chooses to take one more perspective and expand it, that of Steven Lukes (1974) who distinguishes three *faces* of power: 'the view of the pluralist' (that Richardson calls the 'one-dimensional view'), the view of their critics (which he calls the two-dimensional view) and a third one which he will call the three-dimensional view of power. According to Richardson, the one-dimensional view 'focuses on behaviour, on outcomes and in the making of decisions on which there is observable conflict. This one-dimensional view of power is simplistic because it emphasises the importance of *conscious* initiation and explicit decision-making. It therefore takes 'no account of the fact that power may be, and often is, exercised by confining the scope of decision-making to relatively "safe" issues' (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970 cited in Richardson, 2007: 30).

The second 'face' power 'brings in the notion of the 'mobilisation of bias' into the definition of power, and critiques those who benefit from the 'rules of the game' 'are placed in a preferred position to defend and promote their vested interests' (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970 cited in Richardson, 2007: 31). This is important, in his opinion, if we want to understand how journalists and the news media 'are *used* by social groups with power' and how 'power is instrumental in making 'non-decisions': for instance, releasing *certain* stories or foregrounding certain policy decisions over others, thus challenging the values and interests of the decision-maker. (2007: 31) As a conclusion, the 'two-dimensional view of power retains the behaviourist focus of the one-dimensional view, but expands its analysis to allow 'considerations of the ways in which decisions are prevented from being taken on potential issues over which there is an observable conflict of (subjective) interests' (Lukes, 1974, cited in Richardson 2007:31).

The third view of power suggests that 'power should be viewed as a more *systemic* phenomenon.', because the second 'face' of power makes it possible for groups and institutions to succeed in 'excluding potential issues from the political process', allowing individuals and groups to gain power 'from their social relations to others and their position in a hierarchical social system.' To 'logically' better explain it, he cites Lukes: the structural biases of the system are 'not sustained simply by a series of individually chosen acts, but also, most importantly, by the socially structured and culturally patterned behaviour of groups and practices of institutions'.

A may exercise power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but he also exercises power over him by influencing, shaping or determining his attitudes, beliefs, and very wants. (Lukes cited in Richardson, 2007:31)

As a conclusion, Richardson suggests that all this 'occurs *through discourse* and, specifically, in the ability of language to act ideologically.' (2007: 32, emphasis added).

Discourse and ideology

In an attempt to trace the history of the concept of 'ideology' and how it is used, out of an 'incapacity' to define what it 'really' means which, according to Terry Eagleton is not due to the 'low intelligence' of workers in the field, but to 'its whole range of useful meanings, not all of which are compatible with each other' (Eagleton, 1991: 1), Richardson informs that it 'was originally coined by Antoine Destutt de Tracey in the years after the French Revolution to refer to 'a new science of ideas, an idea-logy, which would be the ground of all other sciences' (McLellan, 1986, cited in Richardson 2007: 32). Eagleton also considers tracing the term through histories a better option than trying to 'theorize' it: "The word 'ideology', one might say, is a *text*, woven of a whole tissue of different conceptual strands; it is traced through by divergent histories, and it is probably more important to assess what is valuable or can be discarded in each of these lineages than to merge them forcibly into some Grand Global Theory." (1991: 1). He does, however, draw a list of definitions for the word, not only to show that some of them are incompatible with one another, but also that the lines of thought they bear upon are different, in that some of them follow the epistemological tradition, while others follow the sociological one. For the same reason Eagleton enumerates the definitions, 'to indicate the variety of meanings', we shall render his list as well:

- “(a) the process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life;
- (b) a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class;
- (c) ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;
- (d) false ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;
- (e) systematically distorted communication;
- (f) that which offers a position for a subject;
- (g) forms of thought motivated by social interests;
- (h) identity thinking;
- (i) socially necessary illusion;
- (j) the conjuncture of discourse and power;
- (k) the medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world;
- (l) action-oriented sets of beliefs;
- (m) the confusion of linguistic and phenomenal reality;
- (n) semiotic closure;
- (o) the indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations to a social structure;
- (p) the process whereby social life is converted to a natural reality³”

³ I will cite here Eagleton's endnote to the list of definition: "For a useful summary of the various meanings of ideology, see A. Naess et al., *Democracy, Ideology and Objectivity*, Oslo 1956, pp. 143 ff. See also Norman Birnbaum, 'The Sociological Study of Ideology 1940-1960', *Current Sociology*, vol. 9, 1960, for a survey of theories of ideology from Marx to the modern day and an excellent bibliography."

In asking himself 'What is ideology', Eagleton concludes that there are roughly six different ways in which we can identify ideology. First, 'the general material process of production of ideas, beliefs and values in social life', which is a definition that is 'both politically and epistemologically neutral, and is close to the broader meaning of the term 'culture'. (1991: 28). By this perspective, we would understand 'the whole complex of signifying practices and symbolic processes in a particular society; it would allude to the the way individuals 'lived' their social practices, rather than to those practices themselves, which would be the preserve of politics, economics, kinship theory and so on.', and this sense is wider than the sense of 'culture' ('artistic and intellectual work of agreed value'), but narrower than the anthropological definition of culture ('all of the practices and institutions of a form of life'). The problem with this meaning of ideology is that it seems 'unworkably broad and suspiciously silent on the question of political conflict'.

The second meaning of ideology, which, according to Eagleton, is slightly less general, 'turns on ideas and beliefs (whether true or false) which symbolize the conditions and life-experiences of a specific, socially significant group or class' (1991: 29). With this second interpretation, 'ideology' is related to the idea of a 'world view', though whereas 'world views are usually preoccupied with fundamental matters such as the meaning of death or humanity's place in the universe', 'ideology might extend to such issues as which colour to paint the mail-boxes.' (1991: 29).

A third definition of the term 'attends to the *promotion and legitimation* of the interests of such social groups in the face of opposing interests.', which interests 'must have some relevance to the sustaining or challenging of a whole political form of life. Ideology can here be seen as a discursive field in which self-promoting social powers conflict and collide over questions central to the reproduction of social power as a whole. This definition may entail the assumption that ideology is a peculiarly 'action-oriented' discourse, in which contemplative cognition is generally subordinated to the furtherance of 'arational' interests and desires. It is doubtless for this reason that to speak 'ideologically' has sometimes in the popular mind a ring of distasteful opportunism about it, suggesting a readiness to sacrifice truth to less reputable goals.' (1991: 29) In this case, ideology is regarded rather like a 'rhetorical' than 'a veridical kind of speech', being less concerned with the situation in itself and more with 'the production of certain useful effects for political purposes.' (ibid.)

The fourth meaning of ideology concentrates on the activities of a 'dominant social power' whose 'dominant ideologies help to *unify* a social formation in ways convenient for its rulers', and this meaning is regarded by Eagleton as 'still epistemologically neutral' and it can be improved in the fifth definition according to which 'ideology signifies ideas and beliefs which help to legitimate the interests of a ruling group or class specifically by distortion and dissimulation.' At the same

time, he notices that on this definition 'it is hard to know what to call a politically oppositional discourse which promotes and seeks to legitimate the interests of a subordinate group or class by such devices as the 'naturalizing', universalizing and cloaking of its real interest.' (1991: 30)

And finally, the sixth meaning of ideology, in Eagleton's perspective, 'retains an emphasis on false or deceptive beliefs but regards such beliefs as arising not from the interests of a dominant class but from the material structure of society as a whole. The term ideology remains pejorative, but a class-genetic account of it is avoided.' (ibid.)

As far as the question of ideology 'as 'lived relations' rather than empirical representations' is concerned, Eagleton argues that, if this conception is true, it gives rise to important political consequences.

In written media, social events are almost always tackled from an ideological position whether the author is doing this in a conscientious manner or not. Regardless of the different meanings of ideology, it is a fact that dominant social powers will always use 'ideology' and ideological beliefs to legitimate actions, to redirect interests, to call for measures, to proceed to social changes. A better understanding of the ideological discourse helps to unveil truths and strategies, thus getting closer to the 'circles of interests' and, by that, gaining perspective and looking at *a bigger picture*. Which is always profitable when analysing media discourse.

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LE REPORTAGE ÉCRIT: TEXTE ET PÉRITEXTE. SENS SÉMANTIQUE ET SENS PRAGMATIQUE

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Résumé: *Le sens d'un message se trouve au point de rencontre de l'ensemble sémantico-pragmatique produit par l'émetteur et de celui interprété par le destinataire. Au moment de l'émission d'un message écrit, le scripteur prend en considération les potentiels lecteurs et il organise son énoncé de manière cohérente, de sorte que celui-ci puisse être interprété et compris. Au pôle opposé, mais en même temps complémentaire, se situe le lecteur, qui s'attend à ce que le discours qu'il essaye de reconstruire soit cohérent, en ce sens qu'il garde dans son esprit que l'énonciateur a organisé ses dires de manière à être compris par les potentiels destinataires/lecteurs. Il s'agit donc d'une co-construction des deux énonciateurs (auteur et lecteur) à partir d'un monde commun, c'est-à-dire de leurs connaissances partagées. Pour ce faire, les deux acteurs sont ancrés dans une situation de schématisation textuelle qui implique également les traits cognitifs des sujets. Un texte est constitué d'une suite configurationnellement orientée d'unités (propositions) séquentiellement liées et progressant vers une fin. Le texte est un produit connexe, cohésif et cohérent; il n'est pas une combinaison aléatoire de mots, phrases, propositions ou actes d'énonciation. L'analyse des composantes péri-textuelles renvoie à la prise en compte des éléments qui entourent le corps du texte, à savoir les surtitres, les titres, les sous-titres, les intertitres, les chapeaux, le nom de l'auteur, la date du journal, la page à laquelle se trouve l'article, des images, des cartes, etc. En ce qui concerne l'approche du reportage écrit, les aspects qui seront pris en compte visent le fait que ce genre journalistique porte la marque d'un média qui a son lectorat spécifique, son histoire, sa culture, mais aussi d'un journaliste-reporter dont l'écriture affirme la personnalité. On part de la prémisse suivante: un article-reportage est un texte dans lequel le journaliste rapporte les événements en allant sur le terrain, en se rendant sur les lieux de l'action; il raconte alors ce qu'il a vu et ce qu'il a entendu sur place.*

Il s'agit des différents niveaux (sémantique, pragmatique, etc.) auxquels l'information est concentrée et assurée par la cohésion (sémantique) et la cohérence (pragmatique). Par conséquent, le sens d'un texte s'organise à plusieurs niveaux. Les textes – oraux ou écrits – sont pour le lecteur des unités de communication, plutôt que de simples enchaînements de mots ou de propositions. Cela est dû au fait que les parties d'un texte se trouvent en rapport les unes avec les autres, et que cette relation conduit à la création d'un sens global; à son tour, cet ensemble dérive son sens du contexte situationnel et culturel au sein duquel il se développe.

Mots-clés: *genre journalistique, reportage, message, texte, péri-texte, sens, sémantique, pragmatique*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Du point de vue de l'activité médiatique nous pouvons considérer celle-ci, suite à ce qu'affirment Codrescu et Oprea (2009), comme faisant partie d'un *contrat de communication spécifique*. Les discours médiatiques, comme le soulignent les auteurs ci-dessus, sont « non seulement les vecteurs d'accès à l'actualité dans des espaces culturels différentes, mais représentent aussi un dénominateur commun interculturel à double fonction : par leur structure formelle, d'un coté, et par la langue véhiculée, le français, de l'autre.» (Codrescu, Oprea, 2009 : 154).

Le contrat de communication spécifique crée l'accès à des situations de communication médiatique particulières et aux types de discours attachés à celles-ci. Il réunit des activités discursives dont les traits sont : une finalité spécifique ; l'identité des sujets communicants ; le profil des sujets récepteurs et les formes du discours.

En ce qui concerne le *but*, les contrats de communication spécialisés se distinguent par leur contenu et par les finalités communicationnelles spécifiques que nous passons en revue ci-dessous.

Il s'agit en premier lieu du *contrat d'information* caractérisant tous les messages médiatiques qui cherchent à faire connaître et expliquer les circonstances / le déroulement des événements. Ici, la caractéristique d'être *informatif* se combine à un volet du type *séduction*.

Un aspect qui mérite d'être pris en compte dans le cas de l'*analyse discursive des médias* est de savoir à quel degré le *contexte* est relevant. Plutôt que de considérer le seul contexte situationnel de l'événement communicatif, et de se référer peut-être à certains éléments du *contexte institutionnel* – mais en disant peu de choses sur le contexte social et culturel, qui couvre une aire plus large – Fairclough (2001 : 50) souligne que “this wider contextual matrix must be attended to because it shapes discourse practices in important ways and is itself cumulatively shaped by them. This is particularly clear in the case of media”.

2. LE REPORTAGE ÉCRIT: UN TEXTE COHÉSIF ET COHÉRENT

2.1. Définition du reportage

Le *reportage* est un genre très apprécié car c'est un témoignage direct mis en scène avec art. Le journaliste l'anime, lui donne des couleurs, du relief, de l'humanité. Cela demande du temps et de la disponibilité puisqu'il faut aller sur le terrain. Ce genre journalistique suppose également le contact avec l'événement et les hommes. Le journaliste se laisse impressionner comme une plaque photographique.

Les cinq sens en alerte, il observe le spectacle qui est devant lui en s’y intégrant au maximum, posant des questions, écoutant les conversations, lisant tout ce qui peut être lu (affiches, documents, livres, journaux, etc.). Toute curiosité sera ‘ramassée’ dans son ‘arsenal’ procédural : le reporter, c’est un œil, un nez et une oreille branchés sur un stylo. Le journaliste notera (avec précision !) tout ce qui constitue l’événement principal. Il enregistrera l’ensemble avec une multitude de détails qui lui seront indispensables par la suite pour raconter le spectacle, situer l’environnement, rendre la ‘couleur’ locale. C’est pourquoi on le compare avec un metteur en scène – le décor est important, de même que l’atmosphère et l’ambiance. Et si toutes ces conditions sont remplies, tant mieux pour la production du journaliste, qui sera couronnée de succès, en premier lieu en ce qui concerne l’intérêt suscité de la part du lecteur, ce dernier devant se croire au cinéma, c’est-à-dire emporté dans une aventure. La description des lieux, des personnages, leurs attitudes, leurs actions, leurs vêtements, leurs façons de parler, tout doit concourir à imager la situation, à la rendre vivante et prenante. Le reportage est un ‘film’ par lequel on communique une impression déterminée au moyen de plans successifs. Il est donc essentiel qu’il ressorte clairement et nettement de la matière (ou bien ‘texture’) même qui compose le corps du reportage ce que l’auteur veut transmettre tout au long de la description (y compris à travers le choix des décors et des accessoires).

2.2. Construire le sens

La cohérence représente le résultat d’un jugement, un jugement tributaire à la fois de marques linguistiques de cohésion (les liens intra- et interphrastiques) et de l’adéquation à une situation que l’on apprécie à partir d’une compétence encyclopédique. Au-delà des marques de cohésion, présentes pour faciliter l’interprétation, la reconnaissance d’une cohérence est fondamentalement ce qui constitue un ensemble verbal en texte. C’est la propriété définitoire du texte.

Etroitement liée au fonctionnement de la cohérence est la question de savoir comment les interlocuteurs agissent pour accéder à une interprétation des énoncés qui leur paraisse suffisamment cohérente et plausible pour expliquer leur énonciation à la suite. En vue de mener cette interprétation, les interlocuteurs s’appuient, selon Charolles (2006 : 26), sur :

- le contenu des énoncés produits ;
- des connaissances d’arrière plan potentiellement associables aux états de choses auxquels ceux-ci réfèrent ;
- l’intention de communication plus ou moins prédictible dans le contexte ;
- leur capacité à assembler ces données dans un raisonnement à même d’expliquer qu’un locuteur dise ce qu’il dit à la suite de ce que lui ou un autre a dit.

L'exemple suivant relève de des connaissances d'arrière plan du lecteur :
 « Comme un tsunami » (Annexe, titre)

Le lexème 'tsunami' renvoie à un cataclysme naturel qui a déterminé la perte de vie humaines, ce que le lecteur connaît déjà ou est censé connaître, fait qui lui crée des attentes quant à ce qui pourrait être lu plus loin, au sein du reportage. Cela, à côté du surtitre du reportage du *Monde* (« A L'Aiguillon-sur-Mer, qui a perdu au moins 29 de ses 2200 habitants, les rescapés racontent le choc, le traumatisme, mais aussi la solidarité ») aide le lecteur à émettre des hypothèses relatives à la trame discursive de l'article de presse et à déclencher des processus *inférentiels* qui mèneront à confirmer ou à infirmer les hypothèses visant les sens possible(s). Le titre « Comme un tsunami », accompagné du surtitre et des quatre images apporte, même pour un lecteur moins habitué à ce type de corpus, des indices sémantiques (au niveau textuel) considérables de même que pragmatiques / extralinguistiques (au niveau discursif). Par exemple, le lexème 'rescapés', accompagné du symbolisme de la première image à gauche en haut de la page, confirme l'interrelation de la dimension linguistique (syntaxique et sémantique) avec celle extralinguistique (niveau pragmatique, connaissances encyclopédiques – iconicité du texte du reportage écrit, superstructure discursive, etc.) Comme nous l'observons, les hypothèses avancées lui permettent de déduire les lieux de sens à partir de ce qu'il connaît sur le thème / sujet et à l'aide d'inférences contextuelles.

Les processus d'élaboration du sens qui interviennent dans ce genre de montage sont éminemment créatifs parce que le sujet qui s'y livre va bien au-delà de ce qui est littéralement communiqué. Après avoir développé des inférences contextuelles, l'interprétant a accès à tout un réseau de relations entre les faits mentionnés. Il arrive également à une interprétation inédite des intentions communicatives poursuivies par les participants à l'échange. La cohérence varie en fonction des exigences et des connaissances des sujets et de leur capacité à 'orchestrer' toutes les informations potentiellement associables aux faits relatés.

L'étude de la cohérence est également liée à trois principes de connexion entre les idées : ressemblance, contiguïté dans le temps ou dans l'espace et relation de cause à effet. Même si la relation de cause à effet est le plus fréquemment évoquée et donc recherchée, celle de ressemblance n'est pas sans intérêt non plus.

Prenons l'énoncé suivant :

" « *Le plus important, c'est que vous soyez tous là !* »",

qui constitue l'*accroche* du reportage du *Monde* (Annexe) et dont l'émetteur n'est pas précisé. Si nous le rapportons à un autre, dont l'émetteur est connu et qu'on rencontre beaucoup plus loin au sein du même reportage (7^e paragraphe) :

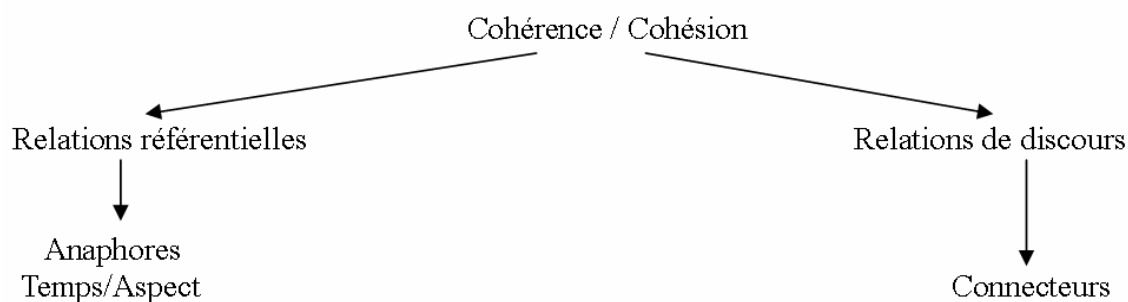
" « *L'important, c'est que vous soyez en vie* », le console sa fille, venue de Nantes.",

nous observons qu'entre les deux il y a un rapport de *ressemblance* qui s'établit établi au niveau discursif (à savoir tout en nous appuyant sur les informations d'arrière-plan – qui font partie, au niveau *cognitif*, des *schémas de contenu*). Le lecteur est donc censé recourir à une lecture du type écrémage (ou *skimming*) afin de comparer, analyser cette unité de sens et faire des inférences sur le(s) référent(s) commun(s) aux deux énoncés : l'auteur du discours direct est la même personne (la fille d'Odette et de James Gombert) et les deux énoncés renvoient au même référent, à savoir que tous les membres de la famille Gombert sont vivants. Ce qui est à souligner ici concerne la complémentarité de la dimension *extralinguistique* (le recours au *contexte*) avec la dimension *linguistique* (niveau sémantique) par la co-existence de deux *co-textes* (les 1^{er} et 7^e paragraphes où sont énoncés les dégâts et les conséquences de la tempête Xynthia).

Dans l'optique de Riegel (2006 : 57), « Un bloc textuel peut également être évalué du double point de vue de sa cohésion et de sa cohérence textuelles. Sa cohésion, ou bonne formation architecturale, sera assurée par le simple fait qu'il est constitué d'une combinaison de segments élémentaires qui ont la forme de phrases ou de séquences réductibles à des phrases, parce qu'ils ont en commun d'être interprétés comme des propositions, simples ou complexes. ». Les segments présentant des rapports de cohésion textuelle sont pourvus de marqueurs proprement textuels (par exemple les connecteurs interphrastiques). Mais malgré le fait que la cohésion d'une séquence de phrase corresponde à un type de bonne formation, cela n'est pas suffisant pour garantir une cohérence textuelle à proprement parler, c'est-à-dire ne constitue pas un appui pour la création d'un texte bien formé.

La cohérence textuelle va donc au-delà de l'arrangement linéaire des phrases pour se regrouper hiérarchiquement, ce qui est similaire à ceux obtenus à la suite de l'analyse en constituants immédiats dans le cadre phrastique.

Du point de vue des marqueurs linguistiques à même d'exprimer les rapports de cohérence et de cohésion, il y a, considère Charolles (2006 : 32), un large consensus pour considérer qu'il existe deux grands types seulement de relations entre les unités de composition du discours, que celles-ci soient signalées ou non par des expressions linguistiques spécialisées à cet effet, que l'on peut schématiser comme suit :



Les relations référentielles sont exprimées par les différentes formes d'anaphores ainsi que par les temps verbaux et les aspects. Les relations entre le contenu propositionnel et la valeur d'acte de langage des énoncés sont signalées par les connecteurs.

3. CONCLUSION

Tout en rappelant les notions de texte et de discours nous concluons que le texte est un ensemble organisé d'énoncés doué de *sens*. On accède à ce sens par des procédures de reconstruction, à travers le processus d'interprétation. Le discours est le résultat des pratiques sociales (interaction) renvoyant nécessairement à un contexte donné, fixé spatialement et temporellement. A propos de ces deux notions, comme le note R. Martin (1983 : 206), « il est impossible de tracer une limite précise entre les contenus sémantiques et les connaissances d'univers [...] ».

Quant à la composante *pragmatique*, son rôle est de « compléter le calcul sémantique de données qui ne sont pas exclusivement linguistiques » (Martin, 1983 : 206). Cette composante est liée à l'interprétation et vise à tenir compte de tout ce qui – dans la situation d'énonciation – contribue à élaborer le *sens*. Y sont inclus codes autres que linguistiques, connaissance d'univers, intentions que le discours recèle, implicite plus ou moins perceptible qui cherche à se voiler ou au contraire à s'insinuer.

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EPISTÉMOLOGIE DU *BON SENS COMMUN*

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Abstract: *In his book, Le bon sens commun², Björn Larsson sheds a new light over the issue of meaning, trying to show that there is no communication without meaning, nor is there meaning without communication. The formation of common meaning, intersubjectively constructed, cognizable and communicable ('to communicate' means to put something in common), represents, according to the Swedish linguist, the only solid reference point that makes it possible for language to take on man's coming out of solitude.*

Key-Words: *'le bon sens commun', communication, interaction, intersubjectivity*

Paru à Lund en 1997, *Le bon sens commun* a pour sujet une remise en cause assez radicale de la notion même de sens. Björn Larsson essaie, tout le long de ce livre, de rendre compte du fait (apparemment banal) qu'en dehors du sens il n'y a pas de communication et que, en même temps, sans communication il n'y a pas non plus de sens. Conscient que par les temps qui courent, où le relativisme, le subjectivisme et le scepticisme semblent menacer non seulement les valeurs, mais aussi les notions fondamentales de l'entendement humain, B. Larsson élève sa voix, une voix positive et tonique qui prend magistralement le contrepied des approches actuelles du sens, se faisant le porte-parole de ceux qui continuent à croire que, tout en se servant de cette "entité mystérieuse" qu'est le sens, deux êtres humains peuvent communiquer et se comprendre, du moins s'ils y mettent une part de bonne volonté.

A travers une présentation des principales théories du sens en linguistique, en philosophie du langage, en sciences cognitives, en critique littéraire et en sociologie de la communication, l'auteur élabore une théorie du sens qui prétend dépasser l'opposition entre l'objectivisme et le subjectivisme. Car dans le domaine du sens, l'opposition véritable – nous en avertit le linguiste – n'est pas entre l'objectif et le subjectif, mais entre l'objectif et l'intersubjectif: "Le bon sens, le sens juste n'est rien d'autre que le sens commun, c'est-à-dire le sens intersubjectivement établi et reconnu. Autrement dit, sans intersubjectivité, virtuelle et actuelle, sans un sens qui est commun, il n'y a tout simplement pas de sens".

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² Björn Larsson, *Le bon sens commun: Remarques sur le rôle de la (re)cognition intersubjective dans l'épistémologie et l'ontologie du sens*, Lund: Lund University Press, 1997

A la différence de la plupart des théories sémantiques traditionnelles, dont la préoccupation essentielle consiste dans l'étude de la signification invariable attachée aux lexèmes et aux phrases hors contexte et hors situation, la théorie intersubjectiviste attribue au sens un statut ontologique connaissable dont le critère ultime de légitimité est la compréhension interactionnelle et intersubjective. Il est bien connu que l'interactionnisme envisage le comportement humain comme étant déterminé à la fois par des facteurs personnels et des facteurs situationnels (y compris le facteur *autrui*). En ce sens, l'interaction est conçue comme "l'influence réciproque que les partenaires exercent sur leurs actions respectives, lorsqu'ils sont en présence physique immédiate les uns des autres". Goffmann, un des théoriciens de l'interaction, souligne le fait que celle-ci n'exprime pas nécessairement la recherche d'une harmonie ou d'une communauté d'esprits: "Souvent, il est préférable de concevoir une interaction non pas comme une scène harmonieuse, mais comme la poursuite d'une guerre froide". Cette "guerre froide" signifie par ailleurs que Goffmann voit dans l'acte communicationnel non pas une action *avec* les autres, mais une action *sur* les autres. Il aboutit ainsi à envisager une perspective qui tient au paradigme dominant dans la réflexion contemporaine sur la condition humaine, où règnent la particularité, l'individualisme, l'égoïsme, l'incommensurabilité, l'emprise sur *autrui* – autant de signes symptomatiques de la solitude de l'être moderne.

Ce point de vue, propre aussi aux relativistes, aux subjectivistes et aux sceptiques du langage, est combattu avec acharnement par Björn Larsson, pour qui, tout au contraire, la constitution d'un sens commun, intersubjectivement construit, connaissable et communicable représente le seul repère vraiment solide qui fasse que le langage soit un "obstacle à la solitude de l'homme"(Hagège).

L'auteur ne nie pas d'ailleurs que la communication ne connaisse des échecs; toutefois ce à quoi il s'attache, ce ne sont pas les échecs, mais les réussites de la communication. Dans la perspective intersubjectiviste présentée par le linguiste suédois, les deux questions sémantiques fondamentales sont de savoir, d'une part, comment les locuteurs arrivent à constituer un sens qui leur soit commun et; d'autre part, à quel degré ils arrivent à maintenir une intersubjectivité sémantique. Sa définition minimale du sens, B. Larsson la formule sous l'angle i) linguistique et ii) cognitif.

i) "Le sens linguistique, pour être, doit contenir une cognition ou une conceptualisation intersubjectivement reconnue, codifiée et mémorisée sous forme de signes et de rapports entre signes par au moins deux locuteurs". L'auteur opère lui aussi la distinction entre le sens "littéral" (conventionnel, "sémantique") – sens invariable et constant hors contexte et le sens situationnel (pragmatique) – réalisé dans et par la situation de communication. Le sens situationnel prend appui sur le sens sémantique, sans pour autant l'oblitérer. C'est parce qu'une phrase a du sens sémantique stable et intersubjectif qu'on peut interpréter son sens situationnel. Et ce qui est important à noter, remarque à juste titre l'auteur, c'est qu'une

interprétation est toujours une interprétation de quelque chose, qui a déjà – du moins en partie – du sens. C’est justement parce qu’un “énoncé a quelque sens stable et intersubjectif qu’il pourra être interprété en situation d’une manière ou d’une autre”. Ce sens stable et intersubjectif, Eco l’avait appelé *signification virtuelle*: “Contexte et circonstances sont indispensables pour pouvoir conférer à l’expression sa signification pleine et complète, mais l’expression possède une signification virtuelle qui permet au locuteur de deviner son contexte”. Larsson remarque que la distinction opérée entre le sens sémantique et le sens situationnel est une distinction entre deux variantes d’un même phénomène (dont l’une n’est pas plus vraie que l’autre), mais que pour assurer le bon fonctionnement de la langue en tant qu’outil de communication, certains domaines du sens doivent présenter à tout moment un degré plus élevé de stabilité intersubjective et transsituationnelle que d’autres. Le rôle crucial dans le maintien de la stabilité du sens revient, d’après lui, à la mémoire: “On pourrait même dire que le vrai problème de la stabilité partagée du sens n’est pas dans la constitution d’un sens parfaitement intersubjectif, mais dans sa mémorisation et, par là, dans sa reproduction.”

ii) La définition du sens rapportée aux théories cognitivistes connaît, elle aussi, des observations de choix de la part de Larsson. Rejetant les théories classiques du sens comme reflet exact et immédiat du monde, le linguiste n’est pas non plus de l’avis de ces sémanticiens cognitivistes qui voient dans le sens un genre d’étiquette conventionnelle collée sur des catégories d’ordre non-linguistique. Dans sa démarche cognitive, il s’attache à élucider avant tout le sémantisme des termes de couleur (“D’où vient le sens du rouge?”). Sans prétendre à une autonomie absolue du sens par rapport à la perception et aux contraintes neuro-physiologiques, Larsson voit dans l’acquisition de ces termes un processus d’apprentissage pareil à celui de la langue en général. Ce qui l’amène à affirmer que “le sens d’un terme de couleur est la mémorisation d’un accord intersubjectif sur son extension, sur un prélèvement parmi les teintes perceptibles”. Là encore, sa théorie intersubjectiviste insiste sur le fait qu’il ne suffit pas que deux êtres aient la même perception de la réalité, il faut que la perception commune soit intersubjectivement reconnue, codifiée et mémorisée en tant que telle.

De cette manière de concevoir le sens, il en découle que la science du sens ne peut être fondée exhaustivement ni sur l’introspection (l’intuition), ni sur la perspective de l’observateur extérieur. Au contraire, la science du sens doit se faire à la fois interactionniste et empirique, tout en étant basée sur la démarche de l’observateur participant: “l’*épistémologie* du sens n’est ni une *épistémologie* du **je**, ni une *épistémologie* du **il/elle** ou **ils**. C’est une *épistémologie* du **nous**, c’est-à-dire une *épistémologie* de la ‘connaissance interactionnelle’ (Mead), de l’observation participante’ (Boas, Jakobson, Bakhtine) de l’*expérimentation dialogique*’ (Vygotsky) et de la ‘*pragmatique transcendentale*’ (Apel, Habermas). En conséquence, le

sémanticien doit se faire ‘observateur participant’, ce qui rendra plus laborieuse encore la vérification ultime des hypothèses sémantiques.

Quant à l’approche philosophique du sens comme propriété émergente à la fois intersubjective et publique, B. Larsson reprend le thème tellement débattu des rapports entre **soi et autrui**. Dans sa présentation des débats sur la réussite/l’échec de la communication interpersonnelle, il s’est situé manifestement du côté de ceux qui croient que “la communication heureuse est parfois possible”. Sur ce point, la vision de Jaspers semble la plus proche de celle de Larsson: “Nous ne philosophons pas à partir de la solitude, mais à partir de la communication. Notre point de départ est, en pensée et en action, d’homme à homme comme d’individu à individu”. L’auteur ne s’arrête pas sur le seul point de vue qu’il partage lui-même, il présente aussi des conceptions tout à fait opposées. En témoigne la réflexion citée de Jean-Paul Sartre qui, dans *l’Être et le Néant* (1943) décrit l’épreuve du regard comme un obstacle à la relation à autrui: “En me regardant, autrui me transforme en chose. Autrui est d’abord pour moi l’être pour qui je suis objet, alors que je suis moi, pour moi-même inaccessible”.

Néanmoins, Larsson ne cesse de soutenir son idée en l’appuyant sur les explications des sociologues et des linguistes qui confèrent la primauté – dans le cadre de l’épistémologie du sens – au social et à l’histoire. “Cette similitude des esprits et des consciences qui laisse d’ailleurs toute latitude aux différences individuelles est tout à fait normale et naturelle, elle est acquise par l’éducation au sein de la société qui assure la transmission du patrimoine historique de celle-ci par l’intermédiaire surtout de la parole” (Schaff). Des philosophes comme Quine, Dummet et Davidson ont tous insisté sur le caractère public du sens (“le sens est commun ou il n’est pas”), mais il est notable qu’un intersubjectiviste avoué comme Quine est aussi un relativiste épistémologique. Aussi bien Quine que Davidson soutiennent que le sens, “malgré son caractère public et intersubjectif, est sujet à une indétermination fondamentale”.

La thèse d’un sens commun aux locuteurs d’une langue donnée ne prétend pourtant pas qu’il y ait accord parfait entre tous les locuteurs sur le sens de tous les mots. “Dire que le sens doit être commun pour être compris ne signifie pas que le sens doit être commun à l’ensemble des locuteurs qui parlent une langue donnée. A la rigueur (et en théorie) deux locuteurs peuvent suffire pour établir du sens”. Pour renforcer son idée, Larsson cite Baylon & Mignot à son appui: “Il faut être au moins deux pour qu’il y ait signe. Le sens d’un mot est déterminé tout autant par le fait qu’il procède de quelqu’un que par le fait qu’il est dirigé vers quelqu’un. Il constitue justement le produit de l’interaction de l’énonciateur et du receveur”.

La théorie qui définit le mieux la relation à autrui (non pas comme une chose aléatoire, mais comme une relation s’avérant absolument nécessaire – ne fût-ce que pour la seule reconnaissance et réalisation de soi) est celle que Hegel avait bâtie dans sa “Phénoménologie de l’esprit” (1806): “...*la réalisation de soi passe par la reconnaissance par les autres...*”

Ce type de relation reposant avant tout sur la parole, est destiné en même temps à faire part de ses connaissances et à construire son image du monde. C'est en apprenant le langage que l'être découvre l'existence et l'utilisation possible des représentations symboliques au moyen desquelles il commence à prendre conscience du monde qui l'entoure. Toutes les connaissances de la réalité sont protégées d'abord sur un "écran linguistique" (Quine), écran qui peut engendrer des notions plus ou moins vraies, plus ou moins fausses. La vérité d'un énoncé, d'une affirmation se prouve en établissant le rapport entre ce qui est dit et ce qui est. N'y entrent pas des questions sur l'existence ontologique ou métaphysique du monde. En abordant le problème de la vérité de telle ou telle chose, B. Larsson affirme qu'elle ne concerne pas en premier lieu la réalité, mais la langue.

Pour les néopositivistes, le sens d'un énoncé consiste dans la méthode de sa vérification/falsification. Le test de la vérification ("l'énoncé a un sens alors et seulement alors quand il est vérifiable" – Wittgenstein, *Tractatus logico-philosophicus*) est pensé par Larsson dans les mêmes termes de l'intersubjectivité, c'est-à-dire qu'il doit pouvoir être fait par au moins deux observateurs. Ce test est remplacé dans la vision de Karl Popper par celui de la falsification qui recouvre l'idée qu'une théorie demeure valable quand elle ne peut être falsifiée.

Le critère empirique du sens établit que la vérification représente la condition nécessaire et suffisante pour qu'un énoncé puisse être considéré comme ayant, au point de vue empirique, un sens. Ce qu'il y a pourtant à noter, c'est que les énoncés généraux ne sont pas vérifiables et que les énoncés existentiels ne sont pas falsifiables, et cela renvoie aux limites qui incombent à ces critères de l'établissement du sens.

Le critère de la vérification de la vérité ou de la fausseté d'un énoncé pose en fait un autre problème, beaucoup plus important à l'avis de certains logiciens et sémanticiens, celui de la primauté accordée à l'un des termes du rapport *sens/vérité*. Sur ce point, Larsson embrasse la théorie de Carnap, selon laquelle la connaissance du sens précède logiquement et empiriquement la connaissance scientifique du monde. En d'autres mots, le sens prime sur la vérité: la notion de 'vérité' doit être sens avant de servir d'instrument épistémologique dans la connaissance du monde non-signifiant.

L'idée qu'on doit d'abord connaître les conditions sous lesquelles une proposition a du sens avant que l'on puisse poser la question de sa vérité a été caractérisée comme l'une des découvertes les plus fructueuses de la logique moderne. Cela représente aussi le lien entre la logique et la sémantique.

A partir de l'approche la plus générale du sens, une des analyses les plus pertinentes faites par Larsson dans son livre est celle qui touche au problème du sens littéraire. Celui-ci, bien que polysémique de par sa nature ("le texte littéraire est, par définition, toujours polysémique" - Jouve) présuppose un noyau de base qui concerne non pas la nature ouverte du texte, mais le nombre d'interprétations légitimes qu'on peut en faire. "La question est de savoir s'il existe oui ou non un noyau de sens irréductible et inhérent au texte littéraire qui limite le nombre

d'interprétations possibles ou légitimes". Même face à un texte littéraire, le linguiste est d'avis que la compréhension du sens ne tient pas à la seule subjectivité du "receveur". Les "invariants et universaux de l'imaginaire littéraire" (Garcia Berrio) correspondent en linguistique au sens invariable et stable hors contexte. Le texte littéraire est ainsi présupposé contenir du sens "objectif".

La quête du sens littéraire est pour Larsson la *Quête du Sens* tout court. Là encore, il soulève à nouveau un autre problème, que le néopositiviste Gottlob Frege désignerait sous le nom d'"antinomies sémantiques". En logique, la théorie de Frege fait la distinction fondamentale entre les propriétés des objets et celles des notions, le logicien les ordonnant dans une hiérarchie bien établie. Cette "hiérarchie des niveaux", Larsson l'applique dans son étude en faisant à son tour la distinction fondamentale entre la dimension existentielle vécue d'une part et sa compréhension/transposition à travers la parole d'autre part. Le fait que Larsson ait commencé son livre par une citation de Raymond Queneau ("Le chiendent") n'est évidemment pas un pur hasard, l'auteur s'ingéniant, tout le long du livre, à "démontrer" la solitude ontologique de l'être dont parle Queneau: "...Voilà qui est curieux...on croit faire ceci et puis on fait cela. On croit voir ceci et l'on voit cela. On vous dit une chose, vous en entendez une autre et c'est une troisième qu'il fallait comprendre. Tout le temps, partout, il en est ainsi".

Larsson part du malentendu engendré par l'obsession de la solitude irrémédiable de l'être pour traiter du besoin de sens, refus manifeste du "vacuum sémantique" chez tout être humain. La question posée par lui s'avère, à cet égard, bien saillante: la solitude ontologique de l'être n'est-elle pas le reflet de la perte du sens? Rien qu'en voulant la 'crier', l'homme se voit jeté – qu'il le veuille ou non – sur l'arène publique où le langage (le sens en particulier) cesse d'être privé. Le sentiment d'une vie dépourvue de sens représente en dernière instance le refus de la quête du sens. Voilà comment la dimension existentielle aboutit à céder le pas à la dimension sémantique. Et dans la vision de Björn Larsson, la quête du sens, par l'être, s'identifie à la quête plus 'humaine' de l'intersubjectivité, la seule à offrir le moyen de dépasser la solitude, de surmonter les limites d'une condition où l'on ne vive plus en solitaire.

TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF COORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION IN PROVERBIAL PHRASES FROM THE BIBLE

Raluca Felicia TOMA¹

Abstract: *The present paper is a study of the coordination and subordination relations that are established on a syntactic and semantic level in the analysis of proverbial phrases. The aim is to show that only by identifying the right type of relationships that are established between different types of sentences and by analysing them, can one attempt to grasp the true meaning of the paremiological text and, in this case, of biblical proverbs.*

Key-Words: *main clause, subordinate clause, Book of Proverbs, phrase*

The binary structure of literal proverbs often entails the existence of two main sentences that are coordinated by copulative or adversative conjunctions, according to the class they belong to: one of the two major classes of the composition of proverbs, inclusion and reproduction.

- a) *Pride goeth before destruction: and the spirit is lifted up before a fall. (16,18);
He that diggeth a pit, shall fall into it: and he that rolleth a stone, it shall return to him. (26,27);
By the fruit of his own mouth shall a man be filled wltch good things, and according to the works of his hands it shall be repaid him. (12,14);*
- b) *Of the fruit of his own month shall a man be filled with good things: but the soul of transgressors is wicked. (13,2);*
- c) *The tongue of the just is as choice silver: but the heart of the wicked is nothing worth. (10,20);
The wicked maketh an unsteady work: but to him that soweth justice, there is a faithful reward. (11,18).*

There are few utterances that come with their literal sense, namely that are made up of only one sentence; in the terminology from the treatises on floklore they are called 'sayings' and they are considered a class related to that of the proverbs. The mono-member structure justifies their classing in a category of their own:

The robberies of the wicked shall be their downfall. (21,7).

Instead, the amplified structures in which we keep the standard symmetry based on association or opposition, respectively on copulative or adversative

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coordination are increasing, while each of the two members is doubled. Apart from the examples above (26, 27; 13, 12; 11, 18) several others can be added:

If a wise man contend with a fool, whether he be angry, or laugh, he shall find no rest. (29,9) so on and so forth.

- Among the subordination relations, the relation between a subject clause and its main clause is the most frequent one. Syntax is here subject to the universal logical scheme of any utterance, made up of a logical Subject (minima), a logical Predicate (maxima) and the conjunction. The differences between languages come essentially from the different possibilities of expressing the subject, as the predicate, being the axis of the phrase in any language, stays relatively stable. The subject can be simple, in minimal utterances like:

Whoever is slothful will not roast his game (12,27).

In most cases, expressing the subject has to outrun the limits of the denotative function, because its usage as standard element for the receiver, its parable function for which it was actually selected in the respective utterance, supposes a concise description, but one loaded with connotations. And this can be done by replacing the noun with a substantivised adjective, as in the example above, either through a present or past participle, or through a periphrasis or a subject clause, formed by developing the simple subject.

If we say:

[*Some people will not roast their game*]

the receiver understands the message on the level of the negative statement particularly, but when we say:

Whoever is slothful...

one understands that *all* people from the respective category act in the same way.

In other words, just as neither the rest of the utterance could have remained at the zero level, that of the denotative [*Some people don't like exertion*], but is figuratively coloured („they don't roast their game”), nor the subject can remain at this level.

Old languages also use nouns or adjective substitutes, generally adverbials, that have the capacity to express synthetically both the signified and the signifier ('the lazy/slothful man', 'the man who hates work', etc.). The Romanian language has, in this respect, fewer possibilities than the Hebrew, Greek, Latin or even Slavonic languages. One can use substantivised adjectives (*the lazy one, the greedy one, the avaricious one, the wise one, the mad one, etc.*), past (passive) participles (*pățitul* in „Tot pățitu-i priceput”/ *the fried* in 'The fried one is qualified') *gathered* (the gathered fortune), but one cannot use present (active) participles, natural occurrences of the verb often used in such contexts in classical languages. In the case of the Latin *providens*, 'provident'/'prudent', the Romanian interpreter oscillates between „*Prevăzătorul (își agonisește din timp hrana)*”/ *The prudent one (collects his food in good season)* and „*Cine este prevăzător își agonisește...*”/ *Whoever is prudent collects...*, because none of the readings corresponds to the

original. In the same way, for *peritus*, the interpreter could use a periphrasis *Omul priceput* (cf. 17,24) / *The skilled man*, but he prefers an amplification of this periphrasis in the corresponding sentence, obtained by developing the respective part of the sentence: he who does (not) have skill (cf. 17,16).

The translator's confusion must have been so much bigger as the terms from this onomasiological group are extremely frequent in biblical proverbs, since they relate to the practical, applicative component of 'wisdom', the central term of the whole Book of Proverbs (according to *supra*, 2..., 'wisdom' means 'knowledge/science' + 'skill/proficiency', with all the complementary attributes – parsimony, industry, generosity, just spirit, etc.). In the exact context from which we have extracted the above expression, one can see how the semantic sphere of some of these terms is outlined.

He that maketh his house high, seeketh a downfall: and he that refuseth to learn, shall fall into evils. (17,16).

In Greek (and in other old languages) there were established terms for the respective notions, just as there were established terms for the man characterised by a just or unjust spirit. In Romanian one turns to derivatives, to structure loan translations, semantic or mixed loan translations and whole sentences. The Greek *dikaïos* and *adikos* become in Romanian 'the one who loves justice' and 'the one without justice', 'the one who convicts the innocent ones'.

This explains the large number of subjective sentences in the enunciative proverbs (implicative proverbs, that have as reference the human qualities):

He that trusteth in his riches shall fall: but the just shall spring up as a green leaf. (11,28);

He that loveth correction, loveth knowledge: but he that hateth reproof, is foolish. (12,1) so on and so forth.

We add to these the subjective structures requested by the impersonal verb *trebuie* (*must*) or by the impersonal verbal expressions that customary form into main clauses of the subjective subordinate clauses: *it is right, it isn't right, it is (not) proper, it is proper...*² Or, in general enunciations of ethical norm, such verbs are self-imposed. In this respect, Romanian is heir to Latin that has manifold such expressions of 'necessity' etc. - (*opus est, necesse est*), Greek is more flexible, since it lays out several possibilities of expressing the impersonal, and the Slavonic languages are characterised by 'personalisation' of the impersonal, in the sense that the verbs of the type *a trebui*³ have normal flexion, reflected sometimes in incorrect Romanian correspondences (eu trebuie, tu trebuiești etc.). In the texts we have selected we do not find many examples of this type of subjectives (that are entitled in the normative grammar textbooks 'type b subjectives'), maybe because we have

² Cf. Ecaterina Teodorescu, *Propoziția subiectivă*, București, E.Ș., 1972.

³ The translation for 'a trebui' in English is 'must' or 'have to', but, with these verbs, the case is not proved since these verbs are not impersonal in English ('I must', 'I have to'). Therefore we shall take the example of another verb to prove out case, for instance 'to rain' (*a ploua*), which is impersonal in English, and we cannot have 'I rain'.

replaced the consecutive translations in the intermediary languages and in the diverse stages of the Romanian language with other formula in view of the difficulty of the translation:

It is no good thing to do hurt to the just: nor to strike the prince, who judgeth right. (17,26).

We must however add immediately that the translators' choice was determined by the fact that in Romanian there were already very many popular proverbs built with subjective subordinates.⁴

a) *Cine poate oase roade, cine nu, nici carne moale. (He who can, chews even bones, he who cannot, chews not as much soft meat.)*

Cine caută nevastă fără cusur, neînsurat rămâne. (He who looks for a flawless wife, remains unmarried.)

Cine caută vreme, pierde vreme. (He who looks for time, wastes time)

b) *Trebuie să dai câteodată o lumânare și dracului. (Sometimes you have to give the devil a candle.)*

Trebuie să mănânci un car de sare cu cineva ca să-l cunoști bine. (You have to eat a cart of salt with someone in order to get to know him better.)

E mai bine să fie cineva la colț de țară și la mijloc de masă. (It is better to have someone at the corner of the country and in the middle of the table.)

The phenomenon can be explained through pragmatic analysis:

„The denominative head” of the subjective, namely the syntagm that denominates the being, the object etc., has to be very well highlighted, and the „communicative head” (the syntagm that informs) completes its metaphorical definition, both elements sustaining the performative act generated by the proverbs.⁵

• Among other sentences, the attributive subordinate is also frequently met, thus confirming from the perspective of our corpus as well the observation of the above-mentioned researcher. The explanation can only be that the object that is defined/described in the paremiological statement has to be emphasized through its attributes – positive or negative. When this is not possible through synthetic expression (substantivised adjective), one resorts to the analytical way – an attribute or an attributive subordinate:

Blessed is the man ¹/ that is always fearful²/: but he ³/that is hardened in mind⁴/ shall fall into evil.³/ (28,14).

We need to point out that we deal with determinative attributives, meaning they are absolutely necessary to the qualitative/actional underlining of the subject, as the explicative ones – supplementary by their nature – would break the rules of the paremiological statement concentration.

• We can identify in our corpus other types of subordinates as well: *conditional, concessive, temporal clauses*. Such sentences usually appear in

⁴ Constantin Negreanu counts 491 such syntactic patterns of a total of 5994 Romanian popular proverbs, that is 8,20%, judging that the attributive and the subjective are the only two recurrent subordinates in the Romanian proverbial phrase (op.cit., p. 114 și 131).

⁵ S.K. Saumian, apud. Teodorescu, op.cit., p. 90

atypical statements, namely in counsels formulated as proverbs, in biblical exhortations etc.:

Where pride is, there also shall be reproach ... (11,2);

Thou hast found honey, eat what is sufficient for thee ... (25,16);

Though thou shouldst bray a fool in the mortar, as when a pestle striketh upon sodden barley, his folly would not be taken from him. (27,22).

In such situations, the statement is amplified even more, as already shown, which means that other types of subordinations can be added, like final clauses, causal clauses, etc.:

Thou hast found honey,^{1/} eat what is sufficient for thee,^{2/} lest being glutted therewith thou vomit it up.

The other example that is offered here is also registered in an ampler form, developed in a real rhetorical period, that we can say represents a pluralism of proverbs, if we accept as defining only the simple binary structure or, at most, the doubled one:

When thy enemy shall fall,^{1/} be not glad^{2/}, and in his ruin^{3/} let not thy heart rejoice: ^{4/}

Lest the Lord see^{5/}, and it displease him,^{6/} and he turn away his wrath from him.^{7/} (24,17-18).

In all of the above-cited situations, overlappings that make the identification of the subordinate type difficult are possible. But the shading and the integration of the semantic and syntactic marks are precisely part of the expressive arsenal of the pragmatics of the paremiological text. In default of such subtle shadings, the communicative performance would be unconceivable...

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STATISTICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON IT TERMINOLOGY IN ROMANIAN LANGUAGE

Dana Camelia DIACONU¹

***Abstract:** Statistical considerations on IT terminology in Romanian language is a review of the specialized terms of Informatics. We thus grouped the IT terms and assessed their percentages in this language section, being permanently concerned with the current Romanian vocabulary. Before drawing up the list of terms that we analysed, we checked the IT definitions of these concepts through a long and difficult operation, by parallel implementation of the „inputs” from at least three large groups from the Romanian literature and from Romanian dictionaries as well as specialized English dictionaries.*

***Key-words:** loans, abbreviations, loan translations, translations.*

1. Introduction

Our computer terms' corpus was a systematic work. This kind of work was motivated by the large number of terms borrowed from computer terminology, in Romanian language (over 7500) and, also, by the particularity of our theme, which required their ordering according to certain types of loans (ie. loan translations, loans or translations), to actualize the relations between them. Therefore, the corpus was structured as follows:

1. *loans, derivatives and compounds;*
2. *abbreviations:*
 - a. *capital abbreviations, acronyms and truncations;*
 - b. *alpha-numeric names;*
 - c. *lexical ellipses;*
3. *lexical loan translations;*
4. *semantic loan translations;*
5. *grammatical loan translations (morphological and syntactic);*
6. *phraseological loan translations;*
7. *translations.*

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2. Romanian IT terminology. Statistical considerations.

2.1 Sources

This study of Informatics vocabulary was based on examples of IT terms drawn from many sources, which we grouped in certain categories:

1. Step-by-step instructions texts of using Windows characteristics for rendering translations, of certain subcategories of terms (examples taken from textbooks for High Schools' computer science and *Windows XP Manual Home Edition*²).
2. Current Romanian dictionaries: explanatory, spelling, neologisms, synonyms, etc. and from the recent dictionaries of Computer Science, Cybernetics or Electronics.
3. We also took some examples from the theoretical works on general problems of IT Romanian vocabulary. Some other examples were selected from the audio-visual field, trying to reflect the state of language in the IT field.

2.2 Statistics

The selected corpus that we established as working material for the present research, brought us to the conclusion that the computer language terms reach an impressive number: 7597 lexical units, taking into consideration, as we already said, both simple words and compounds, derivatives, abbreviations, phraseological structures, translations, etc. Among these, we inventoried 1165 recent lexical units, representing loans, derivatives and compounds, 738 units representing abbreviation compounds, 3824 loan translation structures, of which 2646 phraseological loan translations, 612 semantic loan translations, 300 lexical loan translations and 266 morphological loan translation structures. Also, translations reach the remarkable number of 1870 lexical units. As we can see, loan translations represent over half of the lexical units in Romanian computer language, ie 50.33%, followed by translations (24.62%), loans (15.33%) and abbreviations (9, 72%).

Before drawing up the list of terms that we analyzed, we checked the IT definitions of these concepts through a long and difficult operation, by parallel implementation of the „inputs” from at least three large groups from the Romanian literature and from Romanian dictionaries as well as specialized English dictionaries.

² *Manualul tău de Windows XP. Home Edition*, Autor David Pogue, Traducere de Radu Andreescu și Florin Moraru, București: Editura Teora, 2006.

2.3 Dictionaries in use

For derived and compound words, but also for loan translations or loans, we primarily referred to specialized Romanian dictionaries: DEX³, DCR⁴ and DOOM^{2 5} and then to Informatics dictionaries: DC⁶ and DEIT&C⁷. The lexicographic instruments we used as reference information for translations were *The Trilingual English-French-Romanian Dictionary*⁸, and *Dictionary of Computers*, while for the specialized words, loans or loan translations in English language, the usual lexicographic instruments were *The Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*⁹ and *The Dictionary of European Anglicisms: A Usage Dictionary of Anglicisms in Sixteen European Languages*¹⁰.

Given that we did not consider the academic level of computer science, but the textbooks, the instruction aimed on computer knowledge is likely to be part of the general culture of any educated man. The ideal situation was to keep the information from the scientific field within the individual's cultural horizons, respectively, maintaining some specialized terms in the common vocabulary. For all these reasons, we used the relatively familiar dictionaries, common ones, commonly used in the world of IT users, and of young people in general.

2.4 DOOM² versus MDN

DOOM² also provided a valuable reference with respect to IT loans taken over by the Romanian language regarding their spelling and pronunciation. As far as the degree of assimilation is concerned, of the 305 loans of computers language, existing in DOOM², 169 are fully adapted words (phonetically, graphically, morphologically), such as *alphanumeric, assembly, scanning, automatic, butonare, cyber, compiler, compact disk*, etc. Another 60 terms are adapting words, newly introduced in the dictionary (Anglicisms or Americanisms), such as *off-line/offline, zapa, Xerox, surfing, software, web, server, set, scan, scan, replay, chat, copywriter, CyberCafe, cyberspace, desktop, high-technology, high-fidelity, hacker, gadget*, etc. Finally, 69 units are also recently introduced in DOOM² (some created on vernacular grounds

³ *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române* (DEX), 1998, ediția a II-a, București: Academia Română & Editura Univers Enciclopedic.

⁴ Dimitrescu, Florica, 1997, *Dicționar de cuvinte recente* (DCR), ediția a II-a, București: Editura Logos (prima ediție - DCR - a apărut în 1980).

⁵ *Dicționar ortografic, ortoepic și morfologic al limbii române*, (DOOM²), 2005, București: Editura Univers Enciclopedic.

⁶ Ionescu-Cruțan, Nicolae, 2005, *Dicționar de calculatoare* (DC), București: Editura Niculescu.

⁷ Florian, Gabriel, 2008, *Dicționar explicativ IT&C*, (DEIT&C), București: Editura All.

⁸ Marinescu, Viorel (coord.), 1999, *Dicționar informatic trilingv englez-francez-român*, București: Editura ALL.

⁹ *Macmillan English Dictionary for advanced learners*, 2002, Oxford: Macmillan Publishers Ltd.

¹⁰ Görlach, Manfred, 2005, *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms: A Usage Dictionary of Anglicisms in Sixteen European Languages*, (DEA), Oxford: University Press.

from foreign basic languages - French or English): *decryption, eject, devirusa, disable, computerize, computerization, surfist, click, chip card, buttons, beep*, etc., and 7 terms are xenisms, representing proper names and common (abbreviations), including: *CD, CD-player, CD-ROM, CD burner* or *BASIC*.

As the *Great Dictionary of Neologisms*¹¹ (MDN) shows, most existing terms of IT language information in this dictionary are recorded with French etymon, as opposed to all computers specialized dictionaries, showing IT terminology as taking-ups of the words and expressions from American-English.

Thus, in the MDN, 2007, from 176 entries in the informatics field, 130 terms are fully adapted (phonetically, graphically, morphologically) such as: *adaptor, analizor, automatic, automation, calculator, cibernetica, compact-disc, compatibil, compilator*, etc., and 45 are adapting Anglicisms: *chip, chipcard, click, e-mail, fading / fading, floppy disk, flow-chart / flău-citizen, hackers / hécăr, hacking / hécking*, etc.

2.5 Etymology

In terms of etymology, 84 terms in this dictionary are listed as coming from French, 75 are English, 16 - had double etymology (including eight English-French etymology, 2 -German-French etymology: *program, programatic*, 5 - Latin-French etymology: *spațiu, virus, analogic, a simula, vocabular*, 1- Latin-Italian etymology: *salt*, 1 - German-Italian etymology: *tastatură*) and one is of German origin (*fotocopiator*).

3. Conclusion

Comparing these entries to our total inventory of new terms, we believe that the Romanian computer terminology of English origin represents about 90% of all IT Romanian terminology.

Therefore, most of the Romanian IT vocabulary in current Romanian language comes from English. The circumstances around the broader phenomenon of loans from English to Romanian language in the late nineteenth century, on the one hand, and the overwhelming influence of the English language, on the other hand, had a large impact on our language after the Revolution of 1989, in modernizing the general vocabulary and terminology forming, in many areas of the cultural, political and socio-economic life, of the specialized vocabulary characteristics of several scientific fields, in particular.

¹¹ Marcu, Florin, 2007, *Marele dicționar de neologisme*, (MDN), București: Editura Saeculum Vizual.

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TRANSLATING AND PROMOTING ROMANIAN LITERATURE IN THE INTERWAR AND WW2 PERIODS

Oana SURUGIU¹

***Abstract:** Starting from the assumption that translation is deeply rooted in the historical and cultural context of both its production and reception, and since, throughout history, there have been various policies of encouraging/ discouraging translation, this paper aims at presenting the translation policies operating in interwar Romania.*

***Key-words:** translation policies and strategies, interwar and WW2 Romania, translating culture.*

1. Romanian-British Relations in Interwar and WW2 Romania

In order to understand the translation policies that operated in Interwar and WW2 Romania, attention should be given to the wider cultural and historic context, as well as to the ideological and social trends of the time.

One of the most important contributions in the field was brought by Nicolae Iorga, the famous Romanian historian, highly concerned with the promotion and reception of English language and culture in Romania. He pleaded for the importance of learning English in order to facilitate an authentic understanding of the English literature, and not out of a snobbish or facile modernist preference.

Like other scholars interested in British culture, Iorga also contributed to the spreading of Romanian civilization and literature in the British environment. The famous Romanian historian published in Iași, in 1917, a history of the British – Romanian relations (*Histoire des Relations Anglo-Roumaines*), a paper that was republished later on, in 1931, and this time in English (*A History of Anglo-Romanian Relations*). This second edition, printed in Bucharest, contains a foreword in which the British historian and friend of Nicolae Iorga, R.W. Seton-Watson, argues that the British people can no longer show ignorance towards the people near the Danube. Additionally, when the volume *Poems by Mihai Eminescu* (*Poezii de Mihai Eminescu*) came out in London in 1930, with a preface by George

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Bernard Shaw, Iorga signed an ample introduction aimed to familiarize the British readership with the Romanian poet.

Significant contributions to the reception of Romanian literature and culture abroad were also brought by Professor Dragoș Protopopescu, head of the English department at the University of Cernăuți since 1925, head of the English department at the University of Bucharest since 1939, and prolific translator into Romanian of Shakespeare, G.B. Shaw, E. O'Neill or J.M. Synge. Professor Protopopescu's efforts to promote the Romanian literature are visible in several of his studies, such as *Literatura românească la Londra (Romanian Literature in London)* and *Scriitori români în America și India, ecourile traducerilor lui L. Byng (Romanian Writers in America and India, echoes of L. Byng's translations)* published in 1921, and in *Ideea Europeană* in 1922, as well as an ample study of comparative literature entitled *Aspecte de literatură comparată. Folclor englez și folclor român (Aspects of comparative literature. English folklore and Romanian folklore)*, also printed in 1922, in *Viața Românească*.

Another significant figure among the promoters of the Romanian literature and culture at the beginning of the 20th century is Marcu Beza. Beza was an essayist, a literary critic, a folklorist, a poet, a prose writer and a translator, as well as one of the first Romanian specialists in British culture and civilization (together with Dragoș Protopopescu and Iancu Botez). His role was outstanding in the propagation of Romanian cultural values across the Channel.

Marcu Beza, of Aromanian origin, was born at Salonika in 1882. He attended courses in letters and philosophy under Titu Maiorescu, and obtained a scholarship in London, where he promoted the Romanian culture and literature. He was a reader in Romanian at King's College in London; in 1920, he edited the first Romanian grammar in English and Ion Creangă's *Memories from My Childhood*, translated by Lucy Byng. He was the first Romanian in the PEN Club.

Between 1921 and 1929, he was the secretary of the Romanian Embassy in London. His studies of English literature materialized in two syntheses, *The English Romanticism* and *The Contemporary English Romanticism*. At the same time, he extended his investigations on Romanian history and civilization in Britain, publishing *English Travellers on Romanians (1580-1825)*.

It was during this period in particular that he made his most outstanding contributions to promoting the Romanian cultural values, as maybe no one else did after him. Besides the popularization speeches he delivered at King's College, and the efforts he made in supporting the translation and publishing of *Pădurea spânzuraților (Forest of the Hanged)* by his good friend Liviu Rebreanu, his work is testified by the books written about Romania, between 1920 and 1947. Among these, *Papers in the Romanian People and Literature*, written in 1920, *Origin of the Roumanians* (1941), *The Romanian Church* (1943), or *Heritage of Byzantium* (1947) are just a few.

Continuing the work started by Iorga in 1917, Beza's writings mention the establishment of English-Romanian and Romanian-English associations, cases of British intellectuals interested in the situation in Romania at the time, pointing at the same time at the presence of Romanian books in private British libraries. A true ambassador of our culture in Great Britain, Beza also wrote a study in Romanian folklore, *Paganism in Romanian Folklore (Elemente păgâne în folclorul românesc)*, written directly in English in 1928 and published in London, and a bilingual edition of proverbs, *The Romanian Proverbs (Proverbe românești)*, in 1921.

Foreigners writing about Romania made their own important contributions to the intensification of intellectual relations between Romania and Great Britain. Examples of this kind include R.W. Seton-Watson's *History of the Roumanians* (1934), Ilfor Evans's *That Blue Danube* (1936), Maude Parkinson's *Twenty Years in Roumania* (1919), or Ethel Greening Pantazzi's *Roumania in Light and Shadow* (1920), *Romanian Furrow*, written by D.J. Hall in 1933, *Roumanian Journey* (1938), by Sacheverell Sitwell, *Invitation to Romania*, written by Derek Patmore in 1939 (in which *Miorița* appears for the first time in English version), or R.G. Waldeck's *Athene Palace*, a precise radiography of 1940-1941 Romania.

2. Translations from Romanian in the Interwar and WW2 Periods

The presence of Romanian literature in England, through translation in the XXth century is stimulated by the efforts made by Marcu Beza. In 1921 Dragoș Protopopescu, mentions in *Ideea Europeană*, the publishing of *Roumanian Stories (Nuvele românești)*, translated by Lucy Byng. The anthology comprises 15 Romanian stories by I. Brătescu-Voinești, I.L. Cargiale, I. Creangă, M. Sadoveanu, I. Slavici, I. Popovici-Bănățeanu, Marcu Beza, Barbu Ștefănescu Delavrancea, C. Negruzzi, based on a selection of literary values accepted by most critics in the country at that time. The author also mentions the positive British critical reactions that appeared in prestigious publications such as *The Times Literary Supplement*, *The New Statesman*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *Aberdeen Free Press*, *Birmingham Post*, *The Gentle Woman and Irish Life*. These positive reviews were followed by an increased interest in translating a Romanian novel.

It is again L. Byng who translated *Viața la țară* by Dului Zamfirescu in 1926, under the title *Sasha*, and later on, in 1930, Ion Creangă's *Amintiri din copilărie (Recollections from My Childhood)*, with a preface signed by Marcu Beza (who also prefaced *Sasha*). Also in 1930, Alice Wise translated *Pădurea spânzuraților (Forest of the Hanged)* by Liviu Rebreanu.

Among other works published in English in the same period, it is worth mentioning two volumes of Romanian stories published in London: *Children Stories from Romanian Legends and Fairy Tales (Povesti românești pentru copii)* translated from Romanian by M. Gaster, and an anthology of stories entitled *Ghitza*

and *Eight Other Romances of Gipsy Blood (Ghiță și alte opt legende de neam țigan)* published in London in 1921 by Conrad Bercovici. The volume *Roumanian Birds and Beasts Stories (Povești românești cu păsări și animale)* translated by M. Gaster² in 1915 is another instance of the efforts of disseminating information on Romanian folklore and old literature in Great Britain, together with the 1920 volume signed by S. P. Patterson, *Roumanian Songs and Ballads (Cântece și balade românești)*.

Poetry also stirred the interest of Romanian or British translators, an interest which is manifest in the publishing of volumes such as *Poems of Mihai Eminescu (Poeme de Mihai Eminescu)*, translated from Romanian and rendered into original meters by Sylvia Pankhurst and I. Ștefanovici, with a preface by G. Bernard Shaw and an introduction by N. Iorga (London, 1930), and two other volumes published in Romania, *Poems (Poeme)* by Mihai Eminescu translated by D. Cuclin (1938) and *Poems by Mihai Eminescu* translated by Petre Grimm (Cartea Romaneasca, 1938).

The translations from the Romanian published until 1947, although not in a considerable number, represent an important starting point for the reception of Romanian literature in Great Britain, providing the British readership with insights into the work of some representative authors.

3. Translation policies and strategies – Recollections from childhood translated by Lucy Byng

One representative work for the translation policies that operated in interwar and WWII Romania is perhaps Ion Creangă's *Amintiri din copilărie*, translated in 1930 by Lucy Byng, and published in London by J.M. Dent & Sons LTD. The preface to L. Byng's translation is signed by Marcu Beza, renowned for the efforts he made in promoting the Romanian literature in Great Britain.

The preface to this first translation of *Amintiri din copilărie* describes an author “deeply rooted in the soil, with a pronounced idiomatic style savouring of peasant vigour and shrewdness” (Beza: 1930) and reveals the difficulties such an endeavour may pose to the translator. Beza also attempts to familiarize the British reader with the author, mentioning the contribution that the Junimea society had in the development of the reputed writer, his background in the village of Humulești, as well as Creangă's connections with Maiorescu and Eminescu, who determined him to start writing *Recollections*.

Moreover, Beza praises the work of the translator who, says he, surmounting the difficulties, “does her work for nothing else but pure love of it” which makes

² Mention should also be made of the importance of M. Gaster in the promotion of Romanian literature in England; he was an honorary member of the Romanian Academy, a Reader at the University of Oxford, exiled in London since 1885, and Chief-Rabbi of the Jewish community in London.

Creangă “become all the more interesting, as he brings forth to the general understanding a new and fresh side of literary expression”(Ibid.)

As has been shown, the collaboration between Marcu Beza and Lucy Byng did not begin or stop there. In a translator’s note to a previous work dating back in 1921, *Roumanian Stories* translated from the original Romanian by L. Byng, the translator mentions the great support Beza represented for the accomplishment of her task:

I wish to take this opportunity of thanking M. Beza for his most valuable assistance. Without his intimate knowledge of the two languages and his kindly and expert criticism these translations would never have seen the light.³

This translation of Romanian stories is particularly relevant to the translation policies that guided the translation practices in Interwar Romania. The book is dedicated to Queen Marie, a passionate promoter of Romanian literature in England, who actually signs one of the prefaces. She touches upon how little known Romanian literature is known in Great Britain, and she emphasizes the prominence of poetry and short stories over the novel; she also brings about the poetic and picturesque and gentle expression “deeply characteristic of Roumanian popular life and thought”, as features of real interest for a British audience, and for “all those who care about literature”. She moves on, clearly stating her desire to make Romanian literature known to the British public:

“it is therefore a great pleasure to me to encourage this book which Mrs. Schomberg Byng is sending out into the world at a moment when I am so anxious that my country should be better known and understood in England (...) I therefore, with all my heart, wish this little volume Good Luck. Marie”⁴.

The book contains a second preface by S. Mehedinți, Professor at the University of Bucharest and a member of the Romanian Academy. Mehedinți presents each author in the collection in a domesticating attempt to familiarize the readership with the great names of the Romanian literature of the time. Domesticating, since Professor Mehedinți introduces most authors by assimilating them to writers that correspond to the readers’ literary experience and expectations. Consequently, Negruzzi is compared to Sir Walter Scott, Popovici-Bănățeanu and Brătescu-Voinești are compared to Dickens; Sadoveanu, in Mehedinți’s words, “the most fertile prose writer among the younger men, possesses as novelist and story teller a touch which makes him akin to Turghenev and Sienkiewicz”⁵. Creangă is present in Lucy Byng’s collection with the story *Moș Nichifor, Coțcariul* (*Old Nichifor, the Impostor*). For this particular writer Mehedinți no longer finds any correspondent, emphasizing his unique style

Creangă is a production exclusively Roumanian; a peasant who knew no foreign tongue, but whose mind was steeped in the fairy tales, proverbs and wit of

³ Lucy Byng in the Translator’s Note to *Roumanian Stories*, 1921.

⁴ Queen Marie in the Preface to *Roumanian Stories*, 1921, pp. VII-VIII.

⁵ Professor S. Mehedinți in the Preface to *Roumanian Stories*, 1921

the people. He wrote with a humour and an originality of imagery which make his work almost impossible to translate into other languages. (1921: IX-X)⁶

These translations paved the way for the *Recollections*' coming out, in 1930. In 1931, in *Folklore* magazine, M. Gaster publishes a review of both the English and French translations of Creangă's work (the French edition came out in Paris, in 1931, translated by Stoian and Lebel).

Already familiarized with the Romanian folklore and old stories, Gaster appreciates the “powerful language”, and the “crisp manner”, filled with “popular expressions which make his (*Creangă's*) book a mine for the philologist and also for the student of folklore”. (Gaster 1931:333).

He further points to the difficulties of such an endeavour, concluding that the task has been successfully fulfilled in both editions.

It is no easy task to translate adequately the stories told by Creangă, yet the feat has been tried and has been on the whole successful in the French edition, in which Mr. Stoian and Mr. Lebel collaborated, and in the English edition by Lucy Byng, *aided no doubt by Mr. Beza* (my emphasis). (Ibid.)

He also comments upon the fact that the French version is closer to the original, due to the similarity between Romanian and French, as Romance languages, highlighting again the difficulties:

Of course it was impossible to reproduce the real charm of the original, but as far as possible, both have been able to convey to the reader some of the beauty and some of the strength of the original. (...) *I must repeat that to translate Creangă is not an easy task* (my emphasis). (Ibid. 334)

It is visible both from the prefaces, forewords and notes mentioned above, and from the quickest look to the translation made by Lucy Byng, that the orientation is predominantly towards the target culture. The paratexts try to adapt to the readers' horizon of expectations, directing the text towards the values of the target audience. The translation, in its turn, is target culture oriented; this explains the absence of footnotes for the cultural terms used, the spelling used for the proper nouns (*Humuleshti, Neamtz, Mosh Fotea*), sometimes even the names substitution (*priest's Esmeralda* for *Smărăndița popii*), or the replacement of specific cultural terms with more general ones (*buhai* translated by *drums*, *plugușorul* translated by *Christmas Carols*).

4. Conclusions

This paper attempted to provide a general overview of the translation policies that operated in Interwar and WW2 Romania.

There was, throughout this time, a constant effort from the Royal House and Queen Marie, for promoting the Romanian literature and culture in Great Britain.

⁶ Ibid.

Equally important was the presence of Marcu Beza in London, whose efforts in this direction are outstanding. The translators from Romanian (very few in fact), were practicing mostly domesticating strategies, orienting the texts towards the values of the target culture. This explains for instance, the lack of footnotes in Byng's translation, the replacement of some culture-specific terms with general terms, or the adapted spelling of some proper nouns (Neamtz, Humuleshti, Mosh, etc).

In the interwar period, the translations from Romanian are published mainly at foreign publishing houses, the short story being the preferred literary genre, and more particularly, short stories that emphasize the originality of the Romanian culture. The translation strategy most widely used is adaptation, in an attempt to "adjust" the source texts to the values of the target culture, so that reception could take place as easily as possible, facilitating reading for an audience belonging to a "major culture".

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NEWS TRANSLATION AS REWRITING WITH A *SKOPOS*

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Abstract: *This article purports to iterate the constant need of the journalists to shape and rewrite sources texts according to the expectations of the target audience and the journalistic practices of particular news agencies, which may result in the production of texts that are different from what the original was meant to be. These decisions are often motivated by what functionalist approaches call the skopos theory. Adjusting world events to a national reality is a frequently met practice in journalism and it should be regarded merely as a way of enriching the linguistic tools that journalists have at hand.*

Key-words: *news translation, skopos, rewriting, refraction, target audience*

Translation plays a central role in mediating understanding between different modernities and experiences of globalisation around the planet, although Translation Studies is a relatively recent field of research that needs further investigation, especially from a journalistic perspective. The best term to describe what happens inside the intricate machinery of news translation is *transediting*, provided by Karen Stetting (University of Copenhagen) in 1989, who considered it “a new term for coping with the grey area between editing and translating” (Stetting cited in Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 63). This concept resumes the efforts of the translators to edit and incorporate cultural and situational variations inside their productions, transediting being widely used in film and TV translations, written journalism, TV interviews, company and institutional brochures and PR material. Transediting can be described in this context as a solution of compromise between two different, but closely intertwined fields of research, i.e. translation and journalism. Thus, from a journalistic perspective, news translation relates primarily to the processes of rewriting, reshaping, reformulating and reorganising the sources texts for the target readers.

We can trace examples of rewriters all throughout history, from the Greek slave putting together anthologies of the Greek classics to the Renaissance scholars collating manuscripts with the purpose of publishing both Roman and Greek classics. Around 1545, Jacques Peletier du Mans called translation “the truest kind

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of imitation” (cited in Hermans 1985: 103), although, according to the general view among Renaissance writers, in so far as translation and imitation were considered in conjunction, translation was, at best, “a particular and restricted form of imitation” (1985: 103). In his turn, the translator was one who, in rhetorical terms, subjected himself “not only to someone else’s *inventio* but also to the *dispositio* and, as far as he can, to the *elocutio* of the original authors’ work” (1985: 104).

Not long after Peletier, Du Bellay admitted in 1549 the limited role of literal translation in the dissemination of knowledge, but he absolutely denied that translation could play a part in the growth of literature or the enrichment of the vernacular. In his opinion, translation was not able to keep alive that spirit called by the Romans “genius”, a translator being, thus, “like a painter who can depict a person’s body but not his soul” (1985: 104).

In the past, as it happens in the present, rewriters created images of a writer, a work, a period, a genre or even a whole literature. These images used to coexist with the realities they competed with, but soon the images tended to reach more people than the corresponding realities. And so they do now. According to Shuttleworth and Cowie (cited in Dimitriu 2006: 68), “rewriting refers to a range of (intra or interlingual, o.n.) processes, including translation, which can be said to re-interpret, alter or manipulate an original text in some way”.

Probably one of the first statements of the “doctrine” of rewriting in Western literature can be attributed to Saint Augustine. According to André Lefevere (1992), Saint Augustine impersonates the archetype of the rewriter primarily because of the position he occupied within a certain institution (as all rewriters do). Hence, he was interested in preserving that ideology and in combating rival ideologies. Other types of rewriters are those working at courts, in educational institutions or publishing houses (and, we may add, editorial offices). While some rewritings may be inspired by “ideological motivations or produced under ideological constraints, depending on whether the rewriters find themselves in agreement with the dominant ideology of their time or not”, other rewritings “are inspired by poetological motivations, or produced under poetological constraints” (Lefevere 1992: 7).

In *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, André Lefevere himself defines the image of literary works, authors and cultures as “the projection of any work or author into a given culture, which frequently exerts more influence than the original has had in its own culture” (1992: 110).

As nowadays people are more inclined to be exposed to rewritings (especially in what concerns the international section of a national newspaper) than to originals, we could also talk, in Lefevere’s words, about *refractions*, which define those texts processed for specific target audiences or “adapted to a certain poetics or a certain ideology” (Dimitriu 2006: 67). Whereas the conservative translator simply works on the level of the word or the sentence, Frere’s “Spirited Translator”, employs, on the contrary, “the corresponding modern phrases; but he is apt to imagine that a peculiar liveliness and vivacity may be imparted to his

performance by the employment of such phrases as are particularly connected with modern manners” (Lefevere 1992: 50) and it works on the level of culture.

If translations are no longer reflections of the original, but a distorted product, do we have a case of *traduttore traditore*? A.S. Way gives the following explanation in relation to the translations of the Greek classics:

The *traduttore*, then, who would not willingly be a *traditore*, may not excise or alter, but he may well so translate, where possible, that, while the (incorruptible) scholar has the stern satisfaction of finding that nothing has been shirked, the reader who does not know the Greek may pass unsuspectingly over not a few unsavoury spots – not that his utmost endeavours can make his author suitable for reading (aloud) in a ladies’ school. (Lefevere 1992: 45, the authors’ emphasis)

Recent studies agree that in journalism, in particular, the principle of fidelity no longer applies. Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) point out that the former central importance of authorship (reflected in the sacrality of the original text) is a product of the autonomy of the literary field does not have a counterpart in the journalistic field, which is highly heteronomous:

The news translator, unlike the literary translator, does not owe respect and faithfulness to the source text but is able to engage in a significantly different relationship with an often unsigned piece of news, the main purpose of which is to provide information of an event in a concise and clear way. (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 65)

Along the same line

In the case of a news translator, and specifically of a translator who works in a news agency, what is characteristic is that faithfulness to the original text is subordinated to faithfulness to the narrated facts, which on some occasions and whenever there exists a clear justification allows for the introduction of alterations of meaning, which are intolerable to a translator specialized in other fields; that is to say, it obliges the translator to combine his translating task with the task of a journalistic editor. (Pablo García Suárez cited in Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 65)

Postmodern theories have replaced the invisibility of the translator (which is the mark of a faithful translation) with the image of the visible interventionist. Hence, translation ceased to be a faithful reproduction of the original and has turned into a “deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration and fabrication – and even, in some cases of falsification, refusal of information, counterfeiting, and the creation of secret codes” (Tymoczko and Gentzler cited in Schäffner and Bassnett 2010: 12)

From a journalistic point of view, the first process of news rewriting takes place inside the news agency itself in order to achieve accuracy and improve the form of the text by checking the spelling of proper names, the exact names of the institutions, the punctuation or the involuntary repetitions. This polishing or

“treatment” of the initial news material can not be considered alteration – because the data are neither changed, nor deleted – but rather a completion of the source material (Popescu 1992: 19).

When analysing the ways in which international news is transformed from English into Finnish based on a corpus of articles comprising 14 Reuters source texts and 14 FNA (Finish News Agency) target texts, Hursti (2001) discovered that before a piece of international news reaches the Finnish consumers, it is previously submitted to several text processing stages which involve editing, translation and gatekeeping (relying solely on selection). In fact, all the news material coming from the global news agencies (in this case, Reuters) is equally subject to reorganisation, deletion, addition and substitution:

A very common procedure in news translation, reorganisation was found in all 14 texts, at all textual levels, ranging from the precision permutation of individual lexical items to extensive revamps of information at wider textual levels. While some of the decisions to reorganize the TTs were no doubt due to differences between the Finnish and English languages, most of them were motivated by more conscious decisions to refocus the TTs to better serve the needs of the receiving audience.²

The journalists may omit entire paragraphs or simply individual lexical items, elements such as “references to sources, time and place adverbials, and other types of information deemed unnecessary” (Hursti 2001) being most of the times deleted. On the other hand, journalists may also add information that is not even present in the source text, especially in the case of culture-specific additions used to better explain certain details or concepts that have unique references in the source culture.

But since news translation is a target-oriented process that operates according to a set of norms and conventions appropriate to the target readers, it means it is a form of human action that takes into account the function performed by the translated text for the target receivers in the target language and culture. In Translation Studies, functionalist approaches also define this as the translation *skopos*, a term coined by Hans Vermeer, who strongly believes that the intended purpose of the target texts determines the translation methods and strategies chosen by the translator when rendering the source text in the target language (Dimitriu 2002: 55). The *skopos* theory is, in its turn, governed by two rules, the coherence rule – according to which the target text “should be coherent with the target receiver’s situation” (2002: 55) – and the fidelity rule – which refers to the intertextual coherence between translation and source text. Despite the interest shown by functionalist approaches in the target text functions and orientations, they never lose sight of the source, and we may say that both the above mentioned rules would normally apply to news translation since journalists are more inclined to produce instrumental translations (cf. Christiane Nord), so that the translated/edited

² Kristian Hursti, “An Insider’s View on Transformation and Transfer in International News Communication: An English-Finnish Perspective”, 2001, <http://blogs.helsinki.fi/hes-eng/volumes/volume-1-special-issue-on-translation-studies/an-insiders-view-on-transformation-and-transfer-in-international-news-communication-an-english-finnish-perspective-kristian-hursti/>

articles read as originals³. Thus, news agencies may choose to add a certain amount of background information in order to suit the needs and expectations of the receiving audience, a practice neither rare, nor condemnable.

Before proceeding to the translation of a piece of news, the journalist must first of all pay attention to the internal and external constraints that regulate the process of news production itself, because as random as information filtering may seem to those who are not trained as journalists, this process is influenced by the nature of the news, the status of the publication, the way in which news are constructed, by ethics, by modifications that may appear in the psycho-moral profile of the audience, and so on. Consequently, “the journalistic text can not be conceived outside a planned activity performed by the sender-journalist, with the purpose of drawing and preserving the interest of the recipient” (Coman 2009: 112, my translation).

As a final remark, although readers might not be aware of all the transformations undergone by source texts at sentence, semantic and linguistic level, being satisfied with the end product (i.e. the article) and not wanting to know more about the process itself, more consideration has to be paid to the complex task of a journalist working inside an editorial office because (s)he is able to recreate a text and to turn it into his/her own creation. We can also say that, most of the times, the journalists are rewriters whose texts function as originals in the target culture. Thus, translation enhances diversity because of the wide range of texts it provides within a culture, and raises awareness of the existence of other cultures and languages, preserving at the same time the mechanisms of the target language.

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³ See Rodica Dimitriu, *Theories and Practice of Translation*, Iași: Institutul European, 2002, p. 56.

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