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DETERMINATION NOMINALE DE L'AGNI, LANGUE KWA DE COTE D'IVOIRE¹

Résumé : Le contexte d'actualisation et les spécificateurs fonctionnels du référent sont au centre de cet article. A ce propos, l'on note l'existence de deux types d'actualisation du nom. Il s'agit en l'occurrence du contexte non-spécifique et du contexte spécifique. En contexte non-spécifique, quand un nom désigne une parenté ou une partie du corps, le nom se comporte différemment des autres noms par l'affixation de morphèmes vocaliques [a] et [e]. Mais en contexte spécifique, il passe du statut de Syntagme Nominal (NP) à celui d'un Syntagme Déterminatif (DP) ou Syntagme Quantificatif (QP). L'analyse du DP/QP dégagé l'indéfini, le numéral, le défini et le démonstratif. Par ailleurs, l'analyse portant sur le défini est très particulière, dans la mesure où le pluriel se construit différemment par rapport à l'indéfini, au numéral et au démonstratif.

Mots clés : spécificateur, contexte spécifique, contexte de citation, indéfini, défini.

Introduction

Les études antérieures portant sur les spécificateurs fonctionnels du référent ont permis de constater l'existence de deux contextes d'actualisation du nom. Il s'agit du contexte non-spécifique (forme de citation) et du contexte spécifique. Alors que le contexte spécifique se reconnaît par la présence de spécificateurs (déterminants) fonctionnels du référent, le contexte générique fait fi de ces marqueurs fonctionnels. En agni, en contexte non-spécifique, certains noms se distinguent des autres noms par l'affixation de morphèmes vocaliques au nom. Du point de vue morphologique, le nom passe d'une structure CV à VCV ou CVV. Cependant en contexte spécifique, les quantifieurs (QP) semblent avoir un double usage, dont le spécifique indéfini et le spécifique défini. A partir de ces descriptions du contexte non-spécifique et du contexte spécifique d'utilisation du référent, il est nécessaire de s'interroger sur les modalités de passage du nom du contexte spécifique au contexte non-spécifique. Quelle fonction grammaticale doit-on allouer aux spécificateurs fonctionnels du nom dans le cadre du contexte spécifique ? Et quel est leur importance dans la désignation de la chose nommée ?

1. Le contexte spécifique

L'analyse du contexte spécifique nous permet d'étudier l'indéfini et le défini. En effet, selon Mel (1994 : 397-399) : « dans son principe de projection, l'indéfini et le défini sont des projections maximales DP, et D est la tête

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fonctionnelle de DP qui sélectionne un complément nominal NP ». Dès lors, par analogie avec la position initialement occupée par D, l'inventaire des composantes de la classe D permet d'isoler systématiquement les marques de l'indéfini, du numéral, du défini et du démonstratif. Ces différents spécificateurs fonctionnels du nom ne sont pas variables en genre ou en personne dans les langues Kwa, notamment dans l'agni.

1. 1 L'indéfinitude

Les marques de l'indéfini sont utilisées en contexte spécifique par ignorance de l'identité de la chose nommée. En agni, il y a une confusion sémantique entre les déterminants indéfinis de quantité « quelque », « certain », le numéral cardinal « un » et l'article indéfini « un / une ». D'ailleurs, ces spécificateurs de quantité et l'article indéfini sont exprimés par [bié], qui alors désigne la quantité indéfinie. Du point de vue syntagmatique, le morphème de l'indéfini se positionne à la périphérie droite de la catégorie grammaticale qu'il sélectionne comme complément. En (1), l'usage de « quelque camarade », « un certain camarade » ou même « un camarade » est toujours exprimé par la même unité grammaticale, c'est-à-dire [dánvù bié]. Ici, [dánvù bié] « un camarade » signifie qu'il s'agit d'une personne désignée à l'exclusion de toute autre, mais dont l'identité n'est pas indiquée.

(1)

[sú]	[bié]	« une oreille »
[kó]	[bié]	« un ventre »
[sá]	[bié]	« une main »
[mómá]	[bié]	« un front »
[nrú]	[bié]	« un visage »
[dánvù]	[bié]	« un ami »
[màŋgɔ]	[bié]	« un camarade »
[cùwá]	[bié]	« un chien »

Hormis l'usage du morphème [bié] pour l'expression de la notion d'indéfini, il y a le morphème [biálà] sous-entendu « tout », « n'importe » ou « peu importe ». Les différentes enquêtes sur le terrain ont permis de constater que ce morphème n'est pas récurrent, voire inexistant chez les agni asrin et agni morofoue. La raison est toute simple. Cette raison n'est ni grammaticale, ni phonologique, mais elle est purement sociologique. En effet, les enquêtes menées dans de la localité de Niablé montrent que le morphème [biálà] est employé tant par les locuteurs agni que sahyé vivant dans cette ville. De même de l'autre côté de la frontière ivoirienne, à Osseikro, les locuteurs sahyé emploient itérativement ce même morphème dans la

désignation de l'indéterminé. Les locuteurs agni auraient donc hérité ce morphème de leurs ancêtres du Ghana. L'usage du morphème [biálà] dans l'exemple (2) atteste que le référent désigné est dans un contexte indéfini au même titre que ceux en (1). Mais, contrairement à l'usage de [bié] dans l'exemple (1), avec l'usage de [biálà]¹ en (2), les noms comme [cùwá] « chien », [jénè] « oignon » ou [mângó] « camarade » désignent la totalité « tout chien », « tout oignon » ou « tout camarade ».

(2)

[sú]	[biálà]	« toute oreille »
[sá]	[biálà]	« toute main »
[dánvù]	[biálà]	« tout ami »
[mângó]	[biálà]	« tout camarade »
[cùwá]	[bié]	« un chien »
[bótiki]	[kv̩]	« un seau »
[jénè]	[kv̩]	« un oignon »

Aujourd'hui, les morphèmes [bié] et [biálà] sont menacés de disparition à leur tour au profit de [kv̩] « un ». De par sa nature [kv̩] « un » est un spécificateur numéral cardinal « un ». Contrairement à [bié] et [biálà], qui ne révèlent ni l'identité ni le nombre, avec l'emploi de [kv̩], ce n'est que l'identité qui est inconnue ; car [kv̩] fournit des informations relatives au nombre. Cependant, le référent désigné reste indéterminé du point de vue de la nature comme en :

(3)

[cùwá]	[kv̩]	« un chien »
[bótiki]	[kv̩]	« un seau »
[s̩r̩]	[kv̩]	« un humain »
[èk'lá]	[kv̩]	« un chat »
[jénè]	[kv̩]	« un oignon »
[àkɔ]	[kv̩]	« un poulet »

A côté de l'usage de [kv̩] « un » pour exprimer l'indéfini, il faut mentionner que les autres numéraux cardinaux sont aussi décrits comme des morphèmes de l'indéfini. A ce propos, Assanyo (2010 : 288) souligne que « les numéraux cardinaux sont un ensemble de morphèmes de quantification qui permettent de façon précise de déterminer la quantité numérique d'éléments dans un ensemble ». Du point de vue de la théorie X-barre, ces morphèmes de quantification sont une projection maximale QP, avec Q pour spécificateur fonctionnel du NP. Cela dit, QP contient

¹ Remarquons que [biálà] signifie aussi « n'importe lequel », « peu importe lequel ». En agni, [biálà] est employé comme spécificateur du référent pour montrer que le locuteur n'a pas de préférence ou de choix à faire.

un NP comme dans l'exemple (3). En agni, les quantificateurs (Q) [ku] « un » à [blú] « dix », [àbúlè] « vingt », [èjá] « cent » et [àpi] « mille » sont des unités lexématiques du simple fait qu'elles ne sont pas obtenues en association à d'autres nombres. A côté des Q lexématiques, l'auteur note la coexistence des Q non-lexématiques, qui peuvent être obtenues soit par addition soit par multiplication des nombres lexématiques. En contexte défini, les Q sont suivis du morphème du défini pluriel [mó] comme en :

(4)

[DP[QP cùwá	mó]	nný]	« les cinq chiens »
[DP[QP cùwá	mó]	blú]	« les dix chiens »
[DP[QP cùwá	mó]	àbúlè]	« les vingt chiens »
[DP[QP cùwá	mó]	èjá]	« les cents chiens »
[DP[QP cùwá	mó]	àpi]	« les milles chiens »

Les différents items en (4) sont des projections maximales QP dominées par DP. Cependant, le souligne Bogny (2009 : 9), contrairement à l'éga et le krobou, qui n'admettent qu'une projection maximale DP, dans les langues Kwa en général, et dans l'agni en particulier, il est possible d'inverser l'ordre des positions (initialement prévue pour Q et D) pour ainsi obtenir une projection QP. Mais du point de vue sémantique, « cinq / dix / etc. des chiens » a, en fait, un emploi pronominal et désigne un sous-ensemble extrait de l'ensemble de départ « les chiens » dans l'exemple en :

(5)

[QP[DP cùwá	mó]	nný]	« cinq des chiens »
[QP[DP cùwá	mó]	blú]	« dix des chiens »
[QP[DP cùwá	mó]	àbúlè]	« vingt des chiens »
[QP[DP cùwá	mó]	èjá]	« cent des chiens »
[QP[DP cùwá	mó]	àpi]	« mille des chiens »

1.2 La définitude

L'usage du défini dans l'expression du nom en contexte spécifique présuppose la connaissance antérieure du référent désigné. Dans l'exemple (6), avec l'emploi de [só né] « l'oreille », [mòmá né] « le front » ou [màngó né] « l'ami », l'interlocuteur sait d'avance de quelle « oreille », de quel « front » ou de quel « ami » il s'agit. C'est pourquoi, lorsque le référent est suivi de [né] « le, la », il n'y a pas d'ambiguïté quant à l'identité et au nombre du référent désigné. Théoriquement, [né] est la tête fonctionnelle (D) d'un syntagme DP. Ce fait se découvre en :

(6)

[sú]	[n̩é]	« l'oreille (en question) »
[kú]	[n̩é]	« le ventre (en question) »
[sá]	[n̩é]	« la main (en question) »
[mòmá]	[n̩é]	« le front (en question) »
[nrý]	[n̩é]	« le visage (en question) »
[dánvù]	[n̩é]	« l'ami (en question) »
[màŋgó]	[n̩é]	« le camarade (en question) »
[còwá]	[n̩é]	« le chien (en question) »

Dans une multitude de [sú] « oreille », [mòmá] « front » ou [màŋgó] « camarade » ; [sú n̩é] « l'oreille », [mòmá n̩é] « le front » ou [màŋgó n̩é] « le camarade », désigne « l'oreille », « le front » ou « le camarade » dont il a été déjà précédemment question, c'est-à-dire à l'exclusion de tout autre, et dont l'annonce ne surprend personne. C'est pourquoi, le morphème du défini [n̩é] « le, la » apporte des informations supplémentaires sur la définitude, c'est-à-dire de la connaissance des référents. En définitive, il est certain que l'usage [n̩é] « le, la » lève l'équivoque sur l'identité du référent.

1.3 Le démonstratif

En tant que spécificateur de type défini, il se subdivise en démonstratif de proximité et en démonstratif d'éloignement dans l'espace.

1.3. 1 Le démonstratif de proximité

Dans le démonstratif de proximité, la réalité désignée par le nom est dans l'environnement immédiat de l'énonciateur et du co-énonciateur. A ce titre, la localisation se fait de manière directe parce que les référents sont proches. Les morphèmes grammaticaux désignant le démonstratif de proximité sont [ká], [èhí] « ce » ou [èhíká] « ce...ci ». Leur usage dans la désignation d'un objet prouve que cet objet est proche (visible, et souvent touchable). Dans l'exemple (7), le déterminé est nécessairement dans l'environnement immédiat du locuteur, de telle sorte qu'en (7), les référents désignés par [ká] « ce...ci », [èhí] « ce...ci » ou [èhíká] « ce...ci » sont du domaine du touchable, donc à portée de main.

(7)

[sú]	[ká]	« cette oreille-ci »
[kú]	[ká]	« ce ventre-ci »

[sá]	[ká]	« cette main-ci »
[mòmá]	[ká]	« ce front-ci »
[nrú]	[èhí]	« ce visage-ci »
[dánvù]	[èhí]	« cet ami-ci »
[màŋgó]	[èhí]	« ce camarade ci »
[còwá]	[èhí]	« ce chien-ci »

1.3. 2 Le démonstratif d'éloignement

Le démonstratif d'éloignement s'associe au défini pour assumer le rôle de spécificateur. Ainsi, parlant du ngwla (langue Kwa), Bogny (2009 : 55-58) affirme que « le défini est un déterminant fort et le démonstratif est un déterminant faible ». En effet, le démonstratif se combine toujours avec le spécificateur du défini pour déterminer le référent ; c'est pourquoi, il est dit faible, parce qu'il ne peut pas le faire seul. Pour plus de précisions, le morphème [só] n'a de sens que lorsqu'il est associé à celui du défini [nè] pour former [sónè] « ce...là » comme le montrent les exemples (8) et (9).

(8)

[sú]	[sónè]	« cette oreille-là »
[kú]	[sónè]	« ce ventre-là »
[sá]	[sónè]	« cette main-là »
[mòmá]	[sónè]	« ce front-là »
[nrú]	[sónè]	« ce visage-là »
[dánvù]	[sónè]	« cet ami-là »
[màŋgó]	[sónè]	« ce camarade-là »
[còwá]	[sónè]	« ce chien-là »

En (8), les référents sont invisibles dans la situation de communication. Mais toujours est-il qu'il s'agit d'une situation précise où le référent est dans l'environnement décrit. Par ailleurs, l'exemple (8) atteste réellement que dans son fonctionnement, le démonstratif d'éloignement doit nécessairement porter le trait sémantique [+défini] pour être grammatical. Dans le cas contraire, l'item obtenu ne peut être conforme sémantiquement et grammaticalement comme en :

(9)

*[mòmá]	[só]	« ce front-là »
*[nrú]	[só]	« ce visage-là »
*[dánvù]	[só]	« cet ami-là »
*[màŋgó]	[só]	« ce camarade-là »

1. 4 Le pluriel

Le pluriel est exclusivement actualisé en contexte spécifique. Et Bogny (2009 : 21) n'en dit pas le contraire, quand il soutient que « dans leur vision du monde, pour les locuteurs Kwa, tout nom pluralisé est nécessairement spécifié et devra alors être actualisé par le défini. Dès lors, les locuteurs emploient le défini pluriel pour ce faire. De plus, les travaux sur les langues Kwa ont parfois créé la confusion entre la marque de pluriel proprement dite et celle concernant le défini pluriel. Ainsi, dans les langues comme le baoulé, le n'zima et l'agni, le morphème [mó] est décrit comme marqueur d'office pluriel ». De leur côté, Ahua (2004 : 43-45) et Adouakou (1997 : 85) décrivent le [mó] du pluriel comme un morphème obligatoire, postposé au nom qui s'accompagne souvent de la consonne homorganique N. Abondant dans cette logique, Assanvo (2011b : 84) y apporte des explications quant à l'environnement de la consonne homorganique N. En effet, pour ce dernier, la consonne homorganique N est la marque de l'accord en nombre au pluriel. De ce fait, il fait remarquer que « l'accord n'est réalisé que pour l'adjectif ayant les traits sémantiques [+taille] ou [+concret] avec pour consonne initiale [p], [t] ou [k]. De l'autre côté, l'accord n'est aussi réalisé que pour le nom commençant par [p], [k] ou [t] avec le trait [humain] et pour le nom commençant par [b] +lenis. A partir de ces observations, la formation du pluriel de l'indéfini se fait par adjonction du morphème [mó] à celui de l'indéfini. Aussi, rappelons que [biálà] et [kvú] n'ont pas de correspondance au pluriel. En contrepartie, le seul morphème indéfini compatible au pluriel reste [bié]. Ces propos sont justifiables par les exemples en :

(10)

[sú]	[bié mó]	« des oreilles »
[kú]	[bié mó]	« des ventres »
[sá]	[bié mó]	« des mains »
[mòmá]	[bié mó]	« des fronts »
[nrú]	[bié mó]	« des visages »

Tout comme Ahua, Adouakou et Bogny, qui considèrent le morphème [mó] comme une modalité du pluriel du défini, nous pensons que le morphème du pluriel est donc d'office défini. Il n'a donc pas la même configuration que celle de l'indéfini pluriel en (10). C'est pourquoi l'exemple (11) est admis comme agrammatical, tandis que (12) est conforme à l'usage de la langue :

(11)

*[sú]	[ń̩ mó]	« les oreilles »
*[kú]	[ń̩ mó]	« les ventres »
*[sá]	[ń̩ mó]	« les mains »
*[mòmá]	[ń̩ mó]	« les fronts »
*[nrú]	[ń̩ mó]	« les visages »

(12)

[sú]	[mó]	« les oreilles »
[kú]	[mó]	« les ventres »
[sá]	[mó]	« les mains »
[mòmá]	[mó]	« les fronts »
[nrú]	[mó]	« les visages »

En collationnant l'exemple (13) à (14), le pluriel du démonstratif de proximité se fait par postposition du morphème [mó] aux morphèmes de proximité : [ká], [èhí], et [èhí ká], alors qu'en (14), celui du démonstratif d'éloignement se fait par substitution de [mó] au morphème du défini singulier [nè] contenu dans [sónè]. Cet amuïssement de [nè] s'explique par le fait que [mó] est l'usage pluriel de celui du défini singulier. Comme en (12), le spécificateur fonctionnel du défini [nè] est remplacé par son pendant [mó] du pluriel en (14).

(13)

[sú]	[ká mó]	« ces oreilles »
[nrú]	[èhí mó]	« ces visages »
[sá]	[èhíká mó]	« ces mains-là »

(14)

[mòmá]	[sónè]	« ces fronts-là »
[nrú]	[sónè]	« ces visages-là »

Après l'analyse du nom en contexte spécifique, nous consacrerons la deuxième partie de cette analyse au nom en contexte non-spécifique.

2. Contexte non-spécifique

En contexte de citation¹, c'est-à-dire sans manque de détermination, le nom peut s'entourer d'affixes vocaliques. Ces affixes, sans faire changer la catégorie grammaticale du nom et le sens, touchent plutôt le contexte d'énonciation du nom concerné. En effet, l'affixation de [a-] aux noms comme [jà] « pied » et [tèflémá] « langue » dans l'exemple (15) démontre que le référent n'est plus actualisé dans son cadre d'origine, mais que le nom est passé de son cadre d'origine à un contexte de citation. Ce changement de cadre d'énonciation influe, à son tour, le radical du nom que ce soit en position de préfixe ou en position de suffixe. Pour des besoins illustratifs, examinons l'exemple ci-dessous :

¹ Le contexte de citation correspond à un inventaire, un dénombrement ou une énumération d'un ensemble de référents.

(15)

Forme spécifique¹	Forme de citation²	Glose
[jà]	[àjà]	« pied »
[nòà]	[ànòà]	« bouche »
[tèflémá]	[àtèflémá]	« langue »
[jépn]	[èjépn]	« cheveux blancs »
[ní]	[níà]	« mère »
[sí]	[síè]	« père »
[n ^w ápn]	[èn ^w àpn]	« poils »
[nrý]	[àjnryá]	« visage »
[sú]	[àsùé]	« oreille »
[kú]	[àkùé]	« ventre »
[mànggó]	[ámànggóà]	« amitié »
[mòmá]	[àmòmáà]	« front »

Au regard de (15), les noms comme [jà] « pied », [jépn] « cheveux blancs », [ní] « mère », [sú] « oreille » et [nrý] « visage » deviennent successivement [àjà] « pied », [èjépn] « cheveux blancs », [níà] « mère », [àsùé] « oreille » et [àjnryá] « visage » en contexte générique. Puisque la forme de citation n'est pas simplement marquée par un seul morphème vocalique, il serait intéressant d'en faire une analyse approfondie dans la sous-partie consacrée aux noms préfixés de [a-].

2. 1 Noms préfixés de [a-]

Certains noms désignant les parties du corps comme [jà] « pied », [tèflémá] « langue », [kánzà] « menton » sont préfixés de [a-]. C'est justement ce que décrit l'exemple en :

(16)

Forme spécifique	Forme de citation	Glose
[jà]	[àjà]	« pied »
[nòà]	[ànòà]	« bouche »
[tèflémá]	[àtèflémá]	« langue »
[túwá]	[àtùwà]	« pénis »
[kánzà]	[àkànzà]	« menton »

¹[kofi jà jì nòà jì tèflémá né]
 /Koffi pied pron. bouche pron. Langue déf/

« Le pied, la bouche et la langue de Koffi. »

²[kofi lè àjà ànòà àtèflémá]
 /Koffi posséder pied bouche langue/
 « Koffi possède : pied, bouche et langue. »

2. 2 Noms préfixés de [e-]

Les noms en (17) désignent également des parties corporelles comme ceux en (15) et (16). Puisque ces noms appartiennent à la même classe, comment explique-t-on que les référents de l'exemple (17) soient préfixés [e-] en lieu et place de [a-] comme ceux de l'exemple (16) ? Quelle est la particularité des noms (17) ? Autant de questions à élucider à la suite des exemples en :

(17)

[jéŋ]	[èŋèŋ]	« cheveux blancs »
[nʷáŋ]	[èŋʷáŋ]	« poils »
*[néŋ]	[àŋèŋ]	« cheveux blancs »
*[néŋ]	[àŋʷáŋ]	« poils »

La première tentative de réponse consiste à affirmer que l'affixe n'est qu'une copie de la première voyelle du radical nominal. Partant de cela, l'on pourrait alors justifier pourquoi les référents comme [jà] « pied », [káñzà] « menton » et [sá] « main » sont devenus [àjá], [àkàñzà] et [àsàá]. Cependant cette première tentative de réponse semble très limitée, car si cet affixe n'est réellement qu'une copie de la première voyelle du nom, pour les noms [nàá] « bouche », [tèflémà] « langue », [tòwà] « pénis » et [mórmá] « front » pourquoi n'obtient-on pas *[ònòà], *[ètèflémà], *[òtòwà] et *[òmòrmá] mais respectivement [ànòà], [àtèflémà], [àtòwà] et [àmòrmá]? Soulignons que [ònòà], [ètèflémà], [òtòwà] et [òmòrmá] ne font pas partie du lexique de l'agni. La deuxième tentative de réponse élargit le champ d'action de la première réponse. En effet, en prenant en compte des limites de la première réponse, il serait plausible de déduire que l'affixation du nom dépend de la nature de la première voyelle de la racine nominale. D'ailleurs, selon que la première voyelle est antérieure, c'est-à-dire [i, ɪ, e, ε], la préfixation se fait en [e-]. Dans le cas contraire, lorsque cette voyelle est postérieure : [u, ʊ, o, ɔ], le préfixe est [a-]. Pour étayer cette idée, il semble qu'effectivement la préfixation est due en grande partie à la position antérieure ou postérieure, si bien que dans les exemples (16) et (17), seuls [àtèflémà] « langue » et [èŋʷáŋ] « poils » font exception à la deuxième prescription, selon laquelle l'affixation se fait en fonction de la nature de la première voyelle de la racine nominale. Par ailleurs, vu qu'aucune des réponses ne permet d'expliquer de manière cohérente la préfixation des référents [tèflémà] « langue » et [nʷáŋ] « cheveux », il faudrait envisager d'autres solutions. *A priori*, le problème est plus d'ordre sémantique que phonologique, parce que les référents en (16) désignent des parties corporelles, tandis que ceux en (17) désignent exclusivement la pilosité. Ceci étant, il est alors possible de conjecturer que la préfixation en [a-] est le propre des noms désignant une partie du corps, alors que ceux qui ont le trait sémantique [+poils] sont préfixés de [e-].

2. 3 Noms doublement affixés

2.3. 1 Noms préfixés de [a-] et suffixés de [-a]

Les noms en (18) se démarquent des noms en (16) et (17) par une double affixation vocalique en [a], c'est-à-dire une affixation par préfixation [-a] et une affixation par suffixation [-a]. Cette double affixation en [a] est-elle un allongement vocalique de la dernière voyelle ou une reprise du préfixe [a] ? Évidemment, ce suffixe est loin d'être un allongement vocalique de la dernière voyelle, parce que s'il s'agissait d'un allongement vocalique, la forme de citation obtenue concernant [nrú] « visage » devrait être *[ànrúyù] comme en (18).

(18)

[sá]	[àsàá]	« main »
[mòmá]	[àmòmáá]	« front »
[nrú]	[ànrúá]	« visage »
*[nrú]	[ànrúu]	« visage »

Aussi, en supposant que le préfixe se dédouble pour encadrer la racine du nom, la question serait de savoir quels sont les éléments phonologiques et grammaticaux permettant cette transformation. Dans le souci d'approfondir cette réflexion, examinons la sous-partie réservée à l'étude des noms préfixés de [a-] et suffixés de [-ε].

2. 3. 2 Noms préfixés de [a-] et suffixés de [-ε]

Les noms en (19) semblent apporter plus de précisions sur le processus d'affixation. Phonologiquement, la suffixation est fonction des caractéristiques de la dernière voyelle. Lorsque la voyelle finale du lexème est [v], le suffixe dévolu pour la circonSTANCE doit être [ε]. Dans le cas échéant, le nom ne peut accepter un autre suffixe. C'est notamment le cas des derniers noms de l'exemple :

(19)

[sú]	[àsvé]	« oreille »
[kú]	[àkvé]	« ventre »
*[kó]	[àkvá]	« ventre »
*[sú]	[àsvá]	« oreille »

Effectivement, la suffixation du nom est fonction de la dernière voyelle du lexème nominal, car, aux noms de l'exemple (19), il n'est pas possible d'ajouter un autre suffixe que [-ε] à cause de la voyelle finale [v]. Aussi, cette règle se vérifie en (20) avec le suffixe [-a] à tous les noms, sauf ceux se terminant par [v].

(20)

Colonne 1	Colonne 2	Colonne 3	Glose
[jà]	[àjàà]	[àjà]	« pied »
[nòà]	[ànòàà]	[ànòà]	« bouche »
[tèflémá]	[àtèflémáà]	[àtèflémá]	« langue »
[túwá]	[àtùwàà]	[àtùwà]	« pénis »
[kánzà]	[àkànzàà]	[àkànzà]	
« menton »			
[sá]	[àsàá]	[àsàá]	« main »
[mòmá]	[àmòmáà]	[àmòmáà]	« front »
[nrý]	[ànrýà]	[ànrýà]	« visage »
[sú]	[àsùé]	[àsùé]	« oreille »
[kv]	[àkvé]	[àkvé]	« ventre »

L'hypothèse selon laquelle l'affixation n'est qu'une copie de la première voyelle du radical nominal permet de répondre en partie¹ aux questions posées précédemment. En effet, la confrontation des colonnes 2 et 3 de l'exemple (20) permet de présumer que le suffixe [-a] n'est perceptible que lorsqu'il porte un ton différent de celui de la dernière voyelle du lexème nominal. Ainsi pourra-t-on déduire, pour lever tout équivoque, que dans les noms comme [àjàà] « pied », [ànòàà] « bouche », [àtèflémáà] « langue », [àtùwàà] « pénis » et [àkànzàà] « menton », le suffixe est identique à la dernière voyelle du lexème nominal. Cette quasi-identité du suffixe à la dernière voyelle engendre systématiquement l'amuïssement du suffixe. Or, dans les noms [àsàá] « main » et [àmòmáà] « front », le suffixe est conservé grâce à la distinction apportée par le ton.

2. 3. 3 Noms suffixés de [-a]

Quelle est la particularité des noms en (21) ? En dehors de [nèà] « œil » et [bónjà] « nez » qui sont des parties du corps, les autres noms désignent des relations familiales. Aussi l'une des caractéristiques des noms de ce type est l'absence de préfixe vocalique [-a]. Comme en (19), la présence [v] en final de [dánvó] « ami » ne pose aucun problème phonologique en (21). Cependant le cas de [síè] « père », [nèà] « œil » et [bónjà] posent problème, quand on sait que les noms de parenté prennent un [-a] et les parties du corps sont doublement affixés. Il doit, sans doute, s'agit d'une exception.

(21)

[ní]	« mère »	[níà]	« mère »
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¹ Cette hypothèse est loin d'être parfaite, car elle ne règle pas définitivement la question de l'affixation (cf. [àkvé] « ventre », [àsùé] « oreille »).

[sí]	« père »	[síè]	« père »
*[sí]	« père »	[síà]	« père »
[bójí]	« nez »	[bójíà]	« nez »
[jé]	« œil »	[jéà]	« œil »
[hú]	« mari »	[húà]	« époux »
[dánvù]	« ami »	[dánvúè]	« amitié »
*[dánvù]	« ami »	[dánvúà]	« amitié »
[màŋgò]	« camarade »	[màŋgòà]	« camaraderie »

2. 4 Le spécificateur nul

En dehors des relations familiales et des parties du corps, il n'est pas possible d'opérer une distinction entre la forme de base du nom et le nom en contexte spécifique en (22), car il n'y a plus d'affixes vocaliques au nom. Cette forme de construction du nom, très répandue dans les langues Kwa, a, sans doute, été la cause de la méconnaissance des autres formes de construction du nom en contexte de citation. Rappelons que les études antérieures portant sur le nom ne le mentionnent pas, d'où notre souhait de compléter la description des marques de détermination du nom. En confrontant les noms de (22) à ceux en (20) et (21), les noms en (20) et (21) sont dotés d'affixes contrairement à ceux en :

(22)

[ákó]	[ákó]	« poulet »
[cùwá]	[cùwá]	« chien »
[sùá]	[sùá]	« maison »
[céñzì]	[céñzì]	« tôle »
[bótiki]	[bótiki]	« seau »
[s ^v rà]	[s ^v rà]	« humain »
[ék'lá]	[ék'lá]	« chat »
[dòmýà]	[dòmýà]	« citron »
[àblùkáŋgà]	[àblùkáŋgà]	« orange »
[jénè]	[jénè]	« oignon »

Les affixes vocaliques étudiés récemment ne permettent pas d'ériger le nom à une projection DP/QP comme le nom ayant cours en contexte spécifique. De manière générale, le nom en contexte de citation reste une projection maximale NP, et n'a pas de correspondance au pluriel.

Conclusion

Cette étude a permis de montrer que le contexte d'énonciation du nom peut se faire soit en contexte non-spécifique, soit en contexte spécifique. Le contexte non-spécifique a pour effet de faire apparaître des affixes avant ou après le nom.

Aussi, la particularité de cette affixation est qu'elle ne se fait qu'avec les termes familiers et les parties du corps. De manière générale, la préfixation se fait en [e-] pour les noms désignant la pilosité et en [a-] pour les noms désignant les parties du corps. En contexte spécifique, les spécificateurs fonctionnels du nom au sein du DP sont de quatre ordres. Il s'agit de l'indéfini : [bié], [biálà] ou [kv̄], des quantificateurs, du défini : [n̄] et du démonstratif : [èhí], [ká] ou [són̄]. A propos de l'indéfini, nous avons constaté l'existence de trois morphèmes : [bié], [biálà] et [kv̄]. Au nombre de ces trois morphèmes, l'on a noté les quantificateurs. En effet, les quantificateurs sont classés en unités lexématiques simples : [kv̄] « un » à [blú] « dix », [àbúlè] « vingt », [èjá] « cent » et [àpí] « mille », et en unités non-lexématiques, (obtenues par addition ou par multiplication des nombres lexématiques). Par ailleurs, l'expression d'une réalité proche ou éloignée est exprimée par le démonstratif de proximité : [èhí] « ce...ci », [ká] « ce...ci » et [èhí ká] « ce...ci » ou d'éloignement : [són̄] « ce...là ». Enfin, du point de vue fonctionnel, les spécificateurs du nom jouent un rôle prépondérant dans la distinction de la chose nommée et permettent au locuteur de faire la différence entre deux choses de même nature.

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**"KANN MAN UNSICHTBAR WERDEN?" DAS DEUTSCHE
PRONOMEN MAN UND SEINE THAILÄNDISCHEN
ENTSPRECHUNGEN¹**

Abstract: This paper presents a contrastive analysis of the German generic pronoun *man* (engl. *one*) and its equivalents in Thai. For the analysis, a bidirectional parallel corpus consisting of contemporary German and Thai short stories and their translation into the other language was used. Fourteen forms of Thai equivalents to *man* have been found. The null subject is the most frequent equivalent structure of *man*-sentences. The other forms emerging as counterparts to the German *man* can be categorized into 3 groups with the meaning of 1st person, 3rd person, and different variants of the indefinite pronoun *kraj* ('who') which can mean 'everyone', 'someone' or 'nobody'. Whereas the German language marks the unspecification of the human subject with the grammaticalized generic pronoun *man*, Thai chooses to make references which should not be further specified invisible.

Key words: generic pronoun *man*, German, Thai, contrastive study.

1 Einleitung

Das deutsche Pronomen *man* hat durch seine semantischen und morphosyntaktischen Eigenschaften eine Sonderstellung im Pronominalsystem des Deutschen, weil es umstritten ist, ob *man* zur Kategorie der Indefinit- oder Personalpronomina gezählt werden soll (cf. ausführlicher dazu Zifonun, 2000). Aus kontrastiver Sicht ist die Auseinandersetzung mit diesem Pronomen sehr interessant, denn typologisch scheinen generische Pronomina wie das dt. *man* nicht verbreitet zu sein (Haspelmath, 1997: 12). Obwohl sich in mehreren Sprachen entsprechende Elemente finden (z. B. engl. *one*, franz. *on*, ndl. *men*), nehmen seine Entsprechungen nicht unbedingt dieselben Funktionen ein (cf. dazu Zifonun, 2000: 251). Darüber hinaus lässt sich in vielen Sprachen kein generisch verwendbares Pronomen finden, wie z. B. im Bulgarischen, Litauischen und Russischen (cf. Dimova, 1981; Žeimantienė, 2005 und Reichel, 2007).

Der vorliegende Beitrag ist ein erster Versuch, sich mit dem dt. *man* unter Berücksichtigung des Thailändischen, einer isolierenden Sprache, die über keine eindeutige Entsprechung zum dt. *man* verfügt, zu befassen. Wörtlich ließe sich das dt. *man* als *khon raw* übersetzen, diese Entsprechung ist allerdings kein Pronomen, sondern eine Nominalphrase mit der Bedeutung 'Mensch' + 'wir'. Die Konstruktion

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kann allerdings nicht in denselben Kontexten wie *man* verwendet werden, je nach Kontext treten auch andere Entsprechungen auf.

Die vorliegende Analyse stützt sich auf die Daten aus einem eigens zusammengestellten bidirekionalen parallelen Korpus. Im Folgenden soll gezeigt werden, wie *man* ins Thailändische übertragen wird, und umgekehrt, welche Elemente im Thailändischen als *man* übersetzt werden. Dabei soll das ganze Spektrum der möglichen Entsprechungen aufgezeigt, analysiert und kategorisiert werden, um daraus Rückschlüsse auf die Beschreibung des Pronomens *man* aus der Perspektive des Thailändischen zu ziehen. Dabei ist insbesondere folgenden Fragen nachzugehen:

- Welche semantischen bzw. funktionalen Eigenschaften hat das deutsche Pronomen *man*?
- Was sind die thailändischen Entsprechungen von *man*? Wie sind sie zu beschreiben und zu kategorisieren?
- Inwiefern ist die semantische Eigenschaft von *man* für subjektlose Konstruktionen relevant?

2 Was bezeichnet *man*?

Das durch Abschwächung des Wortes *Mann* ('Mann', 'Mensch') abgeleitete Pronomen *man* (Kluge, 2002: 594) wird in den Lexika und Grammatiken überwiegend den Indefinitpronomina zugeordnet (cf. z. B. Glück, 2010: 282; Bußmann, 2008: 282; Helbig/Buscha, 2001: 232; Duden, 2005: 327), die Beschreibung dieses Pronomens ist allerdings problematisch (Attaviryanupap/Perrig, 2009: 321). Die genaueren Definitionen und die entsprechenden Bezeichnungen von *man* sehen unterschiedlich aus, die zwar nicht immer über etwas Gegensätzliches aussagen, aber keine einheitliche Beschreibung darstellen:

- Indefinitum, das sich auf "nicht näher bestimmte Personen" bezieht (Duden, 2005: 327);
- Pronomen, das eine nicht umgrenzte Menge von Menschen beiderlei Geschlechts bezeichnet (Engel, 2004: 371);
- unbestimmt-persönliche Ausdrucksweise (Helbig/Buscha, 2001: 232);
- generalisierendes indefinites Personalpronomen (Hentschel/Weydt, 2003: 252);
- der unspezifische menschliche Handelnde bzw. die 4. Person (Sasse, 1993: 670);
- indefinites Personalpronomen (Graefen, 2007: 685);
- das unpersönliche Personalpronomen (Eisenberg, 2006: 173) und
- generisches Personalpronomen (Zifonun, 2001: 119).

Die aufgeführten Zuordnungsmöglichkeiten zeigen ein Kontinuum zwischen zwei wichtigen Ansätzen: *man* als Indefinitpronomen oder *man* als Personalpronomen.

In der Tat befindet sich *man*, morphologisch und syntaktisch gesehen, an der Schnittstelle zwischen diesen beiden Kategorien. Zentral für die Beschreibung des Pronomens *man* ist aber das semantische Merkmal "menschlich" [+hum]. Nach Marschall (1996: 96) bezeichnet *man* als "1 bis n nicht individualisierte und nicht isolierte Elemente aus einer virtuellen Menge von menschlichen Lebewesen". Außerdem kann *man* je nach Kontext sehr unterschiedliche Bedeutungen haben. Am einen Ende der Skala kann es das Agens aus dem Fokus verdrängen, am anderen Ende ein *ich* oder *du* vertreten, was beinahe einer Individualisierung entspricht (ibd.).

Auffallend bei den unterschiedlichen Definitionen ist, dass gegensätzliche Begriffe wie "persönlich" und "unpersönlich" nebeneinander auftreten. Dies spiegelt die Zweideutigkeit des Begriffs "persönlich" an sich wider, der sich einerseits auf Person im Sinne von "Mensch" bezieht und andererseits in vielen Grammatiken als "nicht-agensorientiert" interpretiert wird, wie etwa bei "unpersönlichem Verb", "unpersönlichem Passiv", "unpersönlichen Konstruktionen" usw. Der Begriff "Unpersönlichkeit", der häufig mit dem Pronomen *man* in Zusammenhang gebracht wird, scheint problematisch zu sein.¹

Im Hinblick auf die verschiedenen Funktionen bzw. Bedeutungsvarianten von *man* werden ebenfalls mehrere Klassifizierungsmöglichkeiten vorgeschlagen. Sehr ausführlich und stark lexikalisch orientiert ist beispielsweise die Untersuchung von Dimova (1981: 38-39), in der neun Sememe des Lexems *man* festgestellt werden: ein generelles *man*, ein anonymes *man*, ein abstrahierendes *man* und insgesamt sechs personalpronominale Bezüge. Diese Kategorisierung ähnelt der viergliedrigen Einteilung bei Helbig/Buscha (2001: 232s.), bei der die sechs Sememe der einzelnen Personalpronomina als eine einzige Kategorie, pronominales *man*, zusammengefasst werden:

- generelles *man* verleiht den Charakter von Allgemeingültigkeit;
- anonymes *man* wird gebraucht, wenn der Referent als Handelnder irrelevant oder nicht identifizierbar ist;
- abstrahierendes *man* gibt objektive Tatsachen in menschlicher Wahrnehmung ohne die wahrnehmende Person wieder. Es bewirkt eine Subjektivierung der Aussage;
- pronominales *man* vertritt die einzelnen Pronomina. Es hat stilistische Funktionen wie etwa Distanzierung.

Zifonun (2000: 240) reduziert die *man*-Typen auf nur "generisch" versus "partikulär", wobei die generische Verwendung dominant ist. Auch bei den sechs Varianten des pronominalen *man* handelt es sich nach ihrem Ansatz um ein kontextuell eingebettetes generisches *man*. Versucht man die beiden

¹ Helbig (1997: 83) weist bereits darauf hin, dass die *man*-Konstruktionen nicht einfach als nicht-agensorientierte Passiv-Paraphrasen angesehen werden können, weil ihr Subjekt oft das Agens ausdrückt, auch wenn es nur unspezifiziertes bzw. verallgemeinertes, aber stets persönliches Agens ist.

Kategorisierungsansätze miteinander zu integrieren, kann man sagen, dass Zifonun das anonyme *man* der partikulären Verwendung zuschreibt, während alle anderen Bedeutungsvarianten dem generischen Gebrauch zugeordnet werden.

Für die vorliegende Analyse wird die Vier-Varianten-Klassifikation von Helbig/Buscha (2001: 232s.) verwendet, denn vor allem die vierte Kategorie (pronominales *man*) unterscheidet sich stark vom generischen *man* im Sinne von Zifonun (2000: 240), weshalb sie m. E. nicht mit dem generischen *man* gemeinsam analysiert werden sollten.

3 Das Pronomen *man* aus kontrastiver Sicht

Das deutsche Pronomen *man* wurde in den letzten 30 Jahren mehrfach anderen Sprachen kontrastiv gegenübergestellt und dementsprechend analysiert. Kontrastive Untersuchungen liegen z. B. für Bulgarisch (Dimova, 1981), Litauisch (Žeimantienė, 2005) und Russisch (Reichel, 2006) vor. Im Folgenden wird nur kurz auf die wichtigsten Erkenntnisse dieser drei kontrastiven Studien eingegangen, für detaillierte Ergebnisse sei hier auf die drei erwähnten Arbeiten verwiesen. Die im Folgenden besprochenen *man*-Entsprechungen stellen für die vorliegende Analyse Anhaltspunkte dar, auf die beim Vergleich des dt. *man* mit seinen thailändischen Entsprechungen zurückgegriffen werden kann.

Im Allgemeinen liegt den entsprechenden Konstruktionen in diesen drei Vergleichssprachen die zweigliedrige Unterscheidung der Verwendungsweisen von *man*, nämlich generisch vs. partikular in Anlehnung an Zifonun (2000) zugrunde. Obwohl Dimova von 9 Sememen ausgeht, lassen sich die bulgarischen Entsprechungen diesen beiden *man*-Typen ebenfalls gut zuordnen. Zu den Beschreibungen der Entsprechungen von *man* im Bulgarischen, Litauischen und Russischen ist Folgendes anzumerken:

- Meistens handelt es sich bei den Entsprechungen um subjektlose Sätze oder um Sätze, bei denen das finite Verb und das Subjekt nicht miteinander kongruieren.
- Die Verbform der 3. Person, und zwar vorwiegend im Plural, wird nur beschränkt für die partikuläre Bedeutung (bzw. anonymes *man*) verwendet. Nur im Litauischen kommen die Verbformen in der 3. Person (Sg. und Pl.) auch im generischen Gebrauch vor, jedoch immer mit Nullsubjekt.
- Als Entsprechungen in der generischen Bedeutung treten außerdem "Mensch"/ "Menschen" (in allen drei Sprachen), "Leute", "alle", "jeder"/"jedermann" (nur im Russischen) vor. Im partikulären Gebrauch treten entweder "Mensch" mit einer kongruierender Verbform (Litauisch) oder Lexeme wie "jemand", "niemand", oder "kein Mensch" (Bulgarisch, Russisch) auf.
- Passivkonstruktionen treten häufig als Entsprechung der *man*-Sätze auf. Im Bulgarischen und im Russischen handelt es sich v. a. um das reflexive

Passiv, während im Litauischen ein Partizip Passiv entweder in nicht-kongruierender oder kongruierender Form (generisch vs. partikular) dem dt. *man* entspricht.

Selbstverständlich gibt es noch andere mögliche Varianten, z. B. Umformung in unpersönliche Konstruktionen mit Modalwörtern, objektive Darstellung statt Verwendung eines abstrahierenden *man* usw. Solche innersprachlichen Strategien scheinen m. E. in allen Sprachen möglich zu sein und werden hier nicht weiter berücksichtigt.

Es handelt sich bei den *man*-Entsprechungen in diesen drei Sprachen also hauptsächlich um morpho-syntaktische Mittel. Es gibt kein bestimmtes Pronomen, das die Funktion von *man* übernimmt. Da das Thailändische als isolierende Sprache naturgemäß keine morpho-syntaktische Kongruenz kennt, ist zu erwarten, dass die thailändischen Entsprechungen von *man* andere Formen bzw. Konstruktionen aufweisen.

4 Das analysierte Korpus und methodisches Vorgehen

Für die vorliegende Studie wird ein sog. *bidirectional parallel corpus* (Johansson, 2003: 39) analysiert. Miteinbezogen werden jeweils Original- und Übersetzungstexte der zu vergleichenden Sprachen. Das eigens zusammengestellte Korpus (261'207 Wörter) besteht aus 13 deutschen und 15 thailändischen zeitgenössischen Kurzgeschichten und deren Übersetzungen in die jeweilige andere Sprache. Im Korpus sind vier verschiedene Textteile vorhanden: deutsche Originaltexte, deutsche Übersetzungstexte, thailändische Originaltexte und thailändische Übersetzungstexte. Dabei stammen die deutschen Kurzgeschichten von 13 Autoren und 13 Übersetzern, während die thailändischen Kurzgeschichten von 13 Autoren verfasst und von 3 Übersetzern ins Deutsche übersetzt worden sind. Insgesamt umfasst das Korpus also 56 Texte, die zwischen 1980 und 2008 erschienen sind.¹

Zunächst wurde in deutschen Texten nach allen *man*-Belegen gesucht, einschließlich *einen* und *einem*, die für *man* im Akkusativ und Dativ stehen. Die gefundenen *man*-Tokens wurden in vier Gruppen klassifiziert: *man₁* = generisches *man*, *man₂* = anonymes *man*, *man₃* = abstrahierendes *man*, *man₄* = pronominales *man* und mit Ziffern nummeriert. Anschließend wurde nach ihren Entsprechungen im thailändischen Korpus gesucht.² Als direkte Entsprechungen kommen in erster

¹ Da es nur eine sehr kleine Anzahl von deutschen Übersetzungen aus dem Thailändischen gibt, war es nicht möglich, eine größere Anzahl von Übersetzern zu berücksichtigen.

² Jeder *man*-Beleg im Gesamtkorpus wird mit einer Abkürzung der Autorennamen, Nummer des Belegs und O (Original) oder Ü (Übersetzung) gekennzeichnet, z. B. [JH-1_O] weist auf Beleg Nr. 1 aus der Kurzgeschichte vom Autor J. H. in der Originalversion, während [JH-1_Ü] sich auf dessen thailändische äquivalente Konstruktion bezieht.

Linie Pronomen und Nominalphrasen in Frage, die genau dieselbe syntaktische Funktion wie *man* haben. Wenn als *man*-Entsprechung im Thailändischen ein subjektloser Satz auftritt, wurde das sog. Nullelement bzw. Nullmorphem (\emptyset) als Entsprechung eingetragen.

5 Die Ergebnisse

5.1 Vorkommenshäufigkeit und Distribution der *man*-Belege

In den 28 deutschen Texten (insgesamt 117'051 Wörter) lassen sich insgesamt 213 *man*-Belege finden¹. Der Anteil der *man*-Belege ist bei deutschen Originaltexten eindeutig höher als bei den deutschen Übersetzungstexten (142 Belege = 66,67% vs. 71 Belege = 33,33%). Die *man*-Belege im Korpus verteilen sich wie folgt:

	<i>man</i> 1	<i>man</i> 2	<i>man</i> 3	<i>man</i> 4	
in deutschen Originaltexten	91	18	9	24	142
in deutschen Übersetzungstexten	37	6	13	21	71
im gesamten deutschen Korpus	128	24	16	45	213
%	60,09	11,27	7,50	21,17	100,00

Tabelle 1: *man*-Belege im untersuchten Korpus

Dass mehr als die Hälfte der *man*-Belege generische Bedeutung hat, geht auf die Hauptfunktion dieses deutschen Pronomens zurück. Die zweite und dritte Kategorie (anonymes und abstrahierendes *man*) kommen wie erwartet viel seltener vor. Kategorisiert man die *man*-Belege nach Zifonun (2000) in generische und partikuläre Verwendung, ergibt sich im Einklang mit bereits durchgeföhrten Studien eine Proportion von 88,73% und 11,27%.

5.2 Vorkommenshäufigkeit und Distribution der thailändischen Entsprechungen

Im thailändischen Korpus lassen sich insgesamt 14 morphologisch und semantisch unterscheidbare Entsprechungen von *man* finden, die sich wie folgt verteilen:

¹ Nur vier Belege davon erscheinen formal als *einen* (2x) und *einem*(2x).

	<i>man₁</i>	<i>man₂</i>	<i>man₃</i>	<i>man₄</i>	
<i>Ø</i>	74	9	12	35	130
<i>raw</i>	21	6	3	5	35
<i>khoṇ</i> ('Mensch' /					
<i>khon raw</i> ('Mensch' + 'Mensch')	11	0	0	1	12
<i>khraj</i> ('wer/irgendwer' /					
+ NEG = 'niemand')	10	2	0	0	12
<i>phuṭ̄ khoṇ</i> ('Leute')	2	4	0	0	6
<i>khǎw</i> (3.Ps.Sg./Pl.)	1	1	1	2	5
<i>phū̄ / kraj thī̄</i> ('der-/diejenige-')	3	1	0	1	5
<i>khraj khraj</i>					
('wer auch immer'/ 'jeder')	2	0	0	0	2
<i>thū́k khoṇ</i> ('jeder')	1	0	0	0	1
<i>thī̄</i> (3.Ps.Sg.)	0	0	0	1	1
<i>phū̄.ak raw</i> ('Gruppe' + 1.Ps.=					
Pl.)	1	0	0	0	1
<i>phū̄.ak khǎw</i> ('Gruppe' + 3.Ps.=					
Pl.)	1	0	0	0	1
<i>māṇ</i> (3.Ps. Sg.)	1	0	0	0	1
<i>lăj̄ khoṇ</i> ('viele Leute')	0	1	0	0	1
	128	24	16	45	213

Tabelle 2: Aufgetretene thailändische Entsprechungen von dt. *man*

In den thailändischen Übersetzungstexten liegt eine größere Varianz (12 von 14 Types der Entsprechungen) als in thailändischen Originaltexten (8 von 14 Types der Entsprechungen) vor. Proportional ist der Anteil der Nullsubjekte bei den Entsprechungen in thailändischen Originaltexten ebenfalls größer als derjenige in thailändischen Übersetzungstexten (81,69% vs. 50,74%).

Tabelle 3 zeigt eine deutliche Tendenz, dass *man* in den thailändischen Sätzen mehrheitlich dem Nullelement bzw. Nullsubjekt entspricht. 61,03% der *man*-Belege haben also keine sichtbaren formalen Entsprechungen. Die 13 formal erkennbaren Entsprechungen im Thailändischen lassen sich in drei unterschiedliche Gruppen einteilen: generisch verwendetes Personalpronomen der ersten Person, generisch verwendetes Personalpronomen der dritten Person und Indefinitpronomen mit der Bedeutung "jeder" oder "jemand" und deren negierte Form "niemand".

5.2.1 Die erste Person als Entsprechung von *man*

Zentral für die erste Gruppe ist das Personalpronomen *raw*, das dem deutschen Personalpronomen *wir* entspricht. Dieses Pronomen wurde ursprünglich nur als Pluralform gebraucht. Der Gebrauch für einen einzigen Sprecher ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen (cf. dazu Attaviriyupap, 2004: 10). In generischer Bedeutung, wie es in den Korpusbelegen auftritt, impliziert diese Form jedoch stets die Pluralbedeutung. Beim Gebrauch dieses Pronomens ist der Sprecher (bzw. Ich-Erzähler in literarischen Texten) stets miteinbezogen. Die Menge der betroffenen Menschen ist im Grunde genommen unbestimmt, denn dieses *wir* kann sich sowohl auf eine Einzelperson als auch auf alle Zugehörigen unterschiedlich definierter Gruppen bis hin zur gesamten Menschheit beziehen.¹ Es handelt sich beim Gebrauch von th. *raw* eindeutig um eine sprecherinklusive Perspektive:

- (1) muū:a raw ta:j raw ?aw man paj māj dā:j [VN-6M 7_O]
 wenn wir sterben wir nehmen das gehen NEG können
 'Wenn man stirbt, kann man es (Geld) sowieso nicht mitnehmen' [VN-6, 7_Ü]

Die Kombination *khon raw* ('Mensch' + 'wir') nähert sich der generischen Verwendung von *man* noch mehr als *raw*. Auch das allein stehende Wort *khon* ('Mensch') tritt als Entsprechung von *man* auf. Diese Form wird aber seltener verwendet (im Korpus nur ein Mal). Da es sich bei diesen beiden Entsprechungen formal nicht um Pronomina, sondern um Nominalphrasen handelt, lässt sich an dieser Stelle als ein erstes Fazit ziehen, dass das thailändische Pronomen *raw* ('wir') formal und semantisch dem deutschen *man* am nächsten liegt. Dadurch, dass fast alle Personalpronomina im Thailändischen multifunktional sind und personenunspezifisch sein können (cf. dazu ausführlicher Attaviriyupap, 2004), spricht nichts dagegen, dass sich dieses Pronomen zusätzlich auch auf die 4. Person im Sinne von Sasse (1993: 670) bezieht und die Funktion eines generischen Personalpronomens übernimmt. Die Kombination *phū.ak raw* (= 'Gruppe' + 'wir'), die sich eher auf die erste Person Plural beschränkt, kommt im Korpus nur einmal vor, weshalb man sie als Ausnahmefall betrachten kann.

¹ Dass sich *wir* und *man* referentiell gesehen sehr ähnlich verhalten, indem beide eine große semantische Spannbreite aufweisen, ist in der einschlägigen Literatur bereits bekannt (cf. z.B. Quintin, 2007: 164).

5.2.2 Die dritte Person als Entsprechung von *man*

Im Gegensatz zur ersten Gruppe tritt die zweite Gruppe viel seltener auf. Das Wort *khăw* bezieht sich auf die dritte Person. Diese Form kann sowohl Singular- als auch Pluralfunktion übernehmen. Nur in Verbindung mit *phû:ak* ('Gruppe') sind eindeutig mehrere Personen gemeint. Bei generischer Bedeutung des Personalpronomens der dritten Person wird auf "andere" Menschen verwiesen, je nachdem wie groß die restliche Gruppe von bezeichneten Personen (exkl. Sprecher) ist:

- (2) »Was ist Wahalla?«, und Irene sagt »Ich weiß es nicht genau, aber ich glaube, Walhalla ist das Jenseits der Wikinger. Ihr Paradies, eine große Halle mit einem langen Tisch, an dem man sitzt mit denen, die man liebt, und an dem man trinkt und trinkt bis ans Ende aller Tage. » [JH-23-25_O]

Da es sich beim Gebrauch von *man* im obigen Auszug um Menschen, die sich an einem unbekannten Ort befinden, handelt, hat die Übersetzerin die 3. Person (*phû:ak khăw* und *khăw*) als thailändische Entsprechungen von *man* verwendet und dadurch den Sprecher im Text ausgeklammert. Auf die Tatsache, dass die 3. Person auch Gemeinsamkeiten mit *man* aufweist, hat ebenfalls Zifonun (2001:122) hingewiesen. Ihr zufolge entspricht die nicht-anaphorische Verwendung von *sie* (Pl.), die vor allem umgangssprachlich vorkommt, dem partikulären Gebrauch von *man*.

Die Verwendung der dritten Person im Thailändischen als Entsprechung des deutschen *man* spiegelt eine andere besondere Funktion von *man* wider, die von Vahl-Seyfarth (1987: 141) als "Obrigkeit-*man*" bezeichnet wird. Mit *man* kann sich der Sprecher auf eine unbekannte oder bekannte Obrigkeit bezieht, ohne sie zu nennen. Diese Verwendung ist ihr zufolge ebenfalls mit der Verwendung von *sie* (Pl.) verwandt, das sich ebenfalls auf eine oder mehrere Personen einer höheren Hierarchie, die Einfluss oder Macht ausüben können, beziehen kann. Diese Funktion lässt sich im folgenden Beispielssatz ebenfalls erkennen, sowohl im deutschen Original- als auch im thailändischen Übersetzungstext. Hier tritt das Personalpronomen der dritten Person im Thailändischen als Entsprechung von *man* auf:

- (3) khăw khû:n pha:sî: khă:ŋkin khă:ŋcháj fûmfu:aj
 3.Ps. erhöhen Steuer Essen Lebensmittel verschwenderisch
 sú:ŋ kɤ:npaj [JF-1_Ü]
 hoch zu viel
 'Man verzinst die Steuern auf Genussmittel nicht richtig'. [JF-1_O]

Die Nominalphrasen *phû: khon* ('Person' + 'Mensch') sowie *Iă:j khon* ('viel' + 'Mensch') lassen sich ebenfalls dieser Gruppe der thailändischen Entsprechungen zuordnen. Obwohl die wörtliche Übersetzung jedes einzelnen Teils dieser beiden Nominalphrasen auf den ersten Blick keinen Unterschied zu dem Ausdruck *khon* ('Mensch') aufweist, der zur ersten Gruppe gehört, beziehen sich diese beiden Phrasen eindeutig auf die "anderen Leute" (sprecherexklusiv). Die beiden Varianten tragen eine ähnliche Bedeutung wie das deutsche Wort *Leute*. Obwohl *Menschen* und *Leute* häufig als Synonyme verwendet werden, ermöglicht der Begriff "Leute" keine Gattungslesart und bezieht sich im Gegensatz zu *Menschen* immer auf "bestimmte" Menschen.

5.2.3 Indefinitpronomen als Entsprechung von *man*

Bei der dritten Gruppe fungiert das Indefinitpronomen *khraj* als Entsprechung von *man*. Dieses thailändische Pronomen verhält sich lexikalisch und funktional wie das dt. *wer*, nämlich sowohl als Interrogativum als auch als Indefinitum. In der Funktion als Indefinitpronomen bedeutet *khraj* "rgendwer" bzw. "jemand". Mit einer Negationspartikel übernimmt das Pronomen die Bedeutung von "niemand". Durch die Reduplikation *khraj khraj* wird 'wer auch immer' bzw. 'jeder' ausgedrückt. Gemeinsam mit dem Relativpronomen *thî:* werden unbestimmte Menschen bezeichnet, so ähnlich wie *wer* im Sinne von "derjenige, der..." (z. B. *wer zu spät kommt, muss abwaschen*):

- (4) khraj thî: ca? khâw ïa:n [An1_O]
 wer Rel.Pron. FUT¹ eintreten Arbeit
 'wenn man den Job annimmt' [An1_Ü]

Der obige deutsche Satz ließe sich ebenfalls mit "wer den Job annimmt, (der)...." übersetzen. Ähnlich verhält es sich bei einem anderen Beispielssatz im deutschen Originaltext. Der Satz *man würde das Pochen sehen, wenn sie einen Augenblick stillhielte* [JF-3_O] könnte ebenfalls mit *wer* paraphrasiert werden: *Wer sie anschaut, würde das Pochen sehen, wenn sie einen Augenblick stillhielte*. Die beiden Pronomen *man* und *wer* weisen deswegen eindeutig Gemeinsamkeiten auf, selbst innerhalb des deutschen Sprachsystems.

¹ Dieser thailändische grammatische Marker ist multifunktional. Da er sich in diesem Satz wie ein Futur I im Deutschen verhält, wird der Marker hier als FUT glossiert. In der Literatur lassen sich für den Marker mehrere Bezeichnungen finden wie etwa Aspekt- oder Modalmarker.

5.2.4 Nullsubjekt als Entsprechung von *man*

Das Weglassen des Subjekts im Thailändischen ist wegen der Unbestimmtheit des Subjekts die beste Strategie, dt. *man* ins Thailändische zu übertragen. Umgekehrt lassen sich die anderen Varianten der Entsprechungen aller drei oben aufgeführten Gruppen mit anderen Pronomina ins Deutschen übersetzen (*wir*, *sie*, *jemand* usw.), auch wenn sie im thailändischen Korpus ebenfalls generische Bedeutung haben können. Dies erklärt wiederum, weshalb *man*-Belege im deutschen Übersetzungskorpus seltener vorkommen und überwiegend nur aus dem Nichts bzw. durch die Übersetzung des Nullsubjekts entstanden sind. Obwohl *raw* ('wir') als *man* übertragen werden kann, kommt es häufig vor, dass die generische Verwendung dieses Personalpronomens im thailändischen Originaltext wörtlich als *wir* ins Deutsche übertragen wird. Die generische Bedeutung kann trotzdem erhalten bleiben, weil das dt. *wir* ebenfalls nicht selten generisch gebraucht wird.

Die thailändische Entsprechung in unsichtbarer Form bzw. die in der obigen Tabelle als Ø angegebene Form muss aber zunächst in zwei Subgruppen eingeteilt werden, denn im Thailändischen ist ein formales Subjekt häufig weglassbar, entweder weil das Subjekt irgendwann bzw. irgendwo vorher bereits erwähnt wird oder weil das Subjekt im Kontext klar ausschließbar ist. Wenn man diese syntaktische Eigenschaft des Thailändischen mitberücksichtigt, dann geht die Anzahl der subjektlosen Konstruktionen, die den dt. *man*-Sätzen entsprechen, auf 96 Tokens zurück, was immer noch den größten Anteil der thailändischen Entsprechungen ausmacht (45,07% der gesamten *man*-Belege). Ordnet man die feststellbaren Subjekte in den thailändischen subjektlosen Sätzen den entsprechenden Formen zu, ergibt sich bei den oben aufgeführten 14 Formen der Entsprechungen noch die gleiche Tendenz.

Auffallend ist aber, dass sich die Bedeutung der Personalpronomen der ersten Person Singular (dt. *ich*) und der zweiten Person (dt. *Sie*) in den subjektlosen thailändischen Sätzen feststellen lässt. Jedoch handelt es sich bei diesen zusätzlichen Formen nur um einen kleinen Anteil der thailändischen Entsprechungen im Korpus, so dass man annehmen kann, dass die 2. Person im Thailändischen dem dt. *man* am wenigsten entspricht.

Die folgende Abbildung zeigt die Verteilung von allen Formen der thailändischen *man*-Entsprechungen noch einmal, nachdem ein Teil der Nullsubjekte der Entsprechungsgruppe Ø entnommen¹ und in die andere Kategorien eingetragen wurden.

¹ Es handelt sich um subjektlose Sätze, deren Subjekt im Kontext feststellbar ist, obwohl es formal unsichtbar ist.

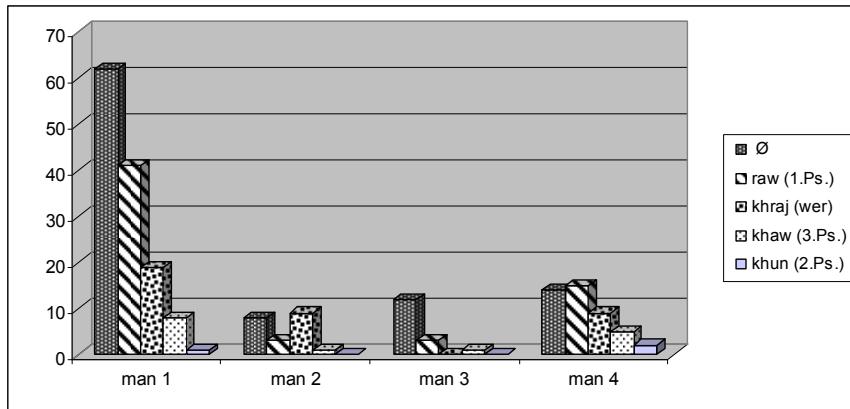


Abbildung 1: Verteilung der verschiedenen Gruppen der thailändischen Entsprechungen

Zusammenfassend zeigt sich bei diesem kontrastiven Vergleich wie zu erwarten im Thailändischen keine 1:1-Äquivalenz zu dem dt. *man*. Schließt man die 2. Person aus, die im Thailändischen üblicherweise nicht generisch verwendet wird, dann ergibt sich für die Entsprechungen nach der Auftretenshäufigkeit folgende Reihenfolge:

$$\emptyset > 1. \text{ Person} > \text{Indefinitpronomen} > 3. \text{ Person}$$

Betrachtet man die Verteilung der Entsprechungen nach den 4 Typen von dt. *man* nach Helbig/Buscha (2001: 232f.), zeigt sich, dass bei den Entsprechungen des anonymen *man* die thailändischen *wer*-Varianten, die sich wiederum durch Indefinitpronomina *jeder*, *jemand* und *niemand* übertragen lassen, eine größere Rolle zu spielen scheinen. Sie treten selbst ein wenig häufiger als die subjektlose Konstruktion auf.

5.3 Was versteckt sich hinter den "unsichtbaren" thailändischen Entsprechungen von dt. *man*?

Im folgenden Abschnitt soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, ob die thailändischen Entsprechungen der deutschen *man*-Sätze, die subjektlos gebildet werden, auch bestimmte Konstruktionen aufweisen.

Ein kleiner Teil (5 Tokens) der insgesamt 96 Ø-Tokens werden nicht weiter analysiert, weil die Sätze in den Original- und Übersetzungstexten völlig unterschiedliche Strukturen aufweisen. Es handelt sich dabei in erster Linie um bestimmte Redewendungen in der jeweiligen Sprache, die sich nicht direkt übertragen lassen. Die restlichen 91 Tokens verteilen sich strukturell auf 6 Konstruktionsmuster, wie in der folgenden Abbildung dargestellt:

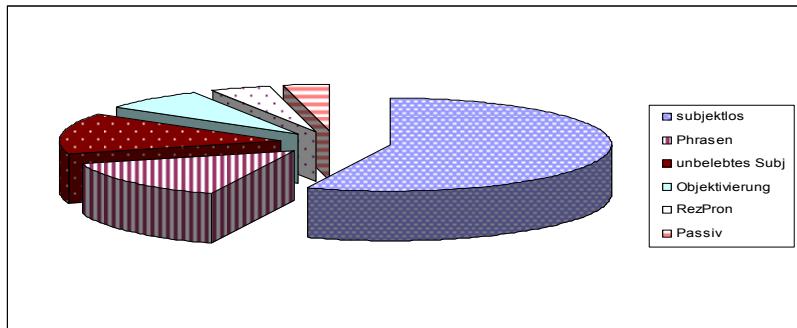


Abbildung 2: Typen der thailändischen subjektlosen Konstruktionen als *man*-Entsprechungen

Bei mehr als der Hälfte der analysierten Nullsubjekte (56,04%), die im Korpus als Entsprechungen von *man* auftreten, handelt es sich um subjektlose Sätze.

- (5) juː: mu:aj b̥y:lin māj campen t̥ɔj mi: rót r̥ök [RR-5_Ü]
 wohnen Stadt Berlin NEG nötig müssen haben Auto PRT
 'In Berlin braucht man kein Auto' [RR-5_O]

Die möglichen Interpretationen der unsichtbaren Subjekte in jedem einzelnen Satz reichen aber von einer unklaren, unbestimmten bzw. unbegrenzten Menge bis hin zu Subjekten mit bestimmten Charakteristika. Dieses Phänomen entspricht einem Kontinuum von "allgemein" zu "eher spezifiziert" nach dem Schema *jeder* → *jemand* → *jemand* + Attribut. Auch wenn weder in den jeweiligen entsprechenden Konstruktionen noch in einleitenden oder vorhergehenden Sätzen ein explizites Subjekt auftritt, ist jeweils eine Variante von *jeder*, *jemand* oder *diejenige(n)* *Person(en)*, *die....*, die alle zum Bedeutungsspektrum von *man* gehören, vorstellbar. Das Phänomen, dass subjektlose Sätze als Entsprechungen von *man* vorkommen, lässt sich auch in anderen Sprachen beobachten. Im Unterschied zu anderen Sprachen, in denen der generische oder nicht-generische Status eines subjektlosen Satzes anhand der morphosyntaktischen Merkmale, wie z. B. anhand einer nichtkongruenten Verbform, bestimmt werden kann, verfügt das Thailändische über keine morphosyntaktischen Strukturen, die auf bestimmte Personalpronomen zurückgehen. Es ist häufig nicht möglich zu bestimmen, ob das Nullsubjekt generischen oder nicht-generischen Charakter hat. Der Kontext bzw. der pragmatische Faktor spielt eine viel größere Rolle als die morphosyntaktischen Merkmale.

Als subjektlose Entsprechungen von *man*-Sätzen treten im Thailändischen am zweithäufigsten verschiedene Phrasentypen auf (14,29%): NP, PP oder AdvP (in absteigender Reihenfolge), weshalb keine entsprechende formale Form des dt. *man* mehr benötigt wird. Umgekehrt heißt dies, dass bei der Übertragung von thailändischen Phrasen in einen deutschen Satz das generische Subjekt *man*

eingesetzt werden muss, um einen grammatisch korrekten Satz zu bilden, z. B. *wenn man sich vorstellt*,... versus *die Vorstellung*. Solche Umformungen können aber sowohl innersprachlich (im deutschen Sprachsystem selbst) als auch im Übersetzungsverfahren vorkommen.

14,29% der subjektlosen Sätze, die als Entsprechung des dt. *man* gelten, weisen Unbelebtes als Subjekt auf. Diese Gruppe überschneidet sich in der Tat mit dem Passiv, das hier als eine eigene Kategorie klassifiziert wird, auch wenn es nur einen sehr kleinen Anteil (3,30%) ausmacht. Ausschlaggebend für diese Einteilung ist, dass bei den unbelebten Subjekten nicht immer ein Passiv erkennbar ist¹. Bei den hier als Passiv klassifizierten Entsprechungen tritt nichts Unbelebtes als Subjekt auf. Da bei der semantischen Funktion von *man* das Merkmal Belebtheit bzw. "menschlich" vs. "nicht menschlich" von größerer Relevanz ist, ist die vorliegende Klassifizierung m. E. sinnvoller. Im Mittelpunkt der hier der Gruppe "unbelebte Konstruktion" zugeordneten Entsprechungen von *man* steht ein unbelebtes Element, egal ob es sich um eine Passiv- oder Aktiv-Konstruktion handelt.

- (6) malé:t man tâj tôm kò:n kin khǖjcà? kin di:[WL-4_O]
 Samen es müssen kochen vor essen dann essen gut
 'Kocht man die Samen vorher, schmecken sie noch besser'. [WL-4_Ü]

- (7) sà?wâ:jná:m thí: sǎ:mâ:t kèp námró:n sùñj läj
 Pool Rel.pron. können behalten heißes Wasser Rel. Pron. fließen
 ma: càk bò:rê: aw wáj dâ:j. [JH-6_Ü]
 kommen von Mineralquelle nehmen PFV können
 'Pool, in den man heißes Quellwasser laufen lassen kann' [JH-6_O]

Bei der nächsten Konstruktion, der "objektiven Darstellung" (8,79%), wird eine "Handlung" bzw. ein "Ereignis", das von einem menschlichen Agens durchgeführt wird, in Form eines Zustands dargestellt. Dadurch werden Sachverhalte objektiv als Zustand aufgefasst. Die Wahrnehmung durch einen Menschen wird nicht erwähnt:

- (8) the:nhí: cà? pen hâ:tsa:j klapkra:j: pen
 statt FUT KOP Sandstrand werden KOP
 krathómmáj saparañkhe: läj nùñj [KS-2_O]
 Holzhütte baufällig KLF eins
 '...sah man anstelle eines unbewohnten Strandes eine baufällige Holzhütte' [KS-2_Ü]

Auch die objektive Darstellung durch eine solche Konstruktion weist eine Überlappung mit der Gruppe "unbelebtes Subjekt" auf, denn auch hier ist häufig etwas Unbelebtes als Subjekt vorstellbar. Wichtig dabei ist aber die Umwandlung

¹ Obgleich im Thailändischen ein Passivmarker existiert; dieser ist aber noch nicht stark grammatisiert und nur bedingt obligatorisch. Deshalb ist es bei einer Konstruktion mit etwas Unbelebtem als Subjekt ambig, ob es sich um ein Passiv oder ein topikalisiertes Objekt handelt.

einer Handlung oder eines Ereignisses in einen Zustand. Deshalb tritt häufig eine Kopula auf. Das Agens ist hier ausgeschlossen und deshalb ist auch die Verwendung einer formalen Entsprechung von *man* nicht möglich.

Die letzte, zugleich auch ganz kleine Gruppe (4,40%) lässt sich als "reziproke Konstruktionen" bezeichnen, weil in jedem einzelnen Fall immer das Schlüsselwort *kan* ('einander') vorkommt. Dieses thailändische Wort wird als Adverb definiert, das sowohl reziproke als auch distributive und kollektive Bedeutung impliziert (Iwasaki/Ingkaphirom, 2005: 305). Der Gebrauch dieses Wortes gibt einen deutlichen Hinweis darauf, dass das Subjekt im Plural steht. Auch wenn das Subjekt unsichtbar ist, wie dies hier der Fall ist, ist klar, dass sich die Aussage auf mehrere Menschen bezieht. Deshalb erweist sich diese Konstruktion als eine angemessene Entsprechung für das dt. *man*, wenn mehrere Personen, die nicht näher bestimmt werden, an der jeweiligen Handlung beteiligt sind. Vor allem der Redewendung „*man sagt*“ entspricht im Thailändischen immer die Struktur *wâ: kan wâ:* ('sagen' + Rez.Pron. + 'sagen').¹

Die Ausgangsfrage, inwiefern die semantische Eigenschaft von *man* für die subjektlose Übertragung in eine andere Sprache relevant ist, lässt sich wie folgt beantworten: durch die Unbestimmtheit von *man* in der Subjektfunktion ist es ein häufig zu beobachtendes Phänomen, dass in vielen Sprachen, die über keine 1:1-Entsprechung für dieses deutsche Pronomen verfügen, subjektlose Sätze generisch verwendet werden. Die "Subjektlosigkeit" kann sich in diesem Zusammenhang auch durch "unsichtbare Subjekte" wie im Thailändischen, das keine Flexion kennt, oder auch durch Nicht-Kongruenz zwischen Subjekt und dem finiten Verb (wie z. B. im Litauischen) zeigen, je nachdem welche sprachlichen Mitteln in der jeweiligen Sprache zur Verfügung stehen. Mit anderen Worten lässt sich das Pronomen *man* als ein formales Subjekt bezeichnen, das außer der Eigenschaft [+human] keine spezifische Bedeutung trägt, weshalb es je nach Kontext Verschiedenes bedeuten kann.

6 Schlussfolgerung

Das deutsche Pronomen *man* zeigt im Bereich des Personalpronominalsystems eine ähnliche Entwicklung, wie sie bei den Indefinitpronomina bereits stattgefunden hat, nämlich die Entwicklung zu einem Pronomen, das die Kategorie "Belebtheit" bzw. "menschlich" markiert. Die Unterscheidung zwischen "Person" vs. "Nicht-Personal" bzw. "Belebtes" und "Unbelebtes" (cf. *jemand, jeder, niemand* vs. *etwas, nichts* und *alles*) erkennt man an den Indefinita (einige davon auch in ihrer Gebrauchsausdehnung als Relativa

¹ Die Äußerung "man sagt" impliziert eine evidentielle Lesart. In vielen Sprachen tritt an dieser Stelle eine unpersönliche Passivkonstruktion auf, z. B. "it is said" im Englischen.

oder Interrogativa wie etwa *wer/was*). Hingegen gibt es bei den Personalpronomina keine klare Unterscheidung, außer bei *es*, das sich aufgrund seiner Multifunktionalität, vor allem als Subjekt von unpersönlichen Konstruktionen, anders verhält und eher Unbelebtes impliziert¹.

Morphologisch verhält sich *man* weder wie ein Personalpronomen noch wie ein Indefinitpronomen für Belebtes. Während andere Personalpronomina Kasusmarkierung aufweisen (cf. etwa *er – ihn – ihm – seiner*), hat *man* nur eine Nominativform. Für den Akkusativ und Dativ werden die Formen von *ein-* (*einen, einem*) gebraucht. Dagegen lassen sich unbelebte Indefinitpronomina (*etwas, nichts, was*) nicht flektieren, während diejenigen mit menschlichen Bezügen (*jemand – jemanden – jemandem, wer – wen – wem usw.*) flektierbar sind.

Zifonun (2000; 2001) analysiert die morphosyntaktischen wie auch semantischen Eigenschaften von *man* ausführlich und findet die Zuordnung von *man* zu den schwachen Personalpronomina nahe liegender als die traditionelle Zuordnung zu den Indefinitpronomina. Die Ergebnisse der vorliegenden kontrastiven Analyse von dt. *man* und seinen thailändischen Entsprechungen spricht ebenfalls für diese Auffassung, denn die thailändische Strategie, das Subjekt wegzulassen, um generisch auf die semantische Kategorie "Mensch" zu verweisen, findet sich nicht bei Indefinitpronomina, sondern nur bei Personalpronomina. Die subjektlosen Sätze im Thailändischen müssen jedoch getrennt betrachtet werden, je nachdem ob es sich um Nullanaphern oder um generische menschliche Subjekte handelt.

Es ist zwar zu vermuten, dass sich das thailändische Personalpronomen *raw* ('wir') im Zuge eines gerade stattfindenden Grammatikalisierungsprozesses zu einem generischen Personalpronomen wie dt. *man* entwickeln wird, allerdings ist noch nicht abzusehen, ob diese Entwicklung zu einer voll grammatisierten Form führen wird, zumal das thailändische Pronominalsystem, vor allem im "belebten" Bereich, grundsätzlich keine geschlossene Klasse aufweist. Die Tatsache, dass in den thailändischen *man*-Entsprechungen häufig die erste Person in generischem Gebrauch auftritt, während Personalpronomina in der dritten Person nur selten als Entsprechungen zu finden sind, zeigt, dass das Thailändische die Sprecherbezogenheit bevorzugt.² Insgesamt ist jedoch auch die Verwendung der ersten Person weniger frequent als subjektlose Sätze.

Während dt. *man* mit seinem expliziten menschlichen Bezug Ereignisse subjektiv darstellt, haben seine thailändischen Entsprechungen nicht selten eine objektive Darstellung, vor allem durch den Gebrauch eines unbelebten Subjekts und durch die Umwandlung einer Handlung bzw. eines Ereignisses in einen Zustand. Dies

¹ Der Gebrauch des Personalpronomens *es* ist aber nicht auf Unbelebtes beschränkt, cf. z. B. als Anapher von *das Kind, das Mädchen* usw.

² In vielen Sprachen wird sogar die zweite Person für den generischen Gebrauch bevorzugt. Das dt. *man* entspricht z. B. im Englischen dem generischen *you*. Im Deutschen kann *du* ebenfalls generisch verwendet werden. Linthe (2010) z. B. bezeichnet *man* und *du* als zwei dominante generische Pronomina des Deutschen.

könnte daran liegen, dass die Kategorie "Belebtheit" im Thailändischen ohnehin in der kognitiven Wahrnehmung verankert ist, so dass keine subjektive Darstellung nötig ist, um zu zeigen, ob eine Äußerung ein menschliches Agens beinhaltet oder nicht.

Die Beschreibung und Klassifizierung der thailändischen Entsprechungen von *man* soll sowohl für die Grammatikbeschreibung, die Übersetzung als auch für den DaF-Unterricht nutzbar gemacht werden. Die vorliegende Analyse, die aufgrund der kleinen Korpusgröße den Charakter einer Pilotstudie hat, kann nur einen kleinen Beitrag dazu leisten. Die hier aufgestellten provisorischen Hypothesen wären nun in weiteren Studien mit einem größeren Korpus, mit unterschiedlichen Textsorten und eventuell auch mit unterschiedlichen Analysemethoden zu überprüfen.

Es wäre z. B. spannend, der Frage nachzugehen, wie unterschiedlich Sprecher den Gebrauch von *man* und den einzelnen Varianten der thailändischen Entsprechungen wahrnehmen, denn *man* drückt, wie in der Literatur häufig erwähnt (cf. z. B. Quintin, 2007: 164), eine Distanzierung von der jeweils geltenden Redekonstellation aus, ohne dabei irgendeine spezifische Identität zu signalisieren. Genau in dieser Hinsicht könnte sich im Thailändischen ein gegensätzliches Bild ergeben. Das Thailändische hat ein komplexes Pronominalsystem, das stark von sozial-pragmatischen Faktoren beeinflusst wird, sofern es sich bei den Bezugsobjekten um Menschen handelt. Durch das Weglassen der Personalreferenz wird deshalb eher eine neutrale Darstellung gemacht, nicht die Distanzierung.

Während das Deutsche die Unspezifizierung des Agens durch ein generisches Pronomen ausdrückt, was m. E. das menschliche Agens bemerkbar macht, verhält sich das Thailändische umgekehrt. Um keine weiteren Hinweise auf ein vorstellbares menschliches Agens zu geben, wird die Anwesenheit des Agens minimalisiert, indem es "unsichtbar" gemacht wird. Die thailändische Sprache verfügt über ein wunderbares sprachliches Mittel, "Menschen" unsichtbar zu machen: das Weglassen des unbestimmten menschlichen Subjekts. So einfach wird *man* unsichtbar.

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**TOPONYMICAL STRUCTURES IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN
NOTES ON SOME PHRASEOLOGICAL STRUCTURES IN ENGLISH
AND ROMANIAN INVOLVING PROPER NAMES¹**

Abstract: The present paper represents a comparative approach to the toponymical structures in English and Romanian. The main toponymical structures that constitute the object of this article are those encountered in various phraseological units in both languages. More precisely, the article focuses on the place names that occur in English and Romanian expressions and phraseological units. They are presented from different perspectives, including the linguistic and cultural points of view. The material was selected from English and Romanian phraseological dictionaries, including *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*, as well as other theoretical sources.

Key words: phraseological unit, proper name, place names, toponymical structure.

I. Introduction

Phraseology represents “a section of the vocabulary that encompasses a class of words having a set character, equivalent to a lexical unit” (Groza, 2005:16).

As defined by Ch. Bally, the French linguist who had a great contribution to the development of modern phraseology, this field is not very recent, however it is worth exploring it in detail. In this respect, recently, special attention has been paid to the field of phraseology, while research on specific aspects is rather infrequent.

The present paper represents an approach to these specific aspects, laying special emphasis on the toponymical structures in English and Romanian phraseology. By toponymical structures, one understands those phraseological units that contain place names in fixed structures. More precisely, the aim of the paper is to identify these place names that are part of the expressions and phraseological units in both languages, and to explain their use taking into account various aspects, including the linguistic and cultural aspects involved by the phraseological units that represent the main substance of the present contribution.

The approach starts with a complex classification of these phraseological units from a structural point of view. As noted, phraseological units in every language are made up of different parts of speech, or of different elements which are regarded as relevant for a number of reasons.

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I.1. Phraseological units containing essential elements in people's life

Some of them contain names of the parts of the body, sense organs, natural elements, animals, colours, clothing and food, etc. Generally, these elements are frequently encountered in such constructions because they represent essential aspects of everyday life.

In this connection, it is important to notice two aspects. When comparing the two variants, i.e. the English and the Romanian ones, it becomes obvious that most of the elements mentioned above, which are part of the units in question, fail to occur in the Romanian variant or translation, though they do occur in a few cases. Here are some examples that can illustrate the above contention:

- to have a bee in one's bonnet* – Romanian *a avea o păsărică* (DFRE, p.44)
- to flag a dead horse* – Rom. *a încerca să învii morții* (DFRE, p.215)
- to run a wild goose chase* – Rom. *a încerca imposibilul* (DFRE,p.214)
- to have one's knife in somebody* – Rom. *a avea un dintă împotriva cuiva* (DFRE, p.38)

On the contrary:

- to get one's claws into somebody* – Rom. *a-și înghearele in cineva*¹ (DFRE, p.231)
- to have a foul mouth* – Rom. *a avea gura rea* (DFRE, p. 39)
- it is not the coat that makes the man* – Rom. *nu haina îl face pe om* (DFRE, p. 176)

I.2. Phraseological units containing proper names

References to the Bible greatly account in the construction of phraseological units and idioms, because they contain proper names that are culturally relevant in any society, especially in Anglo-Saxon, and more widely Christian, societies. In such cases, however, there may be variations in translation – cf. most of the examples mentioned above:

- Holy Moses!* – Rom. *sfinte Sisoe!* (DFRE, p. 512)
- not to know a man/somebody from Adam* – Rom. *a nu putea suferi pe cineva* (DFRE, p. 459)
- in Adam's time; when Adam was a boy* – Rom. *pe vremuri* (DFRE, p.399)

¹ The examples taken from Dictionar frazeologic roman-englez are marked by letters DFRE.

A different possibility may appear, though: when the Biblical proper name is encountered in the Romanian variant, and is not present in the English idiom, e.g.

Rom. *în costumul lui Adam* (*și / sau Eva*) – Eng. *in one's birthday suit* (DFRE, p. 222).

In this category of elements, which are often used in such structures, one can notice a set of common proper names or names of nationalities that, for obvious reasons, cannot have a similar Romanian counterpart. However, the translation of these phraseological units into our language is possible, even if this task was not quite simple for the linguists, translators or lexicographers, e.g.

to put the half Nelson on somebody – Rom. *a țintui pe cineva la pământ* (DFRE, p.608)

it is all Greek to me – Rom. *nu pricep o iota* (DFRE, p.423)

every Jack must have his Jill – Rom. *a-și găsi nașul* (DFRE, 169)

not for the love of Mike – Rom. *pentru nimic în lume* (DFRE, 394)

to give a Roland for an Oliver – Rom. *a plăti cu aceeași monedă* (DFRE, p. 206)

to shoot the Niagara – Rom. *a încerca imposibilul* (DFRE, p. 214)

to be hail-fellow-well-met with Tom, Dick and Harry – Rom. *a se înhăita cu oricine/cu te miri cine* (DFRE, p. 235)

Generally speaking, all the proper names involved in these phraseological units emphasize the idea of cultural, linguistic, social, geographical and ethnic identity or belonging. Therefore, elaborate studies of these phraseological units are likely to lead to identifying a special bond between language and culture.

I.3. Phraseological units containing periods of time

This category includes especially days of the week with a special significance.

to find Sunday - a se uita cruciș (DFRE, p.611)

in one's Sunday's best, in one's Sunday clothes – *îmbrăcat (ca) de duminică, în haine de gală* (DFRE, p. 197).

I.4. Phraseological units containing place names

Toponymy, or the study of place names, deals precisely with those vocabulary items that form part of a language's cultural stock. Generally speaking,

English and Romanian toponymy is rich, complex and dynamic. Therefore, a thorough study is devoted to those phraseological units that have place names as their component parts. Although these topographical structures are not very numerous, they obviously constitute an extremely important group of units.

From the cultural point of view, one can distinguish a number of sources that form the basis of these expressions or phraseological units. Consequently, the variations of translation in those cases, too, will be emphasized, e.g.

to put Yorkshire over somebody – Rom. *a păcăli cumplit pe cineva* (DFRE, p. 381).

In keeping with the general classification regarding these place names, one could note the following categories:

1.4.1. Phraseological units containing place names in the United Kingdom and Ireland

Some of the English place names selected for the present research refer to different *places in the United Kingdom*. They have the feature of bearing a lot of meanings in the respective language, e.g.

*to carry coals to Newcastle*¹ (NODE, p.1248)– (*Newcastle* is an industrial town in NE England, a port on the river Tyne); the translation of this phraseological unit into Romanian obviously does not assume the presence of the same place name, that is why the variant of translation is “*a merge la vie cu strugurii în poală / traistă / batistă*”.

Another similar phraseological unit that is widely used is *to send somebody to Coventry*, (NODE, p.423) - which has the meaning “to refuse to associate with or speak to someone”, whose closest Romanian translation is “*a trimite pe cineva în exil*”. The explanation of the use of this place name is, generally, the following: it seems to stem from the extreme unpopularity of soldiers stationed in Coventry (an industrial city), who were cut off socially by the citizens, or because Royalist prisoners were sent there during the English Civil War, the city being staunchly Parliamentarian.

The phraseological unit *a vicar of Bray* (NODE, p.220), is translated into Romanian by “*un oportunist fara pereche*”, which alludes to the protagonist of an 18th-century song, who kept his benefice from Charles II’s reign to George I’s by changing his beliefs to suit the times. (NODE).

¹ The examples taken from *the New Oxford Dictionary of English* are marked by the letters NODE.

Similarly, the phraseological unit *to put Yorkshire on / over somebody* (NODE, p. 2143), translated as “a păcăli cumplit pe cineva”, contains a place name which represents, in fact, “a former county of northern England traditionally divided into East, West and North Ridings”. The 18th-century phrase to “put Yorkshire on someone” meant “to deceive someone of something”.

The phraseological expression *to grin like a Cheshire cat* (NODE, p. 314) contains a famous place name in England, and it is translated by “a râde ca prostul”. This variant of translation comes from the fact that *Cheshire cat* refers to a cat depicted with a broad fixed grin, as popularized through Lewis Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*). Several attempts at explaining the phrase were made. The most conspicuous one is that in Cheshire there are quite numerous dairy farms, hence the cats grin because of the abundance of milk and cream. *Brewer’s Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* says that *grinning like a Cheshire cat* is “an old simile, deriving from the fact that “cheese was formerly sold in Cheshire moulded like a cat that looked as though it was grinning” (v. Martin Gardner: 1999. *The Annotated Alice: Alice’s adventures in Wonderland & Through the looking glass*. W.W. Norton); the cheese was cut from the tail end, so that the last part eaten was the head of the smiling cat.

Another familiar expression that contains a place name is *this is Liberty Hall* (NODE, p. 1063), the translation of which is “simți-vă ca acasă”, where *Liberty Hall* is a place name where one may do as one likes.

In the same category, one can select other expressions or phraseological units widely used in English, such as:

to fight like Kilkenny cats (NODE, p. 1008) – an expression that refers to “two cats from Kilkenny in Ireland, which, according to legend, fought until their tails remained”.

to have kissed the Blarney stone (NODE, p. 185) is an expression used for someone who can charm, or can be very eloquent and persuasive; its etymology is the following: “a stone at Blarney castle near Cork in Ireland, said to give the gift of persuasive speech to anyone who kisses it”.

In conclusion, this category of phraseological units implies a series of special features, which makes the adaptation of these units to the Romanian linguistic context a rather arduous job. Nevertheless, when the Romanian cultural context is called into question, the translator’s efforts should be redoubled.

1.4.2. Phraseological units containing various places in the world

Other phraseological expressions can be characterized by the presence of different *places in the world*. There are two categories of such constructions:

a) phraseological units where the respective place name is not preserved in the Romanian variant of translation.

The phraseological expression *The Dutch have taken Holland!* (NODE, p. 874) is used in our language with the meaning “mare scofală / procopseală” sau “a descoperi *America*”. In this context, *Holland* appears as another name for *Netherlands*, “a former province of the Netherlands, comprising the coastal part of the country”. As already noted, in order to render more precisely, into Romanian, the meaning of this phraseological unit, the name of a continent, *America*, is used, a place name that is more suggestive, instead of the name of a country, that is *Holland*, which occurs in the English variant.

- a) phraseological units where the respective place name is preserved in both languages. The explanation is that, in this case, allusion is made to certain idiom deriving from proverbs that have an international character, due to the fact that they present an extensive circulation.

For example, the proverb *something is rotten in Denmark* (NODE, p. 493) has an international character because of the circulation of Shakespeare’s plays, and is generally used to express the idea of a suspicion regarding certain facts. It is usually translated into Romanian as “ceva e putred in *Danemarca*”. In this example, one can notice that the Romanian translation contains all the elements from the original structure, and the same place name is preserved.

The same pattern is also displayed by another phraseological unit, where the place name is used in both variants. English *to build castles in Spain* (DFRE, p. 77) is translated into Romanian as “a clădi castele in *Spania*”. The name of the respective country appears in both expressions.

Besides these structures that are clearly defined, within this class of phraseological units that contain various places in the world, one may introduce another idiom, viz. *to see Naples and die* (NODE, p. 1230), implying that “after seeing *Naples*, one could have nothing left on earth to wish for”.

1.4.3. Phraseological units containing places of classical character

There is also a category of phraseological expressions that is made up of *places of classical character*. This category includes certain proverbs that reflected realities from Antiquity, and they are classified as antique expressions, such as:

When at Rome, do as the Romans do / Rome does (NODE, p. 1611), which is translated into our language as “când treci prin țara orbilor, închide și tu un ochi”. The place name is not mentioned in the Romanian translation and the meaning is that “when abroad or in an unfamiliar environment you should adopt the customs or behaviour of those around you”.

Another phraseological expression that can be seen as forming part of this category is the following: *all roads lead to Rome* (NODE, p. 1611), which is translated by “toate drumurile duc la Roma”, a proverb meaning that “there are different ways of reaching the same goal or conclusion”.

Another proverb which contains the same place name is *Rome was not built in a day* (NODE, p.1611), meaning that “a complex task is bound to take a long time and should not be rushed”; it is used to warn against trying to achieve too much at once.

Conclusions

In conclusion, one is bound to make certain remarks concerning the possibility for such phraseological units to force, as it were, the translator to add some more cultural specificity to the way they are dealing with the SL text. In the first place, the expressions and phraseological units under study have proved to be extremely suggestive, and they have also illustrated a lot about their relative importance in both British and Romanian culture. Moreover, the present modest contribution has provided a mainly practical glimpse at the importance of idiom when learning a foreign language, since some place names seem fundamental to basic communication. Then, the examination of the set of proper names (and especially place names) selected have revealed interesting aspects about the capacity that a natural language has to achieve stylistic force; while their Romanian variants of translation have shown the complexity of these (mainly toponymical) structures.

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CONTRASTIVE REMARKS ON THE COLOUR IDIOMS IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN¹

Abstract: The present article is based on a contrastive analysis of colour idioms in English and Romanian, given the high degree of idiomativeness in both languages. In order to meet the requirements of the study, we have based our arguments on a few objectives. The first one aims at a general description of colour idioms in English and Romanian, with a view to establishing both similarities and differences. The second explores the difficulties of translation, while the third objective emphasizes the wealth of semantic nuances that both languages comprise in order to highlight the expressiveness of colour idiomatic constructions.

Key words: idiomativeness, semantic nuances, color idioms, expressiveness.

The psychological approach of colours

Whenever we talk about colours, we must be aware of their psychology, and implicitly their significance on our personality. Colours are part and parcel of our existence, and they have a high influence on our state of mind, storage capacity or even the taste of food. As a valuable instrument of psychodiagnostics, they convey useful information about the structure of our personality. The choice of a certain colour is definitely influenced by our feelings and inner experiences. The lexical area of colours has been chosen because it can provide an impressive picture of a human individual's states, emotions and attitudes towards the surrounding world.

Depending on culture and circumstances, colours form a non-verbal silent language, changing from one day to another with each individual. Except for words themselves, whose evocative force is unquestionable, the power of the colour manipulates human mind, and it seems that such unconscious reactions have been inherited from our ancestors.

Described as passive and active, warm and cool, colours and their connotations are deeply rooted in culture while also transcending cultural borders. Although the chromatic spectrum does not substantially differ from one language to another, there are some differences in terms of their meanings.

Colours are quite often associated with positive and negative aspects of our existence, and this triggers variations in interpretation, meaning and perception between cultures. Whether a colour grabs our attention to a higher or smaller degree depends on our apprehension and our ability to communicate. The symbolism of colours is so overwhelming, that the human brain can hardly cover

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the vast gamut of tinges. Corresponding to the rich psychology of chromatic hues, there is a profuse inventory of colour idioms that both English and Romanian make use of in everyday language.

Conceptualization of color idioms

Despite their often obscure etymology, idioms in general, and colour idioms in particular, frequently defy logical and grammatical rules; still they make up a rich inventory in both spoken and written discourse, due to their diversity and humour.

In their attempt to find a unified terminology for idioms, different authors have resorted to various terms: *complex expressions* (Weinrich, 1969: 26), *multi-word items* (Moon, 1997), *phraseological units* (Gläser, 1984) or *frozen semantic units* (Gibbs, 1993). Irrespective of the wide range of expressions, we have generally used the regular term *idioms* to describe either arbitrary constructions, independent of each other, or structures underlain by three basic mechanisms: metaphor, metonymy and conventional knowledge (Kövecses, 2002).

In both English and Romanian, most colour idioms convey metaphorical meanings and are closely related to our general knowledge of the surrounding world, as the examples below can demonstrate.

To be green with envy (a fi mort / verde de invidie), a colourful term, first used by Mark Twain in the late 1800's, designates feelings of jealousy or covetousness of somebody or something, whereas the person using it expresses a negative emotion or temperament. Unless *green* had been associated with jealousy or envy, it would have become incomprehensible for the native or non-native speaker.

Therefore, connections are useful in order to make the difference between what *green* means in collocation with *envy*, and *green* taken separately, the meanings of which denote life, vigour, fertility, renaissance, stability, intelligence, etc.

This contrast of connotations explains the broad horizon of our conceptualization of the environment. Despite the generally accepted idea that idioms are frozen elements, we believe that they are well stored in the lexicon and benefit from an internal linguistic structure in terms of semantics, morphology and syntax.

A more accurate analysis shows, for instance, the behaviour of the idiom *to be in the red* (a fi în deficit) in terms of morphology, where the verb form can be changed without altering the general meaning of the structure: *The bank is / will be / has been in the red*. The different forms of the verb indicate the existence of an internal structure of the idiom.

Colour idioms in British and Romanian cultures

Both English and Romanian abound in colour idioms. The same concept of these idioms may be expressed by a different word in another language, and these two concepts may be equivalent culturally but not lexically. As a powerful tool of communication, colours convey either positive or negative connotations which people usually perceive in various ways. For instance, although *red* stands for love, passion or energy, it can also be interpreted in negative terms as in *to see red* (a vedea roșu în fața ochilor), or *to be in the red* (a fi în deficit).

In our attempt to classify and analyse English and Romanian idioms, we have resorted to some criteria that are worth mentioning. Following the colour spectrum, we have noticed some interesting issues related to their distribution, wealth of semantic nuances, translation and cultural differences. Colour expressions have been categorized according to certain concepts.

Negative emotion idioms

Black mood (proastă dispoziție) suggests irritability, anger or even depression; *a black day* (o zi neagră, când se întâmplă ceva trist sau neplăcut), *blue around the gills* (a părea bolnav, a avea o mină proastă), *blue in the face* (foarte supărat, mânișos), *get the blues* (a fi deprimat), *green with envy* (mort de invidie), *brown smb. off* (a înfuria, a enerva), *red in the face* (stânjenit), etc.

All these idioms bear the same significance in Romanian and generally express irritability, anger or embarrassment. A slight difference is, however, observed with Romanian constructions such as: *a scoate peri albi* (lead smb. a dance, worry the life out of smb., to be the death of smb.), *a-i face cuiva zile negre* (to play hell and tommy with smb., to make a place too hot for smb.), *a vedea verde înaintea ochilor* (to get it hot), which generate translation difficulties among English learners, due to the lack of correlation between the component elements or their semantic opacity.

Obstacles in translation frequently arise from the differences between TL and SL, in terms of stylistic, emotive or cultural characteristics. Such translation impediment can be easily overcome, although, as Baker (1992: 72) states: “it depends on the style, register or rhetorical effects of the SL and TL texts.”

Positive emotion idioms

This category includes structures such as: *in the pink* (în formă, în perfectă sănătate), *paint the town red* (a se simți foarte bine, a petrece), *a red carpet*

treatment (a fi primit cum se cuvine / regește), *red hot* (plăcut, vioi, proaspăt), etc. *Pink* and *red* are suggestive of optimism, warmth and comfort.

The inventory of positive emotion idioms is highly similar in both languages, and the translation of such phrases generally poses no problems whatsoever, since learners make logical associations, thus obtaining the appropriate meaning.

A short history of the idiom *to paint the town red* reveals an interesting semantic shift from ancient times up to the present. It dates back to the 19th century, when a notorious hooligan and a group of friends ran riot, painting in red the town of Leicestershire. Although people nowadays associate it with joy and having a good time, it was first meant as a riotous event with much bloodshed. The idiom is definitely specific to the area of British culture.

Market-related idioms

Black market (piata neagră) conveys the same information in English and Romanian, and makes reference to a system of buying and selling officially controlled goods illegally.

Blackmail (șantaj) or *white mail* (bani de argint) was first used in the 16th century by the Scottish farmers who paid rent to English landlords in the form of produce or livestock. Nowadays, the term has a negative connotation in both English and Romanian cultures.

Although the idiom *in the black* initially implied that someone is in debt, nowadays it expresses just the opposite, i.e. a person or organization that is financially sound and has a positive balance.

Black gold (aurul negru) is an informal term for oil, and the collocation is suggestive for the high value of oil, and the social status of those owning oil companies.

Black Friday is another market-related term and stands for a crucial source of profit to retailers on the day following American Thanksgiving. Romanian culture has successfully borrowed the concept with the same meaning, marking the official opening of the shopping season for the winter holidays.

Interestingly enough, in addition to the above connotation, the idiom also has a theological significance. Displaying a meaning specific to the Orthodox Church, it denotes the day when Jesus Christ was judged, crucified and laid to rest in the catacomb. On *Black Friday* evening, the priests officiate Jesus' burial, while the flock go round the church three times.

A blue chip company (companie solidă) is known for its solid reputation, the quality of its products and the stability of its growth and earnings. In spite of the cold nature of colour *blue*, it incorporates both positive and negative semantic nuances. Very much like English, Romanian has most of the corresponding

meanings of the term *blue*, which is mainly associated with stability, peace, optimism and hope on the one hand, and sadness or dejection on the other hand.

A grey area (o zonă de piață gri) delineates another concept that is not clearly defined and does not conform to a set of rules. Covering the same connotation, both languages make frequent use of this idiom, especially in the economic area.

Generally correlated with bravery, happiness, good luck, energy and emotions, *red* comprises a wide range of semantic meanings, mainly in British culture. Such meanings are clearly expressed in the following colour expressions: *to be in the red* (a fi în deficit), *out of the red* (a acoperi deficitul), *red tape* (birocratie), etc. The concrete meaning of *red tape* in the 16th century, used to refer to the large amount of paperwork that accompanied official matters, became much more figurative in the 19th century, thus describing an official routine marked by excessive complexity. Although originating in Britain, the idiom is nowadays specific to most governments which are notorious in terms of bureaucracy.

Similes

Among colour-related idioms, there are several similes that are prevalent in the English language. As figures of speech, they are used in both general and specialized language, in literary and journalistic texts. A simile involves a semantic figure based on comparison, a mental process playing a key role in the way we perceive the world.

Phrases like *as black as coal* (negru ca smoala), *as brown as a berry* (foarte bronzat), *as red as a cherry* (rumen ca un bujor), *as red as a lobster* (roșu ca racul), *as red as a rose* (roșu ca un trandafir), *as red as blood* (roșu aprins), *as red as fire* (roșu ca focul), *as white as a ghost / sheet / ashes / death* (alb ca varul), *as yellow as a crow's foot / as a guinea / as gold* (galben ca aurul), *as green as a gooseberry / as grass* (tânăr și fără experiență) convey a semantic wealth of colour idioms. Their use is marked by a powerful meaning and effectiveness in language use.

Such linguistic devices as similes have the role to create concise and efficient communication, also conveying a cognitive function in that they can generate relations of similarity.

According to Gotti (2003: 296), “similes serve to establish a direct link with the reader’s general knowledge, which makes the topic easier to identify.” They are evocative, add interest to the description and illustrate something in a very surprising way.

There are not significant or essential differences in terms of translatability of colour-related similes from English into Romanian, since both languages abound in such structures with similar connotations.

There is another category of idioms that characterize only Romanian culture, whereas their English equivalents do not include any idea of colour. However, one can easily notice the rich inventory of the English counterparts.

Negrul pe alb is usually rendered as *unquestionable, beyond any question; a strângere bani albi pentru zile negre* has the following correspondents: *feather one's nest, lay against a rainy day, a nest egg, lay by for a rainy day, etc.; a scoate peri albi* is translated as *to lead smb. a dance, to worry the life out of smb. or to be the death of smb.;* *nici alba, nici neagră* is another phrase which generates a wealth of synonymous structures both in English and Romanian: *nici cal, nici măgar, nici călare, nici pe jos, nici în car, nici în căruță*, and, respectively, *neither fish, flesh nor fowl, blowing hot and cold*, etc. In either form, it expresses the idea of indecision, doubtful quality or ambiguity; *a-i face cuiva zile negre* is generally problematic for learners, in their effort to find an English equivalent. The slang idiom *to play hell and tommy with smb.*, on the other hand, is difficult to render into Romanian, unless further connections with the word *hell* are made.

Things are simpler with *a vedea lucrurile în negru*, whose English equivalent is easier to decipher, due to the more understandable nature of its component elements: *to look on the dark side of everything / see the dark side of things.*

Another obstacle in translation can be observed with idioms such as: *a îndruga verzi și uscate* (to pull the long bow), *a visa cai verzi pe pereți* (to chase the wild goose). They are both specific to the Romanian folk register; the former describes a commonplace conversation or trivial things, while the latter suggests unreal, imaginative things. The latter structure arouses our curiosity by its lack of transparency, unclear origin or illogical association, since there are no *cai verzi pe pereți* in the natural world of colours.

Utopian actions such as *a visa / umbla după cai verzi pe pereți* follow a kind of logic specific to fantasy. It is a lexicalized colloquial form meaning *fantasy world, fairy-tales, lies*, and is frequently used to denote the irony of an utterance. Both structures are suggestive and characterized by a significant affective weight, thus highlighting the Romanians' preference for figurative language.

Conclusions

As the strongest tool of communication, language is deeply rooted in the reality of the culture, the life and customs of the people. The chromatic spectrum analysed in the present contribution stands for a rich treasure of idioms and interpretations, which help us to broaden our horizon of knowledge, arouse our curiosity and interest.

The symbolism of colour idioms should be approached in accordance with their psychological dimension, their impact on our perception of the surrounding world and their richness of semantic values. It has been shown that both English

and Romanian abound in colour phrases, without disregarding their similarities and incongruities. Some colour-related idioms share the same semantic meaning in both languages, while others characterize only one culture.

Their tentative classification has emphasized various connotations, which helped us to establish cross-linguistic comparisons.

In terms of translation, the study has shown that learners may find it difficult to render colour idioms both in SL and TL, due to the high degree of formality or informality of the discourse. However, learners cannot be hindered from adopting the best strategies of translation as long as they take into account cultural and lexical diversity.

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REMARKS ON THE PASSIVE VOICE IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN¹

Abstract: The authors of the present paper attempt a detailed presentation of the main usage differences between the manifestation of the Passive in English and Romanian, starting from the specific recurrences, exceptions, difficulties, pitfalls and idiosyncrasies that can form the basis for an efficient didactic approach. Given that the syntactic structures pertaining to the scope of the Passive can sometimes pose problems for foreign learners of English, and the English structures can be said to be comparatively more complicated, the need is felt to distinguish between the two systems, mainly as the more recent editions of the grammar books published in Romania have drastically and fundamentally reconsidered a lot of issues belonging to this field. After sketching the theoretical scope of the issue, the authors compare the main structures, quirks and restrictions, as well as the semantic, functional and communicative implications of the passive constructs in English and Romanian, with due examples and discussion. A list of English verbs (selected from an English monolingual dictionary), which are only, or usually, used in the passive, is provided. There follows a section including a number of further comparative usage notes concerning the Passive. The final section of the paper contains the (mainly didactic) conclusions to the presentation, stressing the need for more resolute attempts at generating better didactic and theoretical materials in teaching ESL in this country.

Key-words: *passive voice, passive constructions, contrastive analysis.*

1. Preliminary Remarks. In the present contribution, the authors do not propound studying or going into detail about the differences between the two sets of passive constructions, in English and Romanian, from the specific standpoint of their hierarchies and grammatical-semantic conceptualizations (mainly considering the fact that the latest edition of *Gramatica Academiei*, GALR, has determined a genuine “geological resettling” as far as the category of Voice is concerned), but rather their usage, with the specific recurrences, exceptions, difficulties and pitfalls (including those in the nature of frequency, which are directly and statistically, if need be, observable), as well as their idiosyncrasies – involving, not exactly as a subsidiary matter, linguistic registers and style. The didactic, educational dimension of this significant issue / chapter of English and Romanian grammar was considered, in addition to the comparative and contrastive remarks proper, be it only as a somewhat subordinate aspect.

Anyway, we may ask ourselves, as educationalists, why is the issue of the Passive Voice so persistently ground into the minds of students of English, and why is it that most manuals published in English-speaking countries devote it such

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an ample space? The following remarks will provide, we believe, some of the main reasons that can serve to justify taking that course of action. To begin with, the syntactic structures themselves that pertain to the scope of the Passive are rather intricate for foreign learners of English – at least, in the elementary and intermediate stages; then, we should add its comparative frequency, and its quite numerous idiosyncrasies and interpretive quirks.

In view of the fact that the passive construction is used more frequently in English, especially in the formal, or technical and scientific style, comparative-contrastive interest is associated, on Romanian TESLs' part, with didactic and methodological interest. Additionally, English has structures that can be said to be comparatively more complicated, being the result of the concurrent application of mood, aspect and tense auxiliaries, hence combinations which can at times be, or prove to be, rather difficult in practice (and are, at any rate, rather rarely used); as well as associated grammatical-semantic-structural classes (causatives, the impersonal, the reflexive, ergativity), integrated in a bewildering network – so, one cannot naturally expect too much structural homogeneity and comparability in relation to Romanian... To make things more difficult, the more recent editions of the books of grammar published in Romania drastically and fundamentally reconsidered a lot of issues pertaining to the (extended) field: the former “reflexive voice”, the problems of transitivity, the impersonal category / voice (Rom. *diateza impersonală*), etc.

1.1. Voice (Rom. *diateză*) is a syntactic and pragmatic category that involves both the verb, and the whole of the sentence, in that it engages the verb and its actants (with their roles and functions): the Subject-Agent and the Object-Patient. Syntactically, it expresses the relationship Verb–Subject–Direct Object, respectively Verb–Subject, and, pragmatically, it performs a shift in communication focus, from the Agent-Subject (the active voice) to the Patient-Subject (the passive voice), and the process itself, with no reference to the actants / arguments (the impersonal voice) (GALR, I, p. 480). The passive structures, like the impersonal ones, involve the entirety of the construction (the verb and its arguments / actants); hence, they are considered special types of verbal constructions, which capture, on the one hand, the relation with the active structure, and, on the other hand, their mutual relationship. (GALR, II, p. 131).

As we can see, the theoretical definitions of the Passive as provided by Romanian grammars take into account the actant structures in the sentences, especially the relation Subject-Verb, Direct Object-Verb, and also the pragmatic dimension of communication, by shifting communicative interest towards one of the components of the sentence.

2. **Voice** is a grammatical / morphological category, which expresses the relationship between the subject of the verb and the action or event expressed by it, or else the relation between the subject and the direct object in a sentence. (Here is

a simple dictionary definition of the category of Voice ...: “a category of the verb or verbal inflections that expresses whether the relation between the subject and the verb is that of agent and action, action and recipient, or some other relation” – COLL).

The main distinctions operated concern the following types of voice: **Active** (“denoting a voice of verbs used to indicate that the subject of a sentence is performing the action or causing the event or process described by the verb, as *kicked* in *The boy kicked the football*” – COLL). **Passive** (“denoting a voice of verbs in sentences in which the grammatical subject is not the logical subject but rather the recipient of the action described by the verb, as *was broken* in the sentence *The glass was broken by a boy*. In English there are two voices: the *Active Voice* and the *Passive Voice*.” – COLL). **Middle** “(esp. in Greek and Sanskrit grammar) denoting a voice of verbs expressing reciprocal or reflexive action” – COLL).

And here is the more detailed theoretical presentation of the overall picture of Voice, as its main elements are defined in *The Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar*: “**voice**. A grammatical category which in English provides two different ways (ACTIVE and PASSIVE) of viewing the action of the verb. Voice is applicable to verbs, verb phrases, and entire clauses or sentences. The names *active* and *passive* are linked to meaning in that the subject of an active verb is often the actor, or ‘doer’ of the verbal action, as in: *The early bird caught the worm*. Some languages (e.g. Greek) also have a *middle voice*, which includes verbs of REFLEXIVE meaning”. Similarly, for the corresponding subclasses: “**passive. (adj.)** Designating the VOICE of the verb whereby the grammatical subject ‘suffers’, ‘experiences’, or ‘receives’ the action of the verb; also, (of a verb) in the passive voice; (of a construction) involving a passive verb. Contrasted with ACTIVE”. Also: “**middle verb**. One of a small group of apparently transitive verbs that do not normally occur in the passive. The term is not in very general use, but is a way of classifying verbs such as *have* (in its possessive meaning: *We have a house* does not have a passive **A house is had by us*), *consist of*, *lack*, *possess*, *resemble*, and some other verbs in certain of their meanings, e.g. **You are suited by blue*. **I am not fitted by this jumper*. **Twenty is equalled by 4 times 5*. The term is adapted from Greek grammar, which has a middle voice distinct from both active and passive” (*ibidem*, s.v.). Other similar verbs are *to become*, *to let*, *to like*.

To put it rather scholastically, one can say that there are two voices proper, in both English and Romanian: (1) the active voice, which shows that the action is performed by the grammatical subject, or else the grammatical subject is the doer / the performer of the action expressed by the verb, e.g. *John killed a bird*, *Mr. Jones invited all his friends to his birthday party*. (2) The passive voice indicates that the action is suffered by the grammatical subject, or else the grammatical subject of the sentence is not the doer / the performer of the action expressed by the verb, but the receiver / the patient of that action, e.g. *The bird was killed by John*, *Mr. Jones's friend were all invited to his birthday party*. Thus the division into voices is based

on the relation between the action (expressed by the predicate verb), and the doer or patient / recipient of the action (expressed by the subject).

In English, the passive form is made up with the auxiliary *to be*, conjugated in the required mood, aspect, tense or form, plus the Past Participle form (or V₃) of the verb to be conjugated. So, the direct object of the verb in the active construction becomes the grammatical subject of the passive structure. The subject of the respective active construction becomes what is commonly called an object of instrument / object of agency, preceded by the preposition *by*; as a matter of fact, this object (or *Agent*) is the logical subject of the new passive construction: *He cut the white loaf into equal shares → The white loaf was cut into equal shares by him.*

Hence, the *Passive transformation* is based, in English no less than Romanian, on the use of the verb *to be* (cf. Romanian *a fi*), which is conjugated in the respective tense, mood and aspect, and followed by the *Past Participle* form of the verb (V₃), e.g. *The glass is broken; The glass is being broken; The glass will be broken; The glass will have been broken; The glass has been broken; The glass was broken; The glass was being broken; The glass would be broken*, etc. (Compare the above forms with Romanian: *Paharul este spart / a fost spart / era spart / fusese spart / va fi spart / va fi fost spart / ar fi spart*). Sometimes, the Agent is left unmentioned. Special constructions with the Past Participle, such as the Nominative + Infinitive structure, are based on the Passive Transformation, e.g. *Cora was said to be a diligent student (<= They / People said Cora was a diligent student)*.

In Romanian, the formal mark *to be* has a strong specificity – cf. the morphemes of the compound verbal forms, e.g. Romanian *perfect compus*, future, conditional, *rezumativ*, so that there are even (authorized) voices that deny its very quality as a free mobile morpheme. (GALR, II, p. 134). However, it functions as the sole bearer of the marks / signals of predication.

By and large, the main types of Passive transformation in English are the following: (a) Sam took the toy. => The toy was *taken* by Sam. (b) Fred gives the pupils some tests. => (1) *The pupils* are given some tests by Fred. (2) *Tests* are given to the pupils (by Fred). (c) They / You *sent for* the nurse. => The nurse was *sent for* (by them / you). (d) They *elected* him *president*. => He was *elected president*.

The situation in Romanian is, at first sight, quite similar, except for the passive transformations illustrated in (b) (1) and (d).

Cartea este citită (de către) Maria. Casa a fost distrusă (de cutremur). Cartea i-a fost dată lui Marius.

Teodor a fost numit ambasador. Leon a fost ales director.

3. **Main diverging points.** The grammatical category of voice is an important (and sometimes ticklish) grammar aspect, especially as English is an analytical (or ‘predominantly syntactic’) language, in which structures and word order (i.e. *syntax*) are all-important. The passive voice occurred from the earliest

times (as early as Old English), and since then it has undergone various changes, and posed various problems. However, there were no passives in early English comparable to the extremely frequent patterns that we are familiar with in Modern English.

The passive voice is very much used in English as compared to Romanian, particularly in scientific and technical English, where the very nature of the communication act involves drawing the reader's attention to the bearer or patient of the action, rather than the doer of the action: *They make twenty thousand cars a year here. → Twenty thousand cars are made a year here.* (Cf. Romanian *Aici se fabrică douăzeci de mii de mașini anual*).

It should be noted that, although there is no reflexive proper in English (unlike Romanian, where the reflexive constructions are demonstrably more numerous), the reflexive pronouns are used after transitive verbs. We think they typically function as direct objects in an English sentence rather than mere reflexive voice markers. The English passive forms are frequently (or at least quite regularly) rendered by Romanian reflexives. Unlike some other languages that form their passive structures only from transitive verbs, the English language forms them from intransitive and prepositional verbs, as well: *She was being looked after while I was out. The mansion had not been lived in for one century; Everything will be well taken care of.* Such constructions are also common with prepositional verbs (or verbs with an inherent preposition) like *to comment on, to depend on/upon, to dispose of, to laugh at, to operate on* “to treat or process in a particular or specific way”, *to provide for* “to supply means of support (to), esp. financially”.

As seen above, in English, there are situations when certain verbs are followed in the active voice by an indirect non-prepositional object as subject: *George gave Paul a toy car. → Paul was given a toy car (by George)*. In Romanian, the same situation is conceivable only if a Dative noun is used in front position, e.g. *Lui Paul i-a fost dată o mașinuță de jucărie (de către George)*. A variant transformation (which does not however fall under the scope of the ‘standard passive’) can use the ‘reflexive-passive’: *Lui Paul i s-a dat o mașinuță de jucărie (de către George)*.¹

Very much as in Romanian, the passive mark can be deleted (through ellipsis), especially in relative clauses, e.g. *By order from the police, all cars*

¹ The assertion above – actually part of a tentative approach – does not mean that the authors of the present paper disregard the fact that Romanian turns *only the Accusative* into the subject of the passive transformation. It just emphasizes (for contrastive and didactic reasons) the logic behind the grammatical structure corresponding to Eng. *Paul was given a toy*. We believe that the Romanian ‘reflexive-passive’ structure could be seen, mainly in view of its being inherently impersonal, as an intermediate case in the overall fuzzy chart of *Passiveness*. Therefore, very much as *Paul* is the passive subject of *Paul a fost premiat* (and the *Beneficiary* of the action denoted by the verb), the same noun *Paul*, in *Lui Paul i s-a dat / i-a fost dată o mașinuță*, can be seen, again, as a *Beneficiary* – though by no means as a grammatical subject.

illegally parked (= that have been illegally parked) have been craned out by trucks and taken to a special parking lot.

Let us compare the above sentence with Romanian *Tânărul pianist, temeinic pregătit de (către) celebrul compozitor austriac, a câștigat un premiu special*. This allows us to say that passive information is actually carried by the semantic matrix of the past participle, and thus is external to the verb *to be* / Rom. *a fi* (v. GALR I, p. 134).

Perfect semantic synonymy between the active construction and its passive counterpart is prevented by sentence stress. When using the passive, the speaker concentrates his / her attention on the person or thing acted upon (*The witnesses have been heard by the prosecutor*), or implies that the ‘actor’ in the situation is not really important (*The Alpine mists can be admired late in the evening*).

3.1. In English, the use of the Passive Voice instead of the Active Voice may be imposed, or merely favoured, by usage (i.e. in those situations where the passive form is felt to be the natural mode of expression), when:

- the active subject is difficult to establish: *Apparently that house had not being lived in for many years*;
- the active subject is an indefinite or vague pronoun or noun, or is clear from the context: *This house was built three hundred years ago. The window has been left open. It is assumed that the committee will do something about it*;
- for some reason, the active subject is not worth mentioning: *They were shown round the garden first, and then they were invited into the house*;
- the speaker wants the statement to sound impersonal for some social reasons (tact, delicacy of feeling, embarrassment, etc.): *It has been decided that your allowance will be cut down. You have been told so many times not to handle these tools roughly*;
- in formal, usually written statements, containing requests, directions, instructions or prohibitions, for greater effect: *Students are forbidden to smoke in the classroom. This room must be tidied up. Boys are required to come to school in proper uniforms*;
- when the accent falls on the object rather than the subject of the action: *The suspect was arrested three days later*;
- if the passive subject is the dominant element in the sentence (e.g. in technical and scientific English): *The rocker arms are activated by the push rods, which in their turn are pushed by the crankshaft. By angular displacement of a rotating body during any time interval is meant the angle described during that interval by any line parallel to the plane of rotation. Amplification is, in this case, regarded as positive. The motions of bodies may be divided into three classes. A body is said to have a motion of translation when it moves on continuously in the same direction. The same motion is repeated again and again, etc.*

We think that the mere translation of the above illustrative sentences will lead us to the same conclusions as far as the Romanian passive (forms) is / are concerned:

- *Casa e nelocuită de mulți ani. / Nu s-a mai locuit de mult în casa asta.*
- *Casa a fost construită acum 300 de ani. Fereastra a fost lăsată deschisă. Se*

presupune că se vor lua măsuri de către comitetul executiv. • Au fost purtați prin toată partea de la etaj a casei. Li s-au arătat toate exponatele din muzeu. • S-a hotărât să vi se reducă indemnizația. Se cer eforturi mai serioase pentru a se putea obține acreditarea. Ti s-a spus de atâtea ori să nu umbli cu instrumente ascuțite. • Elevilor din anii mici li se interzicea / le era interzis să folosească scara principală a liceului. • Suspectul a fost arestat după trei zile. • În acest caz, amplificarea se consideră (ca fiind) pozitivă. Tija superioară este pusă în mișcare de mecanismul de bază. Mișcările corpurilor se pot împărti în trei categorii.

One can easily notice that, out of the 14 sentences above (including 16 variants), only 7 are representative of the ‘standard’ passive, while the remaining 9 variants illustrate the ‘reflexive-passive’ type.

Some ‘rules of thumb’, which focus on particular contexts of use and particular verbs, might be useful mainly for didactic purposes. Hence, one should use passive constructions: • to describe processes, e.g. *The beans are picked in late summer and are left to dry in the sun*; • in various formal (often academic) styles of discourse, e.g. *It is sometimes argued that money does concur to people's happiness. A distinction can be made between Darwinism proper and evolutionary theory*; • to describe procedures, in formal reports of scientific experiments, e.g. *Eight subjects were tested in the first round of the experiment*; • to avoid the implication of personal involvement or responsibility, e.g. *The jug got broken, Mum. I'm afraid the work on your computer won't be completed today*; • with certain verbs, which are used when the person who did the action is generally unimportant; such verbs often describe claiming, blaming, acts of destruction or emotional reactions, e.g. *John is alleged / rumoured to be in a mental institution. We have been inundated with requests coming from the most unexpected quarters.*

Sentences in the active voice are generally, though not always, clear and more direct than those in passive voice. In most non-scientific writing situations, active voice is preferable to the passive. Even in scientific writing, overuse of passive voice, or using the passive voice in long and complicated sentences can cause readers to lose interest or to become confused. (Compare the following sentences: *The entrance exam was failed by over one third of the applicants to the school.*, and: *Over one third of the applicants to the school failed the entrance exam.* Similarly: *Your bicycle has been damaged.* [agent omitted]; and: *I have damaged your bicycle.*)

Sentences in the active voice are also more concise than those in the passive voice, because fewer words are required to express the action in the active voice than in the passive voice: *By then, the sound track will have been completely remixed by the sound engineers;* vs. *By then, the sound engineers will have completely remixed the sound track.*

On the other hand, passive constructions tend to be favoured when the new or important information is / concerns: • what happened to the subject: *I have been sacked*; • who or what did it: *The letter was written by Paul*; • how it was done:

The conference was badly organized. One also chooses them when the agent is unknown or unspecified, e.g. *No one was injured.* (see also above).

In addition, one tends to favour passive constructions in order to avoid very long subjects – a passive construction allows us to put a long and / or complex phrase at the end of a clause, where it is easier to understand, than at the beginning, e.g.: *Many people have been refused help by the new commission, which was set up to look into possible abuses in the allocation of council housing.*

Using the ‘full’ passive construction generally changes the focus / the emphasis of a sentence, e.g. *The prize was won by Jim.* (vs *Jim won the prize*).

3.2. Not mentioning the Agent. Nevertheless, there are cases when the agent is left unmentioned. In English very much as in Romanian, agent constraints are at work in a variety of contexts. The *by*-phrase, containing the Agent of a passive clause (and corresponding to the Subject in an active clause), is required in specific cases. It seems that only about one in five English passive clauses have an agent that is expressed in the surface structure. The passive is especially associated with what we may call the *impersonal* and *formal* style, e.g. scientific and official writing. Here the question of *who* is the agent (i.e. who performs the action described by the verb) is often unimportant and need not be stated, e.g. *The matter will be dealt with at the beginning of today's meeting.* Also, the passive may be a convenient construction to choose when one does not know who the performer of an action is, e.g. *A police officer was killed last night in a road accident.* Usually, grammar handbooks and similar materials refer to the following cases of not mentioning the Agent: (1) Unknown agent, e.g. *My purse has been taken*; (2) Generalised agent, e.g. *Bicycles are widely used in the city instead of public transport*; (3) Obvious agent, e.g. *Linda has been arrested!* [by the police]; (4) Unimportant agent, e.g. *I was advised to obtain a visa in advance*; (5) Impersonality, e.g. *It has been decided to reduce all salaries by 10%. Then the packets are packed into boxes of twenty-four.* (Vince, Sunderland, 34). Virtually, the same picture is true of the Romanian counterparts: • the active subject is “indefinite”, or “not determined”, e.g. *Mi-a fost sortit / ursit / scris să trăiesc și asta!* • the active subject has a ‘generic’ value, e.g. *Este știut că în astfel de situații se minte mult.* • when the active subject, though left unexpressed, is retrievable from the common knowledge of the (inter)locutors, e.g. *Legea a fost promulgată ieri.* • when the active subject is devoid of interest from the point of view of its communicative information, so it can remain non-lexicalized, e.g. *Au fost vândute toate biletele.* (GALR, I, p. 132)

3.3. Passivals. As far as the Passive is concerned, a special category of verbs is represented by the so-called *Passivals*. A passive sense may be implied in certain English verbs, although they are not in the passive voice. The grammatical

object of a transitive verb becomes the grammatical subject of the sentence without a passive transformation of the verb; the form thus obtained is a ‘passival’, e.g. *This book reads easily* (instead of *One reads this book easily* or *This book can be read easily*) , cf. Romanian: *Cartea se citește repede*). Similarly: *The field did not flood*. *The car drove into the garage*.

These constructions are actually the result of an incomplete process of passivization. The object takes the place of the former subject, but the verb form does not change, e.g. *They sell ginger ale best in summer.* [active]. vs. *Ginger ale sells best in summer.* (passival)

4. Remarks on usage. In Romanian, the inherent (and, more often than not, conflictive, in theoretical terms) difficulty of the category of Voice is given by its specifically syntactic manifestation, by the analytic character of its typical marks, the extreme degree of selectivity as far as the classes of lexemes of the language are concerned (whole classes of verbs are excluded from the voice oppositions), and also (or more especially) by the major differences of its manifestation from one term of the category to the next.

The variety of the overall picture in English assumes many more form classes than it does in Romanian: the specific progressive, modal, as well as nominal structures, are added, which are far more numerous and typical in point of functioning. Let us compare: Eng. *I am suspected, I am being suspected*, – Rom. (*eu*) *sunt suspectat*; Eng. *it was washed, it was being washed*, – Rom. *era spălat*; Eng. *it had been washed, it had been being washed*, Rom. – *fusese spălat*; *it must have been washed, it must have been being washed*, Rom. – *trebuie să fi fost spălat*, etc. (Still, it will be useful to note, speaking of the tense restrictions in English, that – mainly for practical reasons – the perfect continuous tenses are not normally used in the passive, primarily because these structures tend to be rather unwieldy: they are consequently replaced by the corresponding tenses of the common aspect; forms like *It will have been being washed* or *It should have been being washed* are hardly ever used).

4.1. Further usage remarks. Here are a number of further comparative usage notes concerning the passive:

4.1.1. As mentioned before, the Passive Voice is quite extensively used in Modern English. The truth is that the passive voice (and passive constructions) are far more frequently used in English than in Romanian, particularly in scientific and technical texts. It should be added that more passive forms are used in contemporary English not only in comparison with Romanian, but also in comparison with the earlier stages of the English language itself: there is a growing

tendency to make the person or thing spoken of the subject of the verb in the passive voice.

The so-called *passive-reflexives* in Romanian are frequently, if not regularly (or else, in an overwhelming number of cases) rendered into English by passive forms: “se zice / spune că”, “se crede / consideră că”, “se știe / cunoaște că”, “se bănuiește că” become, respectively: “it is said / reported (that)”, “it is thought / considered”, “it is known”, “it is believed”, “it is supposed”. E.g. *Houses are usually built from stone in this region.* – Rom. *În această regiune, casele se construiesc de obicei din piatră.*

Let us compare the following cases typical of common contexts in the two languages: (a) *Se construiește un bloc pe strada noastră. A block of flats is being built in our street.*

(b) *Structurile acestea se compun din adverbe și particule. These structures are made up of adverbs and particles.*

(c) *Importanța acestei reguli se poate vedea mai ales în practică. The significance of this rule can be seen especially in practical matters.*

(d) *Se poate presupune / bănuí că Gutenberg știa despre existența tiparului la chinezi. It may be supposed that Gutenberg knew about the existence of the craft of printing in China.*

(e) *Se crede că lamantinii au inspirat unele dintre legendele despre sirene. It is thought that dugongs inspired some of the legends about sirens.*

(f) *Se zărea / Se putea vedea un munte în depărtare. A mountain could be seen in the distance.*

(g) *Se știe că Shakespeare a scris 37 sau 38 de piese. Shakespeare is known to have written 37 or 38 plays.*

(h) *Se auzea vocea lui dinspre capătul tunelului. His voice was heard coming from the far end of the tunnel.*

(i) *În Evul Mediu se credea că unii stejari produc gâște. In the Middle Ages, it was believed that a species of oaktrees produced geese.*

We can remark the note of detachment or distancing (as in (b)), the sense of impersonality (as in (d), (f), (h)), the generic sense (as in (a), (e), (g), (i)), or the ‘ex-cathedra attitude’ (as in (c)) of the constructions in both languages. It would also be interesting to note that, in (i) the English language uses both the mark of the Passive (the auxiliary *to be*), and that of the impersonal (*it*): *it was believed that...*

4.1.2. Voice Constraints. Although it is held, as a general rule, that transitive verb sentences can be either active or passive, there are a number of exceptions where there is no simple paraphrase relation. Consequently, several kinds of ‘voice constraints’ can be distinguished – in association with the verb, the object, the agent, meaning, and frequency of use. The first constraint that comes to mind, mainly when one considers the matter from the standpoint of a Romanian (student), is transitivity: “Only transitive verbs can have passive forms, since the

grammatical subject of a passive verb corresponds to the object of an active verb. Even so, not all active structures have a passive counterpart: Blue suits you. *You are suited by blue. These people lack confidence. *Confidence is lacked by those people” (*The Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar*, p. 285).

4.1.3. When it comes to voice constraints which affect particular verbs, one comes across English and Romanian verbs that are either only active, or only passive. Not surprisingly, there are greater restrictions on verbs occurring in the passive than in the active voice. In addition to ergative and intransitive verbs, which can never take the passive, some transitive verbs (at least in certain uses) do not occur in the passive, e.g. *They have a nice house. He lacks confidence. The auditorium holds 1,800 people. This dress becomes her. The coat does not fit you. Will this suit you? John resembles his father. The car cost him a fortune.* In English, it is typically the verbs of ‘incomplete predication’ (e.g. *be, resemble, last, have, signify, seem, sound “seem”, taste* (as in *He seems tired., The tea tasted sour*) which cannot be used in the passive. The verb *to have* with durative association is only to be found in the active form, e.g. *He has a house. We have about two hundred albums in stock.* However, with perfective association, *have* is sometimes used in the passive, e.g. *There was nothing to be had.*

In a most similar way, in Romanian, the general restrictions affecting the passive regard the ergative or unaccusative verbs (e.g. *Intervine o schimbare., Steagul flutură., Fântânile seacă.*), the verbs of weak transitivity (e.g. *O am pe bunica la mine., Vreau casa, nu livada.*), and the non-Agent transitive verbs (*Mă ustură / furnică tăpile., Mă încap / strâng pantalonii., Mă miră / uimește situația., Întreaga informație o cuprinde rezumatul, Metoda reprezintă o nouitate*). The common feature, in the two languages considered, seems to be the effects of weak and strong transitivity (cf. the classes of English verbs that do not form passive constructions). Here is what the official Romanian grammar (GALR) says about these kind of restrictions: “Apart from the unaccusative (ergative) verbs, even within the category of the transitivity verbs there are different degrees of transitivity, i.e. strong and weak” (GALR, I, p 344). In Romanian, the possibility of passivisation is one of the criteria or features of strong / forte transitivity – added to the possibility for the verb to form constructions with an Accusative pronoun clitic, and the possibility of duplicating the Direct Object through the clitic form, by anticipating or resuming the object.

Conversely, many passive voice sentences do not have an Active Voice counterpart, i.e. with some verbs only the passive is possible. “There are also passive constructions which do not have active counterparts: *They are said to be very intelligent. (*People say them to be very intelligent)*” (*The Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar, ibidem*). Here are some more examples: *John was reputed to be a good teacher. *They reputed him to be a good teacher.* (Note that *to reput* can be used in the active with ‘be’ and ‘have’, e.g. *They reputed him to have the*

*means to do it. They reputed him to be the one who did it). Similarly, *They said him to be a good teacher. Shakespeare was born at Stratford. This notion is based on a gross misconception. It is alleged that the thief entered the house through the window).*

4.1.4. Practical and didactic materials. As educationalists, we think that a list (an exhaustive one, if possible) should be drawn by didacticians, namely ESL teachers, in this country – and duly used in learning and teaching English grammar, i.e. utilized in a differentiated manner. It is hoped that integrated interactive materials will be generated by pedagogues, and extensively used in classroom activities (of course, in a selective and gradual manner).

The list below was compiled by the authors of the present contribution based on the *Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus. Version 1.0. Collins Electronic Dictionary Data*, HarperCollins Publishers, 1992.

Verbs that are usually or solely passive: (1) Transitive (or, rarely, intransitive) verbs that are usually passive: *abash* “to cause to feel ill at ease, embarrassed, or confused; make ashamed”; *addict* “to cause (someone or oneself) to become dependent (on something, esp. a narcotic drug)”; *adjudge* “1. to pronounce formally; declare: *he was adjudged the winner*. 2. (a) to determine judicially; judge; (b) to order or pronounce by law; decree: *he was adjudged bankrupt*; (c) to award (costs, damages, etc.); 3. *Archaic.* to sentence or condemn”; *ally* “to connect or be related, as through being similar or compatible”; *associate* “(tr.; usually passive) to consider in conjunction; connect: *rainfall is associated with humidity*”; *bias* “(usually passive) to cause to have a bias; prejudice; influence”; *blast off* “(adv.; when tr., usually passive) (of a rocket, spacemen, etc.) to be launched”; *bomb out* “to make homeless by bombing: *24 families in this street have been bombed out*”; *consternate* “to fill with anxiety, dismay, dread, or confusion”; *contraindicate*: “*Med.* to advise against or indicate the possible danger of (a drug, treatment, etc.”); *embay* “1. to form into a bay. 2. to enclose in or as if in a bay. 3. (esp. of the wind) to force (a ship, esp. a sailing ship) into a bay”; *enamour* or *U.S. enamor* “(foll. by of) to inspire with love; captivate; charm”; *enroot* “1. to establish (plants) by fixing their roots in the earth. 2. to fix firmly, implant, or embed: *to enroot an idea in the mind*”; *example*. “(tr.; now usually passive) to present an example of; exemplify”; *fame*: “(tr.; now usually passive) to make known or famous; celebrate: *he was famed for his ruthlessness*”; *gunge* “(foll. by up) to block or encrust with gunge; clog”; *have up* “to cause to appear for trial: *he was had up for breaking and entering*”; *hackney* “to make commonplace and banal by too frequent use”; *garment* “to cover or clothe”; *interstratify* “to arrange (a series of rock strata) in alternating beds”; *podzolize* “to make into or form a podzol: *podzolized soil*”; *put upon* “(intr., prep., usually passive): 1. to presume on (a person’s generosity, good nature, etc.); take advantage of: *he’s always being put upon*. 2. to impose hardship on; maltreat: *he was sorely put*

upon"; **repute** "to consider (a person or thing) to be as specified: *he is reputed to be intelligent*"; **rive** "1. to split asunder: *a tree riven by lightning*. 2. to tear apart: *riven to shreds*. 3. Archaic. to break (the heart) or (of the heart) to be broken"; **rumour** "(...) 1. to pass around or circulate in the form of a rumour: *it is rumoured that the Queen is coming*"; **signpost**: "1. to mark with signposts. 2. to indicate direction towards: *the camp site is signposted from the road*"; **subtitle** "to provide a subtitle for"; **suffuse** "to spread or flood through or over (something): *the evening sky was suffused with red*"; **urbanize** or **urbanise** "(tr). 1. a. to make (esp. a predominantly rural area or country) more industrialized and urban; b. to cause the migration of an increasing proportion of (rural dwellers) into cities".

(2) Verbs, or particular meanings of verbs, which are often passive: **bruit** "to report; rumour: *it was bruited about that the king was dead*"; **catch up** "(...) to absorb or involve: *she was caught up in her reading*"; **exercise** "(...) to occupy the attentions of, esp. so as to worry or vex: *to be exercised about a decision*"; **involve** "(...) 3. (often passive; usually foll. by *in* or *with*) to concern or associate significantly: *many people were involved in the crime*. 4. to make complicated; tangle: *the situation was further involved by her disappearance*"; **mix up** "(...) 3. to put (someone) into a state of confusion: *I'm all mixed up*. 4. (foll. by *in* or *with*; usually passive) to involve (in an activity or group, esp. one that is illegal): *why did you get mixed up in that drugs racket?*"; **oblige** "(...) 1. (tr.; often passive) to bind or constrain (someone to do something) by legal, moral, or physical means. 2. (tr.; usually passive) to make indebted or grateful (to someone) by doing a favour or service: *we are obliged to you for dinner*"; **phase**: "1. to execute, arrange, or introduce gradually or in stages: *a phased withdrawal*"; **reconcile** (...) 1. (often passive; usually foll. by *to*) to make (oneself or another) no longer opposed; cause to acquiesce in something unpleasant: *she reconciled herself to poverty*"; **snooker** "(...) 3. to thwart; defeat"; **stretch** "(...) 14. (tr.; often passive) to extend, as to the limit of one's abilities or talents"; **subject** "(...) 2. (often passive; foll. by *to*) to expose or render vulnerable or liable (to some experience): *he was subjected to great danger*"; **try** "(...) 4. (tr.; often passive) to give pain, affliction, or vexation to: *I have been sorely tried by those children*"; **want** "(...) 8. (tr.; often passive) to seek or request the presence of: *you're wanted upstairs*".

(3) Verbs possessing one meaning, or several (usually figurative) meanings that are used passively: **barricade** "(...) 3. to obstruct; block: *his mind was barricaded against new ideas*"; **bemire** "to stick fast in mud or mire"; **benumb** (...) 2. to make inactive; stupefy (the mind, senses, will, etc.)"; **bless** "(...) 6. to endow with a talent, beauty, etc.: *she was blessed with an even temper*"; **build up** "to cover (an area) with buildings"; **bunker** "(...) (passive) to have one's ball trapped in a bunker"; **burn out** "to destroy by fire"; **calculate** "(...) 3. to design specifically; aim: *the car was calculated to appeal to women*"; **carry away** "(...) 2. to cause (a person) to lose self-control. 3. to delight or enrapture: *he was carried away by the music*"; **commit** "(...) 4. to pledge or align (oneself), as to a particular cause, action, or attitude: *a committed radical*"; **congest** "(...) 3. to block (the

nose) with mucus”; **couch** “*Formal.* to express in a certain way: *The offer was couched in legal jargon*”; **cut out** “(...) 3. to suit or equip for: *you're not cut out for this job*”; **debauch** “(...) 1. (when tr., usually passive) to lead into a life of depraved self-indulgence”; **deliver** “(...) 4. d. (passive; foll. by of) to give birth (to offspring)”; **disjoint** “(...) 4. to end the unity, sequence, or coherence of”; **distress** “(...) 2. to subject to financial or other trouble”; **dominate** “(...) 3. to predominate in (something or someone)”; **embarrass** “(...) 2. to involve in financial difficulties”; **enwrap** “(...) 2. to engross or absorb: *enwrapped in thought*”; **equip** “(...) 2. to provide with abilities, understanding, etc.: *her son was never equipped to be a scholar*”; **etch** “(...) 4. to imprint vividly: *the event was etched on her memory*”; **famish** “(...) 1. (now usually passive) to be or make very hungry or weak”; **fate** “(...) tr.; usually passive) to predetermine; doom: *he was fated to lose the game*”; **finger** “(...) 6. to arrange the keys of (a clarinet, flute, etc.) for playing in a certain way”; **flush**¹ “(...) 6. to excite or elate”; **funk** “(...) 2. to make afraid”; **generalize** “(...) 3. to cause to become widely used or known”; **grill**. “2. to torment with or as if with extreme heat: *the travellers were grilled by the scorching sun*”; **hunt** “(...) to persecute; hound”; **indicate** “(...) 5. to recommend or require: *surgery seems to be indicated for this patient*”; **invest** “(...) 6. (tr.; usually passive; foll. by in or with) to provide or endow (a person with qualities, characteristics, etc.): *he was invested with great common sense*”; **jumble** “(...) 2. to remember in a confused form; muddle”; **lace** “(...) 5. (tr.; usually passive and foll. by with) to streak or mark with lines or colours: *the sky was laced with red*”; **lade** “(...) 2. (tr.; usually passive and foll. by with) to burden or oppress. 3. (tr.; usually passive and foll. by with) to fill or load”; **lap** “(...) to envelop or surround with comfort, love, etc.: *lapped in luxury*”; **lose** “(...) to absorb or engross: *he was lost in contemplation*; (usually passive) to cause the death or destruction of: *two men were lost in the attack*”; **necessitate** “(...) 2. to compel or require (someone to do something)”; **overspend** “(...) 2. to wear out; exhaust”; **parch** “(...) 2. to make very thirsty: *I was parched after the run*”; **pocket** “(...) 3. to enclose or confine in or as if in a pocket”; **press** “(...) 13. to have little of: *we're hard pressed for time*”; **promise** “(...) to engage to be married; betroth: *I'm promised to Bill*”; **puff** “(...) 2. (tr.; often foll. by out; usually passive) to cause to be out of breath”; **put about** “(...) 3. to disconcert or disturb: *she was quite put about by his appearance*”; **put on** “(...) 2. to adopt (an attitude or feeling) insincerely: *his misery was just put on*”; **reckon** “(...) 3. to consider or regard: *he is reckoned clever*”; **revolt** “(...) 2. to feel or cause to feel revulsion, disgust, or abhorrence”; **ride** “(...) 14. to tyrannize over or dominate: *ridden by fear*”; **run down** “(...) 3. (tr., usually passive) to tire, sap the strength of, or exhaust: *he was thoroughly run down and needed a holiday*”; **season** “(...) 3. to make or become mature or experienced: *seasoned troops*”; **seize** “(...) 10. (passive; usually foll. by of) to be apprised of; conversant with”; **sequester** “(...) 2. to retire into seclusion”; **shoot** “(...) 16. to variegate or streak, as with colour”; **snow** “(...) 2. (tr.; usually passive, foll. by over, under, in, or up) to cover or confine with a heavy fall of

snow”; **spare** “(...) 5. (esp. of Providence) to allow to survive: *I'll see you again next year if we are spared*”; **specialize** “2. (usually passive) to cause (organisms or their parts) to develop in a way most suited to a particular environment or way of life or (of organisms, etc.) to develop in this way”; **steep** “(...) 2. to saturate; imbue: *steeped in ideology*”; **straiten** “1. to embarrass or distress, esp. financially”; **strand** “(...) 2. to leave helpless, as without transport or money, etc.”; **strike** “(...) 16. to afflict with a disease, esp. unexpectedly: *he was struck with polio when he was six*”; **suspend** “(...) 2. (tr.; passive) to cause to remain floating or hanging: *a cloud of smoke was suspended over the town*”; **take** “(...) 54. to charm or captivate: *she was very taken with the puppy*”; **transmit** “(...) 4. to pass (an inheritable characteristic) from parent to offspring”; **transport** “(...) 3. to have a strong emotional effect on”; **trouble** “(...) 5. to agitate or make rough: *the seas were troubled*”; **unhorse** “(tr). 1. to knock or throw from a horse”.

(4) Meanings belonging to various registers and stylistic levels: **bring down** “(...) 2. *Slang.* to cause to be elated and then suddenly depressed, as from using drugs”; **buck** “(...) *Informal.* to cheer or encourage: *I was very bucked at passing the exam*”; **burn** “(...) *Informal.* to cheat, esp. financially”; **chew up** “(...) 2. *Slang.* to cause (a person) to be nervous or worried: *he was all chewed up about the interview*”; **choke up** “(...) 2. *Informal.* to overcome (a person) with emotion, esp. without due cause”; **chuff** “(...) *Brit. slang.* to please or delight: *he was chuffed by his pay rise*”; **clem** “(when tr., usually passive) *English dialect.* to be hungry or cause to be hungry”; **cut up** “(...) 3. *Informal.* to affect the feelings of deeply”; **erode** “(...) 3. *Pathol.* to remove (tissue) by ulceration”; **counterstain** “*Microscopy* (...) to apply (one of a series of stains) to a specimen to be examined: *haematoxylin is counterstained with eosin*”; **fixate** “(...) 4. *Informal.* to obsess or preoccupy”; **flabbergast** “*Informal.* to overcome with astonishment; amaze utterly; astound”; **genn up** “*Brit. informal.* to brief (someone) or study (something) in detail; make or become fully conversant with: *I can only take over this job if I am properly genned up*”; **invalid** “(...) 2. (usually foll. by out; often passive) *Chiefly Brit.* to require (a member of the armed forces) to retire from active service through wounds or illness”; **hang up** “(...) (tr.; usually passive; usually foll. by on) *Informal.* to cause to have an emotional or psychological preoccupation or problem: *he's really hung up on his mother*”; **have** “(...) *Slang.* to cheat or outwit: *he was had by that dishonest salesman*”; **intussuscept** “*Pathol.* to turn or fold (an organ or a part) inwards; invaginate”; **knacker** “(...) *Slang.* to exhaust; tire”; **lay up** “(...) 2. *Informal.* to incapacitate or confine through illness”; **moither** or **moider** “*Dialect* to bother or bewilder”; **pair** “(...) 5. (when tr., usually passive) *Parliamentary procedure.* to form or cause to form a pair: *18 members were paired for the last vote*”; **pitch** “(...) (music) (of a wind instrument) to specify or indicate its basic key or harmonic series by its size, manufacture, etc.”; **place** “(...) (passive) *Brit.* to cause (a racehorse, greyhound, athlete, etc.) to arrive in first, second, third, or sometimes fourth place”; **poop**² “*U.S. and Canadian slang.* 1. to cause to become exhausted; tire: *he was pooped after the race*”;

rejuvenate “(...) 2. *Geography* to cause (a river) to begin eroding more vigorously to a new lower base level, usually because of uplift of the land; to cause (a land surface) to develop youthful features”; *relegate* “(...) 2. *Chiefly Brit.* to demote (a football team, etc.) to a lower division”; *say* “(...) *Irish.* to persuade or coax (someone) to do something: *If I hadn't been said by her I wouldn't be in this fix*”; *sclerotize* or *sclerotise* “*Zoology.* to harden and darken (an insect's cuticle)”; *shag* “*Brit slang.* (...) 2. (tr.; often foll. by out; usually passive) to exhaust; tire”; *steam up* “(...) 2. *Slang.* to excite or make angry: *he's all steamed up about the delay*”; *stick* “(...) 15. *Informal.* to cause to be at a loss; baffle, puzzle, or confuse: *I was totally stuck for an answer*”; *tape* “(...) 3. *Brit. informal.* to take stock of (a person or situation); sum up: *he's got the job taped*”; *transcribe* “(...) *Biochem.* to convert the genetic information in (a strand of DNA) into a strand of RNA, esp. messenger RNA”; *translate* “(...) 6. *Biochem.* to transform the molecular structure of (messenger RNA) into a polypeptide chain by means of the information stored in the genetic code”; *tucker*² “(tr.; often passive; usually foll. by out) *Informal, chiefly U.S. and Canadian.* to weary or tire completely”; *whack* “(tr). 2. *Brit. informal.* to exhaust completely”.

(5) Verbs, or meanings of certain verbs, which are used reflexively or passively: *couch* “(...) 2. (when tr., usually reflexive or passive) to lie down or cause to lie down for or as for sleep”; *give up* “(...) 4. (tr.; usually reflexive) to surrender: *the escaped convict gave himself up* (...) 7. (tr.; often passive or reflexive) to devote completely (to): *she gave herself up to caring for the sick*”.

A special case is, in effect, the verb *to attach*: “ (...) 2. (reflexive or passive) to become associated with or join, as in a business or other venture: *he attached himself to the expedition*; (...) 6. (usually passive) *Military.* to place on temporary duty with another unit; 7. (usually passive) to put (a member of an organization) to work in a different unit or agency, either with an expectation of reverting to, or while retaining some part of, the original working arrangement”.

4.1.5. Passive Participles vs (Genuine) Adjectives. It will be fair to admit that, in both English and Romanian, it is rather difficult to (theoretically) trace the border between passive Past Participle forms and Adjective forms. Compare: Eng. (*to be*) *famed*, (*to be*) *mixed up*, (*to be*) *obliged*, (*to be*) *indicated*, etc. (as in *He was famed for his ruthlessness*, *We are obliged to you for dinner*, *Surgery seems to be indicated for this patient*), and Rom. *Uşa asta e vopsită*, *Balamalele sunt (bine) unse.*, *Suntem (cât se poate de) deschisi pentru orice acțiune de acest fel*.

There are cases when a Past Participle form of a verb loses its verbal value and is felt as an adjective preceded by a link verb. In such a case, the respective construction should be taken as a predicate with a “complex subject complement”, e.g. *The ancient temple was built of marble blocks* (predicative).

As a general rule, confusion between the Passive and other type of constructions (in the combination *to be* + Past Participle) will be solved, in

practical terms, as follows: (a) A passive: when an adverbial modifier characterizes the action, e.g. *This dictionary is always used by Peter*; or when the verb is in the continuous aspect, e.g. *This dictionary is being used by Peter*; (b) A compound nominal predicate, e.g. *Sheila is used to getting up early, because she has to be at the office early in the morning*; this combination indicates the state in which the subject is, it characterizes the subject, so the structure is clearly that of a compound nominal predicate. (We should add that, in the latter case, (b), the very pronunciation of the -ed form, i.e. [ju:zd], can indicate its adjectival status – vs. the Aspect auxiliary structure *I used to wake up early when I was a child*).

Similar Romanian participial structures can pose problems in disambiguating the constructions in question, e.g. *Frontonul e zugrăvit*. (*The pediment is painted*). Does it mean that: (1) *Frontonul este zugrăvit de către cineva (acum)*. “The pediment is (just being) painted (by someone)”; or (2) *Frontonul nu este (lăsat) nezugrăvit* “The pediment is not unpainted / was not left unpainted”? We think the difference essentially consists in the semantic-grammatical description of the participial component, as, respectively, (1) “process”; (2) “description (of quality)”, “opinion”.

4.1.6. We believe that a comparison concerning the cases of ellipsis in English and Romanian would be very useful, i.e. highly revealing and instructive (especially if based on statistical data – extracted from corpora of occurrences in the two languages considered). It is true that some cases of ellipsis in Romanian are rather infrequent / marginal; compare English “He appears / seems [to be] intimidated / surprised (by...), and Romanian “Revista trebuie [a fi] citită., Tava vine [a fi] tapetată pe fund.

4.1.7. Interestingly enough, the so-called *reflexive Passive* specific to Romanian (e.g. “Se spune că..., Se cunoaște / Se știe că...”) is not always, consistently or necessarily, an impersonal construction. (v. GALR, I, p 135: “A complete personal paradigm of reflexive Passive is, in current Romanian, totally exceptional, occurring only in folksy structures like: *Pe unde umbli, de nu te mai vezi deloc?* (...), where *nu te vezi* “nu ești văzut de alții”; *Mă cunosc de la o poștă când mint.., Te cunoști când spui minciuni..*, where *mă cunosc* “sunt cunoscut de alții”, and *te cunoști* “ești cunoscut de alții”). Comparing the two sets of examples, one can notice the clearly impersonal-generic sense of the former example, vs. the “personalized” senses in: *Mă cunosc..., Te cunoști...* Similarly, in older Romanian a generic-passive expression was used, involving the third plural person, arguably under the influence of Slavonic languages, e.g. *Spun că (el) ar fi zis...* (“Se spune că ar fi zis...”, Eng. “They say (that) he claimed / said...” / “He is said to have claimed / said...”). This can also be interpreted as the ellipsis of the subject proper: *ei / oamenii spun*). In this respect, one should refer to similar constructions in

Slavonic languages (e.g. Russian *Как тебя зовут?* – literally: “How do (they) call you?”). Incidentally, there was a time when most experts in Romance studies, including most Romanian linguists, considered the clear prevalence of the reflexive, and the reflexive Passive in Romanian as another proof of the Slavonic influence (considering the great number of reflexive verbs like *a se naște*, *a-și da seama*, etc.). Later linguists (e.g. Eugeniu Coșeriu) argued that the reflexive construction is present – and fairly abundantly, too – in other Romance languages besides Romanian, even as “impersonal reflexives”, e.g. in Italian (*svegliarsi*, *vendesi*, and, respectively, *Questo non si sa*), in French (*s'en aller*, *se rire*, *se jouer*, and *Cela se voit de loin*), in Spanish, etc.; hence, Slavonic influence in this domain used to be (and still is) invoked in an excessive manner. Also compare: M-am născut..., Sunt născut la... and the obsolete intransitive, non-reflexive form: Nasc și la Moldova oameni.

Anyway, the preference, in Romanian, for the reflexive passive constructions can be best substantiated in the quite numerous passive subjects of “non-individual” reading, e.g. *În România se vânează urși.*, *Aici se vinde miere.*, *Se caută dactilografa* (as opposed to the “individual” reading, e.g. *La Galeria ART a fost vândut deja Luchianul expus*) (GALR, I, p. 136).

4.1.8. The specific range of issues pertaining to the Romanian Passive intersects and overlaps, to a certain extent, with that of transitivity and ergativity (v. also above), and also that of the *impersonal voice*. The same can be said, by and large, about the English Passive – which is also semantically and logically treated as akin to the category of the causative verbs like *to get* and *to have*. The problems that such verbs usually pose for Romanians / Romanian learners mainly pertain to usage (e.g. the *get* passive is generally rare, and restricted primarily to conversation, except for *get married*; v. also *get + hit*, *involved*, *left*, *stuck* – mainly with negative connotations; while the *have* + direct object + past participle construction is used to express sentences of the type ‘I hired / employed someone to do something for me’; colloquially, *have* can be used to replace a passive verb, usually one concerning some accident or misfortune: *They had their strawberries stolen before they had a chance to pick them.* = *Their strawberries were stolen before he had a chance to pick them*).)

4.1.9. An interesting use of the (reflexive) impersonal structure is related to the ‘absolute’ meaning (or complementation pattern) of the respective verb: “*Nu se mai întreabă până la următoarea deschidere [a computerului]*”.

5. **Concluding Remarks.** We believe that the comparative linguistic and theoretical materials presented in the considerations above entitle us to *conclude*

that: (1) using the Passive involves, as far as today's English is concerned, a more obvious bias towards formality; (2) the interpenetration of the various, often highly divergent forms, patterns and shades is both more visible, and more permissive in English than it is in Romanian (v. the rather infrequent similar cases in Romanian, which are really marginal, and tend to remain so in the vast majority of the occurrences that can be provided or construed); (3) the exceptional cases, and the various idiosyncrasies seem to be far more numerous in English, while they tend to be rather marginal (and all the more unpredictable, i.e. *lexical*) in Romanian; (4) the cases of ambiguity seem to be equally numerous in both languages; however, they pertain, in English, rather to the interpretation of the syntactic structures, whereas in Romanian they are generated by, or have recourse more to, the semantic and lexical compartments of the language.

As can be seen, ever more strenuous and determined efforts, both scientific and didactic, are needed in order to facilitate and condition the correct acquisition and use of the passive voice and passivisation, in living / real-life, as well as realistic contexts.

We propose to attempt, in a future contribution, a study on the manifestation of the passive (voice) within the scope of expressing the "generic" category, and also on the various manifestations of the reflexive, in both English and Romanian. We also firmly believe that efforts should be made with regard to positive findings based on statistical, corpus research.

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THE DIRECT OBJECT IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN¹

Abstract: The paper aims at revealing some of the distinctive features of the direct object in both English and Romanian. Comparing the various kinds of complex direct objects in English, we realize they provide a great amount of differences from Romanian. On the other hand, the direct object in Romanian can be double-realized by means of co-referential units.

Key-words: transitive verbs, complex objects, the accusative with infinitive construction, the accusative with participle construction, double-realization, syntactical position.

Introduction

In English, the object in a clause often has the form of a noun phrase. Unlike the subject, it is normally located within the verb phrase, and is not so sharply distinguished from other dependent units as the subject is. There are three kinds of objects:

- *direct objects*, generally corresponding to the Romanian *complemente directe*;
- *indirect objects*, used after transitive verbs denoting the transmission of some objects or abstract notions;
- *prepositional objects*, including nouns or noun substitutes preceded by a preposition.

The first two kinds may occur together, and, when they co-occur in canonical clauses, the indirect object precedes the direct object:

*Susan gave Jim the photo.
We bought them some shoes.*

The traditional labels ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ are based on the idea that in clauses describing an action the reporter of the direct object is apparently more directly involved in being acted on in the situation than the reporter of the indirect object. In the first example, it is the photo that actually changes hands and becomes one of Jim’s possessions. In the second one, it is the shoes that are directly acted by being purchased and taken away.

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The direct object in English. Distinctive features

The direct object is the secondary part of the sentence indicating the person, thing and abstract notion that directly receives, suffers or attracts the action of a transitive verb (simple or complex) as well as of a transitive verbal phrase. There are *transitive* verbs, whose action is immediately directed towards a direct object in the accusative and *intransitive*, those which have no such object. Intransitive verbs form the predicate by themselves, which transitive ones do not do. For instance, the verb *to write* is transitive in *She is writing an essay* and intransitive in *She writes*, with the meaning of *She is a writer*.

The situation of the direct object is not identical in Romanian and English, because not all Romanian transitive verbs are transitive in English as well:

L-a visat astă-noapte is rendered in English by *She dreamt of him last night.*
Ați ascultat concertul? - *Did you listen to the concert?*

On the other hand, *Answer his questions* has an intransitive equivalent in Romanian: *Răspunde-i la întrebări*. A case in point, and very frequent too, is the pattern with the verb *to like*, which is rendered in Romanian by constructions with the dative case:

They all liked it very much – Le-a plăcut foarte mult la toți.

In both English and Romanian there are surprising expressions, which seem to infringe the rule of constructing the direct object in the accusative case:

Whose picture do you like best? (apparently genitive)
Și mănâncă fata la plăcinte... (apparently prepositional object).

In contemporary English, we have to notice a tendency of replacing certain intransitive verbs (*to dance*, *to cry*, for example) by a transitive construction (*to have a dance*, *to have a walk*) containing an almost meaningless transitive verb followed by a direct object, which carries the actual semantic force or value of the idiom.

In English, like other parts of the sentence, direct objects can be classified in terms of semantic content as: significant, impersonal, cognate:

The participants heard the minutes and approved them. (significant)
Suffice it to agree to his proposal. (impersonal)
She smiled first a little smile. (cognate)

The cognate object accompanies verbs which are normally intransitive (to live, to sleep, to dress, to laugh, to smile) and therefore take no object. It is usually

called ‘cognate’ because the nouns which express it are related (cognate) to the verb in meaning and, generally, also in etymology.

Classification in point of structure

In point of *structure*, direct objects can be classified into: *simple*, *coordinated*, *compound*, *double* and *complex*. Simple objects are expressed by a single word or even by a clause:

The girl tore the letter.

We accepted the terms that he offered and took his place.

Coordinated objects consist in two or several nouns or noun-equivalents in the accusative discharging an identical syntactical function in relation to a transitive verb or verbal phrase:

He had had leisure, shelter and food.

As regards compound objects, they are similar in structure and function to coordinated objects but dissimilar in that the two or several nouns refer to only one person, object or abstract notion:

He thanked his disciple and friend for being so honest.

Double objects usually follow a limited number of verbs: to ask, to answer, to forgive, to envy:

Forgive my interruption.

Complex objects are objective constructions including two inseparable parts, a nominal one, an object (a noun, a proper name or pronoun in the accusative case) linked with another part which completes it (usually a non-finite form of the verb, but also an adjective, noun or adverb):

I saw a man run.

He made the facts clearly true.

We heard a girl crying.

The separation of the two parts of the complex object is out of the question, as it will involve a total change of meaning. Complex objects are made up by means of various constructions, the most frequent of which are the accusative with the infinitive and the accusative with the participle. They are taken as objects

especially by certain categories of verbs denoting: perception, cognitive or emotional activities, determination and coercion.

The accusative with the infinitive

English agrees with some other languages in using *an accusative with a short infinitive* after verbs of feeling or perception, while *the accusative with the long infinitive* is taken as a complex object by most other categories of verbs: those denoting desire, belief, consideration, permission, request, order, persuasion, determination (with the exception of the verbs *to have* and *to make* which are followed by the accusative + short infinitive):

She saw *him lift* the latch.
I felt *something crawl up* my arm.
I never knew *her to do* such things.
He should prefer *us to meet* her tomorrow.

We should pay attention to *the accusative with passive infinitive*, which is used when the person performing the action denoted by the infinitive is either not mentioned or denoted by an adjunct with 'by':

The captain ordered *the flag to be hoisted*.

The accusative with the present participle is also very common after verbs denoting perception, mental or emotional activities:

He felt *his heart beating* wildly.
She heard *him coming* downstairs.
We don't want *you spying* on us.

The difference between the accusative with short infinitive and the accusative with indefinite participle is that the former merely states the fact, whereas the latter denotes the action perceived in its progress. The Romanian translation also differs:

I saw *him leave* school. (Am văzut că a plecat de la școală.)
I saw *him approaching* the house. (L-am văzut apropiindu-se de casă.)

The accusative with the past participle

It is used with a meaning of result after verbs expressing causative relations, coercion, desire, order. These constructions follow the verbs *to have* and

to get with the meaning of making, asking, causing somebody to do something, to suffer, to experience, to undergo:

We got the contract checked.
They are having the car repaired.

The accusative with an adjective is a construction that may often have a force of result, when placed after causative verbs as well as after verbs denoting mental activity and other verbs:

Why not try to make it as effective as possible?

The accusative with a noun follow causative and factitive verbs, as well as other types of verbs:

I think it a great success.

As regards the position of the direct object in the sentence, it is closely connected with the verb and is seldom separated from it by anything else, except by a short non-prepositional indirect object.

The direct object in Romanian

In Romanian, the direct object (*complementul direct*) is a syntactical class of substituted units made up of general and indefinite substitutes: *cineva*; *ceva* + *transitive verb* + *pe cineva*; *ceva*.

The governing term of a direct object construction is unconditionally a transitive verb. However, there are intransitive verbs which are not compatible to passive voice, but that agree with a direct object realized by a noun which is co-referential to the verb: *a cântă un cântec*, *a-și trăi traiul*, *a dansa un dans*, *a juca un joc*, *a fugi o fugă*, etc.

There are some transitive verbs, called in Romanian ‘verbe eventive’, referring to human behaviour or appearance, that require a direct object construction:

Cântecul de leagăn *a adormit copilul*.
Pe Ion îl adoarne filmul.
L-au îmbătrânit nevoie.

A restricted number of transitive verbs, called in Romanian ‘verbe ilocutive’, require two direct objects – *cineva* + *transitive verb* + *pe cineva* + *ceva*:

*L-am învățat pe Victor lectia.
L-a întrebat acest lucru pe altcineva.*

The nominal verbal forms which are admitted in the direct object position are “infinitivul” and “supinul”: copiii învață *a scrie* și *a vorbi* corect românește; el s-a obișnuit *a lucra* singur; toate județele au terminat *de recoltat* porumbul.

The sentence realization implies the conjunction connectors: *că, să, ca...să, dacă, de*, and indefinite or relative pronouns and adverbs:

*Emil află că tatăl lui Dan a murit.
Nu crede să scape până la ziua.
Spune-mi dacă vîi sau nu.*

One of the specific aspects of a direct object construction structure in Romanian is its anticipation, i.e. a double-realization of this syntactical position made through co-referential units that proves to be an alternative of the relation of equivalence. The particular structure of such a construction consists in the presence of a pronominal substitute called *neaccentuat*: *-mă, te, îl, l-, o, ne, vă, îi, i, le*, the latter realization being anticipated by a substitute which could be: a noun, a pronoun, a numeral or even a sentence:

*Pe cealaltă am spart-o.
Pe doi dintre aceştia i-am mai cunoscut.
Pe care-l vezi, anunță-l să vină.*

The double expression of the direct object in Romanian

In spoken Romanian, double expression of the direct object may be either a necessary implication or an optional choice: *nu-l mai cred pe nimeni; pe cine îl crezi?* The double expression of the object makes reiteration increase and ambiguity disappear:

*Nu-l mai cred pe niciunu, nici pe Ion, nici pe Maria, nici pe tine.
Nu v-am mai întâlnit pe nimeni, nici pe tine, nici pe Ion, nici pe Maria.*

The double expression of the direct object in Romanian does not mean two objects found out in two syntactical positions, but a unique syntactical position realization in a certain construction through two co-referential and equivalent units. The positional unit is realized when the substituted noun precedes the substitute: ***pe mama o văd acolo***. If the position of the object is post-verbal, the two units are not in proximity, because ***văd o pe mama acolo***, or ***văd pe mama o acolo*** are not possible at the structure level but only as a supposition. It is the case where the

Romanian direct object position is dissociated through a re-positioning of the pronoun in front of the verb.

The constructions with semi-auxiliary verbs belong to a Romanian syntax section where the grammatical relations are somewhat ambiguous and the solutions proposed for establishing the structural rule are not by all means conclusive. Hence, *a avea* can be defined as a transitive verb, that can also be predicative, in a governing position, which implies a direct object in constructions such as - *cineva (ceva) + a avea + ceva*:

George are *casă*.
Masa are *picioare*.
Fiecare are *ce și-a dorit*.
Am avut *un prieten bun*.

From a semantic point of view *a avea* in the sentence ***n-am cum veni*** does not signify possession like in *Ion are casă (casa este a lui Ion)*, or in *Masa are picioare (picioarele sunt ale mesei)* but rather a modality of possibility: ***N-am cum veni = Nu pot veni*** (It is not possible for me to come). The difference is quite obvious when the verb is in the past: *nu aveam ce face*, ***n-am avut cum veni***, when it is out of the question that we might say that *aveam*, *am avut* signify a predicative relation of possession or affiliation of an object to an owner (the subject of the sentence).

Conclusions

In order to conclude, we may say that the direct objects in both English and Romanian are secondary parts of the sentence completing the meaning of a verb. They are nominal parts of the sentence and are therefore expressed by much the same means as the subject. Direct objects in English generally correspond to the Romanian *complemente directe*, with the exception of the complex ones, which are usually rendered into Romanian by phrases or other means.

In English, the direct object can be classified in terms of semantic content and of structure. By analysing the various kinds of complex objects we realize that they provide the greatest amount of differences from Romanian. On the other hand, in Romanian, the double expression of the direct object is quite characteristic, consisting in a unique syntactical realization by means of two co-referential and equivalent units.

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LES SPÉCIFICATEURS DU NOM EN TÉÉN, LANGUE GUR DE CÔTE D'IVOIRE¹

Résumé: Dans cet article, nous nous proposons d'étudier les éléments qui peuvent occuper la place du déterminant en téén. Le téén est parlé par la quasi-totalité du peuple lorhon estimé à 11653 personnes en Côte d'Ivoire. Notre objectif est d'identifier les différents spécificateur ainsi que leur fonctionnement.

Mots-clés: citation, déterminant, défini, indéfini, démonstratif.

Syntagme nominal, une projection DP

Dans notre étude, nous proposerons d'analyser le NP comme un domaine DP (syntagme déterminatif). En nous fondant sur DP, notre soucis est de présenter les différents éléments susceptibles d'occuper la place du déterminant appelé D. Pour mieux appréhender cette démonstration, il faudra étudier le défini, l'indéfini et e démonstratif.

1. La catégorie sémantique du défini

Le défini signifie que le nom spécifié par des marques particulières désigne un référent précis, dont l'existence a été préalablement identifiée à l'exclusion de tout autre entité. Dès lors, le nom utilisé doit nécessairement renvoyer au référent visé. Dans cette section, notre préoccupation est de montrer les spécificateurs fonctionnels pouvant exprimer le défini singulier et pluriel.

1.1 Défini singulier

Le défini singulier est sémantiquement interprété comme instituant une référence précise.

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1.1.1 Défini des noms [+humain]

Soit les exemples suivants :

(1)

Citation	Défini	Glose	Trait sémantique
bí	bí-H	bí	« l'enfant » [+humain]
nìwà	nìwà-H	nìwá	« la nièce » [+humain]
sòwà	sòwà-H	sòwá	« le père » [+humain]
pùsè	pùsè-H	pùsé	« le féticheur » [+humain]
sòlèsè	sòlèsè-H	sòlèsé	« le chasseur » [+humain]

Le défini est exprimé par un ton haut porté sur la dernière voyelle du nom déterminé.

1.1.2 Défini des noms [-humain]

Tout comme les noms [+humain] ou [-humain] se spécifient également par le ton haut porté sur le nom en question, comme en:

(2)

zùmí	zùmí-H	zùmí	« le poulet »
ŋmàmí	ŋmàmí-H	ŋmàmí	« le chien »
zòlá	zòlá-H	zòlá	« la pintade »
gòlá	gòlá-H	gòlá	« l'antilope »

1.1.3 Défini des noms [-animé]

Le défini singulier des objets s'identifie également par le ton haut porté sur la dernière voyelle du nom objet déterminé.

(3)

nàbà	nàbà-H	nàbá	« le tabouret »
dìjà	dìjà-H	dìjá	« l'arbre »
wùrà	wùrà-H	wùrá	« la maison »

1.2 Défini pluriel

Dans cette langue, les noms ayant le trait sémantique [+humain] connaissent une pluralisation différente de ceux ayant le trait sémantique [-humain]. Dès lors, il serait intéressant pour la pertinence de cette étude de faire une analyse séparée. Pour ce faire, analysons les noms dotés de trait sémantique [+humain] avant ceux ayant le trait sémantique [-humain].

1.2.1 Le défini des noms [+humain]

En confrontant le singulier au pluriel, il y a l'avènement de morphèmes nouveaux. En effet, alors que le singulier se reconnaît par un ton haut porté sur la dernière voyelle du nom, le pluriel est actualisé par deux morphèmes marqués. Il s'agit en l'occurrence de [pó] et [bó]. A l'instar des particularités sémantiques des exemples ci-dessous, il s'avère que [pó] exprime le pluriel des noms [+humain] désignant les termes de parenté, tandis que [bó] est usité pour tout autre nom [+humain].

(4)

bí	bí- pó	« les enfants »	[+humain]
nìwà	nìwà- pó	« les nièces »	[+humain]
sòwà	sòwà- pó	« les pères »	[+humain]
pùsè	pùsè- bó	« les féticheurs »	[+humain]
sòlèsè	sòlèsè- bó	« les chasseurs »	[+humain]

1.2.2 Défini des noms [-humain]

Dans les exemples (5), le passage du défini singulier au défini pluriel entraîne une modification de la dernière voyelle de la dernière syllabe du nom déterminé. Cette modification est due à la coalescence¹ de la dernière voyelle du nom singulier déterminé. Au-delà de cette fusion vocalique de la dernière voyelle, il est important de souligner que chaque nom appartient à une classe nominale.

(5)

zùmí	zùmí-ó	zùmú	« les poulets »
ŋmàmí	ŋmàmí-ó	ŋmàmú	« les chiens »
zòlá	zòlá-ó	zòló	« les pintades »
gòlá	gòlá-ó	gòló	« les antilopes »

Ces voyelles décalées se fusionnent avec la dernière voyelle du nom à la forme non spécifiée pour donner la voyelle finale du nom au pluriel.

1.2.3 Défini pluriel des noms [-animé]

La confrontation de l'exemple (6) à l'exemple (3) permet de montrer que le pluriel des noms [-animé] dans ce cas spécifique se fait en [-ɔ].

(6)

nàbà	nàbà-ó	nàbó	« les tabourets »
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¹ Fusion de deux ou plusieurs éléments phoniques en un seul.

dìjà	dìjà-ó	dìjɔ́	« les arbres »
wùrà	wùrà-ó	wùrɔ́	« les maisons »

Il ressort de cette analyse du défini singulier et pluriel que le ton haut porté par la dernière voyelle du nom déterminé est uniforme, mais des changements s'opèrent en fonction des classes nominales. Ce changement vocalique rentre dans le cadre de l'analyse menée en 1.2.2.

2.2 Indéfini

Les marques de l'indéfinis sont employées lorsque le nom est utilisé en première mention dans le discours. L'énonciateur n'a pas connaissance de l'identité de la chose nommée. Ainsi verrons-nous l'indéfini singulier et pluriel.

2.2.1 Indéfini singulier

2.2.1.1 Indéfini des noms [+humain]

L'observation de ces exemples montre que lorsque le nom est porteur d'un ton bas, il s'agit d'un nom employé en contexte d'indéfini. Au cours d'un dialogue, le locuteur sait que le nom qu'on utilise en ce moment n'est pas défini. Ainsi avons-nous comme projection maximale un indéfini DP ayant une tête vide. Les exemples qui suivent le montrent.

(7)

bí	bí-B	bì	« un enfant »
nìwà	nìwà-B	nìwà	« un nièce »
sòwà	sòwà-B	sòwà	« un père »
pùsè	pùsè-B	pùsè	« un féticheur »
sòlèsè	sòlèsè-B	sòlèsè	« un chasseur »

2.2.1.2 L'indéfini des noms [-humain]

L'analyse de ce corpus révèle que le ton haut marqué sur la dernière voyelle du nom déterminé s'efface pour laisser la place au ton bas.

(8)

zùmí	zùmí-B	zùmì	« un poulet »
ŋmàmí	ŋmàmí-B	ŋmàmì	« un chien »
zòlá	zòlá-B	zòlà	« une pintade »
gòlá	gòlá-B	gòlà	« un antilope »

2.2.1.3 Indéfini des noms [-animé]

L’observation de ces exemples montre que lorsque le nom est porteur d’un ton bas, il s’agit d’un nom employé en contexte d’indéfini. Au cours d’un dialogue, le locuteur sait que le nom qu’on utilise en ce moment n’est pas défini. Ainsi, avons-nous comme projection maximale un indéfini DP ayant une tête vide comme mentionné plus haut.

(9)

nàbà	nàbà-B	nàbà	« un tabouret »
dìjà	dìjà-B	dìjà	« un arbre »
wùrà	wùrà-B	wùrà	« une maison »

2.2.2 Indéfini pluriel

2.2.2.1 Indéfini des noms [+humain]

Contrairement au défini pluriel, l’indéfini pluriel de ces noms [+humain] porte le ton bas sur la dernière voyelle. Le locuteur adjoint nécessairement pò aux noms exprimant le lien de parenté et bò aux autres noms. Au niveau tonal, le marqueur de l’indéfini ne fait que copier le ton bas de la dernière voyelle du nom déterminé :

(10)

bí	bí- pó-B	bí- pò	« des enfants »
nìwà	nìwà- pó-B	nìwà- pò	« des nièces »
sòwà	sòwà- pó-B	sòwà- pò	« des pères »
pùsè	pùsè- bó-B	pùsè- bò	« des féticheurs »
sòlèsè	sòlèsè- bó-B	sòlèsè- bò	« des chasseurs »

2.2.2.2 Indéfini des noms [-humain]

Tout comme le défini pluriel de cette catégorie de noms, il convient de remarquer que morphologiquement ces noms se pluralisent de la même manière. Pour marquer l’indéfini pluriel, les locuteurs de la langue téén utilisent une intonation basse pour la voyelle du nom déterminé.

(11)

zùmí	zùmí- ò	zùmù	« des poulets »
ŋmàmí	ŋmàmí-ò	ŋmàmù	« des chiens »
zòlá	zòlá-ò	zòlò	« des pintades »
gòlá	gòlá-ò	gòlò	« des antilopes »

2.2.2.3 Indéfini des noms [-animé]

La confrontation de l'exemple (12) à l'exemple (9) permet d'affirmer que le pluriel des noms [-animé] se fait en [-ɔ] suivi d'un ton bas.

(12)

nàbà	nàbà-ò	nàbɔ̄	« des tabourets »
dijà	dijà-ò	dijɔ̄	« des arbres »
wùrà	wùrà-ò	wùrɔ̄	« des maisons »

En exprimant l'indéfini pluriel des noms [-animé], le locuteur sait que l'intonation de la dernière voyelle du nom pluriel est basse, comme le ton ponctuel des autres noms analysés plus haut dans la section de l'indéfini.

2.3 La catégorie sémantique du démonstratif

Le démonstratif se subdivise en deux formes. Il s'agit du démonstratif de proximité et d'éloignement.

2.3. 1 Démonstratif singulier

2.2.3.1. 1 Démonstratif de proximité

On parle de démonstratif de proximité, quand il s'agit de caractériser une réalité proche du sujet énonciateur. Pour marquer cette réalité proche de l'énonciateur, on utilise le morphème de proximité qui est [nú] « ci ». Soit les exemples suivants :

(13)

bí	bí- nú	« cet enfant-ci »
sòlèsè	sòlèsè- nú	« ce chasseur -ci»
zùmí	zùmí- nú	« ce poulet-ci »
ŋmàmí	ŋmàmí- nú	« ce chien -ci»
nàbà	nàbà- nú	« ce tabouret-ci »
wùrà	wùrà- nú	« cette maison -ci»

2.3.2.3.1.2 Démonstratif d'éloignement

Le démonstratif d'éloignement est manifesté par le morphème [nùmá] « là ». Dans cette langue, ce morphème détermine les noms dans un contexte linguistique d'éloignement. Le morphème d'éloignement [nùmá] est formé de [nú] exprimant le proche et d'un suffixe [má]. Dès lors, l'on peut déduire

que dire que de la réalité proche à la réalité lointaine, nous avons cette structure morphologique suivante : CV= CVCV.

(14)

bí	bí- nùmá	« cet enfant -là»
sòlèsè	sòlèsè- nùmá	« ce chasseur -là»
zùmí	zùmí- nùmá	« ce poulet -là»
ŋmàmí	ŋmàmí- nùmá	« ce chien -là»
nàbà	nàbà- nùmá	« ce tabouret-là »
wùrà	wùrà- nùmá	« cette maison-là »

2.6.2.3.2 Démonstratif pluriel

2.6.2.3.2.1 Démonstratif de proximité

L'observation révèle qu'à part le nom déterminé qui se pluralise, le déterminant [nú] ne varie pas. Considérons ces exemples suivants :

(15)

bí	bí- pó-nú	bí- pó-nú	« ces enfants-ci»
sòlèsè	sòlèsè- bó-nú	sòlèsè- bó-nú	« ces chasseurs-ci »
zùmí	zùmí- o-nú	zùmú- nú	« ces poulets-ci »
ŋmàmí	ŋmàmí- o- nú	ŋmàmú- nú	« ces chiens-ci »
nàbà	nàbà- o-nú	nàbó- nú	« ces tabourets -ci»
wùrà	wùrà- o- nú	wùrò- nú	« ces maisons-ci »

2.6.2.3.2.2 Démonstratif d'éloignement

Tout comme le démonstratif de proximité pluriel, le démonstratif d'éloignement pluriel n'exige pas de changement. Mais les noms déterminés varient pour marquer le pluriel. Soit les exemples qui suivent :

(16)

bí	bí- pó-nùmá	bí- pó-nùmá	« ces enfants-là »
sòlèsè	sòlèsè- bó-nùmá	sòlèsè- bó-nùmá	« ces chasseurs là »
zùmí	zùmí- o- nùmá	zùmó- nùmá	« ces poulets -là»
ŋmàmí	ŋmàmí- o-nùmá	ŋmàmú- nùmá	« ces chiens-là »
nàbà	nàbà- o-nùmá	nàbó- nùmá	« ces tabourets-là »
wùrà	wùrà- o-nùmá	wùrò- nùmá	« ces maisons-là »

Conclusion

Le téén présente des particularités dans la détermination des noms en fonction des différents contextes. Cette étude nous a permis de montrer qu'au niveau du singulier, le ton haut ou bas spécifie le nom en contexte défini ou indéfini d'une part, et d'autre part, qu'au niveau du pluriel, lors du passage de la forme de citation à la forme spécifique, il y a une modification vocalique. En plus de cette modification vocalique, on peut noter l'avènement de certains morphèmes en fonction des traits sémantiques spécifiés ou à spécifier.

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TRANSLATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS¹

Abstract: This paper focuses on several aspects of discourse analysis, more specifically speech acts theory, which are important in the work of translation / interpretation from English into Romanian. An accurate reconstruction in the target language implies more than knowing and finding the most appropriate equivalents, but also interpreting the meaning in context offering as much as possible from the 'hidden substance' of the speaker's discourse. For such interpretation, there are rules, principles of communicative interaction, and set types of speech acts which may help the translator / interpreter to fulfil his work with professionalism and at a high standard.

Key words: speech act, pragmatics, additional meaning, context translation/interpretation, encyclopaedic knowledge.

The aim of this paper is to illustrate the ways in which translation is influenced by the speech acts theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1999) and the use of utterances in context (pragmatics), taking into account the existence of additional meanings (Griffiths, 2006:132) which appear when we have language use in context. Speech acts are more than utterances since they appear in particular contexts, contexts which are specific to them (inner semantics) and are an external situation of communicative interaction.

For the translator, it is not very difficult to give an accurate translation if "the speaker utters a sentence and means exactly and literally what he says" (Searle, *op.cit.*:30), but it may be rather challenging if the utterance is interpreted "on the basis of shared assumptions between speaker and hearer over and above the linguistic content of the sentence used" [...] and "all speakers seem to know that utterances can convey messages which do not bear any necessary relation to the propositional content of the sentence used" (Shoshana, 1981:90). Moreover, some of the speech acts, namely the indirect speech acts², represent a challenge for the translator / interpreter: "In hints, insinuations, irony, and metaphor - to mention a few examples - the speaker's utterance meaning and the sentence meaning come apart in various ways" (Searle, *op.cit.*: 30).

Some questions have to be asked in order to understand the way the meaning is produced in TL, such as: How does the translator manage to maintain

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² In Indirect speech acts "one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by way of performing another" (Searle, *op.cit.*:31).

the form of the SL text in TL and to render the meaning with accuracy? Does the interlocutors' intention in communication weigh more than the meaning of the text? Is there a balance between intention, meaning and inference which may help the translator? Is there any help for the translator/interpreter as regards the extralinguistic value of a sentence?

It is fundamental to understand that translation is "the rendering of a SL text into a TL so as to ensure that the surface meaning of the two will be approximately similar and the structures of the SL will be preserved as closely as possible but not so closely that the TL structures will be seriously distorted" (Bassenett, 1991:2) and that "To the extent it is assumed by a subject who 'means' (bedeuten), language has 'deep structures' that articulate categories. These categories are semantic (as in the semantic fields introduced by recent developments in generative grammar), logical (modality relations, etc.) and intercommunicational (those that Searle called 'speech acts' seen as bestowers of meaning¹)" (Kristeva, 1984:20). Moreover, translation is considered relevant ("A relevant translation would therefore be, quite simply, a «good» translation, a translation that does what one expects of it, in short, a version that performs its mission, honors its debt and does its job or its duty while inscribing in the receiving language the most relevant equivalent for an original, the language that is the most right, appropriate, pertinent, adequate, opportune, pointed, univocal, idiomatic, and so on"; Derrida & Venuti, 2001:177) and "a secondary communication" (Reiss, 1981:121).

Therefore, in rendering a good, relevant translation, translators use more than grammar concepts and lexis because they need to analyse "the structure of individual speech acts [...] the linear structure of speech act sequences [...] and the global, overall structure of the communicative interaction" (Van Dijk, 1992: 232) in order to find the most appropriate linguistic and paralinguistic means to render the text or discourse from SL into TL. The question is if there are any rules (general or specific to each and every language) translators should observe. Thus, the research on meaning and the attempt to find a method for a better rendition have led to the emergence of new aspects which have changed the translation approach "from word and sentence level to the utterance and, above all, the textual level" (Dimitriu, 2002:41). The translator /interpreter needs to understand other aspects involved in the process of translation, such as the semantics, the syntax, the stylistics and the pragmatics of the SL text / discourse, but also the equivalent structures in the TL text / discourse.

For translators, meaning is what they aim at. There are two ways of understanding it, depending on its source: the utterer (author's intention) or the utterance (the meaning of the text) (Heath et al., 2004: 386). The difference is between what the speaker says and what he intends while saying it. On one hand,

¹ Cf. John R. Searle, *Speech Acts, an Essay on the Philosophy of Language*, Cambridge University Press, 1969.

the discussion is about the illocutionary force of a speech act (i.e. the content propositions are involved in different ways) and about the perlocutionary effects: the speaker utters a sentence, means what he says, but also means something more, an additional meaning¹. On the other hand, it is about a superior linguistic competence of the translator and the ability to perceive all potential illocutionary forces in the prepositional content of an utterance, a compulsory stage during translation, and the ability to predict the translability potential of that utterance.

To better see the inseparable relation between speech acts and translation, several aspects need to be clarified. Therefore, as the definition states, the illocutionary act, as the minimal unit of human communication, "consists of an illocutionary force F and a propositional content P" (Searle&Vanderveken, 1985:1). This illocutionary force is what makes the difference between grammatically similar sentences: "Illocutionary forces are realised in the syntax of the actual natural languages in a variety of ways, e.g. mood, punctuation, word-order, intonation contour, and stress [...]" (*Ibid*). Moreover, the properties of the illocutionary forces are studied by the illocutionary logic: "No matter whether and how an illocutionary act is performed, it has a certain logical form which determines its conditions of success and relates it to other speech acts" (*Ibid*, p. 2).

Identifying the type of speech acts with variation of illocutionary force supposes to know and easily identify the features of these acts (such as a promise, a threat, a warning, a suggestion). Also, there are rules which derive from a specific language and a specific linguistic community, a variety of conditions implying cultural and language specificity, necessary to observe while translating. These rules illustrate the difference between the way the translator understands and renders the semantic meaning from SL to TL, and the way he can grasp the communicative value (Bell, 2000: 194) and seize the existence or non-existence of the translability potential of the utterance. The suppositions, the expectations, and the assumptions of the interlocutors give the speech acts the characteristic value of a threat, a promise, a suggestion or a statement.

If we analyse the following utterances from a grammatical point of view, we notice that the Imperative Mood of the verb is a characteristic feature. However, at a deeper level of understanding meaning from the speaker's point of view, these utterances represent different speech acts (*Ibid*: 190) such as: an order ("Go away!"), an invitation ("Help yourself!"), a request / an order ("Call me later!"), a polite request ("Call me later, will you?").

¹ "For example, a speaker may utter the sentence 'I want you to do it' by way of requesting the hearer to do something. The utterance is incidentally meant as a statement, but it is also meant primarily as a request, a request made by way of making a statement. In such cases a sentence that contains the illocutionary force indicators for one kind of illocutionary act can be uttered to perform, in addition, another type of illocutionary act. There are also cases in which the speaker may utter a sentence and mean what he says and also mean another illocution with a different propositional content. For example, a speaker may utter the sentence 'Can you reach the salt?' and mean it not merely as a question but as a request to pass the salt" (Searle, 1999:30).

The utterance, "I'm sure your government will support me in this issue" is a statement and its perlocutionary effect is the accomplishment or non-accomplishment of the propositional content. Moreover, while saying this utterance, there are some presuppositions which become evident. On one hand, as mentioned above, these "shared background assumptions" (Griffiths, *op.cit.*: 143) are what links the interlocutors in a communication: they know each other, they know what they can do, they realise they talk about the same thing. On the other hand, the interpreter is not, in general, a person with the same knowledge advantage as the two interlocutors. Rendering it into Romanian may not cover the whole meaning intention of the speaker: „Sunt sigur că guvernul dumneavoastră mă va susține / va dori să mă susțină în rezolvarea acestei chestiuni”

In the case of the sentence "It's hot in here" there are some elements the translator needs to identify from the beginning. Thus, if the speaker is the guest, the his intention is to convey, in an indirect way, his need to immediately have a window open („Vă rog să deschideți fereastra, este foarte cald aici!”); if the interlocutors know each other very well, and one of them says it, this may mean that he or she has just realized how hot is in the room where they are ("It's hot" vs "It's warm /cold") ("Chiar e foarte cald aici" / „Mi-e bine că e aşa de cald aici!” or „E teribil de cald aici” / „Nu mă gândeam să fie aşa de cald!”, and expresses his surprise or disappointment; if there is some tension in a communication context, one of the interlocutors may try to relax the atmosphere by changing the subject („Ce zici/ziceți, nu-i prea cald aici?”).

Thus, the problem in perceiving the whole meaning of an utterance is twofold. First, the translator needs to be aware of the fact that the speaker says a thing and, by the same words, he/she expresses more, a different, additional meaning (his inner intention). And second, the translator/interpreter needs to realize whether the hearer has the ability to understand the other meaning and to accomplish the requested action, having the appropriate tone, channel, and topic and being co-operative¹. The following utterance "Can you reach the salt?" and "I would be grateful if you would get off my foot" (being requests as speech acts) are reconstructed into Romanian using not a word-for-word translation, but modulation, the most appropriate rendition in the specific sociolinguistic reality: „Poți să-mi dai sarea, te rog?” and „Ți-ăș fi recunoscător dacă ai vrea să nu mă mai calci pe picior?”.

Translating specific types of discourse in characteristic context is a more challenging situation for the translator. Two types of discourse, with their prominent and characteristic speech acts, are the material for analysis in order to illustrate translation difficulties: political and advertising discourse. In the case of

¹ The interlocutors have to observe the general principles of cooperative conversation set by Grice in order to have a coherent intercommunication.

the advertising and of the political discourse¹ there is a wide variety of speech acts to be performed such as to protest, to legitimize, to intimidate and to persuade (Woods, 2006: 50).

The following example is from a speech given by Tony Blair, the ex British prime minister, in a formal setting, at a conference of his party: "Britain should also remain the strongest ally of the United States. I know there's a bit of us that would like me to do a Hugh Grant in *Love Actually* and tell America where to get off. But the difference between a good film and real life is that in real life there's the next day, the next year, the next lifetime to contemplate the ruinous consequences of easy applause" (Labour Party Conference, 27 September 2005²). In this case, the discourse is planned, but it is not formal, it is based on metaphor (see *infra*) and it has persuasive illocutionary force. A possible translation in Romanian may be the following: „Marea Britanie ar trebui să rămână cel mai puternic aliat al Statelor Unite. Știu că puțini dintre noi ar vrea să fiu ca Hugh Grant în *Love Actually* și să le spun americanilor să ne lase în pace / să nu ne mai plăcăsească. Dar diferența dintre un film bun și viața reală este aceea că, în viața reală, există și două zile, anul viitor, următorul moment pentru a contempla consecințele dezastroase ale unor aplauze obținute prea ușor”.

In the example above, the translator and the Romanian audience may not understand the allusion if they do not have the specific knowledge about the subject matter of the film *Love Actually* and the actor who played the part, Hugh Grant, in order to grasp the meaning of the speaker's words. The use of the colloquial terms (both the high-risk metaphor "to do a Hugh Grant" and the low-risk "tell America where to get off" aim at identifying the speaker as one of the ordinary people in the street) (Woods, *op.cit.*: 55).

The same aspects are noticed in the discourse of advertising, based almost entirely on metaphor. In the following example, the attempt to translate Del Boy's most characteristic catchphrase, "lubbly jubbly"³ is more than challenging for the translator, being full of rhyming resonance with attraction potential for the target audience. The word "jubbly" has been acquiring new meanings in Britain such as "money", "wonga", and "dosh" fact proved by a simple search on the Google search engine in February 2006, which achieved almost 60,000 hits (*Ibid.*: 192). Now the phrase "lubbly jubbly", searched on the internet, is defined as a British

¹ A perfective definition for the political discourse, from the point of view of discourse analysis, is given by George Orwell: "The stuff [that was coming out of him] consisted of words, but it was not speech in the true sense: it was a noise uttered in unconsciousness, like the quacking of a duck" (p.47); this definition offers a plastic illustration of the language characteristics in the political discourse. (*Nineteen Eighty-Four*, 1954, first published 1949, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books in association with Martin Secker & Warburg).

² Fairclough, N., 2000, *New Labour, New Language?*, London: Routledge in Woods, 2006:55.

³The catchphrase is normally uttered when easy money is in sight; it includes the name of the product, Jubbly, which was an orange drink sold in the 1950s in a triangular carton. (Woods, *op.cit.*:3)

slang expression of approval or one's happiness¹. The translation is difficult because the translator may not know the etymology of the word, its semantic history and the context in which it is used at present. Finding an appropriate equivalent is another troublesome aspect in the work of translating it, even impossible work, the translatability level being non-predictible.

Another example is that of *Tropicana* fruit juice advertised as "100% pure sunshine" (*Ibid*: 23). In the mind of the hearer this advertisement should release a mixture of sunshine, hot weather, fresh juicy fruit, fun, leisure time, relaxed atmosphere, getting a tan on the sand. The translation into Romanian should imply at least the general characteristics of the English phrase, with the same potential illocutionary force of persuasion contained in the metaphor. A rendition into Romanian is not possible, the translator being forced to replace it with a partially corresponding phrase, a modulation of the meaning, such as „100% portocaliu proaspăt și luminos ca soarele verii”

The metaphor (low-risk or high-risk metaphor) is an important element in translation being a frequent stylistic means of discourse, at all levels of communicative interaction. In translation, metaphorical collocations represent a challenge. The risk of not identifying and rendering them in the TL is that of not grasping the whole meaning and, thus, not giving the most appropriate equivalence, or losing the metaphorical meaning through a non-metaphorical rendition. In the case of low-risk metaphors which, in general, do not always convey the core of the message, the communication loses some of its stylistic value: "These metaphors are 'low-risk' because conversationalists do not intend to convey any *additional* meaning by using them: addressees need do no extra deductive reasoning in their interpretation" (Carter, 2003:147). Thus, some of them are not very carefully constructed, being *on - the - spot creations*. Moreover, using such metaphors, from Grice's point of view (see *infra*), is violation of the maxims of quality and quantity, trying to *explain* the metaphor by a non - metaphorical transposition and may imply metaphorical interpretation, which is sometimes misunderstood. Even at the conversational level, it is important for the translator / interpreter to be familiar with the idiomatic usage² of the SL and TL³. For example, the idiom "under the

¹<http://www.encyclo.co.uk/define/Lubbly%20Jubbly>; <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Lubbly%20jubbly>.

² The misunderstanding and the poor rendition of idioms, especially in literal translations, implies that the translator is incompetent (Dollerup, 2006:56)

³ The following examples are quoted from Carter, *op.cit.*: "«And pigs might fly» - a fixed phrase used to frame an unlikely event, when a friend, who is notoriously unreliable at remembering to repay debts, promises to repay a small loan the following day: *A*: Thanks I won't forget this time. Till tomorrow OK? // *B*: Brian, can you see those pigs over my left shoulder, moving slowly across the sky... [*A and B burst into laughter*] (p. 163) ; and [Two friends are discussing a third friend's stormy marriage and the fact that, as a result of continuing infidelity, relations between the couple are 'frozen' and they are barely talking]: *A*: ...he's at it again but he really wants you know just to sit down. // *B*: Like they just talk about how they both feel. // *A*: Out of the frying pan into the deep freeze this time.(p. 213)

"weather", for a non-specialist may not signify very much, but for a competent translator / interpreter the meaning should be known, i.e., "ill".

The other category is that of "high-risk" metaphors, created by those who challenge their interlocutor(s) to solve riddles, the situation in which the interpreter needs to use paraphrase and does not observe Grice's maxims any longer: "Indeed, it is precisely in this sense that messages derived from violations of Grice's maxims are «paraphrases», that is, meaning **deduced** from the literal content of the utterance plus background encyclopaedic and contextual information. However, since the deductive paths to a solution are, in principle, infinite, depending upon the various knowledges that individual interpreters bring to their tasks, a creative metaphor, also in principle, eludes a definitive interpretation" (Carter, *op.cit.*:147).

Sometimes, interlocutors may use creative ("high-risk") metaphors extracted from their experience with literature, the situation in which a good knowledge of literature, culture, and civilisation is always indispensable. Both types of metaphor, high- and low-risk, have an evaluative character, a core set of items used to create them, different from the common ones ("heart, head, tree, jewel, key, door, hand"¹): "Changing cultural and hence communicative needs may tend to shift particular items deeper within or rather further away from our notional core of common metaphorical items. Items once creatively metaphorical may become progressively frozen (or dead metaphors, in conventional terminology) and as a result have an increasing likelihood of finding their way into the lexicon and of having a conventional meaning fixed to them (*Ibid.* 150-151).

Interlocutors engaged in communication, generally speaking, know and accept the communicational norms (Grice's cooperative principle²), the attitude which reflects inference (implicature). Moreover, they predict, using their encyclopaedic knowledge, the relevant meaning of the utterances in that context, and they, and the translator/interpreter, too, rely on "shared background presuppositions" trying to identify the relevant parts of the message. (Griffiths, *op.cit.*:134-143). This action is sometimes difficult to perform in the case of a formal meeting (although, in this situation, the interlocutors have an idea what they are going to talk about and the translator is also informed about it, the discourse being "semi-planned", (Hyland&Paltridge, 2011:156) where the communicative interaction is between strangers, who, unlike people who know each other and have shared various information between them, do not know each other and making presuppositions is, therefore, impossible. Another aspect the translator has to consider is cultural diversity. For example, in the case of a polite type of speech act, rules for politeness may vary from country to country, from one speech

¹ "key move, key policy" (McIntosh, 1966, p. 149)

² "He [the speaker] has said that *p*; there is no reason to suppose that he is not observing the maxims, or at least . . . [CP]; he could not be doing this unless he thought that *q*; he knows (and knows that I know that he knows) that I can see that the supposition that he thinks that *q* is required; he has done nothing to stop me thinking that *q*; therefore he intends me to think, or is at least willing to allow me to think, that *q*; and so he has implicated that *q*" (Grice, 1975:50).

community to another speech community: "the social distance of the interlocutors (i.e. is one of higher status than the other?), the formality of the context, the closeness of the conversational participants, their age, and their gender" (Brinton&Brinton, 2010: 350).

All the aspects presented above are stages in the process of rendition / reconstruction (Ionescu,Popa, 2007:28) into the target language. Mastering the language implies more than its words, sentences, special usages, it is a work which requests a broad knowledge of various social, cultural, and philosophical fields of study. Discourse analysis with speech acts typology and pragmatics are some of the tools the translator / interpreter needs to know in order to enrich his understanding of the target language and to improve his competence.

The examples in this paper are attempts to illustrate the functionality of the theoretical background presented, as regards the spoken discourse during a formal meeting, an informal conversation on the one hand, and in the discourse of advertising and politics on the other hand where an interpreter/translator's presence is required. In all these situations the translator needs to identify the intention of the speaker, the additional meaning and to know the context and the specific cultural features of the communicative situation in order to give an adequate rendition from SL (English) into the TL (Romanian). His linguistic competence and the ability to seize the translability potential of the utterance are compulsory qualities. Moreover, the identification of the illocutionary force and of its perlocutionary effects together with the additional meaning, the interpretation of the metaphor and a good knowledge of the TL are aspects to be taken into account in translation. Therefore, discourse is more than words with a recognizable organisation it is a live environment in which the interlocutors use all their linguistic and paralinguistic weapons, a virtual place for a translator to prove his language mastery.

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ПЕРЕВОД ФРАНЦУЗСКИХ ИММЕДИАТНЫХ ВРЕМЕН НА РУССКИЙ ЯЗЫК

LA TRADUCTION DES TEMPS IMMÉDIATS FRANÇAIS EN RUSSE¹

Résumé : L'objectif du présent article est d'étudier les moyens éventuels de la traduction des temps immédiats français qui tiennent une place intermédiaire entre la forme morphologique et syntaxique en russe. Cette étude se base sur le matériel de 21 nouvelles de Maupassant et leurs traductions russes faites par des traducteurs différents. Les constructions immédiates peuvent exprimer non seulement les nuances temporelles, mais aussi les nuances aspectuelles et modales ce qui influence considérablement le choix du moyen de la traduction. Ce dernier est dû parfois au contexte au sens étroit ou large.

Mots-clés : temps immédiats, moyens de traduction, nouvelles de Maupassant.

Целью данной статьи является рассмотрение способов перевода на русский язык французских иммедиатных времен. Формы аналитического будущего являются универсальным лингвистическим феноменом, свойственным языкам индоевропейской и ряда других семей, в которых они активно используются носителями языка. Иммедиатные или перифрастические формы во французском языке относятся к периферии глагольной временной системы и занимают промежуточное положение между морфологической формой и синтаксическим сочетанием.

Каждая из четырех французских иммедиатных временных форм (*futur immédiat* и *futur immédiat dans le passé*; *passé immédiat* и *passé immédiat dans le passé*) строится при помощи полувспомогательного глагола *aller* или *venir* и полнозначного глагола в форме инфинитива настоящего времени. Заметим, что инфинитив – одна из самых употребительных форм глагола. «Сопоставление грамматических категорий глагола показывает, что после изъявительного наклонения наиболее употребителен инфинитив» (Эрдей, 1997: 387). Однако он находится на периферии глагольной системы. «Инфинитив не центр глагольной системы, а его окраина» (Виноградов, 1947: 652). По мнению Золотовой Г.А., «в синтаксисе инфинитив представляет вторичную, производную форму и стоит в ряду конструктивных форм периферической сферы» (Золотова, 1982: 272).

В целом, глаголы движения [...] играют особую роль при выражении временных отношений в силу того, что сама по себе модель времени часто концептуализируется и выражается в языке через движение (или

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расположение в пространстве): субъект движется во времени из прошлого к будущему, т.е. прошлое представляется как источник движения (из которого субъект “приходит”, ср. путь развития ‘приходить от’ > ‘перфект/ прошедшее время’), а будущее как его цель (к которой он направляется, ср. путь развития ‘идти/приходить к’ > ‘проспектив/ будущее время’). Данная модель “движения субъекта во времени” проявляется и при интерпретации некоторых аспектуальных форм (напр., в алтайских, романских языках), когда конструкции с различными вспомогательными глаголами позволяют подчеркнуть “проспективный” или “ретроспективный” взгляд на развитие длительной ситуации (Майсак, 2000).

Не следует путать имmediатные времена со сложными временами, где вспомогательный глагол утратил свое исходное значение и является чисто формальным служебным элементом, в то время как полувспомогательные глаголы *aller* / *venir* сохранили часть своего значения, продолжая оставаться грамматическим служебным словом, модифицирующим смысл выражаемого процесса через, например, модальность или аспектуальность. Как было только что отмечено выше, в состав имmediатных конструкций входят два основных, ядерных глагола лексико-семантической группы глаголов движения *aller* /*venir de* + инфинитив - носитель основного лексического значения перифрастической конструкции. Общее временное значение перифрастической формы обусловливается обоими ее структурными компонентами.

Следует отметить, что глаголы движения, входящие в имmediатные аналитические структуры, относятся к лексическим единицам, которые наиболее часто подвергаются грамматикализации в языках мира. Причиной этому служит тот факт, что метафоризация пространственных понятий в целом имеет чрезвычайно важное значение: человек стремится к тому, чтобы осмыслить не физическое в терминах физического, т.е. нечто менее конкретное - в терминах более конкретной сферы опыта (Моисеева, Никитина, 2010: 78-79).

Фактическим материалом для исследования послужила двадцать одна новелла (оригиналы и переводы) знаменитого французского писателя второй половины XIX-го века Ги де Мопассана. Результатом сплошной выборки исследуемых временных форм из текстов анализируемых произведений явилось создание картотеки, содержащей 64 словоупотребления. В частности, было зафиксировано восемнадцать случаев употребления *futur immédiat*, двадцать восемь случаев употребления *futur immédiat dans le passé*, семь словоупотреблений *passé immédiat* и одиннадцать - *passé immédiat dans le passé*. Только в 5 новеллах представлены все 4 имmediатных времени: «Clair de lune», «Le Champ d’oliviers», «Boule de suif», «Le Horla», «L’inutile beauté». В новеллах «Décoré !» и «Julie Romain» данные конструкции не встречаются вообще. В 14 новеллах они представлены частично: по 3 времени из 4-х в таких новеллах, как «Ce cochon de Morin» и «La main d’écorché»; по 2

временные имmediатные формы в новеллах «La baronne», «Les bijoux», «Boitelle», «Un duel», «Lui ?», «La nuit», «Nuit de Noël», «Le papa de Simon»; по одному времени – в новеллах «L’assassin», «Deux amis», «Le port». Интересно, что в новеллах «La nuit», «Nuit de Noël», «Le papa de Simon» и «Boitelle» отсутствуют футуральные имmediатные времена при наличии *passé immédiat* и *passé immédiat dans le passé*.

Каковы же способы передачи данных имmediатных временных форм на русский язык? По мнению И.С. Алексеевой, «В силу того, что система логических связей, отраженная в грамматике, универсальна, сложности при переводе грамматических явлений с одного языка на другой – «очень небольшие» (Алексеева, 2004: 201). Тем не менее, такие проблемы возникают, особенно, если данное грамматическое значение в языке перевода отсутствует (не эксплицировано) (Алексеева, 2004: 202; Федоров, 2002: 240). Проблема перевода исследуемых конструкций обусловлена разной степенью аналитичности французского и русского языков, т.е. отсутствием аналогичных глагольных конструкций в русском языке. И.С.Алексеева подчеркивает, что речь в данном контексте идет о тех случаях, которые лежат в сфере *переводческой*, а не *языковой* компетентности (Алексеева, 2004: 202).

Рассмотрим сначала возможные способы передачи на русский язык футуральных перифрастических форм, в нашем случае *futur immédiat* и *futur immédiat dans le passé*. Следует отметить, что футуральные (проспективные) конструкции являются едва ли не главным диахроническим источником форм будущего времени. Эмиль Бенвенист называет данное время «*futur prospectif*», или, коротко, «*prospectif*»: «Tour périphrastique (construit avec l’auxiliaire aller)», *substitut du futur* (Benveniste, 1966: 239). Электронный словарь Википедия определяет будущее ближайшее время следующим образом: «Le futur proche, également dénommé futur immédiat ou futur périphrastique, est un temps périphrastique du français faisant appel à un semi-auxiliaire. Il permet d’exprimer un événement dont on perçoit les signes avant-coureurs au moment présent (ex : *Il va pleuvoir.*), et qui va donc souvent se réaliser dans un court délai (d'où l'adjectif *proche*), mais pas toujours cependant (ex : *Pour l'instant les cours sont faciles, mais tu vas en baver dans deux ans, quand tu seras en licence.*)...» (http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Futur_proche).

Будущее ближайшее выражает, как видно из словарного определения и самого значения его наименования, действие, которое вот-вот совершится, находясь на стадии своего совершения. Понятно поэтому использование вспомогательного глагола «aller», подчеркивающего что действие уже практически «в дороге», что передается иногда переводчиками с сохранением этимологической семантики данного полувспомогательного глагола, как в следующих примерах:

1. *Je vais rôder, entrer dans les lieux de plaisir, questionner, chasser, choisir à mon gré.* – *Пойду поброджу, загляну в увеселительные места, расспрошу, поищу и выберу по своему вкусу (Nuit de Noël).*

2. "Je vas me passer un peu d'eau sur le nez et sur les mains"… - *Пойду сполоснущемноожко руки и лицо (Le champ d'oliviers).*

Переводчики попытались сохранить в данных примерах основное значение глагола *aller* – пойду, ставя его в будущее время, в котором стоит и основной глагол. То есть, несмотря на то, что грамматикализация словосочетания, приводящая к формированию аналитических структур, неразрывно связана с десемантизацией одного из компонентов словосочетания, с ослаблением его собственного значения и его превращением в полуслужебный или служебный элемент (Гак, 1965: 129-142), в некоторых случаях «прозрачность» семантики полувспомогательного глагола так велика, что находит отражение даже в переводе.

В целом же, вследствие отсутствия данных временных форм в русском языке, переводчики находят различные способы их передачи на русский язык. Что касается *futur immédiat*, основным способом его перевода, по данным нашей выборки, является замена синтетического времени на морфологическое, т.е. *futur immédiat* передается с помощью русского будущего времени (восемь случаев из восемнадцати).

1. - *Ma chère amie, lui dis-je, je vais faire porter chez vous cet ivoire-là.* - Дорогая моя, — сказал я ей, — я *пришилю* к вам на дом это изваяние из слоновой кости (*La baronne*).

2. *Je me dis : "Je vais crier, ils viendront."* – Я подумал: «Крикну и они появятся» (*La nuit*).

3. -*Ah ! vous allez entendre des choses désagréables, mais sachez que je suis prête à tout,* - О, вы услышите неприятные вещи. Но знайте, что я *готова на все.* (*L'inutile beauté*)

Намеренность вступления в новую ситуацию, в какой-либо процесс связана во французском языке с представлением о движении (Рянская, 2000). Основным путем развития глагола *aller* «является превращение в показатель проспектива (*prospective aspect*), указывающий на то, что в момент речи имеются предпосылки для последующего осуществления ситуации (Майсак, 2000). Это можно проиллюстрировать на следующих примерах:

1. *Lantin impassible, rouge et grave, annonça:- Je vais vous les apporter.* - Лантэн, весь красный, невозмутимо и важно заявил: - *Сейчас я их привезу.* (*Les bijoux*)

2. *Mais que vas-tu faire de cette horreur ? nous écriâmes-nous.* - Но что ты собираешься делать с этой гадостью? — спросили мы (*La main d'écorché*).

То есть, *futur immédiat* передается на русский язык лексическими, а не грамматическими средствами. Этот способ стоит, по частотности, на втором месте – 4 случая на 18 словоупотреблений.

Что касается перевода на русский язык *futur immédiat dans le passé*, здесь наблюдается иная картина: лексические замены стоят на первом месте с точки зрения частотности их употребления в переводах новелл. Соответствующими лексическими эквивалентами являются наречия «сейчас», «скоро», «тотчас», «вот-вот», «собираться» и пр. + глагол в будущем времени:

1. *Les Prussiens allaient entrer dans Rouen, disait-on.* - Говорили, что пруссаки **вот-вот вступят** в Руан. (*Boule de suif*, p.22)

2. *Il annonça que Bismarck allait bâtir une ville de fer avec les canons capturés.* - Он сообщил, что Бисмарк **собирается построить** железный город из захваченных пушек. (*Un duel*)

3. *La concierge, prévenue par moi à ma sortie, avait dit que j'allais rentrer, avait prêté sa clef.* - Привратница, которую я, уходя, предупредил, что **скоро вернусь**, должно быть, дала ему свой ключ. (*Lui ?*)

Как видим, вспомогательный глагол *aller* в перифрастическом времени *le futur proche (immédiat)* или *le futur immédiat dans le passé* позволяет выражать действие в аспекте индоативности, т.е. начинательности. Приведем еще несколько примеров:

1. *"Dis donc, fit l'autre en riant, on dirait qu'il te regarde et qu'il va te sauter à la gorge pour que tu lui rendes sa main.* - Он как будто смотрит на тебя, — заметил другой, смеясь, — и **вот-вот вцепится** в горло, чтобы ты отдал ему руку! (*La main d'écorché*).

2. ...*mais on sentait que les gros mots allaient arriver quand le comte s'interposa...* - ...но чувствовалось, что **сейчас дело дойдет** до перебранки; тут вмешался граф... (*Boule de suif*, p.35).

3. *Ils se regardèrent au fond des yeux, pour s'épier, sentant, devinant que quelque chose de grave allait surgir entre eux.* - Они пристально, испытывающе посмотрели друг на друга, смутно угадывая, что между ними **сейчас встанет** что-то страшное. (*Le port*)

В большинстве случаев анализируемые перифрастические конструкции имеют значение простого будущего времени со значением намерения, которому в русском языке соответствует будущее время

лексического эквивалента инфинитива либо модальный глагол «собираться» (особенно в прошедшем плане) в настоящем времени + лексический эквивалент «инффинитив», как в примерах, приводимых ниже:

1. ...*mais la pensée de celui qu'on allait baptiser lui jeta au coeur une tendresse subite et violente pour le sien...* - ... но мысль о младенце, которого собираются крестить, вызвала в ее сердце внезапный неистовый прилив нежности к собственному ребенку... (*Boule de suif*, p.49).
2. *Mais que vas-tu faire de cette horreur ? nous écriâmes-nous.* - Но что мы собираешься делать с этой гадостью? — спросили мы. (*La main d'écorché*)

Что касается перевода *futur immédiat dans le passé* просто будущим временем, этот способ по частотности занимает вторую позицию. Приведем некоторые примеры из нашей выборки:

1.*tandis que Morin éperdu, persuadé qu'elle allait se précipiter sur la voie, la retenait par sa jupe...* – ...в то время как ошалевший Морен, уверенный, что она выбросится на рельсы, удерживал ее за юбку, заикаясь... (*Ce cochon de Morin*)
2. *L'inquiétude était extrême. Qu'allait-elle faire?* - Беспокойство достигло крайних пределов. **На что она решится?** (*Boule de suif*)
3. ...*et il partit en annonçant qu'il allait m'envoyer immédiatement une garde-malade et une nourrice.* – ...и ушел, сказав, что немедленно **пришлем** ко мне сиделку и кормилицу. (*Nuit de Noël*)

В большинстве грамматик и пособий по переводу эти два способа, т.е перевод просто будущим временем или при помощи лексических единиц считаются практически единственными возможными. Можно нередко прочитать, что значение ближайшего / отдаленного действия в русском языке не находит специального грамматического выражения, поэтому оппозиция *futur simple* и *futur immédiat, passé composé* и *passé immédiat* в русском тексте или остается невыраженной, или передаётся лексическим способом, а именно: «только что» – для форм *passé immédiat*, «вот-вот», «сейчас», «собираться» – для форм *futur immédiat* (Сенченкова, 2011: 198). По мнению одного из основоположников переводоведения А.В. Федорова, «в литературе вопроса и, особенно, в учебниках того или другого иностранного языка существует тенденция преувеличивать стандартность возможных способов передачи подобных конструкций» (Федоров, 2002: 235). Сказанное относится в полной мере, на наш взгляд, и к проблемам передачи французских аналитических иммедиатных форм на русский язык, т.к. эти глагольные конструкции могут выражать не только временные, но и аспектуальные значения предельности / непредельности действия.

Во французском языке, как и во всех романских языках, оппозиция предельности / непредельности глагола играет доминирующую роль в аспектуальной характеристике действия, какой бы глагольной формой оно ни выражалось (Реферовская, 1984: 92). Французский язык, не имея разветвленной системы морфологических показателей, с помощью которых можно было бы представить все разнообразие аспектуальных значений предельности / непредельности действия, компенсирует это синтаксическими средствами, т.е. словосочетаниями, образованными вследствие грамматикализации компонентов. Чаще они передают предельность глагольного действия, но встречаются и случаи выражения имmediатными временами непредельности действия, что находит выражение и в переводах на русский язык, как в цитируемых ниже примерах:

1. *La bonne restait effarée, à la pensée que son maître **allait dîner** avec ce malfaiteur.* – Служанка стояла в оцепенении от мысли, что хозяин **будет обедать** с этим злодеем. (*Le champ d'oliviers*)
2. *Il restait là, planté au milieu d'eux, surpris et embarrassé, sans comprendre ce qu'on **allait lui faire**.* - Он стоял среди них неподвижно, удивленный и смущенный, не понимая, что с ним **будут делать**. (*Le papa de Simon*)
3. *Une grosse question restait à résoudre : Avec qui **allais-je réveillonner** ?-* Оставалось решить самый главный вопрос: с кем я **буду встречать сочельник?** (*Nuit de Noël*)

Во всех этих трех примерах непредельность глагольного будущего времени выражена при помощи соответствующих русских глаголов в будущем времени несовершенного вида. Нам встретились случаи перевода данной конструкции при помощи глаголов несовершенного вида, но в прошедшем времени:

1. *Il est mort avec Nicolas Morali, quand ils ont été cernés dans le Niolo, après six jours de lutte, et qu'ils **allaient périr de faim.**"* – Шесть дней они держались и уж **совсем пропадали с голода**. (*Histoire corse*)
2. *...il fut convenu que les parents verraien cette fille avant de rien décider et que le garçon, dont le service **allait finir** l'autre mois, l'amènerait à la maison...* - было решено, что родители, раньше чем дать согласие, посмотрят девушки, — Антуан, служба которого **кончалась** через месяц.
3. *C'était en lui une sorte d'étoffement qui commençait, qui **allait grandir** et finirait par le tuer,* - Он испытывал что-то типа удушья; оно подступало к горлу, **усиливалось** и в конце концов могло его убить... (*Le champ d'oliviers*)

и даже в и настоящем:

...puis, quand je vis qu'il allait passer... – потом вижу, что он подыхает... (Le champ d'oliviers)

Оппозиция предельность / непредельность глагольного действия хорошо видна на противопоставлении сходной ситуации в новелле «Пышка»:

1. *Enfin on allait se mettre à table, quand le patron de l'auberge parut lui-même.* - Когда, наконец, **стали усаживаться за стол, появился сам хозяин постоялого двора.** (*Boule de suif*)

2. *Comme on allait se mettre à table, M. Follenvie reparut, et, de sa voix graillonnante, il prononça...* - Когда **собрались обедать,** снова появился г-н Фоланви и прохрипел... (*Boule de suif*)

Выбор соответствующего видового оттенка обусловлен, вероятно, более широким контекстом.

В нашей выборке встретился пример выражения посредством временной формы *futur immédiat dans le passé* не будущего времени, а несовершившегося действия, что передано на русский язык при помощи частицы «было»:

J'allais me fâcher, maman me fait taire, et elle lui dit... – Я было рассердился, но мамаша останавливает меня и говорит ему... (Le champ d'oliviers)

Наряду с темпоральными и аспектуальными значениями анализируемые глагольные конструкции могут передавать и модальные оттенки, такие как, например, долженствования, которые могут переводиться на русский язык модальным словом и глаголом в будущем времени:

1. *Loiseau, qui comprenait la situation, demanda tout à coup si cette "garce-là" allait les faire rester longtemps encore dans un pareil endroit.* - Луазо, прекрасно понимавший положение, спросил вдруг, **долго ли им придется из-за «этой потаскухи» торчать в такой трущобе.** (*Boule de suif*)

2. *Il pensait maintenant se rendre plus utile au Havre, où de nouveaux retranchements allaient être nécessaires.* - Теперь он полагал, что гораздо большие пользы принесет в Гавре, где также **необходимо будет рыть траншеи.** (*Boule de suif*)

Они могут переводиться также модальным глаголом в настоящем времени + инфинитив основного глагола:

1. "Je **vais me noyer** parce que je n'ai point de papa." - «Я **должен утопиться**, потому что у меня нет папы». (*Le papa de Simon*)
2. Pour la première fois je sentis qu'il **allait arriver** quelque chose d'étrange, de nouveau. - — И тут я впервые почувствовал, что **должно случиться** что-то новое, необычайное... (*La nuit*)

Единичны случаи приобретения исследуемыми аналитическими временами дезидеративного значения:

1. Je **vais faire** une petite fête de gourmand, ça ne m'arrive pas trop souvent – Сего^ня я **хочу устроить** себе праздник и полакомиться... (*Le champ d'oliviers*)
2. Philippe-Auguste **allait se remettre à parler**. – Филипп-Огюст **хотел заговорить снова**. (*Le champ d'oliviers*)

Встречаются в нашей картотеке случаи перевода будущих аналитических времен инфинитивом:

1. Alors le tempérament populacier de Mme Loiseau éclata: "Nous **n'allons pourtant pas mourir** de vieillesse ici. - Тогда плебейская порода г-жи Луазо развернулась во всю ширь: - **Не сидеть же нам здесь до старости!**! (*Boule de suif*)
2. Quand ma bonne fut partie, après mon dîner, je me demandai ce que j'**allais faire**. - После обеда, когда ушла служанка, я стал думать, **чем бы заняться**. (*Lui ?*)
3. Et, de nouveau, il commença le geste du pied qui **va écraser** quelqu'un, tandis que sa maîtresse, redressée à genoux... - И он снова поднял ногу, **чтобы ударить** любовницу, но она, стоя на коленях... (*Le champ d'oliviers*)
4. Quand ça? - Hier soir, comme j'**allais me coucher**. - А когда? — Вчера вечером, **перед тем как спать ложиться**. (*Boule de suif*)

Реже встречаются случаи перевода данных времен при помощи существительных:

1. Le lendemain, comme l'école était pleine et que **la classe allait commencer**, le petit Simon se leva, tout pâle et les lèvres tremblantes... - На следующий день, когда мальчики собирались в школе, маленький Симон поднялся с места **перед началом урока**. (*Le papa de Simon*).

2 *Puis, comme il allait sortir, il se tourna vers le marchand qui souriait toujours, et, baissant les yeux... - В дверях он обернулся к ювелиру, не перестававшему улыбаться, и сказал, опустив глаза... (Les bijoux)*

Конструкция «aller + Infinitif» является симметричной конструкцией для обозначения недавно прошедшего действия, выражаемого при помощи полуспомогательного глагола «venir + de + Infinitif». Как мы отмечали в начале статьи, *passé immédiat* и *passé immédiat dans le passé* значительно уступают по употребительности футуральным временам: в совокупности всего восемнадцать словоупотреблений из шестидесяти четырех. Менее разнообразны и передаваемые ими оттенки значений. Как подчеркивает Т.А. Майсак (2000), «конструкция с (ПРИХОДИТЬ) (при указании на удаление из исходной точки) часто используется для выражения значения перфекта, т.е. для указания на ситуацию в прошлом, сохраняющую релевантность в момент речи...». Это полностью соответствует французской временной форме *passé immédiat* или ее аналогу в прошедшем времени - *passé immédiat dans le passé*, как в следующих примерах:

1. *"Tiens, un autre locataire vient sans doute de remonter." - "Ага, должно быть, кто-то из жильцов только что вернулся" (Lui ?).*
2. *Et Morisset qui venait de saisir une ablette, déclara... – Morusco поймал уклейку и заявил... (Deux amis)*
3. *...il ne put résister à la démangeaison de lui confier, avec une certaine coquetterie, qu'il venait d'hériter de quatre cent mille francs. - ...он не мог преодолеть искушения и сообщил не без игривости, что получил наследство в четыреста тысяч франков (Les bijoux).*

Чаще всего данной французской аналитической временной форме соответствует в русском языке прошедшее время спрягаемого глагола-лексического эквивалента инфинитива + лексические указатели недавней реализации действия: «только что», «тем временем»:

1. *Le train venait de repartir. - Поезд тем временем тронулся. (Le duel)*
2. *Je venais d'apprendre que mon fils avait donné, la veille même, dix mille francs à cette femme... - «Я только что узнал, что накануне мой сын подарил этой женщине десять тысяч франков... (L'assassin)*
3. « Ça, mon ami, dis-je à Labarbe, tu viens encore de prononcer ces quatre mots, «ce cochon de Morin». – Друг мой, постой, - сказал я Лябарбу, - ты только что опять произнес «Эта свинья Морен» (Ce cochon de Morin).
4. *Je venais d'acheter ce Christ de la Renaissance que je vous ai montré... - Незадолго перед тем я купил то самое распятие эпохи Возрождения, что вам показывал... (La baronne)*

Анализируемая конструкция может, как в нижеследующих примерах, переводиться просто личной формой глагола в прошедшем времени:

1. ... *il ne put résister à la démangeaison de lui confier, avec une certaine coquetterie, qu'il venait d'hériter de quatre cent mille francs.* (*Les bijoux*, p. 165) - ... он не мог преодолеть искушения и сообщил не без игривости, что **получил наследство в четыреста тысяч франков**.

2. *Alors Cornudet [...] sourit comme un homme qui vient de trouver une bonne farce...* (*Boule de suif*, p.60) – Тогда Корнюде [...] улыбнулся, как будто **придумал удачную шутку**...

Способы перевода данных конструкций на русский язык личной формой глагола в прошедшем времени совершенного вида или же глаголом в прошедшем времени с лексическими единицами «только что» являются доминирующими. Однако это не исключает и другие возможности. *Passé immédiat* и *passé immédiat dans le passé* могут, как и футуральные иммедиатные конструкции, выражать видовые оттенки предельности / непредельности, что можно проиллюстрировать на нижеследующих примерах, но нам встретился только один случай непредельности (пример №3) :

1. *Les derniers soldats français venaient enfin de traverser la Seine pour gagner Pont-Audemer...* - Последние французские солдаты **переправились, наконец**, через Сену, следя в Понт-Одемер... (*Boule de suif*)

2. *On finit par comprendre qu'un malheur venait d'arriver dans la campagne du curé...* – Наконец поняли, что в усадьбе у кюре **случилось несчастье**... (*Le champ d'oliviers*)

3. *Je songeai : "Je viens d'avoir une hallucination, voilà tout."* - Я решил: "У меня **была** галлюцинация, только и всего". (*Lui ?*)

Встречаются случаи выражения данными глагольными временами гипотетичности глагольного действия, что передается в русском переводе соответствующими наречиями:

1. ...*tu viens d'emprunter de l'argent, d'enterrer ton oncle, ou de mettre ta montre chez ma tante, reprend un autre.* - *Tu viens de te griser, riposte un troisième...* - ...ты, **верно, занял** где-то деньжонок, или **похоронил** дядюшку, или **удачно заложил** часы, — заметил другой. (*La main d'écorché*)

2. *Alors Cornudet [...] sourit comme un homme qui vient de trouver une bonne farce, et se mit à siffloter la Marseillaise.* - Тогда Корнюде [...] улыбнулся, **как будто придумал** удачную шутку, и **стал насвистывать** «Марсельезу». (*Boule de suif*)

В нашей выборке отмечены также случаи перевода *passé immédiat dans le passé* причастными оборотами:

1. ...il aperçut, là-bas, sur la gauche, la grande silhouette du Mont-Valérien, qui portait au front une aigrette blanche, une buée de poudre **qu'il venait de cracher.** (*Deux amis*) – ...увидел высокий силуэт Мон-Валерьена, вершина которого была украшена белым султаном – **только что выпущенным** пороховым облачком. (*Deux amis*)

2. *J'appris que la femme outragée était une jeune fille, Mlle Henriette Bonnel, qui venait de prendre à Paris ses brevets d'institutrice...* – я узнал, что **оскорбленная девушка – мадмуазель Анриетта Боннель, ездившая в Париж за дипломом учительницы...** (*Ce cochon de Morin*)

Как видно из примеров, временной оттенок имmediатности может при переводе иногда не сохраняться, но намного чаще он все же сохраняется.

Возможен также перевод деепричастием, как в примере из новеллы «Два друга», с заменой частей речи – глагола на существительное:

Mais ils tressaillirent effarés, sentant bien qu'on venait de marcher derrière eux... Но они вздрогнули в испуге, отчетливо услыхав за собою шаги. (*Deux amis*)

Темпоральный признак имmediатности в аналитических временах прошедшего времени *passé immédiat* и *passé immédiat dans le passé* сочетается, судя по всем зарегистрированным в нашей картотеке примерам, только с одноактностью и итоговостью.

Не следует путать имmediатные времена со случаями, когда глаголы «aller» или «venir (de)» стоят, чаще всего, в «passé simple», сохраняя своё лексическое значение (глагола движения), либо грамматикализуются и обозначают результат действия, выраженного инфинитивом:

1. *Il alla déjeuner chez Voisin et but du vin à vingt francs la bouteille.* (*Les bijoux*, p.165) - **Завтракать он отправился к Вуазену и пил вино в двадцать франков бутылка.**

2. *...et il prit l'habitude de venir absorber, en ce petit cabaret du port, toutes les douceurs liquides - И у него создалась привычка приходить в этот портовый кабачок и попивать там сладкие напитки.* (*Boitelie*)

В данных примерах все компоненты французских конструкций получают эквиваленты в русском языке. Иногда при переводе используется просто прошедшее время лексического эквивалента инфинитива, а глагол «aller» опускается. Проиллюстрируем этот на следующих примерах:

1. *Or, un soir, comme il se trouvait à Rouen il voulut aller embrasser sa femme... (Décoré, p.170)* - Но однажды вечером, когда он был в Руане, ему захотелось обнять жену...

2. *Il alla serrer la main de ses anciens collègues et leur confia ses projets d'existence nouvelle; puis il dîna au café Anglais. (Les bijoux, p.165)* - Он попрощался с бывшими сослуживцами и поделился с ними планами своей новой жизни; потом пообедал в Английском кафе.

3. *Il eut une telle secousse d'émotion qu'il lâcha le pardessus et alla tomber dans un fauteuil. (Décoré, p.171)* - От волнения он выронил пальто и упал в кресло.

В данном значении «aller» может употребляться и в других временах, кроме «passé simple», например, «imparfait» или «présent»:

1. *Comme il allait chercher la seconde bête, il remarqua tous ces voyageurs immobiles... - Направляясь за второй лошадью, он заметил неподвижные фигуры путешественников. (Boule de suif)*

2. *Alors se déroula une histoire fantaisiste, [...] où les citoyennes de Rome allaient endormir, à Capoue, Annibal entre leurs bras... - Была даже рассказана [...] фантастическая история о римских гражданках, которые отправлялись в Капую убаюкивать в своих объятиях Ганнибала... (Boule de suif)*

3. *Un siège bas, caché sous les plantes, indiquait que la vieille actrice venait souvent s'asseoir là. – Скрытое зеленью удобное низкое кресло указывало, что старая актриса частенько приходит посидеть здесь. (Julie Romain).*

Эта же конструкция, т.е. глагол «aller» в личной форме + инфинитив может лексикализоваться при условии, что в качестве данного инфинитива будет использоваться глагол «chercher». В таких случаях глагол «chercher» при переводе опускается:

1. *Et il prit un fiacre pour aller chercher les joyaux. (Les bijoux, p.164)* - Он нанял фиакр и **поехал** за драгоценностями.

2. *Toutes les fois qu'on avait à faire nettoyer une fosse [...] c'était lui qu'on allait chercher. (Boitelle, p. 108)* - Всякий раз, когда нужно было собрать кучу навоза, [...] **посылали** за Буателем.

Аналогичной лексикализации подвергается и глагол «venir» в сочетании с глаголами «chercher» или «trouver»:

1. *On achevait le café quand l'ordonnance vint chercher ces messieurs.* - Когда кончали кофе, за графом и фабрикантом **явился** денщик. (*Boule de suif*)

2. *Or, dans les premiers jours de janvier, elle est venue me trouver pour m'emprunter trente mille francs* - Так вот, в начале января она **пришла ко мне с** просьбой одолжить ей тридцать тысяч франков. (*La baronne*)

О своеобразной лексикализации глагола «aller» в личной форме + инфинитив можно говорить и при использовании его с глаголом «voir»:

1. *En effet, mon pauvre ami était fou ; pendant sept mois j'allai le voir tous les jours à l'hospice...* - Действительно, мой бедный друг сошел с ума; целых семь месяцев я ежедневно **навещал** его в больнице... (*La main d'écorché*)

2. *Je dinai au cabaret ; j'allai voir le spectacle, puis je me mis en chemin pour rentrer.* - Пообедал в ресторанчике, **побывал в театре**, затем пошел домой. (*Lui ?*)

Следует также отличать будущие имmediатные времена от употребления данного глагола в форме императива, где глагол «aller» обычно сохраняет свое лексическое значение:

"Va promener Monsieur jusqu'au dîner." – **Пойди погуляй** с гостем до обеда. (*Histoire corse*)

Проведенный анализ теоретического и фактического материала по способам перевода французских имmediатных временных форм показал, что расхождения в системе французского и русского языков и, следовательно, невозможность формально точно передать данные синтаксические временные формы, компенсируется за счет других грамматических или же лексических средств. Французские имmediатные времена выражают темпоральные, аспектуальные и модальные оттенки глагольного действия, что накладывает отпечаток на способы перевода данных конструкций на русский язык. Выбор переводческого эквивалента может определяться также широким и/или узким контекстом. Отсутствие экспликации грамматического значения в ПЯ никогда не означает, что данное грамматическое значение средствами этого языка передать невозможно. Общеизвестно, что язык для обеспечения своей коммуникативной функции выработал изрядное количество дублирующих средств – целое поле избыточности, которое заключает информацию, передаваемую с помощью языка, в надежную оболочку (Алексеева, 2004: 203).

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TRANSLATING KINSHIP TERMS IN THE QUR'AN¹

Abstract: The present paper is designed to shed some light on the intricacies involved in translating Arabic kinship terms into English, as illustrated by three translations of the Qur'an, namely Pickthall, Shakir and Ali. The paper reveals that the problems in translation are threefold: (1) the Source Language (SL) putative kinship terms can be rendered straightforwardly into Target Language (TL) counterparts, but because of lexical incongruence existing between the SL and the TL, pitfalls in the translation emerge; (2) kinship terms in Arabic may be reciprocal, i.e., one term may be used interchangeably with another; this linguistic feature is Arabic-bound that cannot serve in the course of translation; and (3) fictive kinship terms may pose fewer problems than problem 1 and 2. The study concludes with some pedagogical implications that will hopefully help the translator in the field.

Key Words: the Qur'an, kinship terms, Arabic, English, translation problems,

Introduction

Kinship terms refer to a system of social organization and are usually based on a genealogical origin, i.e., biological, cultural, or historical descent. Biological descent may include putative family ties in which someone is related to another by birth (i.e., consanguineous kin) rather than by marriage (i.e., affinal kin). Cultural descent refers to such kind of relationships created by marriage rather than by birth. Finally, historical descent refers to a more general relationship based on race or religion.

The *Collins Cobuild Advanced Learner's English Dictionary CCAL* (2003) defines kinship as "the relationship between members of the same family." More technically, Leach (1958: 143) defines kinship terms as "category words by means of which an individual is taught to recognize the significant groupings in the social structure into which he is born." Similarly, Farghal and Shakir (1994: 242) offer this definition: "kin terms are used to designate family relations among relatives (e.g., father-daughter, mother-son, brother-sister, etc.)."

A close look at the aforementioned definitions shows the 'real' kinship relationships. However, in anthropological studies on some (non)-Western languages and societies, the changeable nature of kinship terms is stressed. That is to say, 'real' kinships are no longer real, but they gain more and more pragmatic import, thus employed as fictive kinships, for instance. Titiev (1967: 44) notes that kin terms have nothing to do with genealogical connections (see also Mashiri,

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2004). Farghal and Shakir (1994: 242) further stress the honorific nature of kin terms saying that they “are used connotationally to maintain and enrich social interaction among both related and unrelated participants.” Titiev and Farghal and Shakir argument surpasses the dominant conceptualization of kinship terms offered by the *CCALE* and Leach.

The Translation of the Qur'an

Excelling in Arabic is the be-all and end-all to most Arabs in the *Jahiliyyah*¹ era. Arabs admired verbal prowess. Salloum and Peters (1990: ix-x) argue that “[i]t mattered not if they were rich or poor: everyone tried to excel in this field. Thus, Arabic developed an enormous vocabulary [...] that is scarcely matched by any other language except possibly English.” When Allah sent Prophet Mohammed to the Arabs in the Arabian Peninsula, He granted him with a miracle in order to support the Divine message. The miracle was the Qur'an being written in Arabic. In this regard, Allah says: “We have made it a Qur'an in Arabic, that ye may be able to understand (and learn wisdom)” (Ali 43:3). However, Allah challenged the pre-Islamic eloquent Arabs to compose even a Qur'an-like Sura (chapter) saying: “And if ye are in doubt as to what We have revealed from time to time to Our servant, then produce a Sura like thereunto; and call your witnesses or helpers (If there are any) besides God, if your (doubts) are true” (Ali 2:23). Labid, one of the seven legendary poets of the Golden Odes at the *Jahiliyyah* was overwhelmed by the power and elegance of the Qur'an that he refused to compose any poetry for the last thirty years of his life (Sindi, 2002)². It ensues, therefore, that the Arabs as native speakers of Arabic did not take up the gauntlet in composing even a verse of their own language.

Viewed as “evaporation of the beauties of the original” (Tytler, 1790: 20) and/or as “an x-ray, not a Xerox” (Barnstone, 1993: 271), the translation of the Qur'an is then questionable. The main translators working on the Qur'an projects in the early translation into Latin, dated back to the twelfth century, described their “participation as a ‘digression’ from their scientific translations” (Pym, 1998: 130). “The abbot of Cluny remarks that it cost him ‘many prayers and much expense’ to have the *Qur'an* translated into Latin (*ibid*; *italics in original*).

Nevertheless, the translations of the Qur'an have received plethora of criticism by Muslim scholars. In the words of Kidwai (cited in Mohammed, 2005) the translations of the Qur'an have come as “a complete and exhaustive reply to the manifold criticisms of the Koran³ by various Christian authors such as Drs. Sale, Rodwell, Palmer, and Sir W. Muir.” Therefore, several translations of the Qur'an

¹ The *Jahiliyyah* era refers to the ignorance of pre-Islamic Arabia 500-622 AD.

² <http://www.radioislam.org/sindi/arab.htm>, consulted on August 6th, 2011.

³ Different spelling of the Qur'an.

have come to the fore, of which are Marmaduke Pickthall (1875-1936), Saudi-endorsed translation of Yusuf Ali (1872-1952) and the translation of Muhammad Shakir (1866-1939). “Pickthall was aware of the problems of the Christian missionaries’ translations and sought to remedy the defects since some of the translations include commentation offensive to Muslims, and almost all employ a style of language which Muslims at once recognize as unworthy” (Mohammed, 2005: The Meaning of the Glorious Koran); Ali’s “was the most popular English version among Muslims” (*ibid*: The Holy Qur'an: Translation and Commentary); Shakir's “draws heavily—and without acknowledgement—on the work of Marmaduke Pickthall” (*ibid*: Conclusion).

With particular reference to Arabic, Salloum and Peters (1990: ix-x) claim that “nothing can be translated from Arabic satisfactorily. The Arabic version of the foreign is always shorter than the original. Arabic loses in translation but all other languages being translated into Arabic gain.” It is then possible, according to Thawabteh (2011: 104), “to add that Arabic was one of few languages that had cultural impact globally.” Sapir (1921: 194) explains: “There are just five languages that have had an overwhelming significance as carriers of culture. They are classical Chinese, Sanskrit, Arabic, Greek and Latin.” Likewise, Lefevere (1992:1) argues that “not all languages seem to have been created equal. Some languages enjoy a more prestigious status than others, just as some texts occupy a more central position in a given culture than others—the Bible, for instance, or the [Q]ur'an.” Such claims, however, can probably be amorphous as each language is one-of-a-kind in its own. When it comes to the Qur'an, the translation is certainly a rip-off of the original as is the case in the translation from one language into another and from one text into another.

In what follows, we shall look at one of the problems in the translation of the Qur'an, namely translating kinship terms which fall into three major categories: putative kinship, reciprocal kinship and fictive kinship.

The Notion of Equivalence

It goes without saying that each language has its own nuances in terms of syntax, semantics, pragmatics, stylistics and culture. English and Arabic stand as a perfect example of a many unrelated languages. The former is an Indo-European language whereas the latter belongs to the Semitic language family. Infallibility of translation between the two language families is rather difficult, if not impossible.

The problem of equivalence has been burgeoning in Translation studies, and there is a consensus among translation theorists and practitioners that regards equivalence as absolutely essential to translation (Nida, 1964; Catford, 1965; and Newmark, 1988, among many others). However, each has looked at it from a different angle, thus varieties of equivalence has come to the fore: ‘semantic equivalence’; ‘functional equivalence’; ‘stylistic equivalence’; ‘formal

equivalence'; 'textual equivalence'; 'communicative equivalence'; 'linguistic equivalence'; 'pragmatic equivalence'; 'dynamic equivalence'; 'ontological equivalence'; 'semiotic equivalence' and so on so forth (Gorlée, 1994).

Perhaps it is true to argue that all these types of equivalence revolve around two poles: either target-oriented translation or source-oriented translation. In fact, there has been a tug-of-war between the two poles. Yet, both translations are applicable. Nida (1964) prefers 'functional equivalence' or 'dynamic equivalence' to 'formal equivalence' in the translation of the Bible.

Insofar as the Qur'an is concerned, translators have a wide selection of equivalence levels. Pym (1998:131) made the following hierarchy for the twelfth-century Latin translations of Arabic protoscience as follows: (1) the translations of the authoritative texts should be literal; (2) secondary elaboration may be used; (3) translators should work in teams; (4) oral intermediaries may be inferiorized; (5) translation was legitimate conquest; and (6) not-Christian texts could be authoritative. Arguably, literalism enjoyed high status in Pym's hierarchies which may have deleterious effect on the translation as will be shown in section 4 below.

3. Methodology

The purpose of the study is to investigate the translation of Arabic kinship terms into English, with reference to three translations of the Qur'an, namely Pickthall's (2002) *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an: Explanatory Translation*; Shakir's (1989) *The Qur'an*; and Ali's¹ (1983) *The Holy Qur'an: Translation and Commentary*. Although these translations are fully attested complete, they fall short of the original because Arabic Qur'an is characterised of incompatible power and elegance, not existing in the language of Arabic literature, or in everyday Arabic. "The often secretive and esoteric nature of the Qur'anic language should be given due attention in the course of translation (Thawabteh's, 2007: 72). God says: "We have sent it down as an Arabic Qur'an, in order that ye may learn wisdom" (Ali 12:2). This should not be understood to mean at all that the translators are incompetent; rather, it suggests that kinship terms are difficult to render. For the sake of the present study, conducting a full scale analysis of all occurrences of kinship terms in the Qur'an seems to be difficult for the numerous examples the Qur'an displays. Most of which, however, are repetitious, that is falling within three categories, namely those akin to putative kinship terms, reciprocal kinship terms and fictive kinship terms. For example, a search in the title in SearchTruth.com² returns 74 hits with the word "brother", 22 hits for "sister", 5 hits for "aunt" and 118 for "father". Only representative examples are selected,

¹ <http://www.altafsir.com/>, consulted on August 6th, 2011.

² <http://www.searchtruth.com>, consulted on August 10th, 2012. The search is carried out in Ali's translation.

totalling 8 in number. Examples are given in Arabic along with the English translations.

3.1. Significance of the Study

The notion of kinship terms cannot be thought of as a new topic, without any pedigree in the sociolinguistic studies of the past. In fact, there is extensive and burgeoning body of sociolinguistic literature on the use of kinship terms in Arabic (see for example Parkinson, 1985; Khuri, 1981; Shimizu, 1989; Farghal & Shakir, 1994). To the best of my knowledge, however, kinship terms in the Qur'an receive little attention. The present paper aims to lay the foundations for other studies as to kinship terms of address, and also, more importantly, to increase the Arab translators' awareness of one as yet neglected area of in the studies of the translations of the Qur'an—kinship terms.

4. Discussion and Analysis

Thus far, a theoretical framework is made. In what follows, we shall indulge in a few illustrative examples to corroborate and diversify our argument.

4.1 Putative Kinship

Putative kinship or real kinship depends on the social relationship between interactants. Abu Abbass et al. (2010: 3) argue that “[r]eal kinship relations are defined in terms of biology and marriage. Such relations often involve social and legal obligations for the two parties involved in the relationship.” To elaborate on putative kinship, take Example 1 below:

Example 1

يَأَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ إِنَّا أَخْلَقْنَا لَكَ أَزْوَاجَكَ الَّذِي أَتَيْتُ أُجُورَهُنَّ وَمَا مَلَكْتُ يَمْبَينُكَ مِمَّا أَفَاءَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكَ وَبَنَاتِ عَمَّكَ وَبَنَاتِ عَمَّاتِكَ وَبَنَاتِ خَالِكَ وَبَنَاتِ خَالَاتِكَ (Al-Ahzab 33: 50¹).

- (1) “O Prophet! Lo! We have made lawful unto thee thy wives unto whom thou hast paid their dowries, and those whom thy right hand posseseth of those whom Allah hath given thee as spoils of war, and the daughters of thine uncle on the father's side and the daughters of thine aunts on the father's side, and the daughters of thine uncle on the mother's side and the

¹ In parentheses the name of the sura is first mentioned, followed by sura number, then verse number.

daughters of thine aunts on the mother's side" (Pickthal 33: 50¹).

- (2) "O Prophet! surely We have made lawful to you your wives whom you have given their dowries, and those whom your right hand possesses out of those whom Allah has given to you as prisoners of war, and the daughters of your paternal uncles and the daughters of your paternal aunts, and the daughters of your maternal uncles and the daughters of your maternal aunts" (Shakir 33: 50).
- (3) "O Prophet! We have made lawful to thee thy wives to whom thou hast paid their dowers; and those whom thy right hand possesses out of the prisoners of war whom God has assigned to thee; and daughters of thy paternal uncles and aunts, and daughters of thy maternal uncles and aunts" (Ali 33: 50).

Example 1 above shows, the kinship terms, i.e., 'daughters of one's paternal uncle') (lit. 'daughters of one's paternal aunt'), وَبَنَاتِ خَالِكَ (lit. 'daughters of one's maternal uncle') and وَبَنَاتِ خَالِتِكَ (lit. 'daughters of one's maternal aunt') can be functionally translated into 'cousin'. Having dealt with authoritative text, formal translation is employed, however. As can be seen in Example 1 above, the three translations seek to capture the source language image by means of employing formal translation as well as explanatory translation. Perhaps Ali's translation is a little target-oriented as it tends to avoid the repetition observed in translation 1 and 2. Nevertheless, formal equivalence may be a hindrance to the communicative thrust of the SL. This is due to semantic gap between the SL and TL. "The way a given language encodes experience semantically makes aspects of that experience not exclusively accessible but just more salient for the users of that language" (Kramsch, 2000: 13). Consider Example 2 below,

Example 2

وَلَأَنِّي خَفْتُ أَهْمَالِي مِنْ وَرَاءِي وَكَانَتْ أُمِّي أَنْتِي عَاقِرًا فَهَبْ لِي مِنْ لَدُنْكَ وَلِيَاً (Maryam 19: 5)

- (1) "Lo! I fear my kinsfolk after me, since my wife is barren. Oh, give me from Thy presence a successor" (Pickthal 19: 5).
- (2) "And surely I fear my cousins after me, and my wife is barren, therefore grant me from Thyself an heir," (Shakir 19: 5).
- (3) "Now I fear (what) my relatives (and colleagues) (will do) after me: but my wife is barren: so give me an heir as from Thyself" (Ali 19: 5)

In Example 2 above, a kinship element أَهْمَالِي (lit. 'relatives, my tribes and cousins on father's side') and its combination is deftly manipulated to form a function in the source text. The element designates certain signifieds in the source

¹ In parentheses the name of the translator is first mentioned, followed by sura number, then verse number.

text, but seemingly fails to articulate itself in the translation, particularly in translation 2 above. The Arabic **الْمُوَالِي** is translated into generic kinship terms—‘my kinsfolk’ as in 1 and 2 and ‘my relatives’ in 3. Having consulted the prominent exegetical work of Al-Qurtubi (1993, vol. 11, 53) as to verse interpretation, we found that **الْمُوَالِي** means ‘paternal cousins’. Nevertheless, the denotational meaning, with verse interpretation in mind, is not explicitly made by any of the three translators, giving rise to loss in translation.

Although the Arabic kinship-related item translated into English is a real one, they result in ‘non-congruent items’ (Shunnaq, 1993; see also Thawabteh, 2007: 106). For example, eight Arabic designations are observed when it comes to back translating English ‘cousin’ into Arabic as follows:

- (1) the son of one’s paternal uncle;
- (2) the daughter of one’s paternal uncle;
- (3) the son of one’s maternal uncle;
- (4) the daughter of one’s maternal uncle;
- (5) the son of one’s paternal aunt;
- (6) the daughter of one’s paternal aunt;
- (7) the son of one’s maternal aunt; and
- (8) the daughter of one’s maternal aunt.

If the lexical item ‘cousin’ is translated into one of the above eight designations, Shunnaq (*ibid*: 51) argues, “only one eighth of its congruency is produced.” English does not make such kinship distinction, but Arabic does. A semantic gap is observed in translation 2 above. Whilst the speaker fears his sons of his paternal uncle in the SL, he is frightened of sons and daughters of paternal uncle, sons and daughters of maternal uncle, sons and daughters of paternal aunt and sons and daughters of maternal aunt.

However, in Example 3 below, **وَلَا نَبِيْه** (lit. ‘parents’) is a real kinship whose translation is carried out appropriately in the three translations.

Example 3

○ وَإِنْ كَانَتْ وَاحِدَةً فَلَهَا النَّصْفُ وَلَا يَبْرِيهِ لِكُلِّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهُمَا لِسُدُسٍ مِمَّا تَرَكَ (An-Nisa 3: 11)

- (1) “and if there be one (only) then the half. And to each of his parents a sixth of the inheritance” (Pickthal 3: 11).
- (2) “and if there is one, she shall have the half; and as for his parents, each of them shall have the sixth of what he has left” (Shakir 3:11).
- (3) “if only one, her share is a half. For parents, a sixth share of the inheritance to each” (Ali 3:11).

4.2 Reciprocal Kinship

Perhaps reciprocal kinship is Arabic-bound, in that a sort of reciprocity between kinship terms takes place. The shade of meaning of a kinship term does not reside inside the term itself, but reclines on the encyclopedic knowledge of the language the translator should have. Consider Example 3 below:

Example 4

وَرَفِعَ أَبْوَيْهِ عَلَى الْعَرْشِ (Yusuf 12: 100)

- (1) "And he placed his parents on the dais" (Pickthall 12: 100).
- (2) "And he raised his parents upon the throne" (Shakir 12: 100).
- (3) "And he raised his parents high on the throne (of dignity" (Ali 12: 100).

A cursory look at Example 4 shows loss in the semantic traits of the SL item أبويه (lit. 'parents'), translated into 'parents'. Unlike Example 3 above whereby formal strategy successfully is employed, all the translations in Example 4 kill the SL intended meaning stone dead, and the piece of information provided by the translation is fallacious indeed because Prophet Joseph's mother was dead throughout the sura and it was his maternal aunt intended in the text rather his mother.

Arabic partitions reality quite different from that in English. For example, Arabic is characterized by metaphoric kinship extension to show solidarity or deference towards co-participants. Maternal aunt is interchangeably used with one's mother (al-Tha'ālibi, 1972: 367). "Attempts to produce on its readers an effect as close as possible to that obtained on the readers of the original", as Newmark, 1988: 38) states, seems to be far-fetched. To more appreciate the problem, consider Example 5:

Example 5

أَمْ كُنْتُمْ شُهَدًا إِذْ حَضَرَ يَعْقُوبَ الْمَوْتُ إِذْ قَالَ لِبْنَيْهِ مَا تَعْبُدُونَ مِنْ بَعْدِي قَالُوا نَعْبُدُ إِلَهَكَ وَإِلَهَ أَبْنَائِكَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَإِسْمَاعِيلَ وَإِسْحَاقَ إِلَهًا وَاحِدًا وَنَحْنُ لَهُ مُسْلِمُونَ (Al-Baqarah 2: 33).

- (1) "Or were ye present when death came to Jacob, when he said unto his sons: What will ye worship after me? They said: We shall worship thy God, the God of thy fathers, Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac, One God, and unto Him we have surrendered" (Pickthall 2: 133).
- (2) "Nay! were you witnesses when death visited Yaqoub, when he said to his sons: What will you serve after me? They said: We will serve your god and the god of your fathers, Ibrahim and Ismail and Ishaq, one Allah only, and to Him do we submit." (Shakir 2: 133).
- (3) "Were ye witnesses when death appeared before Jacob? Behold, he said to his sons: 'What will ye worship after me?' They said: 'We shall worship Thy God and the God of thy fathers, of Abraham, Isma'il and Isaac,- the one (True) God: To Him we bow (in Islam)" (Ali 2: 133).

In their endeavor to render أَبَائِكُمْ (lit. ‘your fathers’) in Example 5 above, the translators produce more or less grotesque translations. In Arabic, the kinship term أَبَائِكُمْ is interchangeable with paternal ‘uncle’. The word أَبْ (lit. ‘father’ singular) is retained not only for father, but also for paternal uncle and male offspring, a case that is common in the Sudanese kinship system (see Abu-Abbas, 2010). The translation shows that the Children of Israel were called when Jacob was dying. He reminded them of the principle of Islam their fathers held. However, Isma‘il¹ was Jacob’s uncle, not his father. Ali gave a footnote illustrating the Arabic kinship أَبَائِكُمْ: “‘Fathers’ means ancestors, and include uncles, grand-uncles, as well as direct ascendants” (Ali 2: 133, footnote). As can be noted ‘Descriptive Translation’ strategy “whereby an expression in the SL is paraphrased by describing it conceptually” (Farghal & Shunnaq, 1999: 27) seems to be an outlet. This strategy Farghal & Shunnaq (*ibid*) further argue “often occurs when the translator comes across a referential or cultural gap where the SL concept is completely missing in the TL culture”.

4.3. Fictive Kinship

Fictive kinship is a pseudo-kinship commonly found among religious societies. In Muslim societies such relationship is built on credo and ethos, associated with a particular group of people. Abu-Abbas et al. (2010: 3) state that fictive kinship “involves the extension of kinship obligations and relationships to individuals specifically not otherwise included in the kinship universe. [...]. Members of religious groups often refer to each other as ‘brother’ or ‘sister’.” Take Example 6 below:

Example 6

إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِخْرَةٌ فَاصْلِحُوا بَيْنَ أَخْوَيْكُمْ وَلَا تَقُولُوا اللَّهُ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ (Al-Hujurat 49: 10)

- (1) “The believers are naught else than brothers. Therefore make peace between your brethren and observe your duty to Allah that haply ye may obtain mercy” (Pickthal 49: 10).
- (2) “The believers are but brethren, therefore make peace between your brethren and be careful of (your duty to) Allah that mercy may be had on you.” (Shakir 49:10).
- (3) “The Believers are but a single Brotherhood: So make peace and reconciliation between your two (contending) brothers; and fear God, that ye may receive Mercy” (Ali 49: 10).

¹ Alternative spelling for Ishmael, Ismail and Isma‘il, the latter of which is colloquial.

Example 6 above highlights the relation among believers and that the believers are indeed brothers in religion. The rendition of إخوةٌ into ‘brothers’ may pose no problem insofar as the target audience is concerned as ‘brothers’ may also have religious connotation as *CCALE* (2003; emphasis in original) states: “You can describe a man as your **brother** if he belongs to the same race, religion, country, profession, or trade union as you, or if he has similar ideas to you.” As can be noted, the item إخوةٌ is formally and functionally rendered into English counterpart, bringing about more or less optimal translation. For more elaboration, consider Example 7 below:

Example 7

وَإِلَيْيَ عَادٍ أَخَاهُمْ هُودًا قَالَ يَأْقُومُ أَعْبُدُوا أَللَّهَ مَا لَكُمْ مَنْ إِلَهٌ بَغْيَرُهُ أَفَلَا تَتَقَوَّنَ (Al-Araf 7: 65)

- (1) “And unto (the tribe of) A’ad (We sent) their brother, Hud. He said: O my people! Serve Allah. Ye have no other God save Him. Will ye not ward off (evil)?” (Pickthal 7: 65).
- (2) “And to Ad (We sent) their brother Hud. He said: O my people! serve Allah, you have no god other than Him; will you not then guard (against evil)?” (Shakir 7: 65).
- (3) “To the ’Ad people, (We sent) Hud, one of their (own) brethren: He said: O my people! worship God! ye have no other god but Him will ye not fear (God)?” (Ali 7:65)

The terms of address ‘brother’ in 1 and 2 and ‘brethren’ in 3 are fictive in nature. A series of signs comprises a cogent argument in the minds of the SL readers, but does not necessarily exist in the minds of TL readers. That is, the SL term of address aims at creating an aura of social intimacy between ‘Ad and his tribes to ‘ward off evil’. Ali’s translation is likely to be the most accurate rendition though the others are still possible choice.

Example 8

يَا لَخْتَ هَارُونَ مَا كَانَ أَبُوكَ أَمْرًا سُوءً وَمَا كَانَتْ أُمُّكَ بَغْيَانًا (Maryam 19:28)

- (1) “O sister of Aaron! Thy father was not a wicked man nor was thy mother a harlot” (Pickthal 19: 28).
- (2) “O sister of Haroun! your father was not a bad man, nor, was your mother an unchaste woman” (Shakir 19: 28).
- (3) “O sister of Aaron! Thy father was not a man of evil, nor thy mother a woman unchaste!” (Ali 19: 28).

Example 8 above shows two kinship terms: one is fictive, e.g., يَا لَخْتَ (lit. ‘O sister’) and the other is putative, e.g., أَبُوكَ (lit. ‘your father’). The Arabic fictive term of address is intended to show how one feels a connection with a woman, “for example because she belongs to the same race, religion, country, or profession” (*CCALE*, 2003). In Arab culture, fictive terms are employed by the language users

to achieve intimacy. The translations in Example 8 give plenty of opportunities for TL readers to forge their own interpretations within the realm of their cultural and linguistic repertoire in a way that is quite different from that of the SL readers. It is only Ali who has provided informational core and, more importantly, explicate in a footnote the potential ambiguity emerging in the course of translating يُلْكِت.

Aaron the brother of Moses was the first in the line of Israelite priesthood. Mary and her cousin Elisabeth (mother of Yahya) came of a priestly family, and were therefore, ‘sisters of Aaron’ or daughters of ’Imran (who was Aaron’s father). [...] Mary is reminded of her high lineage and the unexceptionable morals of her father and mother. How, they said, she had fallen, and disgraced the name of her progenitors! (Ali, *ibid*)

With reference to this, Mary is connected with Araon not by birth, but in terms high moral he possessed. Mary was punctilious about not to impugn her progenitors’ honor.

Very much to the point is vocative ‘O’ plus term of kinship ‘sister’ go hand in hand. In English, “the relative formality of terms of address is managed by means of vocatives, i.e., the use of the addressee’s name ... or a term of kinship ... or endearment ...” (Carter & McCarthy, 2006: 115); they add that vocatives “are more closely connected with social intimacy and distance in interpersonal relationships and with the marking of discourse boundaries” (*ibid*).

5. Concluding Remarks

The present paper examines the translation of Arabic kinship terms into English, illustrated with three translations of the Qur'an. The study reveals deviation from kinship terms interpretative meaning(s). The study argues for the assumption that the onus is first and often last on the translator to provide as salient translation as possible. Although highly recommended in authoritative texts, formal-based strategies (e.g., literal translation or word for word translation) seem to be as a hindrance to communication in most of the examples discussed. Lexical incongruity existing between the SL and the TL pose formidable challenge. The challenge has become great because Arabic cut linguistic reality in a way that seems to be different from that of English as is the case reciprocal term of address in which a term is used interchangeably with another. As for fictive kinship terms, the examples discussed show few problems, but without the intervention of the translator, say, through footnotes, these problems may be demanding.

Finally, in order to ensure a translation of good quality, compulsory cultural knowledge of both the SL and TL are highly needed for the translator. The translator should exercise extreme caution when it comes to translating a term of kinship.

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