

S T U D I A
UNIVERSITATIS BABEȘ-BOLYAI
PHILOLOGIA

2

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THE IRISH LANGUAGE QUESTION

DORIN CHIRA

ABSTRACT. Large part of this essay is devoted to the language issue. In examining the Irish language question during the last decades one is struck by a large number of contradictions and paradoxes. There is the evidence of discouragement and retreat, of widespread loss of faith and hopes in the national aspiration for revival.

The most dramatic failure has been the contraction of the Gaeltacht [Gaeltacht or Gaedhealtacht, any of the regions in Ireland in which Irish Gaelic is the vernacular speech]¹ and the linguistic alteration which has taken place in what remains of it. By 1970s the population of native Irish speakers had declined dramatically and since then the situation has deteriorated further, so it is clear that if present demographic and linguistic trends are not reversed, the Gaeltacht, as a linguistic area and community, will not survive.

It is not very difficult to identify some of the factors which have caused this decline: emigration, the lack of employment in Gaeltacht areas, the demands and the language of tourism, multinational corporations and foreign companies, the vulnerability of small communities to outside influences, the failure to provide adequate programmes in Irish on radio and television, all rank high on the list. The State must not be neglected, or, better said the inadequacy of some initiatives in economic and social development as the state did undertake. Government policy in relation to the language issue was not the most appropriate one. Commissions on the Restoration of Irish admitted that there was much to be done; one of the earliest government decisions of Fine Gael, the main opposition party, was to remove the requirement that pupils should pass in Irish in order to merit the secondary school Leaving Certificate. Such decisions seemed to sound the death of a language. Ireland's entry into the European Community (1973), which many people believed would increase the need of a national language, does not seem to have done so. What has increased, however, has been the demand for other languages, such as French or German.

It was a poet who, by the force of his own words, has expressed most powerfully this sense of Irish cultural betrayal. In his poem "A Farewell to English", the poet Michael Hartnett wrote:

"Gaelic is the conscience of our leaders,
The memory of a mother-rape they will
not face, the heap of bloody rags they see
and scream at in their boardrooms of mock oak.
They push us towards the world of total work
Our politicians with their seedy minds
and dubious labels, Communist or

¹ Collins Concise English Dictionary, Harper Collins Publishers, Glasgow.

Capitalist, none wanting freedom-
only power. All that reminds us
We are human and therefore not a herd.
For Gaelic is our final sign that
we are human, therefore not a herd." [2]²

The situation at the present time is critical. Demographically, the Gaeltacht is in a perilous state and there are linguistic problems involved in the community reconstruction. The Gaeltacht must expand now. Are the omens encouraging? Some say there is little ground for optimism.

Ireland and its people seem to exert a powerful hold over everyone's imagination. Ireland occupies an almost mythic place in the English speaking world. The soft music of the Irish voice is admired by speakers of British or American English; some prefer the Irish accent to all others. The Irish are very good storytellers and one has nothing to do but admire and envy the use of lyrical constructions in their everyday talk.

Some knowledge about Ireland's history is necessary. Politically, Ireland has been traumatised. English armies have trampled on Irish sovereignty for over eight hundred years and have shed much blood. The history is nowadays reflected in the collision of two languages, English and Irish. The strange and tragic fusion of these two languages has made a culture that is really impressive. But the writing of history began long ago with authors like Herodotus or Tacitus, and their comments on areas like Ireland were incidental and more often second-hand. The first inhabitants came over from Scotland and settled in the north of Ireland. They have left very little trace of their existence. Our main concern has to be with the Celts, who first made their appearance in Ireland several centuries later. Several waves of these Celtic tribes have been identified; their origin can be postulated but not defined with certainty. The common bond that links these people together is a linguistic one.

The first Celts intermingled with the existing inhabitants. They spoke a dialect identified as P-Celtic and preserved their identity only in North Britain as the Picts. We have to mention another important aspect: the Welsh and the Britons are a closely related linguistic group. Their speech is also derived from P-Celtic and it must have been very similar to that of the British.

The second wave, the Builg or Errain, gave their name to the island. Another group of Celtic tribes, who settled in Ireland, claimed to come from Gaul [an ancient region of West Europe corresponding to North Italy, France, Belgium, part of Germany and the Netherlands; divided into Cisalpine Gaul, which became a Roman province before 100 BC, and Transalpine Gaul, which was conquered by Julius Caesar]³.

The consolidation of Celtic culture and language was followed by a reversal of the invasion pattern. Beginning with the fourth century AD, the Irish began to raid the British coast, extending their control over to western parts of Britain, notably Scotland and Wales. The Romans called these invaders "Scotti". We owe the name of Scotland to their establishment of a kingdom in the north of Britain. The Welsh called these invaders by a different name-Gwyddyl-and the Irish adopted this name as Goidil or Gael. The North group of Celtic languages, consisting of Irish Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic and Manx belong to what is called Goidelic (or Goidhelic, or Gadhelic).

² Hartnett, Michael (born 1941, Croom, Co. Limerick); his collections of poems include *A Farewell to English, Collected Poems, A Necklace of Wrens*.

³ Collins Concise Dictionary

In Shakespeare's time English conquered the whole of the British Isles. It was indeed the language of Scotland and Lowland Scotland, but it had penetrated into Wales, Ireland and the Scottish Highlands. Some digression is necessary. Welsh was illegal until late into the 20th century; it was forbidden in schools, in courts and at places of work. But today things have changed. Since 1960 the British Government has allowed Welsh to become an official language; it has permitted its use in schools, courts and even set up a Welsh television station. Today Welsh seems to be one of the most subsidised minority languages in the world. It is not a problem that it takes millions a year broadcast to the 20 per cent of the population of Wales who speak Welsh and who make up only 2 per cent of the population of Britain. But all this was achieved after a long period of vandalism in which road signs were painted over or television masts were torn down. The result is that Welsh, still a minority language, seems to be more robust and stronger than many other small European languages.

As we have just mentioned above, the position of Irish is somewhat less optimistic and the success less visible. Ireland is not even officially an English speaking country, yet more than 90 per cent of her citizens speak English. Ireland is the only member of the Common Market that does not insist on having its own language used in community business because it would be pointless.

The Irish speaking area of Gaeltacht has decreased and Gaelic attaches only to a few scattered areas along the rocky west coast. The Government tried to support the faltering economy by bringing in tourists and industry. But, inevitably, this put some strain on the local culture. The population of Donegal, the main Irish speaking area [county in NW Ireland, on the Atlantic]⁴ increased but the newcomers were entirely English speakers who had little desire to learn a language that was not theirs. The evidence clearly suggests that minority languages fight on their account. The process of revitalising minority languages is, as almost everywhere, one of slow and all too often terminal decline. Unfortunately, a tragic example is Cornish- a former language of Cornwall, or present-day dialect of English, belonging to the S Celtic branch of Indo-European family and closely related to Breton; today there are constant efforts to revive it - Cornish survives only in two or three dialectal words, e.g. emmets(ants), a local word to describe the tourists who come crawling over their gorgeous landscape. The case of Manx [an almost extinct language of the Isle of Man, belonging to the N Celtic branch of the Indo-European family and closely related to Scottish Gaelic]⁵ is totally depressing to those earnest for the survival of minority languages. Is the Gaelic of Ireland the next to go? The poet Seamus Heaney is more optimistic about the future of Irish Gaelic; whether it is alive or dead in sociological terms it does not matter. Irish Gaelic is mythically alive and gives origin to the people of Ireland. Therefore:

"...now our river tongues must rise
From licking deep in native haunts
To flood, with vovelling embrace,
Demesnes staked out in consonants.⁶

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ Heaney, Seamus (1939 -) an Irish poet; his collections of poems include *Seeing Things*, *Death of a Naturalist*.

Many questions arise today. What has been the influence of the Irish on the English language itself? Why are people so fascinated with the music of the Irish voice? Why is Irish literature in English so productive, so impressive? The answer is anything but simple.

There is a place of worship associated with our fascination with the Irish and their language. This popular shrine is Blarney Castle in County Cork [a county of SW Ireland, in Munster province]⁷. The gift for oratory and rhetoric, or "the Blarney", seems to be an Irish quality. Every year thousands of tourists come to Blarney "to kiss the stone". Whoever does that is said to be endowed with great skill in flattery. Today "Blarney" means using the right words, the right speech in an extraordinary situation when you do not have a speech prepared. It is a sort of spontaneous, unpremeditated eloquence.

The wonderful stories that the Irish tell about themselves and their ancestors contain a lot of history but their primary merit is in their quality of myth. The old stories of the Fenians and the Warriors of the House of Red Branch are nothing but present realities, experiences lived. If we consider that the function of myth is to resolve contradictions that men find in their real world or in their own explanations of that world, it is easy to see that Ireland has had a great need for myth. The Irish have turned to myth and folklore to revitalize and reunite themselves.

In 1171 Henry II landed in Ireland and this marked the beginning of English domination. The Celtic culture gaelicized most of the Englishmen settled in Ireland and even more, they became more Irish than the Irish themselves. By the end of the sixteenth century English in Ireland had almost died out. For more than two centuries, the English families settled in the South, dispossessed the Irish. Military conquest was followed by a civilian one and this bitter conflict has consequences that persist to the present. This had, of course, linguistic consequences. The English language became dominant, at least in cities and towns. It was in fact the language of the Irish ruling class and was used as an instrument of influencing their English overlords. After the Act of Union the Englishness of the Irish aristocracy was indeed more distinctive and they even sent their children to be educated in England. Out of the coexistence between the Irish and Anglo-Saxon traditions a new kind of English was born. Some scholars distinguish between Anglo-Irish, the English of those whose mother tongue was English, and Hiberno-English, the English of those whose mother tongue is Gaelic. The chief influence on English was Gaelic Irish.

County Mayo [a county of NW Ireland, in NW Connacht province]⁸, a place of folklore and superstition is remote from tourism and the twentieth century. People talk of past events as if they happened yesterday and of their ancestors as if they were neighbours. Here it is not difficult to understand how the Gaelic past transformed the English language. The use of both Gaelic and English constructions is the main feature of Irish speech. The absence of Standard English models created two representative aspects of Irish English. First, the unintentional use of a word by confusion with one of similar sound, especially when creating ridiculous effect. One could thus say that the English language will never "affluence" him. Secondly, the stress in some words is different from Standard English [e.g. inte'resting, disci'pline]. Standard English speakers often find it amusing or charming.

⁷ Collins Concise Dictionary

⁸ *ibid.*

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In fact it is the linguistic result of British colonialism and these are the "mistakes" made by people forced to learn a language that was not their own language.

The Irish transmitted their language into English, and within this language, it discovered modalities of expressing the cultural peculiarities of Irish society and of making English in its own image. One should also consider the isolation of the island. This was a powerful factor in stopping language evolution; and one should never forget that, unlike the English and the Scots, the Irish have never had their own dictionary of Hiberno-English. But the poet Seamus Heaney wrote in his poem "Tradition":

"We are to be proud
Of our Elizabethan English"

Today's situation of English in Ireland is still Elizabethan. It is the authorised delegate for Ireland; it is characterised by idioms, vocabulary that is not regarded as acceptable but as deviating from a given standard; and it has no official voice. The Elizabethans were rhetorical and fluent before they were grammatical and the same is true of the Irish. The word is a revolutionary means of expressing freedom and independence; it serves national cause and propaganda. In this case the word is clad in a literary mantle and serves both purposes: the aesthetic one and the social, political one.

At the end of the last century the literature that was produced underlined the heroic traditions of the Irish people. Their attention was directed to the mythological tales of the past, to the heroes and deeds of a remote age. Indeed, Ireland and its people can be defined in terms of the past, of the beginnings. The literature of the beginnings suggested a powerful persistence of experience between past and present. Thus a powerful propagandist weapon has been contrived. It is the case of Y.B. Yeats. In his poems and plays the figure of Cuchulain, the legendary hero of the eighth century epic, became associated with contemporary possibilities in a way that suggested that the heroic could dominate the Irish world. This heroic ideal became a metaphor of political hope and, although many of his poems deal with matters like beauty, purity, the passage of time, they express his political, social and nationalistic beliefs.

But in the 1930s the literary forms that were dominant became realistic, even satiric. There was a diminution in the heroic ideal and the writer's effort to create a modern epic based on the matter of Ireland seemed not to be very fruitful; there was a general feeling that the heroic age had passed. Personal experience did matter and poets like Yeats or Synge began to change to new modalities of interpreting this experience. The heroic representations from the old epics became symbols of acquired political and historical knowledge. Rural morality and probity was made popular in poems and plays and even in painting. Yeats and Synge used rural figures as mental pictures of waste land, instinctive, spontaneous understanding of firmly held matters. But poor faculty of producing ideas may change things. Less visionary and less poetical writers had created poems in which peasants and rural people had developed not to unveil human possibility but to show the unaltered simplicity of the Irish who had experienced the ravages of misery and persecution and the severity of climate. They remained popular in the 1930s and new poets took up the tradition. They dealt with an idealized form of rural existence; in their rendering of it rural life was a requirement of virtue and up-rightness in as much as it continued to be an expression of an ancient civilization unpolluted by progress and by an advanced state in social development. In doing so, these writers helped to strengthen the view that rural life, its people and beliefs constituted a key element of an unchanging Irish identity. This

visionary understanding of Irish rural life was an incorporated symbol of national identity; it helped people believe in Irish distinctiveness.

Dramatists like Brian Friel, Thomas Murphy or Thomas Kilroy experienced great efforts to find out new themes and to use some new theatrical formulas. New fields of interest appeared. The problem of sex and sexuality has been handled with great openness; religion was an issue that was investigated as a metaphysical inquiry; a working class theatre committed its words to the paper and, of course, on to the Irish stage; the problem of Irish Republicanism and Northern conflict have completed Irish plays with contemporaneity. Today there is a continuous search for innovation; everything changes and no longer do Irish poets and dramatists find themselves willing to work in anything like a distinctive, individual national mode. Writers were supposed to reflect specifically on their understanding and judgement of Irish identity. The question is not so much the knowledge of participating in modern life as the procedure of adapting to it. During the 1970s, and maybe 1980s, Irish writers were not at their best when trying to render any explicit investigation of the theme of national identity. Today's debates about literature and artistic culture may be in a way a sort of anguish for a time when it seemed that literature and art did have important role in defining and determining Irish identity itself. Anyone can notice that the impressive merging of races in Ireland, as well as the introduction of the English language gave birth to a distinctive Irish literature in English. This literature is the outcome of the social and linguistic reality of modern Ireland in which English with an Irish shade was and will be the language used for communication among people. And people do communicate among themselves; they do change ideas. The total range of activities and ideas of people, the artistic and social pursuits, expressions and tastes valued by a society is Culture; and Culture makes bridges, no matter what the political situation is.

"When cannons roar, muses are silent"

To contradict this saying, in "the City of Fear", Belfast, three weeks of festivities show proof of spiritual life. "Get Festive!". That is the piece of good advice or the poster for the Belfast Festival: three weeks of music, drama, dance, films, poetry and comedy. In one long gulp ending on November 27, 1993, you can imbibe the Michael Nyman Band, Opera Northern Ireland and Tommy Wynette, the Royal Shakespeare Company, Seamus Heaney and Newman and Baddiel. What is nobler than that? Personalities from all over the world, defying guns and terrorism, try to show the world that Belfast can be "the City of Muses". The soldiers in the street seem incongruous and nobody takes notice of them; streets which were once deserted are now packed with people. For most inhabitants, the madness is now normality. The Festival has changed the face of the city. People once so frightened, now laugh at lines such: "Anyone in tonight who's not a legitimate target?"⁹. They are fed up with the media swooping down on a simplistic dramatic contrast - the Festival versus sectarian violence - then condescendingly congratulating the former for surviving "in spite of the latter".

⁹ The Times, Nov., 16, 1993.

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But life goes on. The city is a window open to the world's culture. In spite of "the twee setting, skilled performances let a sad beauty and vitality come through the traditional Gaelic airs and reels."¹⁰

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¹⁰ *ibid.*

RESEARCH FOR TRANSLATION PURPOSES

ANCA LUMINIȚA GREERE

***ABSTRACT.** The article attempts to define 'research competence' as an intrinsic component of 'translation competence' and to pinpoint the most relevant research resources which may be used for translation purposes (e.g. the dictionary, the internet, tools individually developed by the translator, etc.). The advantages and disadvantages of these resources will be scrutinised.*

Neubert (2000: 6) in an attempt to define translation competence distinguishes five parameters, which he terms sub-competences, that build up translation competence: language competence, textual competence, subject competence, cultural competence and transfer competence. Vienne (2000: 96) considers [the] ability to decide on a strategy for resource research adapted to the translation situation, as well as the ability to evaluate and exploit the resources necessary to carry out the assignment received as a basic element of translation competence. Schäffner (2000:146) labels the ability identified also by Vienne as '(re)search competence', thus expanding Neubert's definition with an extra parameter.

For the purpose of this paper, we will define research competence as 'the ability to seek, extract and validate textual and client information relevant for task fulfilment by researching the textual resources available or by engaging expert consultancy'. Potential research resources include: translator tools developed by the translator (e.g. diagrams, terminologies) or other experts (e.g. dictionaries), and corpora of original SC and TC textual material as are parallel, comparative and background texts to be found on the internet or possibly as published/hard-copy material. Collaborators are also a valid source of information as they may either provide information readily usable for solution design or they may provide/indicate reliable textual resources.

Research competence is not restricted to the evaluation of textual material and the elicitation of textual features -though primarily focussed on it- but it may also involve the elicitation of the specificity of the client's profile, i.e. what is specific to a client. Most translators resort to research as a means of enhancing product and transfer competences. But, some translators also choose to research the client's profile in view of a better communicative relationship with the client. Such research will obviously enhance communicative competence in view of task fulfilment.

In what follows, we will refer mainly to textually focussed research, though assumptions are adaptable to client focussed research, as well.

As specified, the necessity to research is usually triggered by product competence or transfer competence gaps or insecurities. Namely, the translator does not possess sufficient general or domain-specific linguistic, cultural, textual or subject knowledge to develop an appropriate transfer, or he is insecure regarding the knowledge possessed.

Research is undertaken for comprehension purposes when the translator does not possess sufficient information to interpret extratextual and intratextual features in light of the reception and production standard they represent. Or, research may be initiated for validation purposes if the translator wants to verify the validity of the analysis or research results for the translation transfer. Research into textual material for translation purposes is done in order to properly elicit the role of ST features and prospective TT features. It is also performed in order to label such features as conventional or original for cultural reception and production standards. Such research will sustain the transfer process in that it places - for comprehension and usage purposes- ST and prospective TT elements in the general cultural context as markers of conventionality or originality.

Research competence includes the knowledge of ‘*where from?*’ (i.e. available resources) and ‘*how?*’ (i.e. research methodology) to extract the information necessary for task fulfilment, ‘for the cross-cultural transfer of texts’ (Schäffner 2000: 146). Such information may be limited to individual item solutions as are vocabulary/terminological matters or to culturally-specific or domain-specific textual elements such as format conventions, information organisation and syntactic structure.

Research for translation purposes may be done through textual contact or collaborative contact. In the case of textual contact, the translator analyses original textual material, compares the extratextual and intratextual elements in the two lingua-cultural systems, elicits reception and production standards and decides which alternative to employ on the basis of task needs. In the case of collaborative contact, information may be sought with the client who may possess domain-specific information and thus can be consulted with an immediate result or who might specifically request a particular solution thus easing the research of the translator, who will be left only with the validation of the specified solutions. Information might also be sought with a domain expert.

In cases where the client or the expert cannot provide ready solutions, they might still facilitate the translator’s research by directing him towards or even supplying research material relevant for the elicitation of textual features.

Regardless of the involvement of the collaborators in providing solutions or possible solution alternatives, it is always the translator’s choice regarding the element to be employed in the transfer. The choice is based on the translator’s product competences. He is the one that is familiar with the needs of the translation task on the whole, thus he has the responsibility to filter all alternative solutions through the task needs and to validate those solutions ensuring task fulfilment.

Research resources / methods.

In order of preference, the most readily used research resources are (1) dictionaries, (2) the internet, (3) published or printed (original SC/ TC) texts, (4) translator tools and (5) collaborators. Observe that dictionaries, original texts and translator tools may be found either in hard-copy and/or in electronic format (i.e. installed/designed on the computer or accessible on line via the internet).

These resources may be used independently or in conjunction. If the translator has reason to doubt the reliability of a source he has consulted or if research efficiency is reduced (in terms of time consumption or results) by consulting a singular source, the translator should seek research into other resources.

(1.) *Dictionaries*. Translators may use all types of dictionaries during a translation transfer: (a) bilingual (GL/specialised) dictionaries, (b) monolingual (GL/specialised) dictionaries or (c) thesauruses. Note that their usage is conditioned by the purpose of the research.

These dictionary types may either be used (i) in hard-copy, or (ii) accessed from the internet, or (iii) the translator could have purchased them in electronic format (i.e. on CD) and installed them on his computer. In terms of reliability, (i) and (iii) are more reliable. In terms of time-consumption, (iii) and (i) –in this order- are more efficient. (see also ‘*the internet*’ below). However, in the case of LSP translations, where the translator should not be expected to purchase specialised dictionaries for every domain he translates texts from (as this habit may prove very costly), (i) will be even more time-consuming, as the translator may have to consult such dictionaries in the library.

(a) *Bilingual Dictionaries*. In translation practice, bilingual dictionaries are used for the transfer of vocabulary items foremost, but they may also be used for determining contextual appropriateness for a given item.

General language bilingual dictionaries are sometimes used for domain specific searches, especially when domain-dictionaries are lacking. Some GL dictionaries are designed to also include domain-specific equivalences marked by a domain label. However, in other GL dictionaries, the entry is not divided into domain labelled run-ons, in which case it becomes difficult for the translator to identify domain-relevant TL solutions.

Although, the bilingual dictionary search is the favoured method of the ‘speedy’ translator, we do not recommend the use of this method alone. If the help of a dictionary is sought, the equivalences elicited should be further tested for appropriateness by subsequent research through other resources.

Drawbacks. The equivalences presented are (i) not always reliable, (ii) rarely contextually related, (iii) sometimes improperly (domain) labelled, if labelled at all.

(b) *Monolingual Dictionaries*. SL and TL monolingual dictionaries will help the translator elicit the exact meaning of vocabulary items by providing an encyclopaedic/explanatory definition. The translator may use the monolingual dictionary as sense-related research, for ST comprehension or for the validation of a solution alternative elicited from the bilingual dictionary search or the analysis of TC original material. Monolingual dictionaries are also a source of synonyms and appropriate contexts.

Drawbacks. The use of monolingual dictionaries must generally be combined with other resources for the translation transfer, i.e. for the design of transfer solutions.

(c) *Thesauruses*. Thesauruses are dictionaries of synonyms. They provide no direct indicator of meaning, except through comparison with the other synonyms. The transfer alternative elicited from a thesaurus may be validated by a monolingual or bilingual dictionary search.

Drawbacks. The thesaurus must generally be used in combination with other resources, as its use alone can rarely determine transfer solutions

(2.) *The internet*. The internet may be a very effective research tool. It offers the translator original textual instances as well as dictionary/term bank sites.

The internet is a source for the retrieval of (more or less reliable) textual instances (i.e. general¹, model, parallel, comparative or background texts) to be used as excerpts or full-size texts for (a) a better comprehension of the subject-matter, as well as (b) for the

¹ By ‘general texts’ we mean those text that are not related subject-wise to the ST, but that may provide relevant linguistic information, especially in terms of vocabulary usage.

transfer of vocabulary items or (c) for the elicitation of text production conventionality. Additionally, for (a) and (b), the internet may be navigated for sites containing (more or less authoritative, usually abridged) dictionaries or term banks.

Exempting its drawbacks (which can be avoided or counteracted), the internet is a viable research resource for translators. The internet search may help the translator find complete, final solutions or it may provide information determining a partial solution to be completed for the final transfer. Some search aims are more readily fulfilled than others involving a less elaborate search method and quite restrained time-consumption. If the internet search leads to a partial solution or if the search results are not satisfactory or if the search is not efficient time-wise (e.g. the translator has repeatedly tried with unsatisfactory results), the translator should complete his research by using other readily accessible resources.

General search. The translator may attempt a general search of the internet (e.g. on www.google.com) by entering search words pertinent for his needs: for (a) subject-relevant search words, possibly vocabulary elements found in the text, for (b) the vocabulary item or collocations containing the item researched, and for (c) specific indicators of parallel, comparative or background text as are titles, authors, etc...

In limited situations, the general search may be a scope in itself. When the translator intends to validate collocation accuracy or vocabulary usage, the general search may suffice. In this case, the translator will search for the collocation or the item he considers a transfer alternative and the result list (through those excerpt contexts) validates the appropriateness of the collocation or the context of usage without the need to further navigate the internet.

➤ e.g. the translator doesn't know whether the appropriate collocation is 'Quality Assurance' or Quality Insurance'. If he subsequently types in both collocations, for the former he will get a list containing the elements collocated, while for the latter the contexts listed will have separated the two words and use them within the same context but dissociated. This search indicates that the former is indeed a collocation.

➤ e.g. the translator wants to verify whether a vocabulary item is specific to a domain. If the result list contains contexts from a single domain, then the translator has obtained an immediate answer, from just the general search.

However, in most cases, a general search is conducted with the purpose of obtaining further research indicators and it will direct the translator towards internet sites which might be relevant for the research undertaken. The general internet search will result in a long list of excerpt contexts containing the search item and the address of the internet site the context has been extracted from. The translator should not be discouraged by the number of results presented, as only some results will prove relevant for his research.

The translator must evaluate the result list from a translation-oriented point of view. If the research is content related (meant for subject competence enhancement), then he should rule out all those sites which are not content-linked to the researched subject-matter. However, if the research is linguistically-oriented (triggering to attain linguistic GL or LSP accuracy), the translator should evaluate even those results which at first sight are seemingly not related in the least to the given translation transfer. Some such sites exhibiting a scant content-link to the ST may be valuable in terms of linguistic information and usable for equivalence design. If there is no site identified as relevant, this means that the search word is not well-chosen and the translator should search by another item.

Specific Search. The general search will be followed by a specific search determined by the results of the general search. The translator will have scanned the result list and picked out those addresses listed that he considers relevant for his purpose, which he will then access subsequently, in order of presupposed relevance.

If the translator has knowledge of relevant sites from previous translation tasks or if he can guess addresses by introducing a potentially pertinent domain after www., he may skip the general search and proceed to this more specific search. Guessing a domain may prove just as rewarding, as some domains are easy to determine by analogy. The translator will type www. + a relevant headword + either '.com' or a more specific indicator of place. (e.g. www.disneyland.com/ www.disneyland.fr- if he is looking for advertising features or www.cci.ro [cci –abbreviation for the Romanian Camera de Comert si Industrie –in English 'Chamber of Commerce and Industry']-if he is searching for details on Romanian company formation, etc. Also, the ending '.edu' is possible especially for USA-based university sites, e.g. www.usc.edu –if the translator is search for educational information.)

Drawbacks. The use of the internet may in specific circumstances slow down the research process through a number of drawbacks:

- (i) not all internet sites are reliable, i.e. provide authoritative information,
- (ii) many sites may be used to a restricted extent as free sites, i.e. more extensive information can be accessed only with a credit card number,
- (iii) some searches may prove overly time-consuming for the results obtained.

Texts retrieved from the internet should not be taken at face value. Depending on the search aim, internet sites must be tested for reliability; content-oriented searches more so than linguistically-oriented searches. When content information is to be extracted, the reliability verdict is very important, as not all sites are authoritative, i.e. produced by subject competent authors. For domain specific transfers, the authors must be identifiable as well-known, recognised experts in the domain community. In terms of linguistic information, the internet is a reliable source as it will offer a multitude of texts produced by native speakers, where the usage of vocabulary items and conventional text production features converges with present-day English specificity. Those sites produced by non-native speakers (i.e. translators or language competent individuals) are usually traceable from the internet address (e.g. a site in English on www.ccir.ro –a Romanian governmental site is probably the work of a translator, a site in English on www.ubb.ro – a Romanian university site is maybe the work of a English language competent member of the academia.) Such sites may be ruled out for any analysis focussing on English language current-day usage. Note, however, that in the linguistic analysis of domain-specific transfers, even those sites may be used that are produced by non-native speakers as long as the authors can be identified as domain-specialists, for such texts will use vocabulary items and text production features as standardised for domain communication.

Similarly, 'dictionary type' sites must be tested for reliability. The use of the internet as an online dictionary must abide by the general rules of dictionary usage; that is to say that any equivalence elicited should be further validated for appropriateness. With such sites an additional drawback may be noted. Free internet-based dictionaries or term banks are usable to a restricted extent, as a free search will usually lead to drastically abridged samples of such translation tools, and a more extensive variant only becomes available if paid for.

(3.) *Published or printed original texts.* Product competences may be enhanced by consultation of textual material in hard-copy, i.e. published or printed texts. Such texts may function as model/sample, parallel, comparative or background texts for the transfer the translator is researching.

Parallel or comparative texts will provide the translator with ready-made solutions as they are derived from original, highly similar contexts.

Background texts may indicate usage requirements in a prescriptive way or they may simply exhibit the linguistic characteristics in the main body of text (especially relevant for the transfer of vocabulary items) or they may provide (sometimes, annotated) sample texts.

Drawbacks.

- (i) Such material is fairly difficult to come across, especially parallel texts.
- (ii) The standards of conventionality elicited from parallel and comparative texts will have to be tested for authoritativeness, especially in cases of domain-specific text production.

(4.) *Translator tools.* If the translator properly documents each translation task he fulfils and makes for the information that he gains to be reusable for future tasks by designing translation tools which he then constantly adds to, these tools become highly reliable research resources. Their reliability lies in the fact that they have been previously tested and the information they contain is the result of the translator's own transfer effort.

Drawback. Although the most reliable source of information and the least time consuming, as the information is readily obtainable by the translator, the drawback of such translation tools is that it takes a lot of time, effort and above-all experience to put them together. The inexperienced translator will rarely know from the beginning what texts to file in full, how to design terminology entries, etc. and he will generally take great pains with these translation tools, if he doesn't simply abandon such an endeavour.

(5.) *Collaborators.* Collaborators (i.e. the client, other translators or domain-experts) are a valuable source of instant information, when they themselves know the answers or they may be a source for research material, when they have access to transfer relevant textual instances.

Drawbacks.

(i.) The information received from collaborators must be evaluated for a reliability verdict. Even transfer solutions obtained from a domain-expert may be unusable, if, for example, the domain-expert does not have sufficient interlinguistic knowledge.

(ii.) Especially in the case of domain-specific transfers, but also with GL transfers, the translator cannot design his research solely to rely on information obtainable from collaborators. The main reason is that he might not find –in due time- experts willing to collaborate. Most probably, experienced translators will have developed contacts during their professional activity, in which case they know from the beginning where and how to find available collaborators.

To sum up, we will say that research is of paramount importance in the translation process, as the design and validation of transfer solutions at the macrotextual and microtextual level is based on the information gained through research. The translator must evaluate the usability of resources, especially in terms of reliability and use only those resources that are authoritative.

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DOES LANGUAGE TEACHING AWARENESS DEVELOP DURING THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF TEACHING?

ANA-MARIA FLORESCU-GLIGORE

ABSTRACT. This paper is a presentation of my investigation concerning the development of Language Teaching Awareness of beginner teachers. The data are transcripts of ten discussions and the text of five accounts written by 'learning teachers' of English. The conclusions might have implications for pre-service teacher education and might lead to a better understanding of how teaching is learnt.

At the beginning I would like to define the key concepts that I am using in my paper. Firstly, the word *develop* is explained in the dictionary (Longman, 1995:374) as: "to grow or gradually change into a larger, stronger, or more advanced state; ... to start to have, to gradually begin to have a quality; ... to become more active ... more noticeable". This is the meaning generally given to the word 'development'.

Secondly in the research literature on teacher education development is linked to *teacher development* (TD). Adrian Underhill (1997) explains TD as the process of becoming the best teacher one can be by 'a widening of the focus of teaching to include not only the subject matter and the teaching methods, but also the people who are working with the subject and using the methods.' The recurring themes of this process are those of learning from one's own experience, working with and learning from the experience of others and becoming more active in one's own continuous development, gradually gaining in quality.

These ideas are explained in more depth by Tarone & Allwright (2003) who stress the importance of the difference between what teachers in general and *language teachers* in particular need to know.

... we believe that teachers of different subject areas must learn different things, and may have to learn those things in different ways. For example, learning to pay attention to the linguistic forms produced by our students while simultaneously processing the content of their utterances is something which is not required of a biology teacher or a ballet teacher. It is not clear how, and when, a second language teacher must learn to do this. Consequently, we feel strongly that, in addition to research on general teacher learning, which has generated good information for us to begin with, research is also needed specifically on *second language teacher learning*. (p. 2)

In order to address this issue there is a need to better understand, as a result of research, how language teacher learning takes place, in which contexts and in what ways. Tarone & Allwright (2003) actually make a distinction between teacher learning and teacher education. Teacher learning as described in the quotation above is subject specific. Teacher education refers to the so-called pre- and in- service programmes and refers to knowledge. There are also two other concepts: teacher training and teacher development. These correspond to the skills (training) and to the understanding (development) that a teacher has.

'Education' is concerned with 'knowledge' (like being aware of all the different uses to which a blackboard could be put, or knowing something about the English article system). And 'development' is concerned with 'understanding' (like understanding why children, especially teenage children, may find it difficult to perform their best in a foreign language classroom).

By understanding we are referring to something beyond merely 'having a particular skill' or 'having a certain piece of knowledge'. Understanding is whatever helps us to use our skill and knowledge appropriately. Knowing how to get learners to work in groups (a pedagogic skill), and knowing that it could help their linguistic development (pedagogic knowledge), does not in itself mean we are not going perhaps to make 'unwise' decisions about the use of group-work in our lessons. **'Understanding' may also be what helps us to feel we 'know what we are doing, and why', so that we may be able to feel at ease with what we are doing with our skill and our knowledge.** (Tarone & Allwright 2003: 3-4 my bold)

In my opinion, too, developing as a teacher is linked to gradually accumulating understanding, awareness. In my experience of teaching English as a foreign language there is a certain specificity to language teaching that makes it different from teaching other subjects (biology, mathematics, etc.). I will present here a list of features of foreign language teaching that originates in ideas from Allwright and Sunderland (personal communication; 2000) to which I have added some of my own:

1. Language teaching is unique in that the medium of instruction is also the target of instruction.
2. Language teaching is different from most other subjects because it is a skill subject as well as a content one, for language teachers there is an open agenda of topics and a wide range of materials while language need never be the topic of a lesson
3. Language use: more than one language will almost always be found there (even if it is only the students talking together) since the subject matter is a target language.
4. There is more likely to be a student who knows more than the teacher (for whatever reason) than in other subject classrooms.
5. Due to speaking being taught as a skill in its own right (Communicative Language Teaching) there is typically more speaking than in any other subject classroom and there is also the issue of teacher and student talking time
6. Language learner's identity: the language classroom may make available new beliefs and possibilities, so that one may feel a different person when speaking a different language (the target language).
7. The social nature of language learning and teaching that leads to what Allwright & Bailey (1991) mention as related to learner receptivity. The learner is receptive or not to the teaching-learning process due to 'social', issues to do with the 'like/dislike' of the language, the teacher, the other learners, of the materials or the subject of the lesson, of fear of loss of face and of fear of communication.
8. The non-native language teacher is a language learner all their life. This means that they need to be more flexible insofar as their authority from the point of view of 'content' knowledge is concerned and therefore the roles of the teacher and learner in the classroom might not be the 'classical' ones.

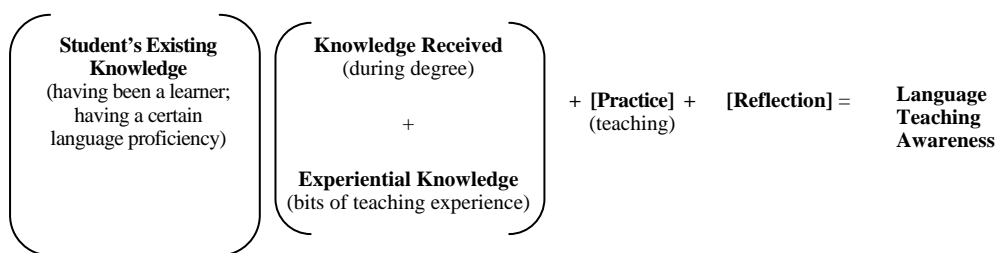
Looking at all of these statements about language teaching it appears that language teaching is strongly linked to the social side of life inside and outside the classroom, to who the teacher and the students are and how they behave as social beings.

The concept that I am working with in my research is that of *language teaching awareness* (LTA) of beginner teachers of English. Language teaching awareness is the result of a process. An aware teacher may or may not know the 'literature'/ the theory, but

will certainly know their students and have a sense for teaching. There is also the issue of awareness raising in language teaching which I believe to be rooted both in knowledge and in a certain sensitivity to possibilities, a certain sensitivity to the student - teacher/ teacher - student relationship and to what goes on in the classroom. This sensitivity could be a sort of insight, of understanding that some people have. Starting from the hypothesis that LTA exists, I want to be able to recognise it, and to develop it in the future.

I assume that there is a link between what a learner experiences as a learner in the classroom and during pre-service teacher training, and what the same person will do when they become teachers. Although, if we look at it superficially, most teachers go through similar experiences, some are more successful teachers than others are. I consider this success to be connected to their language teaching awareness, but my research aim is not concerned with the evaluation of how successful my respondents are as teachers. Within the frame of this paper I will just look at the ‘growth’ of beginner teachers’ LTA during the first two years of their teaching experience.

Students who study for a degree in Modern Languages enter the university in Romania with a certain language competence and language awareness and also with their own experience of how teaching/ learning take place (pedagogic competence/ awareness). The courses offered during their undergraduate studies should ideally add more in the area of both competence and awareness.



Students' existing knowledge refers to the knowledge they accumulated in *school* in the area of language and that of how learning and teaching (from the learner's perspective) happen both as competence (information) and awareness.

Received knowledge is all that the student gains in the knowledge area of both language and learning/teaching during the years of their *degree studies*.

Experiential knowledge is the one students get during micro-teaching, presentations at seminars or student conferences, the experience they have if they teach (mainly private tuition, which is fairly common practice among students who study languages) and obviously that of teaching practice. The main part of experiential knowledge is actually a passive one, that of the learner, of what it was like to learn in a certain way, of what was the most efficient way of learning, the most efficient way of being taught.

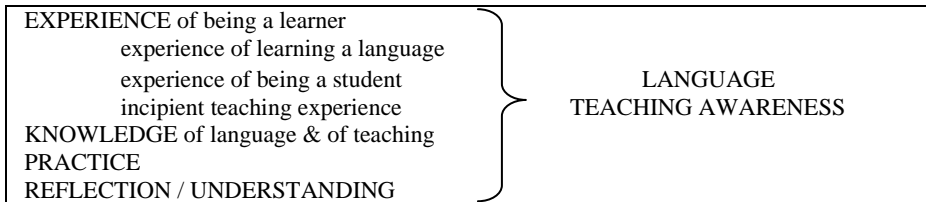
Practice refers to the experience of really being a teacher.

Reflection is conditioned by the manner of work that the student is accustomed to. This manner of work is not linked to language learning exclusively, it is a way of thinking that is or is not developed in learners according to what teachers believe their ‘mission’ to be. It depends on whether the teacher wants the learner to become independent or wants the learner only to memorise and not to think. (The discussions I had with my former students during my research will have probably increased their capacity for reflection)

It appears that the degree course at university offers the opportunity for student development but this depends on certain variables which depend on human thinking and therefore on previous modes of education. The following idea about exploratory practice should be perhaps a requirement for the degree course at university

...getting language teaching and learning done in such a way that it not only fosters language learning itself but also fosters our understanding of what happens in the language classroom. (Allwright, 1996: 11)

If I were to show in a simpler way the relationship among the variables that are in my opinion part of LTA it would look like this:



My respondents were five beginner teachers who had started teaching English as a foreign language. They had all been my students and I had a good relationship with them – they trusted me and were willing to talk to me. The data I gathered and analysed were collected during the first two years of these five beginner teachers’ teaching jobs, before their certification examination (in the Romanian educational system the ‘definitivat’ examination).

The data are two transcripts of two discussions with each of the five respondents and an account that each teacher wrote as a response to a question that I asked them to respond to in writing. In the following table there is a list of issues that are connected to these teachers’ LTA and which are mentioned in the three sets of data. There is a [*] in each column corresponding to the mentioning of something related to that issue or that I classified as belonging to it. The data were collected at three different points in time: the very beginning of the school year (e.g. 1A), the end of the same school year (e.g. 2A) and the end of the second school year (e.g. 3A).

	Development of LTA	Ada			Cora			Ina			Mia			Sia			
		1A	2A	3A	1C	2C	3C	1I	2I	3I	1M	2M	3M	1S	2S	3S	
1.	Teaching experience /process (Assessment)		***	*		*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
2.	Experience/ perceptions as learner at university				*	*			*		*	*					
	Experience/ perceptions as learner at school		*	*		*	*		*	*	*	*	*				*
	Experience/ perceptions as learner of English								*		*	*	*				
3.	Talking to peers	*		*		*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	***	*
4.	Talking to other people		*	*					*			*					
5.	Former English lang. teacher model		*			*	*			*		*	*				
	Former teachers at university.				*	*					*					*	
	Former teachers at school	*		*		*			*	*	*	*	*				
6.	Feedback from own students reactions		*			*	*	***	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
	Feedback from own students results		*			*			*			*					
	Formal feedback from own students		*						*								

DOES LANGUAGE TEACHING AWARENESS DEVELOP DURING THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF TEACHING?

	Development of LTA	Ada			Cora			Ina			Mia			Sia		
		1A	2A	3A	1C	2C	3C	1I	2I	3I	1M	2M	3M	1S	2S	3S
7.	Classroom observation						*		*	*				*	*	
8	Motivation/Feeling of self-confidence due to (successful) teaching								*			**			*	
9	Lack of self confidence														*	
10.	Teaching as a way of being, of behaving that suits the personality / authority					*			*	*		*	*		*	*
11.	Peers /head of school / head of department / inspector's advice/ support /member of a group /association		*	*					*	*	*	*	*		*	*
12	Materials and references in the library					*		*	*		*	*				*
13.	Reading methodology			*		*	*				*	*	*			*
14.	Exchanges/ Further training					*	*									*
15.	The textbook / the teacher's book														*	*
16.	Differences between the learner's lang. and the target language					*					*					
17.	Awareness of teaching methodology and learning strategies					*		*			*				*	
18.	Psychology					*	*		*	*		*				

By simply looking at the occurrence of the [*] signs it is obvious that there are far more in the columns that correspond to the discussion at the end of the first year of teaching (2A, 2C, etc) than in those that we had at the beginning of the same year. So, the LTA has become more 'noticeable' and therefore there is a development of it as the beginner teachers are aware of more issues connected to teaching. The beginner teachers are able to discuss and bring to the discussion a plethora of issues that they did not mention in our first discussion and therefore, I assume, were not aware of at that time. Referring back to Underhill's (1997) definition of TD the issues that are mentioned correspond to the features that Underhill allocates to the TD process. The beginner teachers mention their own teaching experience, their peers, both those who are and those who are not working with the subject, and the students, mainly feedback from these. I believe that remembering their own teachers and themselves as learners means that they have gained a perspective that they did not have before and I would like to say that this proves an 'understanding' that was absent before. They are also concerned with their continuous development as exchanges, further training, classroom observation, reading about methodology and research are also mentioned. As an example I would like to quote from the three sets of data belonging to the same respondent Cora. The first two sets of data are transcripts of discussions which are line numbered for easy reference. [A:] is the researcher and the name of the respondent is given in full. (It is not the real name of the respondent).

In our first discussion (1C) Cora referring to her teaching in the classroom relies on her closest experience, that of her being a student at university, of being lectured to by her teachers and does not seem to be able to consider any other option. She also says that she is confused and admits that what she is doing does not seem to be real.

117 A: *When you say teaching do you mean lecturing?*

118 Cora: *Yes, lecturing (laugh)*

119 A: *(Laugh) Yes, I mean I can understand that. Perhaps with not having*

120 *school experience ... in school as a teacher and having had all these*
121 *lectures at University, you have to lecture... But you might discover...*
122 **Cora:** *I mean I... I've got used to it. I've done it for 4 years.*
123 **A:** *From the other side!*
124 **Cora:** *Yes, from the other side.*

...

164 **A:**.... *But then you should take into consideration the fact that each learner*
165 *is different and they might want a different approach from their teacher.*
166 **Cora:** *I think that... that now I'm more biased by my own experience. I don't*
167 *know if I'm going to get over that and go on with the other side to...*
168 **A:** *(laugh)*
169 **Cora:** *(laugh) I don't know.*
170 **A:** *I mean if you feel that you had a successful experience it's only natural to*
171 *be biased towards it, to feel that it's, you know, because I succeeded in that*
172 *way; that's the right way of doing it.*
173 **Cora:** *It's all very confusing to understand... I don't think I've woken up yet.*

In my second discussion with Cora (2C) there is a development for the better and first of all it refers to the fact that she feels more at ease with her teaching job than when we met previously. Cora considers some of the problems that occur to originate in the fact that she is at the same time a teacher and a student. (She was an MA student at that time, too).

It could be said that the reason for Cora feeling better in the teacher's position is practice, actual teaching.

126 **Cora:** *... .. But I'm teaching the same things. I'm doing with them the same*
127 *things that I did in the 1st semester.*
128 **A:** *Uhum.*
129 **Cora:** *So... having seen the reaction on the other group in the 1st semester, now it's*
130 *easier for me to even anticipate what they'll do, what these people will do.*

Besides the practice that has been building up her confidence she also has the feedback from her students, especially the positive one that she got from some of them.

138 **A:** *And... Right... I mean... did you... how should I say, did you ever ask*
139 *actually for feedback from students, when you finished with them? Like the ones*
140 *that you taught ...?*
141 **Cora:** *No, I didn't ask them. I didn't. Sometimes I got it from them without asking*
142 *for it. I mean some of them even came up to me and said, "oh, I liked this class",*
143 *something like this.*

Compared to the state of confusion she was in at the beginning of the school year she seems to have come to an understanding of what she needs to do as a teacher and this understanding is based on personal experience and positive feedback. She had also been sharing her problems with a peer.

621- **Cora:** *Yes... uhum, yes, that helps, talking to other people who are in the*
622 *same business (laugh)... let's say.*
623 **A:** *In what way does it help?*
624 **Cora:** *Well... maybe sometimes they've gone through the same experience you have.*
625 **A:** *Uhum...*

626 **Cora:** ... *With the class for instance, they have come up against the same obstacles or*
627 *problems and maybe they found a better way to deal with them...mmm... and you*
628 *can learn from them.*

...

634 **A:** *OK, so it's...instead of talking about, I don't know what... boyfriends or about..*

635 **Cora:** *Yea, we talk about the job (laugh).*

But the model of both the university teacher and the one from school is also there in the background of Cora's mind and helps her decide how to do things in class.

654 **A:** *OK ... I mean you did say that you were teaching the*

655 *grammar ... as you had been taught by professor Pop (at university) more or less,*

656 *but then on the other hand, is there any... any other teacher that you*

657 *perhaps go back to?*

658 **Cora:** *Yea.*

659 **A:** *Or... is that...?*

660 **Cora:** *Yes, my high school teacher.*

661 **A:** *Your high school teacher of what?*

662 **Cora:** *English.*

...

671 **Cora:** *Yea. And I do not do the things that the teacher or the teachers I didn't*
672 *like used to do.*

...

677 **A:** *But what specifically is it that they did?*

678 **Cora:** *Well... I don't know... Well... one thing... not interacting with the students,*

679 *with the pupils... and just reciting the whole thing in front of the class... and...*

So, since the beginning of the year when she only 'lectured' she now strongly favours interaction with the learners and applies the methods and activities she liked and not those she disliked as a learner both at school and at university.

687 **Cora:** *Not exactly... err... as conscious as that but... you know... I think I try to*

688 *avoid those things I didn't enjoy when I was a student or a pupil.*

The third set of data is of a different kind as instead of transcripts of discussions it is a text produced by the respondent as an answer to a question. I gave the task and I was the 'target' reader of the text. The respondent also knew what we had discussed previously and I assume that to be the reason for the lack of mention of some of the issues that had already appeared previously as they might have been considered redundant.

In her account (3C) Cora refers to theories of learning and to the awareness of how one learnt when one was a learner, which gives one a background that is needed as support before one has experience. She is concerned about whether her teaching is effective and to what extent. She has the capacity to put herself in her students' shoes. She actually uses the word 'understand' several times in her account, and also realises that this understanding and empathy makes things easier for her as a teacher. She seems to have understood that teaching is about student learning and not only about her as a teacher

'Another essential element is the knowledge about how a language is learnt. You need to know about the current theories in the field, but also to remember the way you have learnt it yourself. This way it is easier to understand the processes the students go through. It is also easier to predict what problems might occur, what things could be more difficult to understand and would need more explaining. This gives you an insight which makes your job easier and more efficient.'(3C)

Cora knows that learner feedback is a valuable source of information for the teacher who wants to be a helper and facilitator and that it is sometimes easier to find things out directly. She also raises the issue of teaching as a learning process that involves a human relationship of 'giving and getting'.

'Getting feedback from your students is very important because it provides you with a perspective over your activity and it may also provide you with solutions to problems that occur in the teaching process. You're actually learning from the students, as you teach them. I try to ask the students direct questions about how they feel about what we are doing, but also observe their reactions when I ask them to do something'. (3C)

Another issue that Cora raises is that of the knowledge of the language that one teaches which is not enough if one is not aware of the contrasts and similarities between the mother tongue of the learner and the foreign language that is taught. This issue is also linked to her concern of making 'things' clear for the learner. Because language is taught as a means of communication it is important to use it as such, a fact that she remembers to have learnt from her own teacher of English in secondary school. She proves here to be very much aware of language and communication being the object of teaching. She is also aware of psychological issues related to learner reactions to teacher requirements.

'You need to know how your own language, or that of your students, relates to English in order to understand the cause of these problems. You can use the differences and similarities between the two languages in order to clarify problematic issues. I think explanations in the mother tongue should be avoided though. Or better said used less and less, as the students' level rises. You need to know that it takes some work to encourage the students to interact among themselves and with you in the target language. I have seen that many use every opportunity to revert to their mother tongue. My English teacher in high-school used to pretend she didn't understand Romanian or Hungarian and thus forced us to speak English. This strategy can backfire, though, and inhibit a shy or less confident student.' (3C)

There are several methods of teaching language, so it is important to be aware of the advantages and disadvantages of using each. Other important issues are: keeping in contact with research in the field in order to be acquainted with the latest findings, remembering what your teachers did and resorting to your language learning experience in order to be as efficient as possible as a teacher.

'You also need to be familiar with the various methods used or experimented by English language teachers and their results in order to be able to choose the one (or ones) most suitable for your class in order to make up your own 'recipe' combining elements from several methods at the same time.(3C)

Cora considers that the basis of what she does when she teaches is her experience as a learner, the 'model' of her teachers from both school and university, her classroom observation opportunities and her own teaching experience. The teaching practice of the pre-service teacher training is of least use as it was too short.

'I have learnt some of these things in school (mostly on the MA programme), some the hard way, in the classroom, once I started teaching, and very few during the too short practice period in the teacher training module. On the other hand, thinking about what my teachers and professors used to do has helped a lot. I rely very much on that background in my English classes. Of great help have been my observations during the summer course in England. I learnt a lot then, in just one month, as they used all sorts of communicative methods I had never experienced before. And even now I still use the materials I got then.'(3C)

It appears that Cora's perception of what is useful in language teaching was enriched by her further contact with formal training while she was already teaching. This further training while she was already teaching has led to a better, deeper understanding, awareness of learning strategies and teaching methods. I assumed that I would find issues that my respondents raise to point to the specificity of language teaching and these are mentioned in the 'last' set of data by most of the respondents.

There is a dramatic development of the beginner teachers' LTA and a growing understanding and awareness of the teaching-learning process over the period of time during which I collected my data –two calendar years.

The beginner teacher's LTA developed due to several contributing factors. I would like to draw attention to three of these factors in particular, those that I believe have had the most important contribution to language teacher learning. All of my respondents have learnt enormously by actually teaching; they were at an advantage if they took part in some sort of further training course and if they had a peer to talk to.

As a conclusion I would like to draw the attention to the need of a 'guide' during the first years of teaching and of more 'input' during the same first years of teaching as it can be the best opportunity of implementing what you learn. The beginner teachers have a negative experience when they start teaching and it is our responsibility to provide help or at least draw the attention of the authorities to what could be of help to beginner teachers.

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ZILELE NU SE ÎNTORC NICIODATĂ DE SORANA GURIAN, O GLORIE NEMERITATĂ?

VICTOR DURNEA

ABSTRACT. *The attempt to reconstruct, as accurately as possible, Sorana Gurianu's biography has been encourage from the very beginning by some elements that betrayed a not so common writing career in an epoch of great social and political upheavals, i.e. the transition toward the totalitarian communist regime. We also have to mention the fact that some of her writings have always raised difficult questions for the critics. This article tries to offer some answers to these questions.*

Încercarea de a reconstitui, pe cât este posibil, biografia Soranei Gurian¹ a fost impulsionată de la început, așa cum am arătat deja, atât de câteva elemente ce lăsau să se ghicească o traiectorie scriitoricească mai puțin comună, într-o epocă de mari convulsii sociale și politice, aceea a tranziției spre regimul totalitar comunist, cât și de faptul că unele dintre prozele ei au pus și pun și în prezent probleme dificile criticii.

Astfel, astăzi, intrigă ori ar trebui să intrigue soarta romanului de debut al scriitoarei. S-ar părea că o instanță superioară, cu nebanuite dispoziții ironice și ludice, vrea cu tot dinadinsul ca această soartă să nu infirme cătuși de puțin aserțiunea, privitoare la ireversibilitatea timpului, ce-i servește drept titlu. Într-adevăr, precum se știe, *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*² a avut parte de o remarcabilă glorie la apariție, pentru ca, odată cu implantarea deplină a canonului proletcultist, să fie pus sub taboul ideologic și, apoi, uitat cu desăvârșire. Și când, în sfârșit, a sosit momentul prielnic recursului istorico-literar, rezultatul acestuia îi este mai degrabă defavorabil. Spre deosebire de celelalte romane de succes din epoca respectivă, el nu a fost reeditat pînă în prezent, iar recentele judecăți de valoare exprimate asupra lui, dacă nu sînt total și fără echivoc negative, precum aceea aparținînd lui Ion Negoîtescu³, se plasează departe de cele cu care a fost întîmpinat la apariție. Se prefigurează astfel, fără doar și poate, un caz de "glorie nemeritată" (cu termenii propuși de o cunoscută anchetă din 1934 a gazetei "Rampa"⁴). Un caz mai puțin banal decît pare (avînd de-a face cu o glorie nemeritată doar în parte), în condițiile existenței unei **posibile** circumstanțe agravante, și anume ca, la origine, să se afle nu o "orbire" a cîtorva critici, dintre cei mai de vază ai momentului totuși, ci o acțiune a factorului politic, exercitată prin intermediul cenzurii⁵.

¹ Vezi Victor Durnea, *Misterioasa viață a Soranei Gurian*, în "România literară", anul XXXVI, nr.20, din 21-27 mai 2003, p. 20-21, și nr. 21, din 28 mai-3 iunie 2003, p. 14-15; Victor Durnea, *Începuturile Soranei Gurian*, în "Convorbiri literare", în curs de apariție.

² Sorana Gurian, *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*, ediția a II-a, [București], Forum, f.a. [1946]. Ediția I a romanului, de negăsit astăzi, a intrat în librării la sfîrșitul lui noiembrie 1945. După unele informații, a existat și o treia ediție. Romanul a fost publicat și în Occident, fără să se specifice că e vorba de o traducere din românește: *Nie kehren die Tage wieder*, Düsseldorf, Bourg., 1951; *Les jours ne reviennent jamais*, Paris, Julliard, 1952.

³ Ion Negoîtescu, *Istoria literaturii române*, București, Editura Minerva, 1991, p. 261.

⁴ *Glorii nemeritate și valori neprețuite*, în "Rampa", anul XVII, nr. 5088, din 25 decembrie 1934, p. 9, 11.

⁵ Ideea a fost formulată de d. Nicolae Florescu, autorul celui mai amplu pînă acum studiu monografic asupra scriitoarei, intitulat *Regăsirea Soranei Gurian* (apărut în "Jurnalul literar", serie nouă, anul XIII, nr. 5-10, martie-aprilie-mai 2002, p. 1, 4-5; reluat în Sorana Gurian, *Ochiurile rețelei. Jurnalul meu din România*, Versiunea românească de Cornelia Ștefănescu, București, Editura "Jurnalului literar", 2002, p. 5-26). Ocupîndu-se de "cronica sau mai bine-zis seria de *cronici*" consacrată de Perpessicius romanului *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată* și constatînd că în ea "registru analitic se schimbă", exegetul se întreabă în treacăt (într-o notă de subsol): "Să fi fost aici doar o împlîntoare și nevinovată oscilație de moment a spiritului critic sau o anume presiune exercitată de o vigilență cenzură să fi împus comentatorului necesarele «clarificări» față de inițialele rețineri?" (*vol. cit.*, p. 13). Retorică, întrebarea afirmă în fapt ultima alternativă. Numai că **nu există** în cronica lui Perpessicius nici o "schimbare de registru analitic", nici vreo modificare a judecății de valoare! Ca atare, alternativa respectivă rămîne o prezumție, demnă totuși de luat în seamă.

În atare împrejurări, fie și numai pentru a ieși din sfera presupunerilor, un supliment de anchetă este stringent necesar. Reexaminarea atentă a dosarului receptării romanului *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*, așadar, confruntarea pieselor între ele, precum și cu rezultatele reconstituirii biografice și ale unei noi lecturi a operei, ni se impune de la sine ca itinerar al investigației.

Parcurgând dosarul în cauză, atenția ne este imperios captată de ultima piesă a primei secțiuni, ce se sfârșește în 1947, cea cu inevitabile valențe de bilanț critic, apărută, sub semnătura lui F. Aderca, într-o gazetă de redusă importanță culturală (se adresa publicului feminin), dar de mare tiraj și, mai ales, neraliată puterii. Aceasta se intitula, provocator, *Secretul Soranei Gurian*. "Fostul cronicar trecut la preocupări de estetică mai generale" (cum mărturisește mai departe) preciza de la bun început: "E vorba de secretul literar, bun înțeles, și de taina ce stă la temelia extraordinarului succes al romanului *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*..."⁶ Un succes "miraculos" chiar, se spune în continuare, dovedit prin mărirea tirajului. Un *bestseller*, așadar, un succes "de public". Despre unul "de critică" nu se pomenește. Și aceasta pentru că nici unul dintre cronicari, printre care se numără doi cu mare autoritate, ce formulaseră aprecieri superlative la adresa cărții⁷, "[n-ar fi] ajuns totuși la secretul artei d-nei Sorana Gurian"⁸.

În realitate, cei doi critici vizați (Perpessicius și Vladimir Streinu), dar și alții, mai puțin cunoscuți astăzi, se apropiaseră de "secretul" cu pricina mai mult decât o va face F. Aderca, prin soluția sa, pe care o propune, afirmă el modest, "bucuros să contribuie" – fie și prin contrastul insului ce dă cu oiștea în gard – la găsirea direcției în care trebuie să se îndrepte pasul criticii⁹. Însă nu e mai puțin adevărat că demersul acelor critici se clădea, în chip paradoxal, robust, pe nu puține omisiuni și denaturări. Meritul lui Aderca este, așadar, înainte de toate, de a fi spus câtorva lucruri (nu tuturor) pe nume.

Pentru "fostul critic", precum s-a arătat, "secretul" literar al Soranei Gurian reprezenta ceea ce condusese la "succesul extraordinar", "miraculos" al romanului ei. Atributele acestea erau justificate nu numai de tirajul celor trei ediții ieșite într-un interval scurt (circa 15.000 de exemplare), ci și de felul cum se prezenta romanul. "*Zilele nu se mai întorc niciodată* [sic] e – observa el – ceea ce se cheamă un roman greu, cerînd cititorilor și cititoarelor (azi mai numeroase) o efortare puțin obișnuită în asemenea împrejurări. Autoarea nu le vine în ajutor în nici un fel, nici printr-un stil fluid sau bine îngrijit, nici printr-o punctuație prea potrivită și nici măcar - îndeosebi către sfîrșitul romanului – printr-o gramatică întru totul corectă. Ba în

⁶ *Secretul Soranei Gurian*, în "Femeia și căminul", anul IV, nr. 112, din 23 februarie 1947, p. 1, 3; reluat în F. Aderca, *Contribuții critice*, II, *Articole, cronici, eseuri*, ediție și note de Margareta Feraru, București, Editura Minerva, 1988, p. 536-539. La acest volum trimitem, pentru citatele următoare. La 21 februarie 1947, așadar cu două zile înaintea articolului lui F. Aderca, tînărul și "intransigent revoluționarul" critic Ovid S. Crohmalniceanu, ocupîndu-se, în "Contemporanul", de volumul de nuvele al aceleiași scriitoare (intitlat *Întîmplări între amurg și noapte*), dădea semnalul luptei contra literaturii "decadenței", burgheze, livrînd oprobriului public și, implicit, epurării proza Soranei Gurian. Au urmat o serie de note acuzatoare, otrăvite, și apoi o tăcere de moarte. Vezi și articolele citate la nota 1.

⁷ "Unul din ei – se observă astfel cu referire certă la Perpessicius – a comentat cu intuiție fremătătoare și totuși precisă întreaga povestire, definind încă o dată temperamentul, caracterul eroilor și mărturisind și el straniul lor farmec." "Altul – se adaugă, privitor negreșit la Vladimir Streinu – a găsit o similitudine fericită între tehnica «în contrapunct» a romanelor anglo-saxone și structura operei d-nei Sorana Gurian, creația lor fiind, în fond, orchestrarea simfonică și simultană a mai multor figuri și destine – lipsind, adică, un personaj central." (*Op. cit.*, p. 537.)

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 536.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p.537-538.

numeroase pagini cititorul nu mai știe cine vorbește – eroul, eroina, amintirea unui erou ori a unei eroine – nu-și dă seamă dacă evenimentele sunt aievea sau numai presupunerea lor, în trecut sau viitor... [...] D-na Sorana Gurian n-a folosit nici trucul falsului exotism [...]”¹⁰

E vorba, în ultimă instanță, de mai multe deficiențe, de cusururi ale romanului *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*, suficient de grave pentru a-i determina eșecul, deficiențe pe care predecesorii lui Aderca le-ar fi eludat, când nu le-ar fi negat existența.

Într-adevăr, primele recenzii și cronici consacrate cărții de debut a Soranei Gurian nu pomenesc nimic despre punctuația nepotrivită ori despre incorectitudinea gramaticală. Mai mult, în aceea iscălită de N. Papatanasiu, bunăoară, se vorbește de "frumuseți stilistice tot mai prețioase"¹¹. Dar, în cronică sa, Perpessicius menționase "critica orală" pe marginea romanului Soranei Gurian, "ceea ce colportează [publicul], mai mult sau mai puțin insistent, pe tema unor erori de expresie, mai scurt, a necunoașterii limbii românești"¹², și consideră necesar să se oprească îndelung pentru a o combate. El susține, astfel, că "majoritatea erorilor se datoresc, în primul rând, unei corecturi defectuoase", dovada fiind împuținarea lor în partea a doua a romanului, și că în sarcina scriitoarei trebuie puse doar cele de morfologie, mai puțin grave, la urma urmei, decât "decalcurile sau particularitățile sintactice neglijate", care însă ar lipsi cu totul. Reproducând, apoi, o suită de pasaje de o incontestabilă expresivitate, autorul *Mențiunilor critice* conchide răspicat că romanul *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată* este "unul din cele mai frumos scrise din literatura noastră contimporană"¹³.

În replică, desigur, Vladimir Streinu, ocupându-se de roman câteva luni mai târziu, nu mai neagă existența greșelilor de limbă, dar o explică în chip subtil, nu fără a-și lua totuși o marjă de siguranță. "Sorana Gurian – afirmă el – umblă deseori tocmai printre aceste stări sufletești negramaticalizate, negramaticalizabile și în orice caz pregramaticale. Stilul deodată rupt și lipsa uneori a punctuației sînt de aceea poate mijloacele unei precise inteligențe artistice, care se constrînge la fidelitate față de dezorganizarea pe care vrea să o sugereze." Mai departe, criticul recunoaște și că modalitatea, "oricît de necesară [...], dezorientează totuși pe cititorul de rînd"¹⁴.

O lectură, oricît de grăbită, a romanului Soranei Gurian confirmă existența, în afara unei multitudini de greșeli tipografice, a "infracțiunilor" față de ortografie, a căror responsabilitate cade, firește, atît în seama corectorilor, cît și a autoarei și care, la o eventuală nouă ediție, se cuvin îndreptate tacit. Pe lîngă acestea, există însă și numeroase altele mai grave. O suită de "anomalii ale exprimării" dădea recent d. G. Dimisianu¹⁵, care sublinia și redundanța negației din titlu. Se pot adăuga încă multe, de natură diferită: doar în primele pagini, se întîlnesc imposibile împerecheri de cuvinte ("un șoarece de cîmp *guița*", "lumina curgea imuabil pură"), pleonasme ("dezvelite, goale"), forme de plural neuzitate ("spicurile"), nereluarea complementului direct și ignorarea "genului personal" ("să cucerească doctorul"), expresii calchiate ("oricît n-ar fi de ciudat") sau franțuzisme ("a observa", cu sensul a respecta; "geloasă de Șeful") etc.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 536-537.

¹¹ N. Papatanasiu, *Sorana Gurian: "Zilele nu se întorc niciodată"*, în "Drapelul", anul III, nr. 318, din 12 ianuarie 1946, p. 2.

¹² Perpessicius, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 278; p. 280.

¹⁴ Vladimir Streinu, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

¹⁵ G. Dimisianu, *Momentul literar 1954-1948. Sorana Gurian*, în "România literară", anul XXXV, nr. 34, din 28 august-3 septembrie 2002, p. 12-13.

Demn de remarcat este că deficiența aceasta a scrisului Soranei Gurian fusese totuși semnalată la debutul ei în periodice. Referindu-se la nuvelele *Medalionul* și *Narcoza*, apărute în "Revista Fundațiilor Regale" în 1938, Sanda Movilă constata valoarea acestora, dincolo de "amănuntul supărător" al unei "oarecare lipse de grijă pentru expresie" și al faptului că "frază dă adeseori impresia de traducere"¹⁶. O mărturie în acest sens aduc și *Agendele Sburătorului*: la nuvelele în cauză E. Lovinescu "lucrează" câteva zile, în iunie 1938¹⁷, semn că operația era anevoioasă. Și o face la rugămintea lui Camil Petrescu, redactor al "Revistei Fundațiilor Regale", care era deci și el conștient de necesitatea operației. Și tot mentorul Sburătorului va face ulterior și corectura șpalturilor. Lucrul nu este, desigur, de mirare. Multe dintre calcurile menționate sînt după expresii rusești și erau (sînt și astăzi) frecvente în limbajul basarabenilor. De altfel, Sorana Gurian va mărturisi mai tîrziu¹⁸ că limba sa maternă era limba rusă. Pe deasupra, în casă învățase, sub supravegherea unor guvernante străine, limba franceză, pe care o va folosi curent în timpul internărilor sale în spitale de peste hotare.

Trebuie, prin urmare, să-i dăm dreptate lui F. Aderca în legătură cu efortul suplimentar făcut de cititorii romanului *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*. În același timp, se cuvine a nu trece cu vederea celălalt versant, al reușitelor stilistice ale Soranei Gurian, de felul celor citate de autorul *Mențiunilor critice*, dar și de alții.

Mai grave decît aceste prime deficiențe erau cele ce urmau în lista lui F. Aderca, relative la o anume confuzie a perspectivei narative și a planurilor temporale în *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*, ele implicînd, în ultimă instanță, construcția romanului.

Asupra acesteia se pronunțase, mai mult favorabil, o parte dintre predecesori. Astfel, același N. Papatanasiu, prozator și el, începe prin a recunoaște că debutanta este o "profesionistă" ("face parte breaslă"), pentru ca apoi să sublinieze că romanul ei este o "carte dificilă", prin "modul sinuos al povestirii, în dese și complicate schimbări de planuri", "stufosă în copioasa ei desfășurare", fără să prezinte "asperități, goluri sau dezechilibrări", o carte "într-un complex aliaj", la care participă "o povestire cu adolescenți, un roman al provinciei și un excelent op epico-psihologic"¹⁹. Un alt cronicar, ce iscălește G. D. P., probabil G. Demetru Pan, după ce susține că romanul Soranei Gurian "se resimte de multe insuficiențe, inerente debutului (nerespectarea legilor de construcție a romanului)", conchide totuși că "înlănțuirea de episoade, cărora le-a dat un suflu original, este inteligent urmărită"²⁰. Foarte puțin insistă asupra acestui aspect Perpessicius, care se mulțumește să remarce în treacăt performanța autoarei, anume de "a [fi] putut să conducă, în ritmul și cu implicațiile proprii marilor periopluri, acțiunea nu a unui roman, dar a patru, pentru că *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată* este în egală măsură romanul Vivianei, al Olgăi, al Șefului și al lui Ann, fiecare deopotrivă adîncit și toate comunicînd și comuniind sub aceeași cupolă cu rezonanțe tragice"²¹. Aici, ambiguitatea exprimării ar putea ascunde ceea ce devine limpede în alt pasaj – "Spuneam că *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată* cumulează patru romane, atît de

¹⁶ Două scriitoare, în "Timpul", anul II, nr. 559, din 21 noiembrie 1938, p. 4.

¹⁷ E. Lovinescu, "Sburătorul". *Agende literare*, vol. V, Ediție de Monica Lovinescu și Gabriela Omăt. Note de Alexandru George, Margareta Feraru și Gabriela Omăt, București, Editura C.N.I. "Coresi", 2001, p. 186.

¹⁸ *Vezi Les mailles du fillet. Mon journal de Roumanie*, Paris, Editions Calmann-Levy, 1951, p. 141.

¹⁹ N. Papatanasiu, *loc. cit.*

²⁰ G. D. P., *Sorana Gurian: "Zilele nu se întorc niciodată"*, în "Spectator", anul IV, nr. 99, din 30 ianuarie 1946, p. 3.

²¹ Perpessicius, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

extinse sînt cele patru părți ale povestirii, intitulat[e?] cu numele protagoniștilor...²² –, anume faptul că autorul *Mențiunilor critice* trece cu vederea lipsa unei motivații puternice (cum ar fi, bunăoară, rolul preponderent ori perspectiva unică) a segmentării respective.

Complînd într-un fel lacuna, Vladimir Streinu consacră prima parte a cronicii sale tocmai "biruinței tehnice de nediscutat" înregistrată prin romanul *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*. Sorana Gurian, afirmă el, "tehnicește, [...] se situează mai aproape de modelul englez", romanul ei "ca și la Huxley, [...] mișună de amănuntul observației obiective și al celei autoscopice, compunerea generală ieșind din concursul formulei clasice și a celei moderne". Concluzia reia și dezvoltă ideea: "Dimensiunea importantă [a biruinței] se înalță din complicația învinsă: la alternarea formulei obiective cu formula analitică, la compunerea «în contrapunct» și la știința de a defini situațiile prin acel meșteșug al privirii lor multiple și convergente, căruia i se asociază tehnica practică de asemenea, a planurilor de viață suprapuse, provenită desigur din *Patul lui Procust* al lui Camil Petrescu..."²³

Această concluzie, F. Aderca o aproba formal, cum s-a văzut²⁴, dar o contesta parțial *de facto*, pe baza evidenței. Întrucîtva, el joacă aici rolul copilului din binecunoscuta poveste cu preținsele haine neprețuite ale împăratului. La un examen cît de rapid, oricine își va da seama că, în *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*, de la un capăt la altul, avem de-a face cu ipostaza tradițională a naratorului, instanța impersonală, omniscientă, de unde și folosirea întotdeauna a persoanei a III-a. Încît, dacă s-ar putea admite *cum grano salis* "compunerea în contrapunct", aserțiunea privitoare la "observația autoscopică" se cere precizată, iar aceea relativă la, în ultimă instanță, o schimbare a perspectivei narative, la existența unor naratori "flotanți" se vedește falsă. Criticul pare să fi căzut aici victimă unui "trompe l'oeil".

Dar efectul acesta al romanului (aspectul modern sau "anglo-saxon") nu s-ar produce fără participarea unui factor special. Acesta apare în lumină deplin abia odată cu examinarea altui cusur, pe care, surprinzător, F. Aderca nu-l menționează, deși fusese semnalat în treacăt de unii cronicari și fusese discutat îndelung tocmai de Vladimir Streinu.

Cea dintîi notiță asupra cărții, aparținînd probabil mai sus menționatului N. Papatanasiu (e semnată cu inițiala P.), conținea și o frază care, sub tonul neutru, părea să impute autoarei o anume discrepanță între peisaj și eroi, în ultimă instanță, un deficit de "specific național": "Dacă imaginile decorurilor răsfrîng cîteva colțuri de provincie românească, în schimb personajele sînt venite din cele patru vînturi..."²⁵ Ceva mai tîrziu, un alt recenzent, Ana Colombo, după ce apreciasse, de asemenea, elogios romanul, arătase că, dimpotrivă, în acesta "există totuși o latură specific românească și «entre deux guerres», chiar dacă numai în surdină, [anume aceea] a problemei evreiești și a antisemitismului". Mai departe, se remarcă, însă, că "pagina memorabilă [unde] se desfășoară sub ochii noștri ritul străvechi al morții unui evreu [...] are un ton ciudat [...] totul fiind văzut din exterior." Și, mai explicit: "Un scriitor «român» a asistat odată la un rit evreiesc, n-a înțeles nimic, căci n-a întrebat nimic, ca în *Hagada*, și nimeni din păcate (nu ca în *Hagada*!) nu i-a dat explicații... Și apoi a redat fotografic, rece și «în poză» ceea ce a văzut". Recenzia se încheia retoric: "De ce d-na Gurian, care are curiozitate pentru toate formele vieții, nu vrea să ne cunoască? De ce părintele Iulian, singur, i-a vorbit de dragostea cea mare? A, șefule, care ai iubit copiii bolnavi, de ce ai refuzat tocmai copiilor tăi sprijinul și confortul singurei

²² *Ibidem*, p. 282.

²³ Vladimir Streinu, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

²⁴ Vezi nota 6.

²⁵ P., *Romanul de debut al d-nei Sorana Gurian*, în "Drapelul", anul II, nr. 284, 10 decembrie 1945, p. 2.

idei care te-a urmat și susținut în agonie, pînă la moarte?"²⁶ Așadar, Ana Colombo era totuși dezamăgită de "latura specific românească"!

Cît privește pe Vladimir Streinu, acesta, după ce argumentase amplu ideea "biruinței tehnice de nediscutat", după ce subliniase alte calități ale scriitoarei, îndreptîndu-și atenția asupra eroilor romanului *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*, lansează o ploaie rapidă de întrebări: "Cine sînt acești oameni, unde trăiesc, în ce țară, cînd și cu ce mijloace? [...] Am menționat în treacăt că e vorba de o provincie amestecată etnicește, dar de ce nu li se spune pe nume nici orașelor, nici medicului? Pentru ce a trebuit să aflăm confesiunea medicului numai la sfîrșit, cînd este înmormîntat și de un rabin, și de un preot ortodox [...]?"²⁷

Răspunsul dat acestor retorice întrebări pare să indice, concomitent, efectele și cauza faptului: "Rădăcinile și cadrul acestor vieți se pierd într-o estompă care, dacă poate ataca într-o măsură verismul romanului și încrederea în realitatea ficțiunii, nu este mai puțin adevărat că aceeași estompă face mai ușoară ideea autorului de a propune o umanitate europeană și nu națională [...], aparținînd unei supraconfesiuni, poate unei morale laice, în orice caz nici creștină, nici iudaică."²⁸ S-ar părea, așadar, că, sub termeni eufemistici, se ascunde acuzația de "tezism" sau măcar de "tendenționism", fără ca aceasta să implice negarea sau diminuarea valorii estetice. (Efectul este, precum s-a remarcat, doar posibil și limitat în ochii criticului: "**poate ataca într-o anumită măsură**".)

În fapt, pentru Vladimir Streinu, veritabila cauză a "estompei" din *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată* este alta și ea se întrevede, mai întîi, într-una dintre întrebările pomenite, care, mai retorică decît celelalte, sfîrșește prin a afirma, simulînd ironic uimire: "Situația de medic-șef a putut cîndva asigura la noi belșugul unei familii, capriciul copiilor și îndeosebi lipsa de preocupări de viața materială?"²⁹ Mai limpede vorbește criticul cînd se referă la "sensul" romanului, care ar fi "nu numai un prăpăd de vieți omenești prin opera timpului", ci și "ruina stilului lor de viață, a epocii și a unui sistem social"³⁰. Printre rînduri, Vladimir Streinu dă de înțeles aici că "estompa" semnalată contribuie la concretizarea acestui posibil sens secund. În ultimă instanță, deci, ar fi vorba despre un alt tezism al romanului, care nici el nu-i pune propriu-zis în discuție valoarea artistică, și anume de o înfățișare a realității burgheze în conformitate cu viziunea comuniștilor și, ca atare, slujindu-i în lupta pentru acapararea puterii. Iminente lor victorie, avînd drept consecință aservirea totală a artei, îl face pe Vladimir Streinu să lanseze nu atît o ripostă, cît un avertisment trist, ce reliefează ironica răzbunare a greșelii comise de scriitoarea în cauză și de toți cei ce erau (pre)dispuși să apuce pe acea cale: "Un țipăt de moarte al oamenilor și al epocii este și romanul Soranei Gurian. Arta cu care este susținut aparține ea însăși lumii al cărei prohod îl înalță. Cititorii vor crede în totul pe autoare, crezîndu-i și arta, prin urmare, fără putere de a dăinui. Cine într-o societate socialistă se va mai interesa de agonia spiritului capitalist?"

Negreșit, chiar în această formă, gestul criticului era curajos și el va fi, de altfel, plătit nu peste mult timp cu eliminarea din redacția "Revistei Fundațiilor Regale" și, peste zece luni, cu excluderea din Sindicatul Ziariștilor Profesioniști din București³¹, ceea ce

²⁶ Ana Colombo, "*Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*" de Sorana Gurian, în "Viața evreească", anul II, nr. 71, din 5 ianuarie 1946, p. 2.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 233.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 234.

³¹ Cf. *Ziariști excluși din Sindicatul Ziariștilor*, în "Scînteia", nr. 958, din 26 octombrie 1947, p. 3.

echivala cu interdicția de a mai publica. Însă, nu mai puțin, punctul său de plecare se află într-o interpretare forțată a faptelor. E adevărat că unele dintre ele – o anume șarjare a autorităților, accentele satirice la adresa lor, mărturisirea de către un personaj (pictorița Vivian) a unei ireale adeziuni la comunism (ireale, întrucât e condiționată de prealabila apartenență, imposibilă, la o patrie)³², "traducerea", de către un critic de artă, a sensului picturii ei drept "un țipăt de moarte al epocii, al individualismului" etc. –, precum și notițiile convingeri ale Soranei Gurian puteau fi invocate ca argumente în favoarea "tezei comuniste". Nu erau totuși suficiente. Și nimeni, dintre cei ce au scris despre carte, nu mai detectase în ea vreo urmă a acestei teze. Interpretarea, credem, va fi fost forțată în chip conștient de Vladimir Streinu, în circumstanțele amintite. De altfel, câteva luni mai târziu, cum am menționat la început³³, romanul *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată* era acuzat de decandentism, iar autoarea lui eliminată și ea, odată cu Vladimir Streinu, din redacția "Revistei Fundațiilor Regale".

În atare condiții, se pune întrebarea dacă nu cumva cauza "estompei" trebuie, totuși, căutată în ceea ce Vladimir Streinu dăduse inițial la o parte. Calea aceasta va fi apucată, peste câteva decenii, de Ion Negoieșcu. Pe urmele lui Vladimir Streinu, fără doar și poate, după ce susține că "*Zilele nu se întorc niciodată* [...] suferă prea mult de mimetismul și poncifele epice de consum – nu fără pretenții totuși – proprii afitor romane occidentale înșelătoare artistic, din perioada interbelică" (o întoarcere pe dos, precum se vede, a constatării privitoare la "biruința tehnică de nediscutat"), el ajunge să afirme că, în fapt, "ceea ce supără [...] este, înainte de orice, cosmopolitismul extrem (numele franțuzite sau anglizate ale personajelor), care dizolvă rara tentă de culoare locală, păgubind astfel credibilitatea geografică a romanului: prin arterele personajelor, cu toată senzualitatea lor exacerbată, curge un sânge abstract."³⁴ Evident, existența doar a numelor "franțuzite sau anglizate" e insuficientă pentru a proba "cosmopolitismul extrem" al romanului. S-a mai invocat, de asemenea, de către alții (îndeosebi după amintita impunere a tabuului ideologic) mărturisirea unuia dintre personajele centrale ale romanului, aceeași pictoriță Vivian: "Tatăl meu, un francez, rezultat dintr-o căsătorie dintr-un lorrain și o spaniolă... mama, fata unui englez și a unei norvegiene... Am avut o străbunică italiancă și alta creolă... Un unchi mi-a murit în Mexic. Patria mea e Franța, dar m-am născut în Spania... În fond sunt o europeană... o albă... Nu mă simt nicăieri străină și nicăieri acasă..."³⁵ Însă drama personajului, aceea care îl face să trăiască în paginile romanului, nu este alimentată, la urma urmei, de această ascendență multietnică, nici de posibila lui adeziune la comunism.

Ar mai putea fi aduse în discuție și aglomerarea de personaje principale și secundare "venite din patru vânturi"³⁶, precum și câteva comentarii ale naratorului, ce vădesc o anume antipatie (vădită în șarjare), nemotivată artisticeste, față de reprezentanții (români) resortului

³² În seama personajului se pune și participarea, ca soră medicală, la războiul din Spania, de partea adepților Frontului Popular, care, de altfel, ar fi fost gata s-o împuște pentru îngrijirea răniților din tabăra inamică. Cum acțiunea romanului se petrece la sfârșitul anilor '20, anacronismul e patent!

³³ Vezi nota 5.

³⁴ Ion Negoieșcu, *Istoria literaturii române*, București, Editura Minerva, 1991, p. 261.

³⁵ Sorana Gurian, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

³⁶ "Șeful" însuși, ce va cere să fie înmormântat după ritul evreiesc, are uneori nostalgia stepei nesfârșite, exprimată în cîntece rusești; bucătăreasa sa, Mașa, e rusoaică; guvernanta fetelor sale, d-ra Martin, este elvețiancă; un doctor, Peter Johann, e german; o prințesă bolnavă de cancer e rusoaică; în vila de pe malul mării, a unui avocat rus, printre musafiri se numără o evreică bogată, cu odraslele ei, dansatorii chehi (?) Andrei și Nimfodora, un general ceh ș.a.m.d.

administrativ ori față de unii politicieni veniți din capitală, cu atitudini "colonialiste" față de "indigenii" provinciei. Toate acestea însă nu pot forma substanța unei "teze" sau unei "tendințe" morale ori politice.

Dar, atunci, care să fie cauza "estompei rădăcinilor și a cadrului vieții" (Vladimir Streinu) ori a "rareii tente de culoare locală" (Ion Negoitescu) din *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*? Spre răspunsul corect la această întrebare ne îndrumă, după opinia noastră, tocmai faptul că, pentru mulți critici (inclusiv pentru Vladimir Streinu), ca și pentru majoritatea cititorilor obișnuiți, nici "credibilitatea geografică", nici "verismul și încrederea în realitatea ficțiunii" nu sînt "păgubite" substanțial în romanul Soranei Gurian. Ceea ce se putea întîmpla numai dacă atît criticii, cît și cititorii "de rînd", pe de o parte, cunoșteau "codurile" și, pe de altă parte, erau în posesia unei garanții suficiente a verosimilității romanului.

Un prim "cod" ar putea fi procedeul folosit de o parte dintre scriitorii români de origine evreiască. Împotriva unora dintre aceștia, I. Ludo dădea la iveală, încă în anii '30, o diatribă vehementă: "Scriitorul evreu [...], excluzîndu-se din mediul evreiesc și exclus fiind din celălalt, e silit să sară peste capul nostru [al evreilor] și să-și culeagă nomenclatura personajilor din vocabularul de nume proprii englezesc, italianesc ori franțuzesc – iar subiectul din transcendental și abstract. Evreu nu vrea să fie, altceva nu-i lăsat să fie – și atunci se refugiază în port-francul modernismului, literatură neutrală, fără sex, în care e scutit de orice idee, de orice tendințe, de orice convingeri, de orice preocupări morale..."³⁷ În fond, însă, fiindcă procedeul se impunea în momentele în care problema evreiască reprezenta una foarte sensibilă, el devine un cod înțeles și admis de toți cititorii onești, indiferent de identitatea lor etnică. Și un astfel de moment era, neîndoielnic, cel în care Sorana Gurian, evreica basarabeană ce se convertise la catolicism probabil nu doar pentru a se salva în timpul regimului antonescian, își tipărește romanul *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*. "Transfug", în ochii unora dintre evreii radicali, "dușman", în ochii românilor antisemiți, dar și ai aceluia care vedeau numeroși evrei participînd la noua putere instaurată cu forța de către sovietici, scriitoarea va fi ales procedeul "estompei" încrezătoare în acuitatea privirii lectorilor avizați.

Un al doilea cod, de data aceasta nu doar probabil, ci real, are ca sursă interdicția, instituită după 23 august 1944, de a rosti și de a scrie numele ținutului dintre Prut și Nistru, anexat de U.R.S.S., și numele de locuri din el, mai ales cele care îi evocau caracterul românesc. În aceste condiții, indicii, altundeva firave, erau aici suficiente, pentru ca toți criticii³⁸ să-și fi dat seama că acțiunea romanului *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată* are drept cadru două orașe **basarabene**, mai exact "un sat cu pretenții de oraș" și capitala județului respectiv, situată pe malul fluviului ce formează granița de stat, evident Nistrul. Desigur, supunîndu-se aceluiași tabu, ei nu puteau consemna aceasta în cronicile lor.

Ceea ce garanta însă verosimilitatea romanului Soranei Gurian, în egală măsură pentru critici și pentru publicul larg, era latura sa autobiografică. Afirmția poate părea hazardată, căci, parcurgînd dosarul receptării, constatăm că opiniile au fost împărțite. F. Aderca nu face nici o referire la această latură și la fel s-ar putea spune și despre Vladimir Streinu, care totuși vorbește în treacăt despre "observația autoscopică". În ce-l privește pe minușorul Perpessicius, el declară, la un moment dat, că "[nu caută] să pătrund[ă] în regiunea [...] referințelor biografice", care este "tăinuită, greu accesibilă și, mai

³⁷ I. Ludo, *Scriitorii evrei și de origine evreiască*, în "Adam", anul III, nr. 47, din 15 martie 1932, p. 12-13.

³⁸ Inclusiv Vladimir Streinu, care **mimează**, firește, contrariul!

la urma urmei, problematică³⁹. În loc, însă, el subliniază "darurile" prozatoarei, și anume "de studiu, de observație, de afecțiune", ceea ce presupune implicit existența unei autentice experiențe de viață la temelia romanului ei.

O poziție încă mai tranșantă avusese Ana Colombo, care declarase inițial: "Nu vom căuta să deslușim aci care sunt elementele autobiografice și care, acelea fantastice, căci curiozitatea aceasta n-are nimic de-a face cu valoarea cărții, în care orașelul fără nume, spitalul de basm modern, via părintelui Iulian și plaja de la Lido din Veneția trăiesc cu aceeași intensitate, ajung să aibă aceeași validitate, aceeași importanță."⁴⁰ Lăsînd la o parte faptul că nu toate cele enumerate au "aceeași validitate", să observăm doar că finalul recenziei conține acea imputare adresată "Șefului", pe care am citat-o mai sus, imputare ce nu lasă nici o îndoială cu privire la optica recenzentului asupra relației dintre scriitoarea Sorana Gurian și personajul numit.

Oarecum invers se comportă tînărul Al. Piru, care, în cronica sa, deși dădea de înțeles că știe multe despre studenția ieșeană a Soranei Gurian, se mulțumea să spună, nu fără o anume circumspecție, doar că romanul fostei colege este "volumul întîi din ciclul vieții unei fete, Ann (autoarea însăși, după toate indiciile)"⁴¹. În schimb, N. Papatanasiu, care, precum s-a văzut, arătase perspicacitate și în alte privințe, la doar cîteva săptămîni de la apariția romanului *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*, remarcă nu numai "utilizarea unor elemente de ordin autobiografic", ci și rolul esențial pe care acestea îl au: "[ele] nu dăunează nici o clipă înjgheberii epice care e romannul d-nei Sorana Gurian. Este tocmai detaliul de construcție care ține în picioare cartea și-i dă cursivitate, în alegerea și depănarea momentelor epice..."⁴²

Cea dintîi aserțiune era, de altfel, în acord cu declarațiile și mărturisirile Soranei Gurian. Scriitoarea se pronunță, într-adevăr, mai limpede sau mai aluziv, în interviuri și în articole confesive, în legătură cu "referințele biografice". Astfel, imediat după apariția romanului, la 1 ianuarie 1946, la întrebarea dacă "personagiile din cartea [ei] sînt oameni pe care i-[a] cunoscut în viață", ea precizează că "[s-a] răfuit deseori cu unul [Olga], căruia i-[a] dat caracterul și înfățișarea acelei femei [ale mamei vitrege] din pricina căreia a avut o copilărie nefericită", dar somată direct – "Atunci ești... Ann?" –, răspunde evaziv: "Nu... poate am fost cîndva un fel de Ann mai puțin lucidă, mai puțin stăpînită, mai puțin tristă."⁴³ La fel sunau și mărturisirile din articolele *Cum se scrie un roman* și *Cum mi-am întîlnit eroinele*, din care reținem fraza: "Pe micuța Ann am cunoscut-o foarte bine pe vremuri, deși, după atîta timp, mi se pare că nu mai mi-aduc bine aminte."⁴⁴

³⁹ Perpessicius, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

⁴⁰ Ana Colombo, *loc. cit.*

⁴¹ Al. Piru, *Sorana Gurian: "Zilele nu se întorc niciodată"*, în "Tineretea", anul II, nr. 32, din 17 februarie 1946, p. 2. Cronica a fost folosită în Al. Piru, *Panorama deceniului literar românesc 1940-1950*, București, E. L., 1968, p. 396-399.

⁴² N. Papatanasiu, *loc. cit.* Opinia era menținută un an mai tîrziu: "Sorana Gurian a forțat porțile literaturii autohtone cu un roman aproape autobiografic." (N. Papatanasiu, [...] *Sorana Gurian: "Întîmplări dintre amurg și noapte"*, în "Drapelul", anul IV, nr. 686, din 8 aprilie 1947, p. 2.)

⁴³ Sorana Gurian, *Despre viață și dragoste*, în "Femeia și căminul", anul II, nr. 49, din 25 decembrie 1945, p. 1-2;***, *Despre bărbați, dragoste și... cărți. Ne vorbește colaboratoarea noastră Sorana Gurian*, în "Femeia și căminul", anul III, nr. 54, din 1 ianuarie 1946, p. 2. În același sens, vezi și ***, *Sorana Gurian văzută de Mariana*, în "Mariana", anul IX, nr. 165, din 16-31 ianuarie 1946.

⁴⁴ Sorana Gurian, *Cum mi-am întîlnit eroinele*, în "Femeia și căminul", Anul IV, nr. 146, din 26 octombrie 1947, p. 3.

Dar caracterul autobiografic al romanului Soranei Gurian era relevant, în același joc al dezvăluirii-ascunderii, încă în metatextul său. Mai întâi, dedicația – "Memoriei tatălui meu" – putea sugera desigur identitatea dintre scriitoare și personajul numit Ann. Cît privește titlul, *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*, trebuie să se observe că acesta este, de asemeni, titlul și primul vers al unui poem, "din caietul lui Ann", așezat în fruntea primei părți a romanului (*Vivian*), ceea ce relevă, mai întâi, poziția privilegiată pe care personajul în cauză (Ann) o are în raport cu celelalte. În sine, titlul trimite, fără doar și poate, la trăirea dramatică a ireversibilității timpului, a unui "timp-cascadă", cu metafora blagiană, implicit, a unui "*temps perdu*". În poem, propoziția respectivă este relaționată adversativ cu cea următoare: "Zilele nu se întorc niciodată/ Noaptea însă e una/ Risipită în cioburi/ Unul pentru fiecare zi/ Lanț de cărbune și sori."⁴⁵ Accentul afectiv cade aici nu pe efemeritatea clipei prezente (susceptibile să determine porunca-rugămintă goetheană "Verweile doch, du bist so schön!" ori cea lamartiniană: "O, temps, suspends ton vol!"), ci pe continua prezență a "noptii" – "lanț de cărbune și sori". De semnificația acesteia ne apropie câteva versuri din strofa a treia: "Peste fîntîna timpului/ Ciutura copilăriei/ Leagănă stele și golul./ Mi-e arsă gura de sete./ Fără leac, fără margini.", versuri ce tâlmăcesc în fapt acel extraordinar "Sînt bolnav de amintirea copilăriei" al lui Serghei Esenin, folosit de altfel ca moto la partea a II-a a romanului (*Olga*)⁴⁶.

Ne putem întreba atunci dacă nu cumva drama, pămîntească și metafizică, despre care vorbește totemul părții I, extras dintr-o proză a lui Marcel Jouhandeau⁴⁷, nu are ca substanță tocmai această retrăire perpetuă a trecutului, la fel de dureroasă cînd el cuprinde "cărbune" (suferință) ori "sori" (momente fericite). În mod cert, însă, acest sens îl are "cugetarea" atribuită "strategic" nu "micuței" Ann, ci unui adult, tatălui ei. Aflat la o răsplată, în fața unei decizii capitale, "Șeful" ajunge să-și spună: "Trecutul?... Din nefericire, trecutul e un mic infern portativ, în care sîntem tot atît de ireparabil închiși ca și morții în coșciugele lor!", pentru ca, imediat, observînd absolutizarea, să se corecteze: "Fiecare din noi – un călător cu bagaje [...] Trecutul nu e niciodată mort ... Reapare sub diverse forme..."⁴⁸

Metaforă a omului în genere, dar mai ales metaforă prin care Sorana Gurian se desemnează pe sine⁴⁹, "călătorul cu bagaje" dezvăluie Muza tutelară, care este Memoria, cu un alt chip decît acela din capodopera proustiană. Ca atare, împreună cu dedicația, cu titlul și cu poemul liminar, ea joacă, în ultimă instanță, rolul declarației "publice" asupra identității, sub măștile existente, dintre scriitor, narator și personaj, declarație incumbînd autenticitatea absolută a miezului fierbinte al romanului, declarație căreia i se va răspunde cu un credit aproape nelimitat. Avem de-a face, prin urmare, cu un "pact autobiografic" (cu sintagma lui Philippe Lejeune) și acestuia i se datorează faptul că "anomaliile exprimării" supără mai puțin în romanul *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată* decît în altele, că nu i se impută tradiționalismul perspectivei narative, că "estompa rădăcinilor vieții" sau "rara tentă de culoare locală" nu păgubesc verosimilitatea tabloului. Și e posibil ca tot el să fi permis integrarea unei cantități destul de mari de ficțiune.

⁴⁵ Sorana Gurian, *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*, roman, ediția a II-a, [București], Forum, [1946], p. 11.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 155.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 9: "Drama pare a se petrece totdeauna pe pămînt și împrumută chipul omului; dar intensitatea, calitatea și îndrăzneala dorinței o transpun și totul se petrece în «absolut», amalgamînd iadul și cerul."

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 101. Și tot "Șeful" constată altădată: "Trecutul nu e o mumie [...] trecutul trăiește, ca un dușman... te pîndește și, într-o noapte, îți înfige pumnalul pe la spate." (*Ibidem*, p. 258)

⁴⁹ Nu este exclus ca Sorana Gurian să fie autorul unor texte, apărute în "Azi" (al lui Zaharia Stancu) și iscălite "Călătorul fără bagaje".

Reconstituirea, cât a fost posibilă, a biografiei Soranei Gurian ne îngăduie acum să aproximăm cel puțin raportul dintre autobiografic (autoreferențial) și ficțiune existent în roman. Astfel, credem că astăzi nu mai încapă nici o îndoială asupra identității dintre autoarea romanului *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată* și personajul cu adevărat principal al acestuia, "micuța Ann": starea lor civilă, situația familială, suferințele fizice și psihice, provocate de o boală necruțătoare, cauză a mai multor infirmități, de pierderea tatălui, dar și de rapacitatea mamei vitrege se suprapun perfect. Și tatăl "eroinei", "Șeful", este în esență tatăl autoarei, Isac Lazarovici Gurfinkel, care, născut în 1872, se stinge din viață în 1929 (pe când fiica sa mai mare se află pe băncile liceului) și este înmormântat în cimitirul evreiesc din Tighina. Însă, pe de o parte, o anume pudoare și/sau o anume mitomanie, iar pe de altă parte, opțiunea scriitoarei – adoptarea canonului întemeiat pe figura naratorului impersonal, omniscient – sfârșesc prin a acorda un fel de libertate personajelor de rangul al doilea – "Șeful", Olga, Vivian – sau al treilea – Peter Johann, Roby –, care se "emancipează", acced la o anume "autonomie" în raport în raport cu individul real. În cazul "Șefului", chiar dacă "modelul" său, Isac Gurfinkel, a fost medic, ceea ce deocamdată nu e deloc sigur, e foarte probabil că multe din "bagajele" sale, de care luăm cunoștință prin banale *curricula vitae* sau prin veritabile *flash-back*-uri, sînt inventate. În acest sens, numeroase întâmplări – participarea la războiul ruso-japonez, construirea spitalului de pe moșia Leontievo, în apropierea "satului cu pretenții de oraș" (Comrat), căsătoria cu Augustine (în timp ce era îndrăgostit de sora acesteia, Alexandra), activitatea din timpul primei conflagrații mondiale, călătoriile la Veneția etc. – acuză cel puțin un caracter "romanesco", dacă nu cumva un "d'jà vu" sau chiar unele reminiscențe, din romanul rusesc, dar și din cel la modă în epoca interbelică în Occident. Acest adaos "romanesco" frapează și la personaje precum Olga, Vivian, Peter Johann ori căpitanul Roby. Și el frapează mai puternic în contrast cu o serie de, ca să spunem așa, "copii după natură". În această ultimă categorie intră, mai întâi, preotul Iulian Friptu, a cărui existență este atestată de Anuarul gimnaziului de băieți "Dimitrie Cantemir" din Comrat, unde preda religia, dar și zierele vremii, întrucît figura printre fruntași liberali ai județului. (Ca atare, intră, credem, și soția lui, Ecaterina, născută Găină, și cumnatul, notarul Zaharia.) La fel, colega și, la un moment dat, competitora "micuței Ann" (întru cucerirea lui Roby), Tatiana Fazly, al cărei nume îl regăsim în Anuarul Liceului de fete "Principesa Ileana" din Tighina, dar și în cel al Universității ieșene, la aceeași Facultate de Litere, urmată de scriitoare. (Și n-ar fi exclus ca și alte personaje, precum anonimul profesor de desen și caricaturatul "don" Ioan Atanasiu Iliescu, directorul gimnaziului și cumnatul Olgăi, ori cele două femei condamnate inexorabil la o moarte prematură – fizica Meg și prințesa bolnavă de cancer – să aparțină aceleiași categorii.) Revenind la "romanesco" și la posibilele reminiscențe literare, a vorbi despre ele ca despre "poncifele epice de consum", precum I. Negoitescu, e exagerat de aspru. Dar chiar dacă n-ar fi așa, tot epicul acesta nu are decît rolul de a contrabalansa, de a agrementa, eventual, ceea ce Vladimir Streinu numea "formula analitică", adică prezentarea minuțioasă, susceptibilă de monotonie, ce-i drept, a proceselor ce se desfășoară în intimitatea tuturor personajelor importante, nu numai a celui ce-l reprezintă pe autorul narator. Iar această prezentare constituie, cum a apreciat cu justețe același critic, dar și confratele său Perepsiciu⁵⁰, punctul forte al romanului *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată*. Calităților decelate de critic – "ascuțimea observației psihologice", "plăcerea și virtutea de a surprinde mișcarea vieții în zona

⁵⁰ "*Zilele nu se întorc niciodată* este nu numai un roman de rară densitate epică [...] Ea provine, această densitate, mai puțin din mulțimea întâmplărilor sau din ingeniozitatea intrigii, cît din semnificația faptelor, din ecoul pe care îl trezesc în sufletul cetitorului, din documentul uman, deci sufletesc, pe care îl exprimă..." (*op. cit.*, p. 281).

placenteră a subconștientului", calități prin care Sorana Gurian era desemnată drept "urmasa cea mai de aproape și mai bogată a Hortensiei Papadat-Bengescu"⁵¹ – trebuie să li se adauge și dexteritatea remarcabilă în mînuirea monologului interior digresiv, care "reproduce ideea neselectată de atenție", a stilului indirect liber și a "stilului simpatetic", cu termenii lui Tudor Vianu, ceea ce face ca, mai ales în condițiile în care mărcile grafice lipsesc (voluntar sau involuntar), distanța dintre scriitorul-narator și personaje ca "Șeful", Olga, Vivian să fie, precum observa același estetician în legătură cu unele nuvele ale lui Caragiale, "suprimată prin fuziune simpatetică, încît viața interioară a acestora nu este «oglindită», ci «produsă»"⁵². Nu altceva, credem, avea în vedere Perpessicius cînd vorbea despre "darul de afecțiune" al scriitoarei, dar revărsat asupra tuturor personajelor, "mari și mici", acordîndu-i fiecăruia "un atestat de umanitate"⁵³. Sintagma din urmă se referă, desigur, la absența vreunui personaj cu adevărat odios, însă ea implică, totodată, judecata asupra viabilității artistice a tuturor personajelor. Această judecată este reluată apoi de autorul *Mențiunilor critice*, care susține că, în romanul Soranei Gurian, "mai presus de poezia cuvîntului izolat, a imaginii, a frazei, a cutărui pasaj de virtuozitate descriptivă", se află "poezia existenței, a vieții cu multiplicitatea ei de aspecte, al căror suflet creatorul îl conturează și-l exprimă, cu egală dragoste, indiferent de locul lui în univers"⁵⁴. De aceeași opinie, se cuvine a preciza, va fi cîteva luni mai tîrziu Vladimir Streinu, care constata "solidarizarea" multiplelor fire narative paralele "în aceeași trîmbă de viață ca impresie finală"⁵⁵. Viață, adică existență umană, înfruntată în tot tragismul ei, uneori cu rodomontade romantice ("demonice"), cel mai adesea cu calmul izvorît din înțelegerea propriei condiții. Acesta, credem, este "secretul" de care vorbea F. Aderca, acela care a asigurat romanului *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată* al Soranei Gurian o glorie perfect meritată în anii 1945-1947 și care face din el astăzi o "valoare neprețuită".

⁵¹ Vladimir Streinu, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

⁵² Tudor Vianu, *Artă prozatorilor români*,

⁵³ Perpessicius, *op. cit.*, p. 281-282.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 288.

⁵⁵ Vladimir Streinu, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

METAPHORS IN ADVERTISING

ANCA L. GREERE, MIHAI M. ZDRENGHEA

***ABSTRACT.** There is a considerable agreement within linguistics that metaphors are not identifiable by form. It is an obvious fact that sentences in which metaphorical expressions occur are not distinguishable by syntactic form. The word or words which are the 'focus' of the metaphor can belong to any syntactic category. Despite syntactic diversity, there appears to be an underlying unity to all metaphors. They seem to exemplify a single principle of semantic change. However, this is still debatable. Any satisfactory formulation of the principle of metaphor requires the identifiability of metaphors since they cannot be understood or produced unless recognized as such.*

Not only do advertisements sell goods and services, they are commodities themselves
(Gillian Dyer)

1.0. Advertising fills our newspapers and is plastered all over the urban environment; it is a highly organized institution, involving many artists, writers and film directors, and comprises a large proportion of the output of the mass media. It also influences the policies and the appearance of the media and makes them of central importance to the economy. Advertisements advance and perpetuate the ideas and values that are indispensable to a particular economy system (Dyer, 1982:1). However, some advertisements are silly, inaccurate, misleading, or just plain irritating.

The primary function of advertising is to introduce a wide range of consumer goods to the public and thus to support the free market economy, but this is clearly not its only role; over the years it has become more and more involved in the manipulation of social values and attitudes, and less concerned with the communication of essential information about goods and services (Dyer, 1982:2).¹ Advertising works not only on behalf of specific goods and services, it also assumes certain characteristics that are less directly connected to selling. It tries to manipulate people into buying a way of life as well as goods.²

1.1. Analyzing the content of advertisements involves looking at both verbal and visual aspects of an advertising text, and regarding the pictures to be as, if not more, important than the written or spoken material.³ The 'correct' interpretation of a text is the one intended by

¹ Some critics of advertising have even suggested that it operates in the same way as myths in primitive societies, providing people with simple stories and explanations in which values and ideals are conveyed and through which people can organize their thoughts and experiences and come to make sense of the world they live in. Like myths, advertising reinforces accepted modes of behavior and acts as an anxiety reducing mechanism resolving contradictions in a complex and confusing society (Langholz Leymore, 1975:156)

² The more abundant goods become and the more removed they are from basic physical and social needs, the more open we are to appeals which are psychologically grounded. Although the goods on display in shops and supermarkets do not usually relate to our urgent needs, we nonetheless desire them. Advertising's central function is to create desires that previously did not exist. (Galbraith, 1970: 39)

³ Pictures are easier to understand and have more impact than words and they generally offer greater opportunity for the communication of excitement, mood and imagination. A picture is used to lead the eye to the written copy in magazine advertisements and in commercials; language is often used to reinforce a photograph or filmed sequence. (Dyer, 1982:86)

the author. But the intentions of an author cannot always be precisely stated so it would be dangerous to base the analysis of a text solely on the intentions expressed by the sender. At any rate 'intentions' are rarely available for analysis.

Another approach to the question of what a text means can be the identification of meaning with the consumer/receiver's experience of it. Different people 'read' and interpret texts in different ways, and it is possible to ask different groups of consumers how they interpret and understand a specific text.⁴ Linguists can explain what a text means by observing it closely and describing what it says or by making a simple paraphrase of it. They would try to clarify any ambiguities in the text, and bring out hidden meanings. How this reading is accomplished is largely up to the individual, relying on his or her sensitivity and acquaintance with the material. The problem with this approach is that it tends to be subjective and is unable to deal with large quantities of material.

One of the first tasks of the linguist is to devise a system whereby a large amount of apparently unordered material can be broken down into more manageable size and classified. A classification system provides a basic tool for the analysis and interpretation of a varied corpus of material. It can be used to uncover any prevalent or recurring pattern in the material, and eventually to discover its possible meanings and messages.⁵

2.0. Advertising, like language, is a system consisting of distinct signs. It is a system of differences and oppositions that are crucial in the transfer of meaning. The important thing to remember about signs is that their meaning can only be assessed in relation to their structure and their structural relationships with other signs. The signified does not exist except as a function of a particular signifying system.⁶ The important thing to remember about signs is that their meaning can only be assessed in relation to their structure and their structural relationship with other signs. A sign only means in and for itself but also through its place in other signifying systems, for instance the individual ad within advertising. The signified does not exist except as function of a particular signifying system. For instance, the Kenyan Sports Association put in an advert for their long distance runners. The athletes are running on the dusty hills of Kenya and in the background some zebras are also running in the same direction. The symbol (here, the signifier for signified) is obvious as the zebras are known for their stamina and gracefulness in running. Meanings are organized in chains of signification and signified can become signifiers for further chains of signification. The relationship between signifier and signified in some signs is arbitrary, based neither on

⁴ Audience research is an important branch of both marketing and the social and behavioral sciences. It is not without its methodological problems, but some sort of empirical investigation of what and how media audiences understand, or the conditions or reception and consumption of texts, is not only useful but necessary (Dyer, 1982:87)

⁵ Therefore, Dyer (1982:97) says that in any analysis of advertisements we have to pay attention to the way human actors communicate feelings, social meanings and values like power, authority, subordination, sexuality and so on. Some expressions can be read and understood cross-culturally, but to understand fully the function and meaning of affective displays we need to refer to a particular context or situation within a culture. Goffman has called 'hyper-ritualization' (1979:84) tendencies which contribute towards the stereotyping of people (particularly with regard to their gender), activities and situations.

⁶ For instance, the series of ads for Marlboro cigarettes trade on the well-established image of cowboys, cattle round-ups, wild horses, wide-open prairies, etc. drawn from the mythic world of cowboy films. These images of the old wild west transferred to the world of cigarettes act as signifiers for signifieds: adventure, masculinity, freedom, etc. The product substitutes for the scene and is meant to signify these attributes too. (Dyer, 1982:124)

resemblance nor on any existential link.⁷ In many cases the symbols used to convey meanings or ideas are not entirely arbitrary: the symbol for justice, a pair of scales, could not be replaced by any other symbol (Dyer, 1982:125). In other words there are the rudiments of a natural bond between signifier and signified in many symbols.⁸ This linking of thoughts, emotions and feelings with something objective and external is not a new phenomenon; it forms the basis of much art and many myths and rituals. A product can even go from being the signified of a correlating thing, person or lifestyle which acts as a signifier, to generating or being that feeling, e.g. 'Happiness is a cigar called Hamlet'. The act of consuming the product sign releases or creates the feeling it represents: "The connections of a 'thing' and an abstraction can lead them to seem the same, in real life" (Williamson, 37). Thus the advert for chocolate "Poiana" showing a young woman and a young man kissing each other has the caption: "*It gives perfect taste to your love*".

2.1. De Saussure (1966) proposed a distinction between the syntagmatic relation between elements in a language, and paradigmatic relations. Syntagmatic relations are the permissible ways in which elements succeed each other or combine together in a chain or discourse. These elements have nothing in common and are brought together by virtue of syntactic rules. A syntagm is defined by its opposition to that which follows or precedes it.⁹ For instance an advert shows some palm trees blown by strong winds similar to those created by a hurricane. The caption mentions the name of a car maker: Peugeot. So we can infer that a Peugeot car has recently passed at very high speed, creating strong winds. Though this advert is a photograph with a caption we can imagine the narrative associated to it. Paradigmatic relations are those which belong to the same associative set by virtue of the function they share. So a sign is in a paradigmatic relation with all the signs which can occur in the same context but not at the same time.¹⁰ Roman Jakobson (1971:67) extended the idea of paradigm and syntagm to the notions of metaphor and metonymy: metaphors belong to a paradigmatic order and metonymy to a syntagmatic order. Metaphor is a matter of selection of elements from an associative plane, which can be seen in the advert for the Renaissance hotels showing King Henry VIII; the linguistic message says: "A Renaissance person seeks hotels where hospitality is King. It's time for a Renaissance". On the other hand, metonymy is concerned with combination at a horizontal level.

⁷ In other words, the signifier does not resemble or cause the signified, but it is related to it only by convention. This kind of sign is called a symbol. This works for the words in a language as well as for other elements. Thus, a rose is a symbol of love or passion because members of some cultures have over the years used the rose in certain circumstances to mean love; or in cigarette ads, cool refreshing things like mountain streams or fresh-looking and tasting foods, are made to symbolize cigarettes.

⁸ An example of a pure symbol, with no such bond, would be that of the white horse used by White Horse Whisky, where the horse standing in a bar stands for the bottle of whisky itself. The sign and its referent co-exist in the brand itself. Brand images generally act as symbols for their products, but it is important to note that in most ad campaigns iconic, indexical and symbolic signs invariably overlap and are co-present.

⁹ In advertising the syntagm is the advertisement or series of advertisements as they appear on the screen or page – a chain of visual, verbal and aural signs.

¹⁰ In the garment/fashion semiotic system, the paradigmatic order is 'A set of pieces; parts or details which cannot be worn at the same time on the same part of the body, and whose variation corresponds to a change in meaning of the clothing: toque-bonnet-hood, etc. (Barthes, 1967b:63)

2.2. The concepts denotation and connotation are two of the most important in semiotic analysis. Roughly speaking, denotation and connotation refer to the first and second levels of meaning in a sign. The term denotation refers to the literal meaning of a sign; to what is 'objectively' present and easily recognized or identified. Connotation is a term used to refer to meanings which lie beyond denotation but are dependent on it. Connotative readings of signs are introduced by an audience/viewer/reader beyond the literal meaning of a sign and are activated by the means of conventions or codes. As Roland Barthes (1967a:91) says 'the first system (denotation) becomes the plane of expression or signifier of the second system (connotation) [...] the signifiers of connotation [...] are made up of signs (signifiers and signifieds united) of the denoted system'.¹¹

In advertising there is almost no denotative communication. What else can we say when we see an advert for Tropicana grapefruit juice. It is the picture of a young woman drinking Tropicana juice against a breathtaking background. The message says: "*Actual photo of woman in Nirvana*". She is obviously in Nirvana because she is drinking Tropicana grapefruit juice. Although it is useful to distinguish between denotation and connotation for analytical purposes, denotation is not neutral or untouched by ideology. We should not forget that ideology also works through the linguistic message – Barthes's third level of meaning – in an advertisement. This level 'fixes the floating chain of signifieds in such a way as to counter the terror of uncertain signs' (Barthes, 1964:37). The function of the linguistic message is to 'anchor' the variety of possible meanings, inviting some interpretations rather than others and resolving ambiguity or contradictions in the image. The dialogue, for example, in TV commercials elucidates the image and advances the action or narrative, spelling out what cannot be found in the images. Sometimes it is the linguistic message and not the image which predominates, and the image is used to anchor an eye-catching but unspecific or puzzling caption (Dyer, 1982:130).

2.3. The concept of code is central for a semiotic analysis.¹² Codes are forms of social knowledge which are derived from social practices and beliefs although they are not laid down in any statute. The advert for Marlboro cigarettes is a very good example of how codes are employed. One advert for these cigarettes goes even further: the background is the same, but the slogan is "*It's the man*". As we are familiar with the codes used in advertising for Marlboro cigarettes, we all know what it means. Codes organize our understanding of the world in terms of 'dominant meaning patterns' (Dyer, 1982:135), patterns which vary from culture to culture and from time to time but which we largely take for granted and which are uppermost in our minds when we interpret things or think about them.¹³ Goffmann (1979:23) shows that we are willing and ready 'to switch at any moment from dealing with the real world to participating in make-believe ones'. Commercial realism, like other forms of fiction, requires that we frame it off from the rest of life; indeed it has advantages over

¹¹ The audience can only make sense of these two systems by their knowledge of cultural codes and associative meanings without which the second system, connotation, is not possible. A rose, for example, means on the denotative level, a flower. This signified can become the signifier (vehicle) of another signified at another level. Depending on the context, the rose can connote love or passion. (Dyer, 1982:128)

¹² The formation and understanding of messages (encoding and decoding) is made possible by codes – a set of rules or an interpretative device known as both transmitter and receiver, which assigns a certain meaning or content to a certain sign.

¹³ In effect, advertisements consist of many messages; several channels are used simultaneously although in synthesis. The viewer interprets this complex of messages – images, speech, gesture, costume, setting – as an integrated text according to the media/cultural codes at his or her disposal. (Dyer, 1982:135)

real life, probably being richer and fuller and less ambiguous than glimpses of real life.¹⁴ We can begin to understand how an advertisement works if we look at the complex of codes which permit a range of messages to be brought together in a text.

2.4. Advertising language is generally informal and colloquial. Sentences are usually simply constructed and short. Imperative clauses are frequent (for instance, an advertisement encouraging tourists to visit Hong Kong has, against the picture of the city, the slogan *Live it! Love it!*). However some consider that this mode of address would be unthinkable and even rude in private English.¹⁵ Nevertheless it does illustrate some typical features of advertising language. The tone is jocular, even disingenuous, the grammar is abbreviated and disjointed. In TV commercials there is an even greater tendency towards the abbreviated or disjunctive mode of discourse. Time is short and the spoken word often plays a relatively minor role because of the combined power and impact of visual and auditory material. There are even commercials with no speech at all or just an end-line of slogan.¹⁶ For instance, the advertisement for Shalimar Guerlain perfume shows the bottle of perfume with just an end-line: *"The silence of a look can reveal more than words"*. The advert for Virginia Slim cigarettes has a convincing end-line: *"It's a woman thing"* and the one for No. 5 Chanel perfume has a very simple but highly suggestive end-line: *"No. 5"*. They all suggest that the words are superfluous as the brands are well-known, which guarantees the quality.

Sometimes advertisers use the interior monologue technique which conveys the inner thoughts of the person seen in the ad using the product. This technique is more suggestive than overtly persuasive. The speech style is usually impressionistic¹⁷ and like a stream of half-formed thoughts rather than a connected line of argument. Advertising also borrows styles and idioms of other types of discourse, such as scientific or legal language. In other words, an advertisement might use particular linguistic features which are more appropriate in a different context. Advertising language is sometimes quite standard and unobtrusive, but more often it attracts attention to itself by being highly colorful and imaginative (consider this advert for Stolichnaya Vodka: *The purest glacial water. The purest winter wheat. A Vodka as authentic as the soul of Russia herself*), and it sometimes involves stretching or breaking the rules or conventions of 'normal' language. In addition, advertising copy sometimes breaks grammatical rules and uses words incorrectly (semantic mistakes) as for example in the slogans *'liquid engineering'* or *'liquid Tchaikovsky'* (Dyer, 1982:152). This use of language is called figurative language.¹⁸

¹⁴ We are normally perfectly aware that advertisements are advertisements however much we might believe in them, and this is due to our ability to bracket off and to accept the 'factitious' in advertising texts. An advertisement comprises a heterogeneity of signals and is characterized by its spatial as well as temporal dimensions. Each image or frame operates spatially, whilst linguistic messages and the unfolding of the text/message is temporal. Movement, however, is both spatial and temporal.

¹⁵ Some people would argue that it is also rude in advertising language and that the advertiser is not only invading a person's privacy but also assuming that he or she is of pretty mediocre intelligence (Dyer, 1982:144).

¹⁶ Of course not all advertising consists of direct exhortation or direct address where the advertiser seems to be communicating directly with the audience. Often an advertisement will have a presenter who does a monologue on behalf of the advertiser or there might be a dialogue, where two secondary participants talk to each other.

¹⁷ Consider this advert for the UBS Bank: *"Sometimes all it takes is a little imagination, sometimes simply a change of perspective; and suddenly you can see a whole new horizon of possibilities [...] You'll discover that we're not just any bank, but the right bank for you"*.

¹⁸ There are other ways of exploiting language to create particular effects and enlarge it as a means of expression. Double meanings and puns are often used in advertisements and so are rhyme, alliteration and other types of repetition design to attract attention and arouse emotions.

Figurative language is rhetorical language in that it tries to create effects by breaking or exploiting language rules. We use language figuratively every day; communication would be very dull if we did not. Some figurative or rhetorical expressions have passed into daily use and as a result are less surprising and memorable. We all accept that expressions like ‘musical taste’, ‘I’ll eat my words’ or ‘chewing over an idea’ are not to be taken too literally; we interpret them in a figurative sense. They are examples of *metaphor*, where a word acceptable in one context (e.g. ‘eat’ in the context of food) is transferred to another context.¹⁹ In other words we see a symbolic identity or connection between the literal and figurative meaning. ‘*Eat a bowl of sunshine*’ – a slogan for a breakfast cereal – is an example of a metaphor.²⁰ Or, another example in the following advertisement for Audi cars: “*Even standing still, it whispers seductively of the future*”.

3.0. There is a considerable agreement within linguistics that metaphors are not identifiable by form. It is an obvious fact that sentences in which metaphorical expressions occur are not distinguishable by syntactic form. The word or words which are the ‘focus’ of the metaphor can belong to any syntactic category. Despite syntactic diversity, there appears to be an underlying unity to all metaphors. They seem to exemplify a single principle of semantic change. Brooke-Rose (1958:12) defines the metaphor as: “any identification of one thing with another, any replacement of the more usual word or phrase by another”. However, this is still debatable. Any satisfactory formulation of the principle of metaphor requires the identifiability of metaphors since they cannot be understood or produced unless recognized as such.

Because the syntactic form of the sentences in which metaphorical expressions occur does not serve to identify metaphors one must look elsewhere. Metaphors all appear to involve semantic change and therefore semantic theory is the likeliest source of a formula for identifying them. Metaphors are identifiable only if we can identify some utterances as metaphors. Metaphorical utterances are identifiable only if some knowledge possessed by speakers which is decidedly not knowledge of relationships among linguistic symbols can be taken into account. Loewenberg (1975:331) argues that “knowledge of – more accurately, beliefs about – the truth or falsity of statements and the intentions of the speaker are essentially involved in the identification of utterances as metaphorical”.²¹ Metaphors are never meant to be taken literally any more than they are meant to be taken as assertions. The process of identifying utterances as metaphorical involves at least two stages, the first of which is the recognition that, if the utterance is an assertion, it is false. Loewenberg (1975:333) raises the question why metaphorical utterance doesn’t always fail, with the reader or hearer taking the utterance as a false assertion and attributing confusion, stupidity

¹⁹ Eating words is an absurd proposition unless we interpret the phrase in a figurative, non-literal way. Interpreted figuratively, this metaphor suggests the right kind of association: eating – swallowing – taking in – taking back – retracting. (Dyer, 1982:152)

²⁰ In fact Kellogg’s, the breakfast cereal makers, have built their whole campaign around the image of ‘cornflakes = sunshine’. The cornflakes brand image is a metaphor by which the product is identified with (desirable) sunshine.

²¹ Metaphorical expressions can occur in sentences performing all kinds of speech-acts. Questions, commands, promises, etc. can all be performed by the utterance of sentences that contain metaphorical expressions: *I was a morsel for a monarch; Am I a morsel for a monarch? Go be a morsel for a monarch!* Even assertions can be made by the utterance of sentences containing suitably embedded metaphorical expressions: *She told me she was a morsel for a monarch.* (Loewenberg, 1975:331)

or misinformation to the speaker? Bendix (1971:406) argues that "a hearer will try to interpret or at least to account for a speaker's utterance. He will often accept and make sense even out of sentences that appear odd or contradictory when presented to him on semantic tests or in actual discourse".

Having grasped that the utterance is false as an assertion, the hearer analyses whether the utterance is indeed to be taken as an assertion. According to Searle (1965:239), these are the conditions which must be met for the speech-act if an assertion is to be performed: "the preparatory conditions include the fact that the hearer must have some basis for supposing the asserted proposition is true, the sincerity condition is that he must believe it to be true, and the essential condition has to do with the fact that the utterance is an attempt to inform the hearer and convince him of its truth". It is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for an utterance to be a metaphor that, if taken as an assertion and interpreted literally, it is false. A metaphorical utterance is ambiguous because it can be taken as a false assertion or as a metaphor. If concluding that such an utterance fails as an assertion, the hearer identifies it as metaphorical.²² Metaphorical utterances occur in such a variety of circumstances that a common characterization of them must necessarily be highly general (Loewenberg, 1975:335).

3.1. Metaphors, as Loewenberg (1975:338) analyzed them, are statements without truth-value. Truth-value is centrally relevant to their identification since any metaphorical utterance is ambiguous and could be instead a false assertion. However, once identified as a metaphor, the statement is neither true nor false.

According to Price (1974: 255), metaphor is not only created and perceived as a type of semantic deviance but as an intended reinterpretation of the literal meaning of the components of the metaphor. This reinterpretation involves the partial rejection of the literal meaning.²³ Price makes the following claim: "One must not only understand the literal meaning of its components [...] but also the **intention** of its use (1974:255) and concludes that metaphor, as an example of rule-changing creativity, cannot be explained solely in terms of a model of linguistic competence.

However the inadequacy of a competence model in the description of metaphor is perhaps even stronger than Price claims. Matthews (1971:424) states that "the presence of a selection restriction violation is [...] a necessary and sufficient condition for the distinguishing of metaphor from non-metaphor, except of course those cases where the utterances are not intended to be meaningful".

Certain metaphors are not semantically deviant but are given a non-literal interpretation because of the factual oddity of the situation described by the sentence (Horrocks, 1972:153). The crucial fact is that these metaphors cannot be described at all in terms of a competence model. Both McCawley (1970) and Fillmore (1971) cite examples which appear to be on the borderline between semantic and pragmatic absurdity. But the

²² Saying something by means of metaphor is combining words in a semantically non-standard way such that an interpretation of the sentence involves a new, or at least non-standard, view of the things the sentence is about. The speaker is explicitly proposing that his hearer adopt the view expressed by the sentence uttered.

²³ Thus the sentence *Love smiled upon me* is perceived as metaphoric and not just as nonsense not only because of the selection restriction violation on **smile** but also because speaker and hearer intend to reject part of the meaning of smile and synthesize a new meaning.

finding of cases on the borderline between logical and factual truth does not invalidate the distinction between logical and factual truth. The semantic competence will vary at different points in time, in different cultural and social situations, with different speakers, because the meaning of lexical items is not historically fixed. This would suggest that semantic competence and performance can be aid to merge diachronically and synchronically.

3.2. The distinctions among literal and figurative (tropical)²⁴ uses of language have been repeatedly discussed in the past. Language can be used non-denotatively (e.g. as an object of linguistic analysis or aesthetic contemplation), but we are interested here with its denotative use for only when there is a signifier that can be compared to the words' meaning is it possible to speak of literal and figurative uses of language (Campbell, 1969:149). An act of denotation can be studied from the standpoint of the speaker himself, but, since most difficulties arise in the interpretation of other people's use of language, we will limit the present discussion to denotation as experienced by the hearer/ reader. Most denotative acts include a verbal utterance, which may be analyzed into linguistic sound and meaning. Linguistic meaning, when considered in itself without regard to the denotative context, is abstract and generic. It consists of those distinctive features common to all signifiers literally designated by it.²⁵ Thus in an act of denotation the utterance's linguistic meaning is by itself irrelevant and uninformative. Only by combining the meaning with his perception of its context, including the speaker, the linguistic sound of the utterance, and his environment, can the hearer begin to conjecture about the speaker and his intended designation (Campbell, 1969:150). In order to arrive at the most likely signifier, he matches the utterance's meaning to different aspects of the denotative situation until the most satisfactory designation is found. It is one part of this matching process, that is, in the relationship between meaning and signifier, that the literal and tropical uses of language may be distinguished.²⁶ Meanings and signifiers, like all entities, are mental constructs from the raw data of subjective experience and can be described as clusters of distinctive features.

3.3. The best known and most discussed of the figures of speech is metaphor. Traditionally defined as calling one thing by the name of another on the basis of a resemblance between the two, we may describe it somewhat more precisely as denotation in which the listener, in order to obtain a suitable sub-signifier²⁷ maintains some of the

²⁴ Tropes are traditionally defined as those figures that involve the use of words in other than their proper senses. The tropes must be distinguished from such figures as apheresis, anaphora and antithesis which are merely special arrangements of sound and meaning. These non-tropical figures are literal because, although unusual in other ways, the words are used in their ordinary senses.

²⁵ This is not only true of isolated words, such as "I" and "here", but also of sentences. "I am here", for example, can be used literally by any speaker to refer to his own presence in any location, and tropically, to many other things as well (Campbell, 1969: 150).

²⁶ Denotation can also be entirely non-verbal. Many gestures are conventionally symbolic and hence used like verbal language. The concept 'money', for example, can be expressed either by a word like 'money' or by a conventional gesture such as rubbing the thumb and forefinger together. The speaker may also use a deictic gesture to point out a concrete object in his environment. This entity may form part of his signifier without further change, or, like an individual entity denoted by means of a conventional symbol in combination with a concrete context, it may undergo further tropical change.

²⁷ Individual parts of the signifier, or sub-signifiers, may be generic and hence identical with all or part of the utterance's meaning. Not all sub-signifiers are generic. Some are individual and thus partially different from the generic meanings that are used to denote them.

meaning's features, adds some, and subtracts some. Metaphoric denotation is characterized by an overlap between meaning and sub-signifier: they share some features, but each has others not shared. Like literal denotation, it obliges the listener to identify the sub-signifier on the basis of shared features, but unlike literal denotation, it requires the subtraction of distinctive features from the meaning (Campbell, 1969:152). This is of course a restatement of the traditional view of metaphor as based on resemblance.²⁸

The exact relationship between meaning and sub-signifier in metaphor has been the subject of much speculation.²⁹ Many writers have decided that metaphor is a mixture or fusion of the two elements, a 'miraculous identity of sensibly disparate things' (Ushenko, 1955:434). Perhaps the most important questioning determining the relationship of meaning to sub-signifier in metaphor is what happens to the features subtracted from the meaning. The most obvious response is that, since they do not form part of the sub-signifier, they are ignored and presumably forgotten by the listener.

The literary importance of non-denotative features has led to some analysts to regard them as intrinsic to metaphor itself, because they consider esthetically employed metaphor, and sometimes only the most successful of that, to be 'true', 'real' or 'essential' metaphor. Even those most devoted to literature must recognize, I believe, that metaphor is not always used with esthetic intent, and that it is therefore best defined as a cognitive mode of denotation involving subtraction, maintenance and addition of distinctive features. Not all metaphor functions esthetically, but all metaphor does, at least ostensibly, function denotatively.³⁰

3.4. Semanticists have lately focused much of their attention on metaphorical expressions in advertising. Metaphor is no longer seen as peripheral process in poetry, used for aesthetical purposes and resulting in deviant language. Rather the opposite is true. Metaphor is at the core of advertising language and constitutes one of its most dynamic parts. Moreover, metaphor is not a matter of language alone. Our "ordinary conceptual system in terms of which we both think and act is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:3). Metaphors pervade our everyday life.³¹ TV advertising also makes use of metaphors. There are techniques beyond superimposition, drawing and make-up – including video-image processing, computer generated imaging, set design, costuming

²⁸ Monroe Beardsley (1962:297) objects to the resemblance theory by pointing out that if metaphor is iconic, it should be reversible, but that the difference between 'this man is a lion' and 'that lion is a man' is in what the different metaphorical modifiers attribute to the two subjects.

²⁹ Beardsley is also among those who deny that metaphor is a relation between meaning and sub-signifier, or, as he puts it, that it is a contrast between the expression itself and the idea in the speaker's (or writer's) mind (p.298).

³⁰ If literal or metaphorical interpretation of the meaning does not provide the hearer with an acceptable sub-signifier, there is a second type of tropic denotation that he may try: metonymy. This trope is traditionally defined as denotation based on meaning-denotatum associations of the type author-work, container-content, cause-effect, etc. Unlike metaphor, metonymy depends on the previously established association between the two entities.

³¹ Lakoff and Johnson argue that we conceive of a great many experiences in physical terms. Emotional states such as happiness and sadness, for instance, are often thought of in terms of spatial orientation. The metaphorical concepts **happy is up** and **sad is down** give rise to utterances such as *I'm feeling up/down*, *My spirits rose/sank*, or *He's really low these days*. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:

and so on – which facilitate the production of film metaphors.³² Thus in an advert for Smirnoff Vodka, a customer in a bar looks at the people around him through the bottle of Smirnoff and sees them friendly and beautiful, but when he looks again without using the bottle, he sees them as they are in reality: not very beautiful, not very friendly. The message is clear, but what also catches the eye is the video performance of changing the persons while looking at them.

4.0. One can construct composite figures by mean of an indeterminate number of techniques. But what is it about such composite figures that leads us to call them metaphors? Verbal metaphors are most frequently advanced by grammatical structures that propose identity relations – such as the ‘is’ of identity or apposition – and the film metaphors depend upon visual devices that portend identity. On the other hand, verbal metaphors generally turn out to be false when taken literally, whereas film metaphors have an analogous property: physical non-compossibility. That is, it is not physically compossible with the universe as we know it that muscles be anvils, or that spies be foxes (Carroll, 1996:811).

Just as verbal metaphors most often signal some sort of identity between the objects they relate or some intersection between the categories they mobilize, the relevant composite images in film deploy homospatiality to suggest identity; disparate elements (calling to mind disparate categories) are virtually incorporated or amalgamated into one, spatially bounded, homogeneous entity. Elements are fused in a composite, but nevertheless self-identifiable construct, thereby visually indicating that these elements are elements of the self-same entity. Verbal metaphor proposes identity by means of various grammatical devices. Film metaphor rides on the proposal of identity (another advert for Smirnoff is very convincing in this respect: During the November 1917 Revolution in Russia the Emperor is seen drinking Smirnoff Vodka when several revolutionaries come in and arrest him. "*All members of the aristocracy will be arrested. Take him*", says their leader and then stops to drink from the vodka and he is in his turn arrested; another guy stops to drink and he is also arrested; this happens several times. The message: the presence of the Vodka bottle or drinking Smirnoff vodka turns you into an aristocrat) as well by means of homospatiality which, in turn, may be secured by an indeterminate number of devices, cinematic (e.g., superimposition) and otherwise (e.g., make-up).³³ Illustrative for this can be an advert for Tuborg beer which shows a man who looks through the beer and sees the people around him in the pub changing into beautiful, happy people, but when he finishes the beer he sees the reality and is unhappy, so he says: "*Another bottle of Tuborg*".

Homospatiality is a necessary condition for the film metaphor as it provides the means to link disparate categories in visual metaphors in ways that are functionally equivalent to the ways that disparate categories are linked grammatically in verbal metaphors. There is

³² Think of all those Popeye cartoons where after Popeye eats his spinach, the fact that he has regained his strength is signaled by images where his biceps become an anvil or his fist becomes a hammer: the source domains suggest that we selectively re-conceive Popeye’s muscle and fist to be incredibly hard. Clearly these are metaphors. (Carroll, 1996:811)

³³ The elements in such metaphors are features of the self-same entity in virtue of inhabiting the same space-time co-ordinates – in virtue of inhabiting the same body – i.e., being within the same continuous contour, or perimeter of boundary. The elements in the visual metaphor – machine parts and monster parts – are fused or superimposed or otherwise attached as parts of a recognizably integrated or unified entity (Carroll, 1996:812).

a consensus among researchers in the field that verbal metaphors are either false or not literally true. Film metaphors cannot be false or literally true because they are propositions. However, our film metaphors do possess a feature that roughly corresponds to falsity or apparent falsity. Namely, through homospatiality, the film metaphors identify disparate objects and/or link disparate categories that are not physically compossible, in terms of what we know about the universe. While verbal metaphors are generally marked by falsity or apparent falsity, film metaphors represent homospatial entities comprised of features that are not generally physically compossible.³⁴ This can be seen in an advert for tires showing Carl Lewis (a famous American sprinter) running on the outside up the Statue of Liberty; when he reaches the top he almost falls off but manages to stop safely. The slogan: "*Power is nothing without control*".

With verbal metaphor the palpable falsity or apparent falsity of the putative assertion encourages the listener to reassess it in order to make it relevant to the rest of the conversation. One strategy is to take the utterance as a way of getting the listener to use it, as an opportunity to rethink the target domain in light of a source domain. Or to put it more directly, confronted with an obviously false statement the listener searches for some other significance that it might have – such as metaphorical or ironical significance – in accordance with the principle of co-operation in conversation (Grice, 1975:69)

Given the way in which the play between physical possibility and physical non-compossibility figures in the communication of film images, we suspect that film metaphors must be what we call visual images – i.e., intentionally made, human artifacts of the sort whose reference is recognized simply by looking, rather than by some process of reading, decoding and the like. Visual images are symbols. But they are a special type of symbols insofar as their comprehension does not require codes nor could there be anything like a dictionary which would enable one to decipher or read such images. Rather, the audience look at the screen and recognize that which the images represent (Carroll, 1996:814).³⁵

4.1. A film metaphor is a visual image. This means that the figure as a whole is recognizable perceptually – recognizable by looking – and that the elements that the spectator uses in his/her metaphorical interpretations must be recognizable perceptually as well.³⁶ A film metaphor rests on the shared recognition on the part of the filmmaker and the pertinent spectators that the disparate elements fused in homospatially unified entity on the screen are physically noncompossible. The filmmaker must intend that the homospatially unified figure and its noncompossible elements have what Lowenberg calls heuristic value

³⁴ In film metaphors certain of the elements that comprise the structure come from discernibly disparate categories – in fact, categories that are not physically compossible in the same entity. A human arm could not support that big hammer that has become Popeye's fist. You can't replace a camera lens with a human eye and get a working anything (Carroll, 1996:812).

³⁵ Because film metaphors are visual images, the audience is initially geared to taking the putative referent of the image to be some physically possible thing or state of affairs. Encountering something that is physically non-compossible instead, the spectator is encouraged to search for or to explore some other way in which the symbol may be taken in order to make sense. It encourages viewers to explore mappings between the relevant constituent elements and/or the categories or concepts to which the constituent elements allude. (Carroll, 1996:814)

³⁶ But in order to grasp a film metaphor, the spectator must not only be able to recognize the relevant elements; his/her attention must be drawn to them. The relevant elements must stand out; they must be visually salient; they must be prominent (Carroll, 1996:814).

(1975:334). In creating a film metaphor, the filmmaker believes that his image has heuristic value. Audiences may find more connections between the elements in the film image than the filmmaker imagined, just as in the case of linguistic metaphors, there may be an infinite number of resonances that no reader, including the author, ever fully appreciates. In film metaphors, the saliently posed juxtaposition of the noncompossible elements, along with something like principles of charity, give the spectator reason to explore the image in order to see whether it offers metaphorical insight. Composite figures that meet these conditions can be successfully identified as film metaphors.

Film metaphors belong to a larger family of visual metaphors which can encompass examples from every existing artistic medium that deals in visual images, including not only film, but painting, sculpture, photography, video, theater, and so on.

5.0. The impact of advertising is all too obvious – we can probably all remember occasions when we have bought something because we have been attracted by the advertiser's claims. In other respects the effects of advertising on society over a long period of time are hard to assess.³⁷ In addition to influencing some of the general values and beliefs of society, advertising interacts with and affects other forms of communication – literature, art, and even language itself. In many areas of modern life, we can find the central values of a consumer society – conspicuous consumption, wealth, sexual attractiveness and sexual power, competitive one-up-manship and so on (Dyer, 1982:72-73). As we have seen the problem of the influence or effects of advertising is multi-faceted and can be approached from a number of perspectives. Advertising has an influence on the individual and there is evidence of the ability of the advertising media to shape and sometimes change a person's behavior, opinions and attitudes. We can also consider the effects of advertising on the society as a whole.³⁸ Mass-communication research in general indicates that over a wide range of media, any direct effects are limited or exceptional although the media are to some extent 'socializers' of young children and powerful in terms of the definitions of reality they provide.

The question of whether advertisements influence people is also of concern to the general public, to teachers, politicians and policy makers. A vast amount of research has been conducted into the influence of advertising. Some of the research into advertising's effects has investigated the change in people's attitudes, values of behavior brought about as a result of exposure to advertisements. As we have seen language is an important element in persuading. In fact the language of advertisements is sometimes more important than the visual aspect. Advertising language is of course loaded language. Its primary aim

³⁷ Many people would deny that they are influenced by advertisements and regard them at worst as lies, at best as idiot triviality. It is probably true to say that most people are consciously skeptical of advertising. However, although they might not believe the claims made for the product by an advertiser, such as "Persil washes whiter", they might find it more difficult to resist the more general social image or message presented along with the overt sales pitch – for example, that we can make fiends by drinking the right kind of beer, get a boyfriend by using the right kind of shampoo, etc.

³⁸ For instance, Dyer (1982:73) argues that because advertising stresses the private accumulation of goods, and almost hedonistic lifestyles, it encourages people to think in terms of escape from the real world, although they might not actually buy the specific products advertised. It could also be said that the utopian imagery of advertisements encourages passivity and makes people unaware of the extent to which they are controlled by consumerism and unable to determine the terms of their own existence.

is to attract our attention and dispose us favorably towards the product or service on offer. Advertisers use language quite distinctively: there are certain advantages in making bizarre and controversial statements in unusual ways (using figures of speech: metaphor, metonymy, etc.) as well as communicating with people using simple, straightforward language.

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BIRTH RITUALS AND ORAL, NON-RITUAL POETIC CREATION

HOCZOPAN ANNA

ABSTRACT. *Anumite situații ale creației poetice orale nu pot fi izolate în vederea studierii lor decât cu riscul inevitabil de a pierde ceva din mesajul original. În acest articol încercăm să arătăm că în cazul poeziei legate de ritualul nașterii, frontierele temei poetice sunt înșelătoare. În zona creației poetice orale, în general, tema configurează structuri ample cu relații dintre cele mai subtile, uneori fără nici o legătură aparentă cu tema identificată pentru cercetare, deși așa cum vom vedea în continuare influența lor pentru înțelegerea mesajului este covârșitoare.*

Within the oral poetical creation, birth rituals do not remain connected only to the ritual poetry forms, and in a complementary zone, to lullabies. The same birth rites have the capability to develop a complex range of motives which are met within the non-ritual oral poetry. This expansion of the theme warns us regarding the prestige and authority of the birth rites inside a traditional culture.

The pressure exercised by the symbolic code of the birth rites upon the non-ritual oral poetical creation could be exercised, first of all, under the most simple forms, by including several terms that denominate situations belonging to the ritual reality, into the structure of the texts. But installed into a construction that develops a significance, the term introduces its own connotation, operating new openings towards the symbolic framework from which it has been removed. The appearance of terms such as "fate", "prophet-woman", "birth", "bath" etc. frequent in the lyrics, especially in the songs about fate, luck, love, yearning, or army, represents a modality of introducing a new semantic charge into a significant field, having the capacity of opening new meaning relationships, by connecting the poetic text to a ritual reality, or to a system of mythic representations.

Quite often, the non-ritual songs may accuse an imperfect destiny, an unfulfilled existence, or which is felt as insufficient, as is the case in the following verses:

(Tell me, mother, truly, where have you thrown my bathing water?
Just over the fence to be the village slave and soldier to the emperor?)

The unfulfillment which is figured by the condition of a "slave" and "soldier", thus an individual who lacks freedom is presented as the consequence of not observing a ritual regarding the place where the bathing water of the new-born baby should be thrown away. In *Cenadul Unguresc* (Magyar Csanad/ Hungarian Csanad) the destiny of a child depended, among other things, on the way the water for its first bath had been prepared. Different objects would be placed into the water: money, a knife, basil, etc. Then the water would be thrown away on an untrodden place / at the back of the garden, by the fence / but, most often, it would be thrown on the roots of a tree, by the midwife, who would utter the following words: *"May you grow big, strong and handsome, just as this tree!"* Naturally, the comprehension of such songs and practices remains incomplete when the ritual practice is not known - and on a complementary plane, the mythic belief - towards which the

opening is operated by employing the term "bath". The term has the value of a symbol and has to be acknowledged as such, otherwise the verses incode their significance and consequently may seem obscure.

Another solution, frequently employed consists in establishing the network of images by the reiteration of a term and its derivatives within larger configurations, possessing the value of a "**lettice**" sustaining the whole lyric construction:

(You be damned fortune-teller! You have fortold everyone well. But you fortold me to cry at night in my bed. If I knew your whereabouts, I would go and ask you not to fortell anyone to be deserted like me, to have no brothers or sisters, nor mother to help me in my distress.")

The song is built, as can be seen from the words we have underlined, around a key-word which sends both to the agent creating the destiny and to the action attributed to the agent, the "fortune-teller", as well as to the action attributed to the particular agent - "foretell". In the quoted verses the term constitutes the object of a **repetition** by means of which the idea of destiny is placed under accent.

An obsessive image, the mythic figure and the power detained constitute the initiation centre which irradiates the entire significance of the text. The verses mention both the benign aspects which can be brought about the mythic accent of the **fortunetelling** as well as by the malign aspects which are responsible for the unfulfilled life. Thus we perceive the building up of a motive frequent in the non-ritual folk lyrics, that of the **hard fate** associated in the analysed song to the motive of **enstrangement** and that of **solitude**. The human attitudes with regard to the mythic character, belonging to the sacred, are contradictory. The fortune-teller may become the target of **imprecation** - "You be damned fortune-teller!" -, of **search** - "I would come to you" - in order to be **conjured** - "Fortune-teller, I would ask you not to fore-tell anyone that way..." The contradictory attitudes are explained through the nature of the feelings experienced by the one meditating upon their own existence: the **revolt** against the unfair and hostile destiny, as well as through the **hope** that the author of that fate might be convinced through prayers to become better-intentioned. With this aim, the divinity of destiny is revealed the dramatism the imperfect fate presupposes, in order to make it more sensitive.

But the imploring modalities of the birth rituals within the non-ritual poetry are much more numerous. We note, among others, the structuring of several lyric motives around some facts from within the system of these ryles and the beliefs which motivate them. These motives do not find their significance unless reported to the situations evoked, reported to a human model under whose authority we have noticed that the man of traditional cultures places themselves. The model, presupposing a positive aspect, specified in the ritual birth orations, along a negative aspect as well, is in connection, as we have tried to demonstrate, with a system of norms, indications and interdictions the function of which is to shape the human being in order to inscribe it within the specific model of tradition.

Within the non-ritual poetry, the appearance of lyric tensions, structuring oppositions, is connected to the existence of the positive and negative aspects of this human model. In most cases, the verses do not evoke the positive aspects of the model, which, although absent, is not suppressed. The absence of the model, in its positive form, does not lead to the depiction of the tension which, in its poetic structure, we feel, as the result of a continuous comparison to what it should have been, its proximity to an ideal:

BIRTH RITUALS AND ORAL, NON-RITUAL POETIC CREATION

(When I was born, my mother was not told to set a flower by my head to protect me from sadness and longing, a peony to protect me from longing, a basil flower to bring me good-luck, as luck does not see too well and orientates according to smell. My mother did not know and I am unlucky. My mother did not give me flowers, thus good-luck did not find me, neither basil, nor peony, thus I long for everything. No flower has she given me, thus good-luck has deserted me.)

The images of these lines are rooted in the folk beliefs about the protectors of man which have the power to shape its destiny. The belief, well-spread in Romanian folklore, regarding the star of each man, which can be set up in the sky upon birth and sets upon the death of the one for whom it represents a celestial protector, is well-known. The belief explains, on the other hand, the entire alegory of the death-wedding ritual of the Miorita ballad: "And upon my wedding, A star has fallen". But, along the protective star, both in the birth and funeral rituals, we find the belief in the existence of vegetal protectors, a mountain fir-tree or a flower.

Magic practice, which, within the birth-rite system does not receive poetic marks, offers, on the other hand, the substance of some non-ritual, lyric motives, as is the case in the above-mentioned song. The vegetals are acknowledged their different magic powers: they can keep away everything that might be unfavourable to life, as for example longing, or sadness, or may attract good-luck, similar to the basil flower the smell of which lures good-fate. This is the origin of the image of blind luck – "As good-luck is rather blind" –, which, having impaired sight, would orient itself according to smell. "Mother`s" ignorance is to be blamed for the imperfection of the destiny, in the vision of the song, as she "did not know" and who "had not been taught by anyone" what to do at birth, the consequence being the negative aspect of destiny, thus stepping further from a possible ideal.

The beliefs mentioned by the song allow us to enlarge the system of the protectors registered upon analysing the ritual poetry. We shall include, within their system, both stars and the vegetals that may re-dimension destiny, situating it, at the same time within a symbolic relationship with the celestial and the terrestrial, thus suggesting, by means of the terms of opposing conjunctions, greatness and frailness, as well as distance, dramatism along aspirations and limitations. The distance, in the above mentioned lines, is nothing but the follow up of an imperfect relationship with the "powers" shaping life, or, beyond the metaphorical expression of the verses, with that of the norms reglementing the subscription to a model.

The same obsession of the model to fail, as a consequence of not observing the norms to be confirmed is to be found in the **Mistricean** ballad. The starting point is offered by the situation of the mother who, not observing the interdictions regarding the magic power of the word, curses her child. The ballad belongs to the category of those who, in the narrated situations, are attempting to sensitivize certain norms of the traditional Romanian culture, such as, for example, the forbidding of **incest** – in the ballad of the Sun and the Moon. Resorting to procedements similar to those in the ballad of the Sun and the Moon, the Mistricean ballad makes another norm sensitive, the interdiction for a mother to curse her son, illustrating the dramatic consequences provoked by the mother who, instead of a lullaby, utters a curse. The ballad, out of which we shall reproduce a fragment, illustrates a process of genesis as well, specific to oral literature consisting in the structuring of several poetic motives starting from a ritual order of life:

(In the lion's castle, in the dragon's household, Mistricean, the brave was born. The mid-wife cut his navel, bathed him in sweet milk, covered him and threw him in his cot. His mother went out for wood and heard Mistricean crying. She hurried into the house, stumbled over the threshold, and hurt her toe. She was very upset - she set her hand on the cot and started to caress the baby while crying about her leg. She was so upset that she started to curse him: "Go to sleep, may a snake from under the house suck you!")

Beside the fact that the ballad retains under the form of **enumerations**, several situations connected to the birth rituals – The mid-wife **cut his navel**, bathed him in sweet milk, covered him – we recognize, but with a different significance, a motive which was present in the lullabies as well, the motive of the curse. Unlike in the case of the lullabies, where the curse is mentioned as a possible threat for the child, in order to soothe them – "Hush child, stop crying, as if I have enough, I will curse you: May the snakes suck your blood as you suck my breast...", with the ballad, the curse is uttered, and eventually, it is fulfilled. Chased, by the snake to which, by virtue of the curse he belongs, the hero is swallowed by it, while the attempt of the "courageous stranger" to save him is doomed to fail. We note with the ballad, a subtle system of symmetries: the bath in sweet milk, mentioned in the opening of the ballad as a birth ritual is repeated in the final part of the ballad, as a solution of healing the venomous wounds caused by the snake, but the medicine lacks efficiency, since it has been compromised through the curse. "The bathing in sweet milk", a situation which is recurrent quite frequently in the folk creation, where it has the significance of a purifying act, may cumulate another significance as well, connected to the intention of suppressing the power of the curse by repeating the ritual order that has been altered, thus paralysed.

The modality in which the ballad raises the problem of the rapport between the human being and a life model that is specified by its culture, is more than significant. The mother who does not observe the interdiction to curse, illustrates, actually, the symbolic type of the one who gives up in front of their own **nature**, which they cannot subdue, consequently desconsidering the norms imposed by the second universe, that of **culture**. The noxious force of nature which bursts out in curses is the true source of the **evil**, which, in the ballad, is symbolised by the snake. The child which is followed by the curse, on their turn, becomes the symbolic type of the **victim** upon which the evil executed by someone else, will fall. "The brave stranger" who tries to save the victim, also gets a symbolic contour, figuring a hero of failure, the helpless goodwill in front of the evil, which is triggered by an irresponsible act that infests and destroys life.

Another ballad motive, that has its starting point in the same system of beliefs referring to birth, can be found in the ballad entitled The Fortune-teller. 84 We are in fact, in front of a ballad version of the **Oedipian myth**. It is obvious that the motive extracts its substance from the beliefs referring to **fate** and **fortune-teller**. A young mother is warned in her sleep about the destiny prepared by the fortune-tellers for her new-born baby: he would kill his father and would wed his own mother, thus, in a similar manner to Oedip, he would be guilty of **patricide** and **incest**.

Left on the water – a quite frequent motive in the myths, legends and tales – the malefic child is saved by some boatmen who bring him up. As a grown-up, the child becomes a servant at his own parents' house – whom he does not know and who do not recognize him. The circumstances lead, just like in Oedipus' case, to the fulfilment of the prophecy, because, after he kills his father, the incest becomes unavoidable. The projected

wedding to his mother is stopped, however, following the trial, which is found in numerous folk pieces – and Iovan Iorgovan would be a sufficient example – aiming at preventing the incest from happening by mutual questions asked regarding their ascendance. In a moralising intent, the conclusion of the ballad foresees the avoidance of the incest.

We might add to this ballad several other folk pieces, especially Transylvanian tales built up around the same motive of the fore-tellers and the implacable fate. Within the Romanian folklore in Hungary, the myth of the fore-tellers is present in Vasile Gurzau's tale entitled "The Foundling": The young woman was busy exactly at twelve. As we Romanians say, when someone is born, the fore-tellers are making prophecies under the house's threshold, that is what will happen to them in their life, in this world, it is then that the fore-telles tell. (...) When this child was born, then the foretelles prophesised that that child which was born at that moment by that poor woman - they say - would inherit the wealth of the gentleman who is lying on the bench." (Domokos Samuel: *Vasile Gurzau magyar es roman nyelvu mesei*, Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, 1968, p.285).

Against the destiny foretold by the fore-tellers, one could intervene in no way, in the tale of the story-teller of Micherechi, as well. The end of the narration takes a tragic path: the main hero kills his master, thus inheriting his fortune.

The obsession of the rite that has to be fulfilled, to the extent to which it is felt as a promise to try and reach an exemplary state, seems to be the cause due to which, in a traditional culture, we may explain why the symbols with which both the myth and the rite operate get to impregnate poetry, structuring its theme and image universe. Even more than the common fund of the oral poetic creation, the masterpieces of folk literature such as Miorita or Mesterul manole are placed in a special relationship with the mythic-ritual reality from whose system they absorb the elements of a complex network of connotations. The problems these networks raise are of a great difficulty. In order to ponder over these, here, we will try to approach several aspects which maintain the relationship with the topic researched – the rites and beliefs referring to birth - in order to illustrate the situation.

Similar to the funeral rites, the fulfilment of which is felt as a must, in order to ensure, according to a model, both the peace of the social group and that of the deceased, the birth rituals, as it can be derived from the examples referred to, have the same obligatory character. The authority of the model, and in their case, it is conferred by the fact that, on the one hand it allows for the individual to aspire towards exemplarity, on the other it institutes and maintains an order inside the social formation. Failing to carry out the ritual, or its simple imperfection explains, as we could notice in the case of non-ritual lyrics, the failure situations and the feeling of unfulfilled life. In a direct relationship with the authority of the ritual and the imperative of conforming to a model, there appears the situation of those who want to isolate themselves from the human group be it due to their occupation, or as the consequence of an accident.

Quite frequently, the poetic oral creation focuses on these cases because, from the perspective of the rapport to the ritual, which, by force of circumstances, can no longer be fulfilled, they come to illustrate a dramatic, unnatural destiny. The shepherd in Miorita ballad has such an unnatural death, beyond the cultural framework of life. However, the poetic thought finds a solution to save the hero by presenting the nature in the role of Magna Mater which assumes the role of carrying out the ritual. The whole system of the images in the ballad is subordinated to the intention of operating a conversion of the **natural** elements into **cultural** ones:

("The Sun and the Moon have held my wedding crown, the fir-trees have been my wedding guests, the birds have been my fiddlers, and the stars my lights.")

The image is that of a humanised nature, of a Cosmos redimensioned **culturally**. The main agents and the objects in the ritual prop do not miss from the image: "The Sun and the Moon" "hold the crown" of the bridegroom, thus they are best-men, the "wedding guests" are also present as well as "the fiddlers" and "the torches". The humanisation of nature, by means of **personification**, extracts the human being from the **unnatural** in order to give it back, through a **metaphor**, its right to the ritual of transcendence and to the cultural frame, the unique frame within which the rite is rendered possible. A similar way of proceeding may be recognised in other cases as well. A famous lyric song, known under several variants evokes, in similar terms, the death and the funeral rite of a soldier:

(You hunter-soldier where was it written for you to die? Up in the mountains, near the fir-trees, in a canon's mouth. Who has lit you a candle? The Sun when it set, the Moon and Vergin Mary. Who has mourned you? The chirping birds. Who has bathed you? The clouds shaking, the rains falling. Who has wrapped you in cloth? The leaf when falling. Who has buried you? The mountains when they fell.)

The model in Miorița is obvious: the agent fulfilling the rite is, in the absence of humans, the nature, its phenomenal manifestations – the sun, the moon, the rain, the birds, the leaf, etc. The verses present, in a concentrated form, the entire succession of the ritual acts, in order to acknowledge symbolically, the rhythm and the forms of **nature**, to the rhythm and the forms of **culture**. Just like in **Miorita**, the substitution has a systematic character and shows the same preeminence of the secondary universe, that of culture, upon the primary universe, that of nature. Returning to the birth rituals, mention should be made that in their case, the situation is connected to similar understanding, too. The most eloquent example is to be found in another masterpiece of the oral poetic creation – the ballad of **Mesterul Manole**.

Several variants of the ballad, especially G. Dem. Teodorescu's variant, in order to underline the idea of sacrifice imposed by any act of authentic creation, include the well-known motive of the **orphan** into the motivic structure of the ballad:

(Your child, my son, may God see him. You have left him in bed, unwaddled. The fairies, on their way will bend and feed him at their breast, the snow, while falling will caress him, the rains when falling, will wash him, the wind when blowing, will swing him until he grows big.)

In the case of funeral rites as well, a borderline-situation is noted when nature, in the same position of Magna Mater, adopts the orphan whom she **breastfeeds**, **caresses**, **washes** and **swings** him. The phenomenon manifestations of nature, humanised, symbolically substitute the absent order which is affected by the creative sacrifice. The resemblance to **Miorita** ballad is explained, first of all, through a common vision, given away by the system of images, which, in the same **insistent** manner, consequence of the enumeration, retain an effort of nature to become human. The impression that we are in front of the same manner of understanding is intensified by the fact that, the images are repeated frequently, from one piece to another. The presence of the yones of coincidence is the consequence of the fact that the authors resort to a common bank of formulae which correlated, constitute the poetic text:

("When the rains fell,/ They washed me.")

These verses, which, in a song - **Ciobanas de la miori** /Shepherd from the flock/ - treat the mioritic theme lyrically, refer to a certain moment of the burial ritual, the bathing of the dead, can be also found in **Mesterul Manole** ballad, but this time in connection to bathing the child:

("When the rains fall,/ They will wash him.")

We can identify thus, with little difficulty, a system of formulae or clichés circulating within large zones of the oral poetic creation. These formulae presuppose a minimal flexion imposed by the necessities of the rhyme or rhythm, by the connecting solution into the assembly structure in order to achieve a sequence of accord which explains, for example, the substitution of past tense with that of future: it "fell" – will "fall". Without lengthening these comments in connection to the aspects of poetics with reference to oral poetry, we will just retain the fact that we cannot separate the problems referring to the unity of specific, traditional vision from the problems of the poetic language. To a certain extent, at least, the unity of vision has its determination in the creation of the poetic language.

A special situation is that of the fairy-tale, a species in the case of which the link with the system of rites and beliefs referring to birth, is more remote and, in a certain way, more subtle. The situation of the childless couple, the initial motive of several fairy-tales, reveals, through the attitude of the characters, the importance of this experience, in the absence of which the human destiny is felt to be imperfect and incapable, not so much of happiness, but of equilibrium. The presence of the motive explains why the fairytale retains the magic solutions as well as a means of solving the accident: magic potions, celestial gifts, metamorphoses or witchcraft.

The epic scheme of the fairy-tale, the **fabulous** birth of the hero is symbolically connected to his extraordinary destiny. The birth of the future hero functions, usually, as a signal situation, warning, through the very unusual way of coming into this world, either that his origin is of the nature to orientate his entire future, or that his existence is marked and that it would not unfold according to common norms. An example to illustrate this latter situation is given by Petre Ispirescu's tale: **Tinerete fara batranete si viata fara de moarte** (Youth without aging and life without death). The hero of the tale bears the stigma of a prenatal fatality:

"But before his time came to be born, the child burst into crying and no doctor could soothe him. Then the emperor started to promise him all the goods in the world, but it was impossible to make him stop.

Hush, dear son, said the emperor, I will give you this and that, hush up, son, I will marry you to this and that princess and many more similar things. Finally, seeing that he would not stop crying, he added: hush, my lad, as I will give you **youth without aging and life without death**.

At that the child stopped crying and was born..."

Thus the fact that several fairytales start before the birth of the hero does not seem to us to be lacking significance. Thus the way the hero assumes a human past in connection to several fears or aspirations. The prologue consecrated to the ascendance of the hero gain the function of opposing the aspiration towards perfection and harmony, characterising to any hero, to a tormented world shattered by strain, either due to the aggression of some monster, either figuring the different modalities of manifestations of evil, or due to an

internal turmoil, maintained by the awareness of one's own limitations which determine the hero to leave in pursuit of "youth without aging and life without death".

The motive of the hero's birth may be further complicated epically through kidnapping or substitutions, dishonouring births, brutal separation of the parents or brothers. Within the epic shema of the fairytale, the motive of birth and the correlated motive of substitution, of kidnapping etc. warns that there are prepared not only recognitions, but diverse accidents or difficult situations among which the incest is often reiterated.

The very **fabulous birth** itself, of the hero, a consequence of magic action, may be developed epically according to the most diverse solutions. The epic shema to be met most frequently has in view the solitude of the hero, singularised through birth. Especially the tales about Prince-Charming, the unique hero, are built according to this shema. Another, less frequent shema is of the nature to institute a significant opposition between the hero and his incapable and hypocritical older brothers. A third shema, that is less frequent, is meant to complicate the epic situations by jumelage, that is the hero is doubled by a brother who belongs to a different social status: for example, in Petre Ispirescu's tale entitled **The Morning Star and the Evening Star, Busuioac**, the empress' son is a twin "brother" of Simioc, the son of the slave serving the food at table. There is a variant of the tale in Banat – *Seran and Dioran* – published by At. M. Marinescu (*Albina, Pesta, year VII, no 98 and 99 of Dec 13/25 and 17/29, 1872*). But similarly to the tale *Mar si Par /Aple-tree and Pear-tree/* by I. Pop-Reteganul, this actually illustrates a fourth shema, that of the serial births caused by the same magic medicine: the queen and the cook who both eat a magic fish, give birth, each of them, to a child, while the bitch, (or two bitches), who eat up the leftovers give birth to unusual cubs, future helpers of the heroes.

The situations which are developed on by the tale are already beyond our interest. That is why we will stick exclusively to the modality in which the fairy-tale, as a literary structure, proves to be dominant, even as a distance, from elements which belong to the system of rites and beliefs concerning birth. A theme which is frequent in fairy-tales, that of the **implacable fate**, is in its turn, connected to a certain moment in the complex ritual of birth – the prophecy. Quite often, the epic conflict has as a starting point the fact that one of the characters in the tale notices in the words of the foretellers, a future link of the newly-born baby to his own self or to someone in his family. In a desire to oppose fate, he resorts to several means of doing away with the hero, but in spite of his intervening, the fate fulfills. We have chosen, in order to illustrate this situation as well, a fairy-tale entitled *Ursita* (The Fate), from the beginning of which we quote:

"Once upon a time, there was a king and he had at his courts a swine herdsman and his wife bore a child. And that very day, hour and minute, the empress also gave birth to a daughter. The foretellers came to the window and foretold that the son of the herdsman will marry the emperor's daughter who will be the daughter in law of the herdsman and his wife. The midwife heard what the foretellers said and told the emperor and the empress. The emperor, upon hearing this, was very sorrowful. How would he give away his daughter to the swine herdsman's son?..."

Without insisting upon the theme, that of **the implacable fate**, which we have followed along in the treatment of ballads, we will retain the fact that the emperor tries to get rid of the future unwanted son-in-law leaving him in a "tight" "barrel" on the water. The procedure to which the parents resort in *Ursitoarea* ballad in order to get rid of the child bringing along misfortunes, is similar:

(Well, man, do you know what we should do? Let's thrust him into a barrel and throw him onto the Danube, so that we should not care about him anymore...")

In the tale, similarly to the ballad, we find the obsession of the malefic child, with a suspect paternity, as he is born outside marriage, thus, outside the ritual which consecrates and renders procreation legitimate. The tale frequently mentions the fact that these children would be left at the mercy of waves as such a birth was infamous and, at the same time, full of threats. Here is an example from Ispirescu's tale, *Prince-Charming with Golden Hair*:

"Once upon a time there was a large desert and in its middle a hermit who spent his time all alone. His neighbours were the wildbeasts of the woods. And he was such a good man, pleasant to God, that all the wild beasts would bow upon meeting him. One day, he went to the bank of the river flowing nearby his hut and lo and behold, he saw a small coffin well tarred and tightly closed and he heard the crying of a child coming from inside. He thought a little bit, and after praying shortly, entered the water and fished the coffin out with a pole, to the riverbank. When he opened it, what did he see? A little child of about two months old. He took him out of the coffin and the moment he took him in his arms, he was silent. The child had a purse around his neck. And when he took it, he saw a letter inside. He read it and found out that the child had been left by an emperor's unmarried daughter, who had slipped on the waves of the world and who, afraid of her parents, left her child, placing him in a coffin and placed it on the water trusting God with his care".

Mircea Eliade 89, analysing the motive of the malefic child, mentions the motive of Hefaiostos, about which, Homerus - *Iliada*, 18, 394 sq. – says that his own mother Hera, had thrown into the sea, upon birth, being ashamed of his ugliness. A malefic child, is in fact, a being about which it is believed does not belong to the normal fecundity of the Earth. Since it is born outside the rite that renders birth legitimate, it is taken as soon as possible to a water and left at the mercy of the waves.

The "unclean" being, the malefic child is not allowed to touch the Earth in order not to soil it, destroying thus its fecundity. Consequently, it is immediately returned to the aqueous medium. Only water – an element which in the mythology of many peoples, opens and closes the great cosmic cycles – may free the earth, may "wash" the committed sin by means of an evasion from the ritual order of life. Thus it may be explained why these malefic children are left to the mercy of water: the act has the value of a divine judgement. If they are thrown to shore alive, that is saved by the waters, they are considered redeemed and may become heroes, just as Moses or Romulus and Remus. Crossing the waters, they have crossed, in fact, death and thus they have gained unusual powers which may help them build towns, or save peoples, or restore the order of the world. But, in order to become heroes, as is the case of the malefic child in the context of Romanian folk-tales, he has to be subjected to a trial, similar to an ordeal. Saving the one subjected to such an ordeal gains the significance of a sentence of acquittal, of a redeem.

In the plane of the ritual life, the malefic child – such as is the case of any "love child" – could be recuperated through a right establishing ceremony similar in kind to the "**marriage by the willow**", a form mentioned, for example in the region of the Apuseni Mountains. We witness a ceremony meant to reconstitute the normality of life, similar to the one integrated into the funeral rites of the unmarried youth.

The similarities between the birth and funeral rites are visible not only within a common vision, through the fact that both systems develop a poetry with a strict ritual function, but in the closeness of the solutions for the accidents which might trouble the

equilibrium of life. Moreover, the reflexes of these rites and beliefs in the non-ritual poetry draw our attention upon an interesting parallelism between the creations grouped around the mioritic theme and those treating the theme of the orphan. In both cases, the object of meditation is constituted by the unhappy accident which, falling far from a model of life, might have as a consequence, tragically, the condemnation of an innocent soul. In both situations, the poem intervenes imagining solutions of salvation, through which nature, Magna Mater, assumes its role of an ultimate instance, capable of giving back his peace to the threatened one, otherwise offered only by passing through the ritual. Humanised, nature rectifies, reinstalling a model, a destiny threatened to be compromised, not by a committed sin, thus willingly, but by accident the responsibility of which lies not with the one who has been hit, although, without nature's saving intervention, the consequences would fall upon him.

The importance conferred to the ritual, to its mediating and shaping functions without which life would be mutilated, is fully revealed by the fact that any unfulfilment, even those connected to a borderline situation, constitute a source of dramatism. The oral folk creation, even in the masterpieces it created, ponders over these dramatic situations, solving them, at all times in favour of the ritual. Under the circumstance, the very image of a humanised nature, calls out in difficult situations, it draws one's attention upon the gravity with which, within traditional Romanian culture, that was considered the ratio between human existence and the model conceived in order to supervise.

At this point of the presentation, we might retain as a first conclusion, the possibility of destruction, within the poetry connected to birth rituals, the existence of sanctions, on the basis of which an ordering operation might be attempted.

A first section might include **the poetry with a magical function**, the incantations which control the possible accidents over the pre-natal period. The activation this fund takes place only if accidents happen, threatening the **naturalness** of life and thus calling for the intervention of the magician. He detains the magic instrument of remedy, consisting in a traditional treatment to which certain versified formulae are added, with the same therapeutic function. The formulae compose an esoteric fund, accessible to the initiated ones exclusively.

The second action reunites **the verses and formulae with a ritual function** which control the moment of birth proper and the period following immediately after that, forerunning integration. The activation of the verses and formulae composing this fund takes place within the framework of a compulsory ceremony and presupposes agents invested with acknowledged functions, among which the main roles are held by the **mid-wife** and the **god-parents**. The formulae, publicly used, form an esoteric fund and are connected to ceremonies and acts of solemn communication.

A third section, connected to the pre-natal period, superposes its borderlines with those of a different species – that of the lullabies. Just as the ritual verses, the lullabies belong to a public fund, but the elements of which are utilised in a private manner. The activation of the fund is free, without any restrictions of a ritual nature, but the agent has to fulfil, under normal circumstances, the clause of maternity. The greater degree of freedom of the species, within which the magic function of the word is preserved, has as a consequence the achievement of the poetic model of the species under a diversity of aspects: **imprecation, invocation, exorcism, lament, etc.** This diversity of aspects is nothing else, but the consequence of coming together of a **collective model** of the species and its **private** form of utilisation. The last section, the fourth, succeeds to achieve a **difuse** fund of motives, disseminated through the entire oral poetic creation, from the lyric song up to the ballad and

fairy-tale. This section, which is the richest, reveals the actual resources of the birth rites to develop a literature **without a ritual function**, free of any constraints of a ceremonial framework. The activation of the fund is free, it may take place anytime, anywhere and the agent may be anyone. The poetic structures thus constitute a **public fund**, being based upon collective representations and a poetic language not only of a supraindividual character, but of a supercategorical nature as well.

From an aesthetic perspective, we may consider that the value of the poetic structures, which constitute these sections is directly proportional with the degree of freedom of the section with regard to the ritual system – the greater the freedom degree, the greater the poetic value. The explanation for this situation probably is to be searched among the implications which, in the case of the oral poetic creation, presupposes the connection to a ritual framework. If the first two sections are controlled, first of all by norms outside the aesthetic, being connected to magic and myth, the last two sections, whose autonomy regarding the ritual, a fact already signalled on several occasions, are under the control, even if not exclusively, of the **aesthetic norms**. The zone of the myth in which the elements composing this section have fixed their roots, continues to nurture poetry, but poetry, on its turn, has the power to redimension the myth, of enriching it with new significance, as we could see in the case of **Miorita** and **Mesterul Manole** ballads.

The larger framework of liberty with regard to the ritual, in the case of lullabies and the pieces of the non-ritual fund, allow for a **literary behaviour** of the motives which originate in the system of birth rituals, be it only due to the fact that they may be conjugated to other poetic motives which connote them or resemantise these. It is well understood that, on their turn, the poetic motives connected to the birth rituals do not remain inert, but induce to the constructions into which they articulate, their own significance.

If we accept these points of view, we cannot avoid a final conclusion, that is, the different situations of the oral poetic creation cannot be isolated for the sake of study except at the risk of inevitable losses and omissions. As we could notice in the case of the poetry connected to birth rituals, the frontiers of a poetic theme are apparent, and misleading. In the deep zone of the oral poetic creation, a theme, most frequently, configures ample structures with relationships which can be most subtle, at the level of other compartments, with no connection, at least at first sight, with the theme that is isolated from the point of view of the research.

MEDIA IN THE SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF MEANING

MIHAI M. ZDRENGHEA

ABSTRACT. Taking into consideration the recent changes in the media industries, efforts were made to explore the media in the social production of meaning. The conclusion is that the media in developing countries have an ambivalent role; they can be both instruments of social control and agencies of emancipation, an expression of global western power and a means by which local identities are revitalized.

1.0. There have been many changes and trends in mass communication research in the last decades. The important shift of the field has been prompted by changes in the media industry, particularly television. “The age of channel austerity has been replaced by an era of channel abundance, with the adoption of new TV technologies” (Curran, 1990:8). The upheavals of Eastern Europe and Soviet Union in late 1980s also involved actively the media in an attempt to reorganize and democratize their societies. The role of the media in society was debated, including normative liberal, postmodernist, feminist or neo-marxist perspectives, alternative views were offered referring to the formative influences that shape the media.

Taking into consideration the recent changes in the media industries, efforts were made to explore the media in the social production of meaning. The conclusion is that the media in developing countries have an ambivalent role; they can be both instruments of social control and agencies of emancipation, an expression of global western power and a means by which local identities are revitalized (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1991).

2.0. John Fiske (1991) argues that audiences can be said to be active producers of meaning. He thinks that “‘bottom-up’” meanings generated by audiences overpower ‘top-down’ meanings encoded in the media” (1991:58)¹. Others (see Gitlin, Corner, Golding, Murdock) attack revisionist perspectives of the audience. The most directly confrontational is Gitlin (1991) who argues that celebration of audience autonomy is misconceived in two ways: it overstates the oppositional meaning of sub-cultural expression, and mistakenly equates cultural consumption with political activity.

Corner (1991:276) attacks as oversimplified studies that emphasize the multiple meanings of media content because they “fail to distinguish between the relative openness and closure of meaning in specific texts, fail to differentiate between layers of meaning and different genres and fail to analyze adequately the social context of meaning production”. His reservations are echoed in Golding and Murdock’s re-presentation of a political economy perspective. He argues that too little attention has been paid to how genre specificities affect viewing behaviour (including its degrees of intensity and of concurrent room activity) and that, increasingly often, research and arguments focused on ‘soap’ series

¹ However he dissociates himself from the extreme postmodernist view that people consume images without consuming their meaning. His position is not that dissimilar to the radical postmodern orientation of Ang and Hermes.

have been put into service as indicative of television in general. These separate issues of meaning and of genre are, of course, interconnected in a number of ways, so that conceptual problems with one may well affect clarity of theorization in dealing with the other. Questions of meaning and of genre are also implicated in the problem of context. Corner (1991:278) asks himself what should be included in context and where context stops. Or, “what don’t we have to consider?” and “what doesn’t contribute to the construction of meaning?”.

In the case of television studies, Corner thinks that it is helpful to see the attempt to situate acts of viewing as an attempt to relate analysis to two contextual realms not simply one – the social relations of viewing and the space/time settings of viewing. Investigation into the social relations of viewing carries the reception researcher into the multiple and complex structures and processes which might bear on the sociality of interpretative action. It is in the second realm – that of enquiry into the space/time settings of viewing – that major developments have occurred recently. An emphasis on the situating of viewing in its space and time contexts does not give up on the analysis of general social relations but tries to trace these through the daily routines and rituals of a domestic life within which television may be watched with varying degrees of attention and concurrently with a number of other household activities and chores.

The analysis of audience reception has typically focused on two main genres, the news or current affairs programmes and the romance or soap opera. Corner (1991:279) argues that, as different issues are addressed in analyzing these two genres, two separate, though related, projects may be said to exist, a ‘public knowledge’ project and ‘popular culture’ project, respectively. In the case of the news genre, a traditional focus for research, the textual closure may be construed as either ideological or didactic in motive, and so reception issues concern whether or not people’s readings match those intended, and if not, how the different readings are to be explained.

2.1. Livingstone (1991:294) adds that in the case of romance and soap opera, the importance of textual closure is much debated. She goes on pointing out that, traditionally, this genre has been seen as ideologically closed, in that it is concerned to indulge fantasy, to redirect attention from the political to the personal, to legitimate normative or conservative judgments and expectations, and so forth. More recently, in order to account for its immense appeal, especially to women, some authors have argued for the openness of the genre and, additionally, for the subversive or alternative feminist subtext of the genre. As Corner (1991:275) notes, this reevaluation of popular culture brings advantages in re-conceptualizing the text which could fruitfully be applied also to the public knowledge project, but it introduces an uncertainty regarding the long-standing problem of influence, for this issue becomes confused when texts become more open and viewers more active. Livingstone says that we can only speculate about the possible role of audience interpretations even as regards processes of media influence or effects.

3.0. Another focal point of debate in contemporary media research revolves around the relationship of media organizations to the structure of power in society. Here a number of arguments are in play in what is becoming an increasingly complicated arabesque in which researchers in rival traditions inflect the same arguments and incorporate the same evidence in different ways. However, the range of difference between rival perspectives is

narrowing.² McQuail (1991), Curran (1991), Lichtenbers (1991) or Gurevitch (1991) discuss the public role of the media at a time of rapid transition and technical change. McQuail maps alternative ways of conceptualizing and judging the public performance of the media, whereas Curran suggests ways in which the media's democratic role can be reformulated and realized in practice.

Insofar as societies do have coherent ideologies, we are likely to discover a parallel ideology for the media as well. The option of following a consistent line of theory remains open, but the alternative, ad hoc and fragmentary, approach has some advantages, especially if it is true that ideologies are temporarily in retreat and certainly if media are tending towards the adoption of more universal, transnational, forms and practices (McQuail, 1991:71).

3.1. According to McQuail (1991:73) three basic values (freedom, equality and order) often come into conflict with each other and an appeal to one may be used to counter an appeal to another. Freedom is not easy to reconcile with order and equality may call either for limits on freedom or may be inconsistent with hierarchical forms of order. Freedom is a condition, rather than a criterion, of performance and does not readily lend itself to either prescriptive or proscriptive statements. Media freedom leads to positive benefits for the everyday needs of social organization. Press independence is also a precondition of the exercise of the 'watchdog' role – exercising public vigilance in relation to those with most power, especially government and big business. Freedom of communication has a dual aspect: offering a wide range of voices and responding to a wide-ranging demand.³

The basic value of equality has to be translated into more specific meanings when it is applied to mass media. In relation to communication and political power, it is equality which requires that no special favour be given to power holders and that access to media should be given on a fair, if not always an equal, basis to contenders to office and, in general, to oppositional opinions, perspectives or claims. McQuail's (1991:74) continues that "it is equality which supports policies of universal provision in broadcasting".

The ambiguous standing of the order concept in discussions of media and society has already been noted. The concept of order should be used in an elastic way, to apply to symbolic (cultural) orders such as religion, art, customs, etc. as well as to forms of social order (community, society, established structures of relations). This distinction is essentially that between established authority of society on the one hand and individuals and minority groups on the other.

4.0. Traditional liberal thought argues that the primary democratic role of the media is to act as a public watchdog overseeing the state. This is usually defined as revealing abuses in the exercise of state authority, although it is sometimes extended to include facilitating a general debate about the functioning of government. According to Curran (1991:84), this watchdog role is said to override in importance all other functions of the media, and to dictate the form in which the media should be organized. Only by anchoring the media to the free market is it possible to ensure the media's complete independence from government.

² Although this may partly reflect the personal views of the authors concerned, it is also a reflection of the general trend in this particular area of research.

³ Similar remarks apply to the cultural provision of media, where independence will be associated, other things being equal, with creativity, originality and diversity.

The traditional public watchdog definition of the media, in the context of an expanding broadcasting system, thus has a seemingly compelling logic. It legitimates the case for free market reform of broadcasting, while justifying the continued, unfettered capitalist organization of the press. However Curran (1991:86) remarks that “while the watchdog role of the media is important, it is perhaps quixotic to argue that it should be paramount”. The media should be seen as a source of redress against the abuse of power over others. And Curran goes on saying that the complex issues raised by the public watchdog functioning of the media cannot be resolved by a simple, unthinking, catechistic subscription to the free market. What is needed are practical measures which will strengthen the role of the media as a watchdog rather than a complacent endorsement of one system.

This line of thought is continued by Lichtenberg who defends the objective, professional model of journalism but in a form that differs from the way in which it is often interpreted in practice, and by Gurevitch who points to the way in which technological change impacts on older patterns of power relationship both within the media industries and between the media and governments.

4.1. Everyone, from politicians to academics, now agrees that public communications systems are part of ‘cultural industries’ (Golding, Murdoch, 1991:15). The communication organizations are both similar to and different from other industries. On the one hand, they clearly have a range of features in common with other areas of production and are increasingly integrated into the general industrial structure. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the goods they manufacture – the newspapers, advertisements, television programmes, and feature films – play a pivotal role in organizing the images and discourses through which people make sense of the world.

Work on communications from within a cultural studies perspective “is centrally concerned with the construction of meaning – how it is produced in and through particular expressive forms and how it is continually negotiated and deconstructed through the practices of everyday life” (Murdoch, 1989a:436). The emphasis on the relational dimensions of meaning and its consequent mutability is pursued in a second major strand in cultural studies research, which is concerned with the way that audience members interpret media artifacts and incorporate them into their world views and life styles.

In common with liberal defenders of the “free market, the new populists of cultural studies focus on the moment of exchange when the meaning carried by texts meet the meanings that readers bring them” (Fiske, 1989:47). Even if the wider perspective is restored there is still the problem that cultural studies offer an analysis of the way the cultural industries work that has little or nothing to say about how they actually operate as industries, and how their economic organization impinges on the production and circulation of meaning.

4.2. The steadily increasing amount of cultural production accounted for by large corporations has long been a source of concern to theorists of democracy. They saw a fundamental contradiction between the ideal that public media should operate as a public sphere and the reality of concentrated private ownership. They feared that proprietors would use their property rights to restrict the flow of information and open debate on which the vitality of democracy depended (Golding, Murdoch, 1991:23). These long-standing worries have been reinforced in recent years by the emergence of multi media conglomerates with

significant stakes across a range of central communications sectors.⁴ The rise of communications conglomerates adds a new element to the old debate about potential abuses of owner power. It is no longer a simple case of proprietors intervening in editorial decisions, cultural production is also strongly influenced by commercial strategies⁵. The effect is to reduce the diversity of cultural goods in circulation.

The production of communications, however, is not merely a simple reflection of the controlling interests of those who own or even control the broad range of capital plant and equipment which make up the means by which cultural goods are made and distributed. If cultural studies is primarily interested in the way these mechanisms work within a particular media text or across a range of texts, critical political economy is concerned to explain how the economic dynamics of production structure public discourse by promoting certain cultural forms over others (Golding, Murdock, 1991:27). However, in contrast to recent work on audience activity produced within cultural studies, which concentrates on the negotiation of textual interpretations and media use in immediate social settings, critical political economy seeks to relate variations in people's responses to their overall location in the economic system (Murdock, 1989:232). Critical political economy is not only concerned with material barriers to cultural consumption, however. It is also interested in the ways in which social locations regulates access to the cultural competences required to interpret and use media materials in particular ways.

5.0. In the field of cultural studies feminist concerns have gained more ground. Many innovating studies about 'women's genres' such as soap operas, romance novels and women's magazines and their audience, have informed and have been informed by this approach. Moreover, authors such as Fiske (1987) and Morley (1985) addressing other issues of cultural studies, have incorporated gender in their research as one of the crucial mechanisms in structuring our cultural experiences and our outlook on daily life. Sex role stereotypes, prescriptions of sex-appropriate behaviour, appearance, interests, skills and self-perceptions are at the core of liberal feminist media analyses.⁶

5.1. Similar arguments emerge out of radical feminist perspective. Van Zoonen (1991) attacks the view that the media project only sexist stereotypes that deny the true nature of women and suborn female audiences into passive acceptance of patriarchy. Women's pleasure in the media should be seen as a way in which women actively express something about themselves as women. This argument is carried further by Ang and Hermes (1991) who maintain that women have multiple identities with a variety of

⁴ Rupert Murdoch's News International empire is a well known case in point. It includes major press and publishing interests in the USA, UK and Australia, as well as America's fourth largest television network, Fox, and a controlling stake in Britain's direct satellite broadcasting service, British Sky Broadcasting. Other important examples include Sony of Japan which owns CBS records and Columbia Pictures.

⁵ The company's newspapers may give free publicity to their television stations or the record and book divisions may launch products related to a new movie released by the film division.

⁶ Numerous quantitative content analyses have shown that women hardly appear in mass media, be it depicted as wife, mother, daughter, girlfriend; as working in traditionally female jobs (secretary, nurse, receptionist); or as sex-object. Moreover they are usually young and beautiful, but not very well educated.

subjective responses to the media that convey heterogeneous and contradictory meanings. According to Ang and Hermes audience produce their own meanings. They exemplify in the context of a feminist debate a wider set of arguments within the radical revisionist tradition. A view of the media as an agency of class domination was challenged partly on the grounds that audiences produce their own meanings. Meaning is not fixed but is produced through the interaction between text and the socially situated discourses of audiences. Most media texts can be interpreted differently because in general media content is more diverse and contradictory than was alleged before.

5.2. The solutions liberal feminism offers are twofold: women should obtain more equal positions in society, enter male dominated field and acquire power. With a time lag mass media will reflect this change. Meanwhile, media can contribute to change by portraying more women and men in non-traditional roles and by using non-sexist language (van Zoonen, 1991:36).⁷ It is obvious that many aspects of women's lives and experiences are not very well reflected by the media. Many more women work than media-output suggests, very few women are like the 'femme fatales' of soap operas and miniseries, and women's desires consist of a lot more than the hearth and home of traditional women's magazines. A call for more realistic images of women might seem self-evident, but is quite problematic. Gender stereotypes, for instance, do not come out of the blue, but have social counterparts which many perceive as 'real' (van Zoonen, 1991:42). From here the natural question raised by van Zoonen (1991:45): What part do media play in the ongoing social construction of gender? She suggests that much depends on their location in economic structures (e.g. commercial vs. public media), on their specific characteristic (e.g. print vs. broadcast), on the particular genres (e.g. news vs. soap opera), on the audiences they appeal to and on the place they occupy in those audiences' daily lives.

The concepts of gender as a social construction and culture as negotiated meaning, release feminist media studies from many of the tensions of transmission models of communication. Women are taken seriously as active creators of their own daily lives and experiences, instead of being 'medicalized' (as van Zoonen put it, op.cit.:48) as helpless victims of dominant culture.

5.3. Feminist critics have displayed continuous concern about the relation of gender and media consumption. Ang and Hermes (1991:308) argue that the concern has often focused upon the supposedly detrimental effects of popular media forms on women's consciousness. More specifically, the popularity among women of specifically 'feminine' genres such as soap operas and romance novels has often been explained in terms of their 'fit' with women's subordinate position in society. Sustaining such early accounts are, according to Ang and Hermes (1991:309), two related, unwarranted assumptions: first that mass media imagery consists of transparent, unrealistic messages about women whose meanings are clearcut and straightforward; second, that girls and women passively and indiscriminately absorb these messages and meanings as (wrong) lessons about 'real life'. These assumptions have been considerably surmounted in later work, whose development can be characterized as gradually eroding the linear and monolithic view of women as unconditional victims of sexist media.

⁷ Strategies for change follow logically from liberal, radical and socialist feminist media analyses. They aim either at reforming existing media institutions and professions, or at creating new feminist 'institutions' and developing proper feminine and feminist interpretations of professionalism.

The insightful juxtaposition of textual analysis and reception analysis makes it clear that textually-inscribed feminine subject positions are not uniformly and mechanistically adopted by socially-situated women viewers/readers. Textual generalization – continue Ang and Hermes – about the ‘female spectator’ turn out to foreclose prematurely the possibility of empirical variation and heterogeneity within actual women’s responses. Reception analysis makes it clear however that women audiences do indeed actively negotiate with textual constructions and interpellations in such a way that the meanings given to texts – and consequently the positions eventually taken up by viewers/readers – are brought in accordance with the women’s social and subjective experiences. As a result, differences in readings between women with different social positions are brought to the surface.

It is obvious that feminist work addressing issues of gender and media consumption has evolved considerably from the early emphasis on ‘unrealistic’ images of women and their inevitably conservative effects on female audiences.

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RETROSPECTION ON THE POETIC IDENTITY: ANDREI CODRESCU

LUMINITA CHIOREAN

ABSTRACT. *The poet enters by himself in the narrative or descriptive pattern whose stylistic matrix is given by the **helix** – the spiral or the labyrinth, **axis** – the road to the center or the identity and **exit** – “the disappearance of the outside”, these being the meanings of exile in English. Andrei Codrescu (Romanian poet established in New Orleans, The United States of America) writes a visionary poetry from the perspective of the Balkanic Levantine wisdom: the individual’s protection against history.*

The ambiguity, the humor, the paradox, the parody, the introspection, the ontological memory, anamnesis, the retrospective sequence, all weapons of survival, are the instruments of the prosastic writing of retro orientation in the nowadays postmodernism: over the archetypal archeology a diffused biographical topos is superimposed, in which the poet perceives the “cutting of the roots” by symbols of the human condition: alienation, outsider and exile. As an active rhetorical sign there is a common substitution for the text of the new literary canon: the world as a borgesian library.

*The discursivity, the cutting of the lines (cut-up, the surrealist technique in the American da-da poems) associated with the **mainstream** technique of the journalistic style give the lines “respiration”, a possible world.*

The tension between escape and reconstruction as simultaneous manifestations of the transcendence in the search of sense or the “hunger for identity” institute “the person as a unique identity”.

*”This world is governed by
Chaos and Eros, two entities
which are not at all arbitrary”*

The aristocratic gesture of sabotaging history, the tentative of interpreting the sadness of exile as a continuous problem of the prodigal son’s culture carries in itself the need of being related to something else in order to seek the personal identity. “The great question mark for me was the necessity of my personal culture in a more complex establishment of things” [1995: 56], confesses Codrescu.

Is this a face of the extravagant heideggerian etymology by which we justify our existence, our sense or our misplacement in the world where we have been dropped? Regardless of what we make of it, this “living at home” is a favor...! Not being at all hostile to change, the exiled understands exteriority with the stubbornness of the winner that will know to use his freedom in building its own worlds, multiplied each time, simultaneous, contextual variants of the ego’s development. The more connected to the freedom of transgressing diverse spaces and cultures the situation is, the more engaged is the being, until the risk of distancing. But not the risk of loosing the self. The get-away will be followed by a reconstruction. Literary exile [...variants of literary exile, or, metaphorically, political, self-exile etc. In post-1989 (post history) there is no such thing as exiled any more] understood as abandonment of the roots is declined by the need of establishing a non-temporal, non-spatial identity, able to assume all that is unstable in it. As a saving

solution poet, essayist, publicist, radio and TV editor, professor Andrei Codrescu proposes a “siege against interpretation” a strategy which is inconvenient to the modern canon but at the same time innovative. He declares his solidarity to the camp spirit - the type of sensibility acutely proclaimed by postmodernism, a reality taken as a mark in this paper [It signifies “consolidate settling”, an objective of de-construction! (See the Attachment)] and the new sensibility is truly pluralistic. It will offer the exiled the chance of survival. And the intellectual must show a chameleonic predisposition for constructing the suitable mask and role for the new context, being successful throughout the happenings into which he deliberately engages as author, actor, director etc. And the public will applaud him... frenetically.

From all the fields in which Andrei Codrescu is involved, we shall emphasize his literary activity. The first identity is that of the aesthete, as it is not advisable to let yourself in fate's will: “If you wander through the world without an ideology or without even a system that is yours, you will be drifting like a cork on the frothy waves of Chaos and Eros”, confesses Andrei Codrescu.

Aesthetical and critical sentences on the American poetry of the last three decades – (Appreciations are made about the poetry school in New-York: poets know secrets they make public with generosity: “Snack, soup, fat pate, souse, roasted pig with an apple in the mouth, hot French fries, fruits, drugs, Napoleon coniac, éclairs, cigars, coffee, honey, desert, cream” [1933:33] Creolized! Poets are proposing a “building site of survival”) are gathered in the essay “Mister Teste in America and other realistic moments” in 1993, turning into an alter-ego the main character (archetypal vision: reincarnation) from Paul Valéry's essays, who is invited at the reception of the work of art, especially at the aesthetical orchestration of the poem, as: “In America all forms of art are in the service of literature. Their goal is to round off words“ [1993:29].

In another essay on Poetics (*Two poets' orchestras*), the necessity of a new type of Poetics is remarked, and Codrescu underlines: „[...] we decided to forget the others and to form another Poets' Orchestra, consisting only of people who made **their own instruments**.” [In the objectual language, the world ignores its instrumental function and, by becoming an object, will control the poetical imagery, the universe.]

The essay entitled “Mr. Teste” is surprising due to the image of the borgesian library: the narrative walks through American poetics marking directions and trajectories, communicating about the canon, as it is specifically expressed: “- What direction shall we follow? I asked him the morning when we were to have one of our usual walks.

– It rattles as if it wants to take us North... His decisions were dictated - the Object controls the universe - by the advise of non-living objects surrounding him”[1993:45]. It is obvious that the last sensibility is given by postmodern charisma, which gains dynamism especially in the end of the essay: in the fatidic temporality of the Seventh Night: “This Night found us in a profound meditation. Ellen was seeking means and ways to stifle the “Teste” Stove (the domestic comfort of modernity!). In her mind she had solved the problem. She had decided to stuff the emigrant according to the old customs of thinking and conquering geography. The gigantic seed of a feminine Hitler started to proliferate technique details. [The sources of the poetical imagery's exorcising by a Merlin-poet, the technicisms will be devoured by narratology. They will contour the poetic art]

I was intending to inject phylogeny into geography in order to achieve my new position. I failed, I was counting only on the codified version of my phylogeny, which had been Mr. Teste” [1993:66]

The model he is wishing for imposes a poetics of breaking. “The techniques” present in Andrei Codrescu’s poems are relevant: twisted worlds, the restoration of myths - „I sell myths not poems. With each poem goes a little myth. This myth is not in the poem. It’s in my mind...”[1997:83]- parody; the resurrection of themes; the puzzle technique by which any reality may substitute another one. These are just a few aspects of postmodern narratology.

But writing is conflicting with the existence of the world: “This is an addition to perception, a dictatorial process, a way of forcing abnormal connections. You believe you let the images come to the surface when actually you are only putting a verbal cover over your lack of knowledge... You perpetuate a system that is based on your mind in the building of its arrogance towards nature...” [1993:35]. America experiences the need of computing the literary referential information, including the books of translations, in order to save the world from a century of emptiness, a postmodern aspect translated in the “transparence” of nowadays’ world.

This is an a propos to the cultural realities of the epoch, surrealism and dada [1995:149-150]; a commentary which we find in the essay “The Disappearance of Outside: a manifest of escaping”, which presents the anthropologist and art critic Andrei Codrescu.

The known world is only an island in the sea of amnesia: ontological memories, retrospective sequences, alienation (as psychological exile). The febrile behavior permanently anchored into reality, into history as time of humanity will mark the identity of the editor that approved to transmit live the Romanian revolution, news, facts of life present in the remembering book: “The hole in the flag”, 1991(1997), dedicated to all “fighters that guard the opening of the hole in the flag towards the sky of freedom”.

Symbols like alienation, the outsider and the exile are activated under the sign of existentialism, and the poet will begin “its personal slice of postwar history... The exile’s metaphysics sees human condition as a series of tragic events”. An “at home” may correspond only to temporality, by giving up space: “Being a wandering creature of the Infernos, an outsider and a nomad, I was in a magical position demonstrated by the entire arsenal of human thinking”.

The self-exiled poet’s time has been marked by feelings with no face, into which facts are inserted: only the lived reality, independent of any dreaming adjustments, in accordance to the American tradition in fact surrealist. Reality is being produced continually.

In a supra-saturated cultural medium that threatens with the canceling of sensibility, the camp is imposed as “theatralization of the postmodern experience”, thus rejecting the seriousness of elite cultures, and at the same time the extreme states of perception of the avant-garde (see the comments to camp from the attachment!).

Familiar strangeness and cheap popular merchandise, the camp is part of the history of snob taste, signifying an aristocratic status, such as Mister Teste [1993:31]- „ *Teste will mean taste*” ...even a flash of erotic; and other heteronym identities, but also the direct acceptance of the mass culture by such archetypes as the adventurer, the picaroon, or the popular Mexican Pancho Villa, the bandit (...”Pop” culture!) Confident in the Levantine balkanic wisdom, that protects the individual from history, the poet pleads for the person as

a unique identity by the archetypes that populate his poems. Interiority is in charge of the mechanism that leads to the disappearance of the outside understood as exteriority, free manifestation of the spirit: escape and rebuilding at the same time. From the alterity manifested in the first part of his exile: "I was not me", but forever another ego, Andrei Codrescu will choose poetic identity.

The greatness of the game-like universe comforts him, not in the sense of monotony but in a sedentary one. The joking spirit is predisposed to theatricality: the joy of the scene, the trial of other masks, the shifting of identities. This is the destiny of the literary exiled!

From the features of postmodernism, an attitude that marks the contemporary world, according to which art is "the great media discourse": Inner-determination, fragmentizing, un-canonization, deconstruction, lack of self / lack of profoundness, un(re)presentable, hybridization, the carnivalesque, the performance / implication, constructivism, immanence, technologism, de-humanization, primitivism, erotic, experiment etc. The Poet himself was stating, in an interview: "My religion is Creolisation (multiculturalism), Hybridization, Miscegenation, Immigration, Genre-Busting, Trespassing, Border-Crossing, Identity-Shifting, Mask-Making and Syncretism." It's easy to identify the camp taste which is suitable for the reading of Andrei Codrescu's poems from the book "Alien Candor" published in 1997, respectively in his diaristic literature

"Life is a fruit in the heart of an aimed brain" meaning the chosen one, thereby "death is the last minute hurry for vitamins" [1993:30]. It is the hunger for freedom expressed by Tristan Tzara in these words: "My mind has grown to much for the Balkans". The poet will not miss the image, and he will note in a similar spirit of the outsider: "Mind is a rapacious beast whose appetite exceeds geography. Freedom is greed of the mind and time, as well as geography, complot against it, underfeed it and deceive it" [1995:158]. This hunger persists in the core of poetic exile due to the necessity of seeking identity.

In the beginning, we know Mr. Teste as a challenge of installation in literature's "at home", by assuming a set of aesthetical convictions: "Without his help, I would not have known about the existence of better things than others in the world. Kitchen was his sacred source form spiritual food". [1993:48] – a self-referential passage, about the imaginary universes (comprised in the lexeme "kitchen") that recommends the poet as being in a dilemma: will he leave Teste's world, modernism, in favor of postmodernism? A potential conflict between modernism and postmodernism may be felt here.

The break-out with Teste, in fact with Valéry's poetics, is done by an imprudent deliberation („*Desperado Literature*"!) Teste's insult will announce the methodology of dedoubling the poetic ego later on: "I will immortalize Mr. Teste in a novel (even a poem, we would add)". It was Paul Valéry's way of subordinating Teste. A novel that will be unique. It is unconceivable, as not only the characters but words present themselves under the form of some relations between them.

Delegating the right of property to the erroneous part is in the nature of these relations:

"We may remark the optimistic debut of a new activity in which he had just been initiated: the relation with the New York School of Poetry: Edward Albee, Anne Waldman, Lewis Warsh, Tom Veitch, Terry Patten, Michael Palmer, Aram Saroyan, Lewis McAdams, Kit Robinson, Jim Gustafson, Pat Nolan, Jeffrey Miller etc... Codrescu appreciates the works of the following writers: Ted Berrigan, Jeffrey Miller, Joe Cardarelli, E.M. Cioran, Mircea Eliade, Ioan Culianu, Gherasim Luca, Paul Blackburn and Joel Oppenheimer (*Preface to Alien Candor*).

“Meanwhile, Romanian language was becoming the mysterious dimension, as in order to survive he was engaging in the process of naturalization.” “Obviously not only natural relations can live with fortune”. Having the confidence of vocation, the destination had remained the same. He would only change the “means of transport”: the English language.

“Abnormal relations are uncertain and thereby responsible for my definitive dispossession of territories”. It is the tonality in which the alienation from society is accepted: the „dis-insertion” of the man from a world by loosing the sense of reality, after G. Vattimo. Living in virtual worlds. Anyways, readings from Paul Valéry, Heidegger, G. Vattimo, Susan Sontag, J. Habermas are to be noticed here.

From here develops the possibility of living simultaneously in multiple virtual worlds, where he suffers or may accomplish himself. Digitally yours! It is their way of facing reality.

“Could there be abnormal relations between persons who do not know each other? No. The fact that they know each other legitimates their connection. So the first rule of my novel will be: the persons should not know each other”. [1993:48] Only the poet may count the masks. Then he presents them to the reader.

Teste will be invested with the status of prototype of the heteronyms to which the poet appeals. Julio Hernandez, Peter Boone. Alice-Hendreson Codrescu, Calvin Boone, OSD are the identity poetic variants of the years 1970-1972, the Sibiu-New-York period, lyrical voices through which the corporality of poetry appears. Outside or the exteriority inhales freedom: “In the birds is our stolen being”. But as he does not know yet the mechanism of freedom, frustrated until then by such experiences, the poet is balancing between the “will to fly” and the fear of the unknown. Towards what? „they carry on my destruction, more obvious/ as I get closer to death.” “They continue my degradation”. Why? It is a deception, as he poses as agent of his own time. The nostalgic poems of „Julio Hernandez” [1997: 26-31] .

Underlining: “the gun license is the license for existing”, he assumes the destiny of outsider. The cultural „Outsider” feels the cultural identity only at the personal. “Patricius, brutus, don quijotte, show themselves to me naked in front of the target. They are my charged darkness.” Mr. Teste too gives us the explanation: “Inferior beings, can understand some things only if their sight is woken up by violence” [1993:64]. The awakening into reality!

Chaos and Eros have as immediate finalities the game and expansion. As food there will be prescribed for them the virtual universe. Here they are originating in strangeness, but also in repetition and exhibitionism. The pleasure for gaming: “I like games. I think of them as of forms of relaxation” [1993:44] – parody, irony, joke, anecdote, are all heritages of balkanic Levantine thinking that the poet makes use of. Laughter and forgiveness signify the metaphysics of survival by mnemonic creation: in order to write, one must remember, but in order to exist one must forget.

It is the tension of the exile – also present in the poem “Without anything to put in the pot” [1997:300-331], in which the drama of the cutting from the roots of the interior of world from the entire of another – and so on and so forth – is evident:

„MY LIFE AS A POT.

In giving me a subject as big as the world
the distinguished organizers
showed a lot of faith-
as much faith as mud can have in mud-

LUMINITA CHIOREAN

Given the vastness and the nature
of the subject prose is wholly inadequate
being both square and utilitarian-
this art I decided will only be served by poetry
which is no simple repository
but rather like a shapely pot itself a wholly
surprising recasting of the matter..."

The autobiographical narrative's design describes the vortex or the helix as a first meaning of exile. The exile has three meanings in English: „helix” (spiral), „axis”(center), „exit”, meanings that will impose the stylistic paradigm of the autobiographical writings. The camp anesthetizing attitude is neutral for any exiled from ... culture. The real names of places: Sibiu, Transylvania, Carpati Mountains, California, Baton Rouge and New Orleans, the utopist Republic of Dust Men are spaces of the nostalgia, of the mioritical “at home”, a center of the universe, corresponding to an axis. These are taken in the titles of the poems from “*Alien Candor*”. They respect a certain chronological order that offers directions followed by the poet, his dynamics. They also reflect the geography of the poet's imagery towards finding the identity masks that are lucidly recorded and assumed in a balance with history (time) and the space.

The stylistic paradigm reminds the enlightenment of the 18th century, to which we owe democracy and human rights. These artificial concepts do not apply to gods”, wrote the Poet.

Who defines the last signification: exit? Undoubtedly, POETRY:

„that poor god without a pot to piss in
whose shards are now everywhere to be found”[1997:328]

- fragments of a pot that was/is my life, your life! Pleading of the evidence. Orphism? Nostalgic, romantic?

“The tensions that test you are not personal, although you feel them in such a way. They are only the interaction of the frontal impact between partially centrifugal Chaos and partially centripetal Eros. Discussion is carried on between them, you are only a wheel in the groin of the wonders-making machine”. Manifesting against interpretation, in the sense of delaying hermeneutics in favor of the supremacy of immanence, poet Andrei Codrescu will plead for an erotic of art (It is the expression by which Susan Sontag enters the history of postmodernism *avant la letter*, the silence of the text, music, forms and deformations in plastic arts – a perception close to a kind of Eros.)

...This is not a complete analysis, only the allowance of breathing the poem! The present analysis is nothing more than the point of view of a seasonal-reader on this “construction site of survivals”. Why “*Alien Candor*”: the past is no longer recoverable with candor, but with irony...

Exile means especially “Exit”

“I had found one of America's secrets.
It is a crucible. It will melt you
Obviously I wasn't expecting it to melt me in the viscera of my spiritual mentor”

[1993:67-68]. ... And there is the illusion of having exited modernism!

The Impact with Andrei Codrescu's poems made me swallow a part of America (partially, I did not finish all his books), while he was holding my jaws wide open (a paraphrase after a quotation: 1993: 48).

I am the CD that has just recorded his confession: „*My professional services [...] consist of techniques for sabotaging history with the aid of god. So to speak.*”[*The History of the Growth of Heaven* (2); 1997:106]

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ATTACHMENT

The Camp: Application to an “erotic of art”. Notes or aspects about the *camp*, after
Susan Sontag [2000:314-347]

Being a type of aestheticism, the camp proposes with generosity its own aesthetical
universe with such marks as:

1. The *Camp* – a hybrid whose formal availability is: impurity, a way of stylistic
expression that can be exemplified with poems such as: ***Mnemogasoline, Christmas in
New York, Not a Pot to Piss In (My Life as a Pot)*** [1977:258-291; 291-296; 300-331]

2. The camp vision, the camp manner of seeing the world, the things, is completed
by a camp quality discovered in the objects and in the behavior of some persons. Thus, in
the essay *Mr. Teste in America* there are significant passages of renouncing to the instrumental
function of the word, a technique by which it becomes and object and therefore enslaves the
character: [1993:66] [1993:66] – the majority of the camp objects are urban: cinemas,
posters, phones, blocks, clubs...

„The content that fills the flowing shapes
of my heart’s pure yearning is communal like the city.
A fraudulent but place like any other.”

[*Comrade Past & Mister Present*, 1997: 244] The logos is the vehicle of the sensitive instruments
called writers or readers: “*The coincident, the synchrony and the miracle happen to you
because you are a certain object on realm flowing inside of you, in and through you, creating
moments of paradox*”, was underlining the author in an article, in favor of an erotic of art.

„The camp’s eye, says Susan Sontag [2000:316], *has the power of transforming
experiences*”... Gratefulness is like the grape to the wine. You smash it into your own heart
instead of scattering it into prayers and, suddenly, you also get some additional 30 “unches
of love”. It is as the poet would say:

*„ God’s scattered thoughts were a constant source
of confusion to him
until he conceived of two faithful mugs
that would be a perfect metaphor for his job
which was filling the emptiness.” [... My Life as a Pot, 1997:300]*

The cup is here present as an aristocratic variant of the pot meant for the common being that assumes the “ontological anxiety as exclusive private property of the ones created...”

3. Parts of the camp cannon are the random examples of things: *„I shall not mention here all the things with whom he returns home from his solitary wanderings, fragments of old fire-stairs, limas, dirty socks, meteorites.”* [1993:67]

4. Camp art is often decorative, accentuating the texture, developing an ambiental or descriptive that is hostile in the detriment of the narrative, of the substance: *„...I am a perfect absorber of detail. The shine on someone’s shoes, if properly framed, can repeat itself ten thousand times unhindered in the recesses of my brain...”* [The Origin of Electricity, 1997:94] The infinitely solicited detail may also function in the absence of the subject.

5. The camp represents a vision for the world: it is the passion for exaggeration, eccentricity, things-that-are-what-they-are-not, as in Art Nouveau (the tunnels in the form of orchids).

Aquarelle... to Andrei Codrescu’s poems

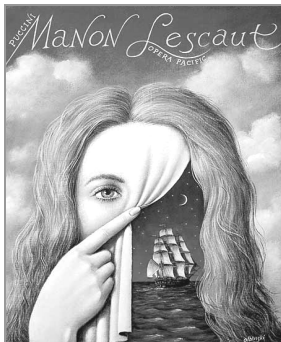
The Love of the Coat



From a Trilogy of Birds(1)



Face Portrait



My Life as a Pot



Life, destiny in the form of a pot: nest, cup etc. ...

6. The androgen is one of the greatest images of the camp sensibility: Maximum = the work: “*The perfect appeared – a perfect hermaphrodite, a unicorn*”. From here, the triumph of the epicene style, the convertibility of the sexes, of the person and things, the pleasure of exaggerating with the erotic, the mannerisms of the lovers, the most refined form of sexual attraction argued by the means of an erotic parabola: „*The great turn: the return to the savage lands – the rustic land of North California! [...] Our life experience, obviously different, had been springing, until now, from a sort of common-landscape of modernity, like a lion and a man made from a plastic sphinx. But now I was on the point of bringing the Mister in the very place where a breaking had appeared on the map of my soul... a strange world (spiritual geography: the North American combination: Moloch and Eros)*” [1993:50]. Also as an argument for the erotic of art stays the following statement of the poet: „*Vitality calls to Eros, so at least one reason for the practice is the eroticisation of the universe.*”

7. The difference between the thing that carries a meaning and the thing as a pure artifice leads to theatricalization, travesty, imitation, which are related to the camp tendency: „*I wear a dunce cap.*” [Belligerence, 1997: 248] The camp sensibility may operate in the text by the double significance, which is also suggested by the verbal form “to camp”, with the double meaning of seduction. From here the postmodern preference for the identity worlds! The camp is the glorifying of the character, the naming of identity, of unity, the power of the person, the complexity of human nature.

8. The Camp is based on innocence... Candor!

9. The camp’s mark is the excess of extravagance: Gaudi! And the attempt of giving it something extraordinary. I shall exemplify by a design of the narrative: „*And what are the most ingenious things on this earth? Oh, the Cathedrals, of course. They are unequaled in purity. I shall construct my novel in the form of a cathedral and I shall place my characters at the intersection spots of the ships on elliptical orbits so that, no matter how long they try, they would never intersect again. Mr. Teste I will put at the corner of an interior square to the North, giving him the chance to watch so that he sees the entire circle of the characters above, without being able to touch them until the circle becomes a square. And that will take a while, as we know. Oh, what an insult!*” [1993:22]

10. Seriousness and the dignity of the work promote the work. But the anguish, cruelty, nervousness also do that. The camp is game, irony, satire, modern dandyism etc.

*Poetry is a discourse.
And we, its discourages.
If it's a world wide depression,
Everybody is depressed.* [Poetry, 1997:122]

TRANSNATIONAL MEDIA ICONS: VALENTINE'S DAY IN ROMANIA

DIANA ROXANA COTRĂU

***ABSTRACT.** In the following we have tried to report on how a media icon – Valentine's Day - is circulated across the compressed space and time of the wired global village to reach a local (Romanian) audience. The audience response will be shown to be complex and differentiated even while the overall reception is favourable as dictated by the aspirational needs of the audience members. Although this might seem a case of international hypodermic effect, whereby dominant values are directly injected into the passive media consumers, it will become evident that the local audience, individually or collectively, activate the semiotic potential of the media product, whose message is indigenized and reassigned radical meanings.*

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of new types of media and the advance in communication technologies today in what has been hailed the 'wired global village'¹, has loosened the anchors of values, beliefs and lifestyles making them less fixed in space and time. One such 'displaced' cultural icon circulated by the media is Saint Valentine. Our intention is to trace the agency of the local Romanian media – mainly the television, but also the radio and the press - in offering for consumption an imported myth to a local audience. The ways are manifold in which the media have tried to naturalize this myth in a cultural space that features in this temporal proximity (February, 14) its own celebrations of love and romance: *Mărțișor*, *8 Martie*, *Dragobete* (February-March).

In this context the theories about the power of the media in offering and imposing preferred meanings will be visited as well as the response of the active Romanian audience at the receiving end of this 'imperial' message. We shall consider the distinct rather than homogeneous decoding by the local audiences of a festival, which in Romania is disproportionately mediated as compared to its social deployment. A note will be made as to how this loan myth in the process of translation from one geolinguistic area into another is removed from the realm of hagiography² and translated into a popular culture product to be socially mediated. Moreover, we will insist on how this imperial theme is imported and indigenized, on the one hand, and how by consuming this cultural product the local audience partakes in a shared discursive and a geo-cultural space, on the other hand.

A MEDIATED FESTIVAL AND THE POWER OF THE MEDIA

The media treatment of Valentine's Day was conducted in a wide range of ways within the same medium and among the different media: television channels, radio stations and the quality and popular printed press. A survey of the 2004 coverage of Valentine's

¹ The term was coined by Canadian media studies scholar Marshall McLuhan.

² Priest in Rome, possibly a bishop. Physician. Imprisoned for giving aid to martyrs in prison, and while there converted the jailer by restoring sight to the jailer's daughter. While Valentine of Terni and Valentine of Rome sometimes have separate entries in martyrologies and biographies, most scholars believe they are the same person. (at www.CatholicOnlineSaints)

Day shows the Romanian ProTV among television channels and Europa FM among radio stations to have given it most amplitude. ProTV organized a special Valentine's Day 5 o'clock Saturday show hosted by two of its most popular television presenters and scheduled two romantic comedies for the 8 o'clock and 11 o'clock Saturday night movies, thus summing up a total of six hours of television programming for the festival. The other television channels had rather modest displays. The referral to the day was either indirect, by scheduling love or theme movies, or null.

Television³:

<i>Romania 1</i>	8 o'clock romantic comedy
<i>Antena 1</i>	10 o'clock love movie
<i>HBO</i>	'Valentine' - horror movie
<i>TVR2</i>	Love song festival at 6.30 and 8.45
<i>MTV Romania</i>	Special weekend: Valentine
<i>VH-1</i>	Top 10 Love songs
<i>Prima TV, B1 TV, National TV, Tele 7abc</i> : ignored it	

Radio⁴:

Europa FM dedicated a whole week to love, with songs and lyric contests.
Radio Romantic

Printed press:

Quality press: *Adevărul* - mostly fleeting reference, reports on Valentine Day related social events, insistence on Dragobete with specialist columns signed by ethnographers and anthropologists.
Popular Press: *Clujeanul* 9-15 februarie 2004: posts Valentine Day related social, musical and clubbing events: Valentine's Day Party, Love Parade, Valentine's Day Concert - Holograf, Anti-Valentine's Day Concert - Luna Amară.

The media's power works insidiously. The survey above, although not exhaustive, shows that the celebration of the image was made inescapable. Through the repetition of this imported icon the media have managed to enter, influence and interact with the everyday lives of audiences. They have managed to condition and reinforce new lifestyles and patterns of consumption for the Romanian public by offering as a media pleasure product an imagery of love and romance that is laden with western ideology.

However, the inoculation of this new icon is not a linear and unproblematic act, for it is not addressing a singular, albeit mass, receiver whose reactions and dispositions are predictable. Media theorists in conjunction with media producers and surveyors have noted early on that the audience is segmented and polarized rather than homogeneous. Its constituency is determined by continuously shifting socio-cultural overlapping groups⁵. Consequently, media products are tailored to the taste of the target audience. For instance, ProTV preserved the scheduling of the Saturday 5 o'clock show with its habitual hosts (Teo and Andi) and turned it into a thematic show. Likewise, the 8 and 11 o'clock thrillers

³ The data have been extracted from *PROTV Magazin*, Nr.07/2004 13.02 – 19.02 2004

⁴ Our survey has included only the radio stations whose programmes are on-line on the Internet

⁵ Lull, James. 2000. *Media, Communication, Culture*. Polity Press. p.125.

were replaced by light romantic comedies, which in all likelihood, in consonance with the day's theme, would still appeal to the ProTV loyal audience. Thus, ProTV chose a popular code to relay this universal theme - love and romance - in a show hosted by familiar TV figures and films of the romantic comedy type. This choice of discourse is a good vehicle for conveying a preferred meaning and a particular imagery for this icon and for avoiding possible aberrant decoding (Eco).

The television mainly, and the ProTV channel in particular, illustrates in this case what Fiske⁶ meant by *bardic television*: television is central to the culture and selects myths and combines them into a mythology which reinforces and confirms the culture's vision of itself. In this case, a foreign myth has been selected to integrate into a local mythology and just how well it will blend with the existing myths or whether it will superimpose a preferred myth over the local ones and obscure them completely, it is for time to decide. Surprisingly, for the time being the introduction of Valentine's Day has had for its most direct and visible effect the resurrection and recycling of a somewhat forgotten rural myth: *Dragobete*, celebrated on the 24th of February. The local press made efforts to retrieve this ancient custom, dating back to pagan rituals celebrating in early spring a half-human half-animal god of love. The attempts came in the form of specialist information (anthropologists or ethnographers had cameos on TV or the radio or short contributions on the 'cultural sections' of the printed press) or through linguistic play: Radio Romantic - *D'Ale DRAGOSday*, TABU - *lenjerie Dragobete*).

The dissimilar treatment by the media is also visible in the names used for the celebration: *Sfintul Valentin*, *Valentine's Day*, *V-Day*, *Ziua Îndrăgostiților*, as well as the amplitude given: Europa FM - *Săptămîna Îndrăgostiților* (lovers' week). The larger time allotted by some of the radio stations, especially the private ones with foreign sponsorship, has at least two possible explanations. The one is obviously commercial. The other, however, has a cultural substratum: by expanding the day to one week, it tries to incorporate and thus resuscitate the local festival of *Dragobete*. But what appears to be a mere horizontal extension is in reality a deep cultural blending. This blending is manifest at the linguistic level, where names are experimented with in the hope that one will catch and consecrate the festival. Yet this proliferation of names hints at a certain failure in anchoring the festival. Thus, one and the same channel can be inconsequential in naming the day: *Valentine's Day*, *Ziua Îndrăgostiților*, *Sfintul Valentin*, in the case of ProTV. Yet, an even more interesting point is made by the name used on Radio Romantic: *D'Ale DRAGOSday*. This instance of code-switching, combining Romanian and English in the same syntagm, surpasses the language level to operate a cultural melding that might help localize the festival.

Nevertheless, despite the linguistic oscillation, the Romanian media coverage of St. Valentine did reach a critical exposure, so that we can say that the frequent use of this icon has made it conventional.

IMPORTED IDEOLOGY

Interestingly enough, the ecumenical⁷ dimension of the festival is completely ignored by the Romanian public, whom social surveys show to have the greatest trust in the institution of church. Instead, the same local public has reacted most favourably to what is

⁶ Fiske, John, Hartley, John. 1992. *Reading Television*. Routledge. pp.85-86.

⁷ Brunel, Pierre (coord). 2003. *Miturile Secolului XX*. Ed. Univers. pp. 233-241

mainly identified as an ideological icon. A possible explanation for the fairly rapid adoption of this export product is in line with the abrupt ideological turn about made by the average Romanian after 1989. The media contributed to this rather emphatic ideological reversal by flooding the untrained public eye with imported imagery. The change of mentality reflected gradually on lifestyles too. A new albeit transitory reality was constructed, not by direct experience rather than mediated or simulated by television. Romanians engaged in a simulacrum of a socio-cultural reality, consuming indiscriminately exported meanings and accepting unselectively the new social values as relayed by the dominant western media.

Valentine's Day is one of many western cultural icons and a metonymy for what was, and perhaps still is, perceived locally as the grander design of the western community. Today television is a major carrier of ideology and, as a television sign, Valentine's Day works at three levels of significance⁸. Firstly, there are the representational images. Secondly, as a myth, it is connotative and carries cultural meanings, emotions or values. Thirdly, it has managed to trigger a response that is shared by most of the members of the culture at the level of intersubjectivity. It is at this level that myths, says Fiske, operate as the organizing structures by which a culture organizes and interprets the reality it has to cope with. In what concerns Valentine's Day in Romania, the local media send rather confusing messages by their distinct treatment of the festival. It is premature to establish whether this myth has been naturalized or will be expelled in time from the Romanian mythology.

An additional point could be made by remarking on how foreign monitors of the Romanian cultural space report the reception of Valentine's Day in Romania. "Romanians have gone loony over Valentine's Day," notes a foreign correspondent bemused by the eccentricity of some Romanians purchasing land plots on the moon for their sweethearts. *Land on the moon captures Romanians' imaginations because they're romantic by nature, and because many yearn to own real property and be original after decades of communism.*⁹ This note, both jocular and politically perceptive, shows that the icon has gained some legitimacy with the local media consumers, who reassign it a new meaning: retribution for suffering so long under a dictatorial regime.

SOCIAL IMPACT and SOCIAL MEDIATION

The inescapability of the day is also given by the fact that people depend on the media not only for factual information but also for social information. In their obvious effort to impose Valentine's Day as a quasi-official celebration, most of the Romanian media have managed to induce in the individual or collective viewers certain social habits and skills¹⁰. For example, media exposure can be responsible for the following Valentine Day related conduct in Romania:

- it has become a commonplace for teenagers to celebrate Valentine's day at school by sending each other romantic notes delivered by a specially assigned pupil who is exempted from other scholarly duties for the day or by organizing Valentine Day parties.
- intense SMS messaging.

⁸ Ibidem. p50.

⁹ Alison Mutler – Associated Press correspondent: *Lunacy or amore? Romanians give the moon for Valentine's Day* on <http://www.sfgate.com/>

¹⁰ De Fleur and Ball Rokeach in Marris, Paul and Sue Thornham. 1996. *Media Studies. A Reader*. Edinburgh University Press

- clubs organize special theme parties: for example, local clubs in Cluj announced *Petreceeri pentru îndrăgostiți cu ocazia zilei Îndrăgostiților* (Parties for Sweethearts) and concerts.
- the newly developed social habit of inviting one's love interest on a romantic date. Restaurants offer special menus for lovers on this day.
- events for socialites or VIPs: The Men Fair – a charity event with media coverage (television: BITV or printed press: TABU).
- mock weddings are organized publicly and the would-be couples wear wedding bands for the day.

By giving repeated impressions of this myth, the Romanian media make the image familiar and conventional. The image is distributed persuasively and thus legitimized. The following step is where the image is adopted and used in inter-personal communication and interaction. This is what Lull calls social mediation¹¹: mass media's ideological representations are recognized, interpreted and used in the audience members' social construction of daily reality. In this case, the Romanian audiences depend on the media to integrate into their local reality a readymade image originally situated outside their direct experience.

Not only that, but this foreign cultural currency has managed to re-organize the local social identities. If *8 Martie* and even *Mărțișor* organize stereotypical roles for men as active givers and women as passive receivers, Valentine's Day re-defines the definitions of femininity and masculinity: the new conventions make it appropriate for women to give just like men do. It, thus, negotiates identities vis-à-vis the dominant American culture¹². Yet, although the local audience finds a way to connect with the western culture and its dominant meanings through the universal theme of love, there is still some sense of strain in the local audience, whose social deployment of western conduct is not yet authentic but rather mimetic. Indeed, Valentine's Day offers the Romanian public new cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity, which serve as subject positions for the spectators to take up and enter into meaningful relationships with the texts concerned¹³.

AUDIENCE RESPONSE AND LOCAL DECODING

Over the past 14 years the Romanian audience has been exposed repeatedly and with increasing intensity to the media message of Valentine's Day. Logically, the audience could not escape the ubiquity of this icon every year in the month of February. The carrier of a universal theme meeting individual psychological needs, it is natural that overall the audience response should be favourable. Thus, from a functionalist perspective¹⁴, the media enters a relationship involving the media message, the everyday reality of the audience and the functions performed by the media for the audience. Under the uses and gratification theory (Katz et al) the local audience actually uses the Valentine's Day media message not so much for cognitive needs, but rather for personal and social integrative needs and, we might risk saying, for politically integrative needs. The audience's interest in, and consumption of, this metonymy for western ideology concords with the aspiration of the local audience to participate in the grander family of western cultures and lifestyles.

¹¹ Lull, James. Op. cit. p. 26.

¹² Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle. *The Global and the Local in International Communication* in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds). *Mass Media and Society*, Edward Arnold New York. 1991

¹³ Jen Ang and Joke Kermes in Curran, James and Michael Gurevitch. Op. cit.

¹⁴ Fiske, John. Op. cit. p 71.

Yet, the local Romanian public should not be treated as a mass, homogeneous, audience. Decodings (Stuart Hall) of a media message are of three types, the reception of Valentine's Day making no exception: in line with the dominant meaning, negotiated or oppositional. All three are present although the media have gone to great lengths to eliminate any potential aberrant decoding by framing the audience with the offer of a specific media product and cultural commodity¹⁵.

Parts of the audience accept the preferred meaning and use the code employed by the encoders. They form a powerful bond with the medium and choose to decode the meaning in line with the dominant code, in what Stephenson calls convergent selectivity¹⁶. This is the aspirational or deferential response and reflects the readiness and eagerness to adopt the values carried by Valentine's Day. The positive aspect of this response is that the audience can develop a cultural competence that allows them to manage the information surging in from other cultural and geolinguistic spaces.

Others may negotiate the meaning and integrate this foreign cultural currency with the local ones. Still others decode the message in radical ways. For instance, an Internet forum address suggested as a debate issue the reception of Valentine's Day in Romania. Responses were negative, unfavourable and oppositional, with a nationalistic touch. They denounced what they perceived as a copycat self-demeaning version of an imperialist myth.

Bogdan bai, adevaru' e ca ma enerveaza sarbatorile astea preluate de la "amerikani", de genu' Valentine's Day sau Halloween, ce naiba, nu avem noi Martisor, care iar ma enerveaza la kulme, da' macar e romaneasca...

[hey, the truth is that I am pissed by these holidays picked from the Americans, the Valentine's Day or Halloween types, what the hell, we have our own Martisor, which also pisses me off, but at last it is Romanian...]

fanatik Ma asa e aveti dreptate ce masa ma ppl nu avem noi DRAGOBETELE nostru pe 26 februarie...ce masa atata valentine day ...pa aia ii doare-n valentine de ziua asta doar ceva localnici mai sentimentali acolo ...nu se compara sa zicem cu 1 Martie al nostru care aia da sarbatoare ...io cred ca noi importam tot ce arunca altii...carne infestata...stiti voi

[hey, you are right what what the hell ... don't we have our own Dragobete on the 26th of February ...what's with all this Valentine Day ... they couldn't care less about valentine maybe just a few sentimental locals ... it doesn't stand a chance compared to our 1 March which is some festival ... I think that we import the cast offs of others ... infested meat ... you know]

Roadkill.TDR Shi am mai observat ca in ultima vreme tot ce au altzii e cool iar ce e al nostru ori e comunist ori e invechit... Daca intrebati pe strada aleator ce inseamna 1 decembrie pt romani jumate habar nu au shi restu itzi spun ca e ziua in care se sarbatoresc doar x zile pana la "4 iulie". Asta fac filmele shi programele americane din noi mah. Asha ne trebuie daca ne indopam cu rahaturi americane. Ce ne trebe noua fratizilor VD, Haloween sau Thanks Giving? Nu avem destule sarbatori ale noastre?

[And I have noticed that lately everything the others have is cool and that which is ours is either communist or obsolete ... If you ask in the streets at random what is the 1st of December to Romanians, half don't have the faintest idea and the rest say that it is the day

¹⁵ David Morley in Marris, Paul and Thornham, Sue. Op. cit. p. 473.

¹⁶ Stephenson quoted in Fiske, John. Op. cit. p. 110.

when we celebrate x days to 'the 4th of July.' This what the American films and programmes do to us hey. Serves us right if we binge on American shit. Men why do we need VD, Halloween or Thanksgiving? Don't we have enough of our own holidays?]

Thus these sophisticated bricoleurs¹⁷ oppose and subvert the preferred meanings of Valentine Day through their technical know how and subcultural affiliation. The respondents are obviously TV viewers who, on the one hand, are empowered by the offer for consumption of a popular culture product, but who, on the other hand, will re-direct this symbolic power against the media message.

The consideration of the three different types of decoding the media message, however, does not clarify the complexity of the reception of a media message. Classifying the members of the audience into categories is an oversimplification. The audience constituents should be seen as individuals occupying different positions in the social formation, having different codes, subcultures and repertoires. Moreover, any one individual member of the audience can be at different times a different viewing subject as constituted by his/her determinants. The individual media consumer, Romanian included, is a poacher (Certeau). He/she will appropriate the material produced by the media as a dominant product and reassign it meanings that are in line with his/her subordinate or subcultural interests¹⁸.

GLOCALIZATION

The penetration of the media festival of Valentine Day in Romania is a positive example of the new media potential to break down the distance between the global and the local. Cultural values travel easily over space and in time in the wired global village. Valentine Day is a clear case of transculturation, where a media product literally moves through space and time to interact with the local cultural forms and settings. Nevertheless, the process does not conclude with the arrival of the foreign icon on new territory. The message is indigenized¹⁹, the foreign is domesticated, and usually a hybrid form emerges. In Romania Valentine's Day is not so much about sending cards as it is about partying and dating. Romanians have skipped the stage of writing in hand Valentine cards – we have no Valentine day card industry – but have plunged into writing SMS messages, while the Internet users can resort to the Yahoo greeting service. Moreover, the Romanians localize the content and make their own uses of it: besides diversion and entertainment, they use it to meet their aspirational needs to identify with western lifestyles.

On the other hand, according to the early media theories, this could be seen as an international hypodermic media effect: ideology and values are injected directly into the minds of the media consumers. By circulating this generic American icon, to which they give legitimacy, the Romanian media frame reality and inconspicuously influence the local audience. From this angle, the media have a mainstreaming effect. Still, the positive effect is that the local Romanian audience is enabled to participate in a shared discursive space.

A third point we could make is that we have a transcultural mix of symbols where Valentine Day and Dragobete is concerned. The old Romanian custom was resuscitated to be used in the negotiation of the local identity vis-à-vis the dominant foreign culture. Surprisingly, rather than substituting a dominant myth for the local icons it has resurrected the somewhat forgotten rural festival.

¹⁷ Hall, Stuart and Tony Jefferson (eds). 1976. *Resistance through Rituals. Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*. Routledge, London

¹⁸ John Fiske in Marris, Paul and Thornham, Sue. Op. cit. p.521.

¹⁹ Appadurai in Lull, James. Op. cit. p. 243

CONCLUSIONS

The reception of Valentine's Day in Romania is a successful example of how a cultural icon can be transformed today by the new media into a transnational media commodity. The role of the local media is to assign it a preferred meaning and frame the reality of the local media consumer. The message is socially mediated and the audience is subject positioned into integrating this new dominant value into its mythology. So that the Valentine Day related social events and conduct as well as the negotiation of local identities vis-à-vis foreign identities and the re-definition of masculinity and feminity prove that this new myth is well on its way to being naturalized in the local Romania space. On the other hand, the active Romanian audience, which is constituted of shifting and overlapping groups and subgroups of social actants, does not react as a homogeneous mass but responds in distinct ways. The media message of Valentine's Day has been decoded in at least three different ways: deferential, negotiated or oppositional. Through this complex set of reactions the 'imperial icon' was glocalized generating indigenous forms. In the process a negotiation of the local (*Mărțișor, 8 Martie*) vis-à-vis the dominant and foreign (Valentine's Day) occurred, which in turn resurrected some of the theme related local folk lore (Dragobete). Basically, this foreign myth has been legitimated and has become instrumental in organizing the local socio-cultural celebrations of 'love'.

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LEXIKOGRAPHISCHE INFORMATIONEN IN LERNERWÖRTERBÜCHERN

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ABSTRACT. *Lexicographical Information in Learners' Dictionaries.* Foreign language learners need in the process of foreign language learning beside a grammar also an adequate dictionary that corresponds to their learning and language using aims. In Germany the efforts to create a learner's dictionary especially for learners of German as a foreign language have been intensified since 1980, the result being the appearance of two german learners' dictionaries „Langenscheidts Großwörterbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache“ (1993, 1998) and „de Gruyter Wörterbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache“ (2000), which are considered to be the most representative for this type of dictionaries and which were written with the aim to serve as an aid for the correct use of the vocabulary in speaking, writing and translation. The purpose of the present paper is to present the lexicographical information in learners' dictionaries by comparing the monolingual with the bilingual ones, observing especially the information on valence. The chosen dictionaries are the monolingual LGwDaF and DGWDaF and three bilingual romanian-german, german-romanian dictionaries. Since the most students of German use primarily a learner's dictionary and seldom a special dictionary, i.e. on valence, the differences observed in the lexical entries of monolingual and bilingual learners' dictionaries as well as the extent or lack of grammatical information, especially valence information should lead to a response to the question „How should a lemma be described in a learner's dictionary and what valence information should it contain?“ and offer also some reflections on the perspectives of the learners' lexicography.

1. Einleitung

Fremdsprachenlerner brauchen für den Fremdspracherwerb neben einer Grammatik auch ein adäquates Wörterbuch, das ihren Lernzielen bzw. Benutzungszielen entsprechen soll. Anfang der 80er Jahre zeigten Umfragen zur Wörterbuchbenutzung in Deutschland, dass die meisten Lerner den Duden- Rechtschreibwörterbuch benutzten. Einerseits war das aber auch als Mangel empfunden, weil sie darin nicht die nötigen Informationen zum Erlernen einer Fremdsprache finden konnten, andererseits waren allgemeine einsprachige Wörterbücher für ein höheres Kompetenzniveau des Benutzers gedacht, meist Muttersprachler, was wiederum ihre Benutzung von Nichtmuttersprachlern erschwerte. Der Schüler-Duden und der Schüler-Duden Bedeutungswörterbuch waren eine Alternative, aber unzureichend für ausländische Deutschlerner bzw. ausländische Germanistikstudenten. Seitdem intensivierten sich die Versuche zum Erstellen eines speziell für Deutschlernende konzipierten Nachschlagewerkes, eines Lernerwörterbuches, das Nichtmuttersprachler als Adressaten hat und das Ziel verfolgt, ihnen den allgemeinen deutschen Wortschatz durch Lemmatisierung der wichtigen Wörter der deutschen Sprache zu vermitteln, die Bedeutungen der Wörter in verschiedenen Kommunikationssituationen auf einfache Weise zu erklären, wie auch die grammatikalisch korrekte Verwendung dieser Wörter durch Beispiele zu erläutern. Die Lerner sollen darin neben den Ausspracheangaben eine zuverlässige Hilfe für die richtige Verwendung der Wörter beim Sprechen, Schreiben und Übersetzen finden.

Diese Versuche konkretisierten sich mit dem Erscheinen 1993 des „Langenscheidts Großwörterbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache“ (LGwDaF), das 1998 neu bearbeitet wurde und mit dem Erscheinen 2000 des „de Gruyter Wörterbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache (DGWDaF)“, die bislang als die repräsentativen Lernerwörterbücher des Deutschen gelten.

Ziel der vorliegenden Arbeit ist eine Präsentation der lexikographischen Informationen in Lernerwörterbüchern, durch Vergleich der einsprachigen und zweisprachigen Lernerwörterbücher unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Angaben zur Valenz. Verglichen wird die Beschreibung verschiedener Lemmata im LGwDaF und DGWDaF einerseits und im M. Isbăşescu „Dicţionar german-român“, J. Livescu/E. Savin „Dicţionar român-german“ und I. Lăzărescu „Dicţionar german-român, român-german“ andererseits. Da die meisten Germanistikstudenten eher Lernerwörterbücher benutzen und weniger an Spezialwörterbücher, wie z.B. Valenzwörterbücher appellieren, soll die Feststellung der Unterschiede der Lexikoneinträge in ein- und zweisprachigen Lernerwörterbüchern, wie auch der Umfang oder das Fehlen der Informationen zur Valenz der Lemmata dazu führen, eine Antwort auf die Frage „Wie soll ein Lemma in einem Lernerwörterbuch beschrieben werden und welche Valenzinformationen sollen darin enthalten werden?“ zu geben, wie auch eine Anregung über die Perspektiven der Lernerlexikographie zu bieten.

2. Lexikographische Informationen in Lernerwörterbüchern

Beim Erstellen der Lernerwörterbücher spielt die pädagogische Lexikographie eine wesentliche Rolle, da sie zum einen das Erscheinen dieser Wörterbücher fördert, sie zum anderen aber kritisch betrachtet und Verbesserungsvorschläge macht. Die Erfahrungen der Wörterbuchbenutzer werden dabei miteinbezogen.

Lernerwörterbücher sind so aufgebaut, dass ihre Benutzer die gesuchten Informationen möglichst schnell, einfach und umfassend finden. Daher sind die Lemmata nach dem Alphabet geordnet. Das Lernerwörterbuch ist semasiologisch gegliedert und enthält einen Mindestwortschatz, den Lerner auf einem gewissen Niveau aktiv beherrschen sollten. Es ist ein

„Instrument...für die Kontrolle, Differenzierung und Vertiefung von Bekanntem sowie für die systematische Erweiterung von Beherrschtem in den Grenzen eines der Adressatengruppe angepaßten Wortschatzvolumens.“ (Zöfgen 1985:20)

Lernerwörterbücher können sowohl einsprachig als auch zweisprachig sein. Für den Spracherwerb jedoch sind einsprachige Lernerwörterbücher besser geeignet als die zweisprachigen, weil die Lexikoneinträge in einsprachigen Lernerwörterbüchern exhaustiver sind als in zweisprachigen, wo sie sich aus Platzgründen eher auf Bedeutungserläuterungen und Übersetzungsäquivalenten beschränken, und weniger grammatische Angaben und Beispiele enthalten.

Zöfgen (1994:28) beschreibt den Bereich der monolingualen Lernerlexikographie wie folgt:

Adressat: L2-Sprecher (Schüler, Studierende,...)			
(Quantität)	Qualität		
Grad der Sprachbeherrschung	Gliederungsprinzip	Funktion (Hilfestellung bei)	Art und Zahl der Informationsangaben
Exhaustives L2-Wörterbuch -advanced	Semasiologisch (alphabetisch)	1. (Text-)Verstehen [Rezeption]	-Gesamtwörterbuch
Selektives L2-Wörterbuch -intermediate -pre-intermediate -elementary/basic	Onomasiologisch (begrifflich) Thematisch- Sachlich	2. Schreiben/Sprechen [Produktion] 3. (systematische) Kompetenzerweiterung [Lernen]	-Teilwörterbücher: Aussprache-, Valenz-, Kollokations-, Synonymen-, Begriffswörterbuch, Usw.

Des weiteren beschreibt Zöfgen (1994: 107) die lineare Abfolge der Textsegmente wie folgt:

Kontrastive Aspekte	[Lemma] Schreibung	}	
	Aussprache		
	Grammatische Angaben (Artikel, Genus, Pluralbildung, Form-Deklination, Konjugation,...) Kommentar		
	MARKIERUNG		
	(Polysemieangaben: 1 ⁰ , 2 ⁰ ,...)		
		
	BEDEUTUNGSPARAPHRASE		
	SYNTAGMATIK	}	
	- Valenzangaben		
	- Kollokationen		
- Beispiele			
PARADIKGMATIK			
-Synonyme, Antonyme,...	}		
-Begriffsfelder (Onomasiologie)			
(Homonymie,...)			
.....			
-PHRASEOLOGISCHE ANGABEN/Idiomatik			

Zur Struktur eines Wörterbuches- und implizit auch eines Lernerwörterbuches- gehören: das Vorwort, die Hinweise für den Benutzer, das Wörterverzeichnis A-Z und der Quellennachweis, eventuell auch Erläuterungen zur Konzeption des Wörterbuches. Didaktische Wörterbücher für Muttersprachler und Nichtmuttersprachler, also allgemeine einsprachige Wörterbücher und Lernerwörterbücher enthalten dazu noch: eine Kurzgrammatik, manchmal in Form von Tabellen mit der Deklination der Substantive, Adjektive und der Konjugation der Verben, und die Regeln der deutschen Rechtschreibung.

Die Lexikoneinträge im Lernerwörterbuch bestehen aus dem Lemma (mit Angaben zur Aussprache, Betonung, manchmal Silbentrennung), der Bedeutungserklärung (erzählerisch und/oder ikonisch dargestellt, eventuell auch mit Synonymen und/oder Antonymen), den grammatischen Angaben (Genus, Pluralendung bei Substantiven, unregelmäßige Steigerungsformen bei Adjektiven, alle Tempusformen bei starken Verben), Kollokationen und Angaben zum phraseologischen Gebrauch, Angaben über stilistische, areale, fachsprachliche, sondersprachliche Zuordnungen, Angaben zur Wortbildung, Beispielsätzen, und Verweisen auf andere Einträge, in denen das Lemma vorkommt. Zu den grammatischen Angaben gehört auch die Valenz (obligatorische oder fakultative Ergänzungen).

2.1. Monolinguale Lernerwörterbücher: LGwDaF und DGWDaF

Beide Lernerwörterbücher haben im Vorspann drei Texte hinsichtlich der Funktion und Vorgehensweise: das „Vorwort“, die „Lexikographischen Vorbemerkungen“ bzw. die „Erläuterungen zur Konzeption des Wörterbuchs“ und die „Hinweise für den Benutzer“ bzw. „Hinweise zur Benutzung des Wörterbuchs“. Der Umfang der beiden Wörterbücher beträgt 14x22x5 cm also 1193 Seiten (LGwDaF) bzw. 17x24x6cm, also 1290 Seiten (DGWDaF). Die Wörterverzeichnisse A-Z beider Wörterbücher sind zweispaltig, im LGwDaF aber auch mit alphabetischem Randregister.

Auf dem Buchdeckel des LGwDaF vorn außen steht der Titel mit dem Verlagslogo: „völlige Neuentwicklung. Das einsprachige Wörterbuch für alle, die Deutsch lernen“, auf dem Buchdeckel der Innenseite stehen die Abkürzungen und Bezeichnungen, gefolgt von einer Musterspalte des Wörterverzeichnisses mit Erläuterungen zur Mikrostruktur¹ der Artikel. Auf der Vorderseite des Titelblattes werden die Herausgeber und Redakteure bekanntgegeben, auf der Rückseite die technischen Angaben und Mitarbeiter. Auf der hinteren, vierten Einbandseite von LGwDaF steht, dass es rund 66.000 Stichwörter und Wendungen enthält, obwohl die Lemmazahl nach der Zählung von Bergenholtz/Meder (1998: 287) nur rund 33.000 beträgt. Im Vorwort des LGwDaF steht, dass es „ein Wörterbuch der modernen deutschen Standardsprache“ sei (LGwDaF 1998:V) und „Leitfaden für den richtigen produktiven wie rezeptiven Sprachgebrauch“ (LGwDaF 1998:VII). Dadurch dass die Wörter in Verbindung mit anderen verzeichnet sind, findet der Benutzer darin „Typische Verwendungsweisen und Wortumgebungen“ (LGwDaF 1998: V). Als Kriterien für die Lemmaselektion galten der Benutzerbezug, die Häufigkeit und Zugehörigkeit zum Standard (wie es auch im DGWDaF formuliert ist) wie auch „Textsammlungen und Befragungen zu Muttersprachlern und Lernenden des Deutschen.“ (LGwDaF 1998: VII).

In den „Hinweisen für den Benutzer“ werden die Prinzipien des Aufbaus der Stichwörter verdeutlicht, deren alphabetische Ordnung einen schnelleren Zugriff an Informationen sichern soll. Die Hinweise beziehen sich auf: Abkürzungen und Abkürzungswörter, zusammengesetzte Wörter (Komposita und abgeleitete Wörter), Homonyme und Homographie, Elemente der Wortbildung, idiomatische Wendungen, Redensarten, Sprichwörter, die Orthographie, Aussprache und Trennung der Wörter. Eine Liste der verwendeten Lautschrift-Symbolen und eine Liste der Sonderzeichen wie auch die verwendeten Abkürzungen und Konventionen bei den Definitionen sollen dem Benutzer helfen, den Lexikoneintrag besser zu verstehen. Als Beispiele gelten Erläuterungen zu Substantiven, Verben, Adjektiven und Adverbien. Es folgen die stilistischen Hinweise mit den jeweils verwendeten Markierungen und die Erläuterungen zu den Bedeutungsangaben (Synonyme, Antonyme, Kollokationen). Die Verbklassifizierung (transitive, intransitive, reflexive, unpersönlich konstruierte Verben) wird separat behandelt. Abschließend stehen Erläuterungen zu den syntaktischen Angaben und den verwendeten Strukturformeln beim Verb, Substantiv und Adjektiv.

Nach dem Wörterverzeichnis im LGwDaF gibt es sechs Anhänge zu folgenden Themen:

1. Land, Einwohner, Adjektiv (3 Seiten)
2. Stadt, Einwohner (0,5 Seiten)
3. Länder, Kantone von Deutschland, Österreich, Schweiz (0,5 Seiten)
4. Grund- und Ordnungszahlen (1 Seite)
5. Die wichtigsten unregelmäßigen Verben (3 Seiten)
6. Von der alten zur neuen Rechtschreibung

Im DGWDaF werden „etwa 17.000 bis 20.000 Stichwörter“ verzeichnet (DGWDaF 2000:VII). Es soll ein „Wörterbuch zur Sprachproduktion“ sein (DGWDaF200:VII) vor allem durch die „detaillierte Darstellung des Wortgebrauchs und seiner Regelmäßigkeit“ (ebd.).

Die „Erläuterungen zur Konzeption des Wörterbuchs“ (6 Seiten) beziehen sich auf den Wortschatzausschnitt, auf die Orthographie, Ausspracheangaben (Lautwert und Akzent

¹ Unter der Mikrostruktur eines Wörterbuchartikels wird die hierarchische Ordnungsstruktur der in einem Wörterbuchartikel enthaltenen Angaben verstanden, die an ein Lemmazeichen adressiert sind. Vgl. Wiegand 1989: 410ff. Zit. nach Schierholz 2000: *Die pädagogische Lexikographie in Deutschland*, S. 5 (im Druck).

eines Stichworts), die Bedeutungserklärung (entweder in Form der Umschreibung oder mit Hilfe eines Synonyms, als Kombination Umschreibung+Synonym, Antonym, als Kommentar oder als Kombination Umschreibung+Kommentar). Als Hilfsmittel für den Benutzer gedacht sind die Wortbildungsmittel, Wortfamilien und Wortfelder. Die Markierung der Stilebenen und Stilfärbungen wird ebenfalls explizit genannt (z.B. *gehoben, umgangssprachlich, derb, scherzhaft, spöttisch, verhüllend, ironisch*), wie auch die Angaben des Fachgebiets. Die grammatischen Informationen wurden der „Deutschen Grammatik“ von Helbig/Buscha (8.Aufl. 1984) zugrundegelegt und betreffen das Genus und die Flexionsparadigmen bei Substantiven sowie die Angabe von Restriktionen, die obligatorische Verbindung mit einem Attribut, mit einer spezifischen Präposition u.a.

„Adjektive werden hinsichtlich ihrer Funktionen charakterisiert, sofern diese Beschränkungen unterliegen, z.B. *nur attributiv, nur prädikativ* (mit *sein, bleiben, werden*), *nur bei Verb, nur attributiv und bei Verb, nur attributiv und prädikativ* etc...Jedes Adjektiv wird hinsichtlich seiner Steigbarkeit charakterisiert: *Steigerung regelmäßig, Steigerung ungebräuchlich, ohne Steigerung, Steigerung regelmäßig, mungebräuchlich, unregelmäßige Steigerung.*“ (DGWDaF 2000:XIII).

Die Verbbeschreibungen enthalten neben dem Merkmal „regelmäßig oder unregelmäßig“, den Gebrauch im Aktiv oder Passiv, das Tempus und den Numerus auch das „syntaktische Gebrauchsmuster sowie eine inhaltliche Charakterisierung der Subjekt- und Objektantanten (+*hum, -hum, hum abstract...*)“ (DGWDaF 2000: XIII). Präpositionen werden durch ihre syntaktischen Gebrauchsbedingungen (Rektion, Stellung, syntaktische Partner) beschrieben, Konjunktionen durch ihre Zuordnung zur Koordinierung oder Subordinierung, Modalpartikeln durch ihre Bindung an einen bestimmten Satztyp, ihre Betonung und Stellung, Gradpartikel durch ihre Bindung an ein bestimmtes Bezugsglied, ihre Stellung und Betonung. Adverbien werden von den Satzadverbien unterschieden. Gegebenenfalls wird beim Stichwort auf die Tafeln im Anhang verwiesen. Eine besondere Bedeutung wird der Wortkombinatorik gewidmet: idiomatische Wendungen, Funktionsverbgefüge, kommunikative Wendungen und freie Verbindungen. Kollokationen und freie Verbindungen werden in Form von Syntagmen oder Beispielsätzen verzeichnet. Kollokationen werden im DGWDaF definiert als „übliche Verbindungen (nicht nur Zweierverbindungen), die man bei Nennung eines der Glieder erwarten darf“ (DGWDaF 2000: XIV)... An welcher Stelle sie verzeichnet sind, hängt davon ab, unter welchem Bestandteil die Kombination „im Zentrum des Gebrauchs stünde“ (ebd.). Für LGWDaF sind Kollokationen „typische Verbindungen aus mehreren Wörtern, die eine syntaktische Einheit bilden...sie zeigen ihm „Partner“, mit denen das Stichwort häufig zu finden ist.“ (LGWDaF 1998:XX). Für den Kollokationsbegriff gelten in beiden Wörterbüchern semantische Kompatibilität, syntaktische Zusammengehörigkeit und Üblichkeit als Kriterien, obwohl es für den Benutzer unklar bleiben kann, was unter üblichen oder typischen Verbindungen verstanden wird.

Die „Hinweise zur Benutzung des Wörterbuchs“ enthalten Informationen zum Aufbau des Wörterbuchartikels: das fett gedruckte Stichwort wird im Kontext durch die Tilde (~) ersetzt. Hinzu kommen die Ausspracheangaben, die Zuweisung zu einer Wortkategorie und die grammatischen Angaben. Im Falle von Komposita wird das allein stehende einzelne Kompositum durch den senkrechten, die Kompositionsfuge markierenden Strich gekennzeichnet. (z.B. *arg|los*). Kurzwörter und Initialwörter werden nur begrenzt als selbständige Stichwörter behandelt, Diminutivformen erscheinen dagegen nur als selbständige Stichwörter, wenn sie semantisch von ihrer Basis abweichen. Es folgen die Bedeutungserklärung, die Kontextbeispiele, die Wortfamilie, die Phraseologismen (fett gedruckt) und der MERKE- Kommentar. Die

Bedeutungen werden mit arabischen Ziffern markiert, Homonyme mit römischen Ziffern und die gleichlautenden Wörter unterschiedlicher Wortkategorien mit Indizes (z.B. ¹modern <Vb.>, ²modern <Adj.>). Die Bedeutungserklärung als Umschreibung, Synonym oder Kommentar in Schrägstrichen steht vor dem Beispiel oder hinter einem syntaktischen Gebrauchsmuster. Bei Phraseologismen und bei lexikalischen Einheiten mit einer stark eingeschränkten Kontextbreite steht die Erklärung in Klammern hinter einem Kontextbeispiel. Die grammatischen Angaben betreffen Genus, Flexionsparadigma und Numerus des Substantivs, den prädikativen oder attributiven Gebrauch und die Steigerung des Adjektivs, die Flexionsangaben, das Perfekt mit *haben/sein* des Verbs, den Gebrauch des Passivs, die Valenz mit den Subjekt- und Objektaktanten, den reflexiven und reziproken Gebrauch, das syntaktische Gebrauchsmuster, das pluralische Subjekt und Objekt, die Rektionsangabe in der Konstruktion. Es folgen die Erläuterungen zu den Präpositionen, Konjunktionen, Gradpartikeln und Modalpartikeln (s.oben), die Liste der Markierungen der Stilebenen, Stilfärbungen und Fachgebetsbezeichnungen und die Angaben zur Verknüpfungspartnerklasse bei Adjektiven. Unter „Typographisches“ stehen die Erläuterungen zu den verwendeten Zeichen und Symbolen gefolgt von einer Liste der verwendeten Abkürzungen.

Nach dem „Wörterverzeichnis A-Z“ folgen im DGWDaF noch zwei Kapitel: 12 „Wortfelder“ auf der Basis der im Wörterbuch erscheinenden Stichwörter (Der Mensch, Umwelt, Zustandsformen, Lageverhältnisse, Artefakte, Sinneseindrücke, Zeit, Bewegung eines Fahrzeugs, Veränderung/Stagnation, Ereignis/Vorgang, Leben/Tod, Religion) und 20 „Tafeln“ (1. Deklination des Substantivs, 2. Deklination des substantivisch gebrauchten Adjektivs, 3. Deklination des Adjektivs, 4. Konjugation (das regelmäßige Verb), 5. Liste der im Wörterbuch dargestellten unregelmäßigen Verben, 6-11 Deklination von Artikel und Pronomen, 12. Zahlwörter, 13. Wochentags- und Monatsbezeichnungen, 14. Im Wörterbuch verzeichnete Maße und Gewichte, 15. Im Wörterbuch dargestellte Wortbildungsmittel, 16. Liste der im Wörterbuch dargestellten Konjunktionen, 17. Liste der im Wörterbuch dargestellten Präpositionen, 18. Liste der im Wörterbuch dargestellten Modalpartikeln, 19. Liste der im Wörterbuch dargestellten Gradpartikeln, 20. Liste der im Wörterbuch dargestellten militärischen Dienstränge (Rangfolge von oben nach unten)). Abschließend finden wir eine Liste der sprachwissenschaftlichen Begriffe (5 Seiten).

Was die Anzahl der Lemmata in den beiden Wörterbüchern betrifft, so können wir feststellen, dass zum Buchstaben „A“ im LGWDaF 314 adjektivische Lemmata auf 114 Seiten vorliegen, im DGWDaF hingegen nur 192 adjektivische Lemmata auf 96 Seiten.; zum Buchstaben „Z“ findet man im LGWDaF 152 adjektivische Lemmata auf 42 Seiten, im DGWDaF 93 adjektivische Lemmata auf 46 Seiten. Das zeigt, dass im LGWDaF fast doppelt so viele adjektivische Lemmata verzeichnet sind als im DGWDaF, im Falle der substantivischen Lemmata sogar dreimal so viele, was entweder so erklärt werden kann, dass im DGWDaF zu wenige Wörter lemmatisiert sind, oder aber überflüssige Wörter im LGWDaF aufgenommen wurden. Andererseits sind die Wörterbuchartikel im DGWDaF länger als im LGWDaF, also man könnte daraus schließen, dass sie mehr lexikographische Angaben enthalten und somit den Benutzer besser informieren können.

2.2. Valenzinformationen in monolingualen Lernerwörterbüchern:

LGWDaF vs. DGWDaF

In der Lernerlexikographie bildet die Darstellung der Valenz der Verben, Substantive und Adjektive ein schwieriges Thema, insbesondere wenn es darum geht, diese Informationen lernerfreundlich darzustellen. In LGWDaF und DGWDaF spielt die Syntagmatik auf der grammatischen Ebene eine besondere Rolle. In LGWDaF wird sie „Strukturformel“ genannt, in DGWDaF „syntaktisches Gebrauchsmuster“, wobei im letzteren die

semantischen und grammatischen (Singular/Plural) Eigenschaften des Subjekts und Objekts detaillierter beschrieben werden. Die Valenzrealisierungen werden in beiden Wörterbüchern hauptsächlich im Beispielsatz bzw. Demonstrationsteil verzeichnet, im LGwDaF gegebenenfalls auch im Explikationsteil.

Valenzinformationen findet man ausführlich in Spezialwörterbüchern zur Valenz. Trotzdem sind die Angaben zur Valenz einer Wortart vor allem für Sprachenlerner in sprachproduktiven Situationen von großer Bedeutung, da sie insbesondere in solchen Situationen eine häufige Fehlerquelle bilden (z.B. Zahl der Aktanten, Rektion des Verbs oder Verstöße gegen die Semantik der Aktanten). Abel (2000: 150) bemerkt diesbezüglich, dass sich „die meisten einsprachigen L2- Wörterbücher oder die speziellen Valenzwörterbücher an fortgeschrittene Lerner richten“, die fortgeschrittene Grammatik- bzw. linguistische Kenntnisse haben.

Im folgenden werde ich anhand verschiedener adjektivischen Lemmata und deren Beschreibungen in LGwDaF und DGWDaF den Umfang der Valenzinformationen und die Art ihrer Darstellung vergleichend präsentieren, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Frage „Wie soll ein Lemma in einem Lernerwörterbuch beschrieben werden, inwieweit sollen Lernerwörterbücher Valenzinformationen enthalten, welche Valenzinformationen und wie vollständig sollen die darin gegebenen Informationen sein?“ Ein weitere wichtige Frage ist „Wie viel muss der Lerner wissen und wie viel kann er verstehen“?

LGwDaF ²	DGWDaF ³
<p>1. (S.27f.) ähn-lich¹ Adj; 1 ä. (<i>wie j-d/etw.</i>) in charakteristischen Merkmalen übereinstimmend ↔ anders (als j-d/etw.): <i>Ich hatte e-n ähnlichen Gedanken wie du; Mandarinen schmecken so ä- wie Orangen</i></p> <p>2 J-m/etw. Ä. Sein/sehen mit j-m/etw. in Bezug auf charakteristische äußere Merkmale übereinstimmen <j-m/etw. täuschend, verblüffend, zum Verwecheln ä. sein/sehen>: <i>Sie ist/sieht ihrer Mutter sehr ä.; Seine beiden Geschwister sehen sich/ einander sehr ä. 3 oder so ä. gespr.</i>; verwendet, um auszudrücken, dass man etw., <i>mst</i> e-n Namen, nicht (mehr) genau weiß: <i>Er heißt Naumann oder so ä. 4 und Ähnliches/ oder Ähnliches</i> verwendet nach e-r Aufzählung von Dingen vergleichbarer Art; <i>Abk u. Ä./o.Ä.: Bücher, Zeitschriften und Ähnliches</i> ID <i>mst Das sieht dir/ ihm/ihr ä.!</i> <i>Gespr.</i>; das ist typisch für dich/ihn/sie zu 1 u.2 Ähn-lich-keit die ähnlich² <i>Präp.</i>; mit <i>Dat.</i>; j-m/etw. Ä.; ä. J-m/etw. Geschr.; ungefähr so wie j-d/etw., in der Art von j-m/etw.: <i>er betrat das Lokal</i></p>	<p>1. (S. 20) ähnlich [ɛ:n./e:n.] <Adj.> 1.1. <Steig. reg.; ungebr.> ‘bestimmte übereinstimmende Merkmale habend, von fast derselben Art wie etw. anderes’/ auf Sachen, Abstraktes bez./: <i>etw. schmeckt, klingt~; ~e</i> (SYN ‘verwandte 3’) <i>Gedanken, Interessen haben; jmd. reagiert, denkt ~; sie haben einen ~en Beruf; ich habe schon Ähnliches gesehen</i> 1.2. <Steig. Reg.; nicht attr.; vorw. präd.> ‘jmdm., einer Sache in bestimmten äußerlichen od. innerlichen Merkmalen gleichend’: <i>er ist seinem Vater sehr ~; die Geschwister sind sich (zum Verwecheln), einander (täuschend)~; das Bild ist ihm sehr ~</i> (‘er ist auf diesem Bild so dargestellt, dass man ihn sofort identifiziert’); <i>jmdm.~↑sehen</i>;/ in der kommunikativen Wendung/umg. <i>das sieht dir, ihm, euch ~</i> (‘das war nicht anders von dir,ihm, euch zu erwarten’)!/ wird meist als Ausruf im negativen Sinn gesagt, wenn jmd. etw. getan,</p>

² ID- idiomatische Wendung, Jur- Recht, NB- Notabene (Hinweise zum Stichwort), ≈ Synonym, ↔ Antonym, <.> typische Verbindungen (Kollokationen), (1,2,3,...) Angabe der entsprechenden Bedeutung des Lemmas, *mst*- meist, ||K-: Kompositum mit Stichwort am Anfang, Vt- transitives Verb, Vi- intransitives Verb.

³ ~ Tilde steht für das Stichwort, [..]- Ausspracheangaben, ()- Klammerung von Teilen innerhalb von Schrägstrichen:/ zwei od. mehrere (jmd./) oder zur Klammerung nicht generell gültiger Teile im Kontext od. in der Bedeutungserklärung, < >- Einrahmung grammatischer Informationen, ↑- verweist auf Glieder einer Wendung oder auf morphologisch-semantisch verwandte Wörter, /- Hervorhebung von Varianten, /./- schließen Kommentare ein, kennzeichnen die Subjektaktanten, * (Stern)-steht am Beginn einer oder mehrerer phraseologischer Wendungen, * (Blume)- kennzeichnet den Block der Wortfamilie und den Verweis darauf, ANT- Antonym, SYN- Synonym.

<p>ä. einem Westernhelden -ähnlich im Adj. ohne Steigerung, begrenzt produktiv; in vielem so wie das im ersten Wortteil Genannte od. Vergleichbar damit; gottähnlich <ein Mensch>, menschenähnlich <ein Affe>, parkähnlich <ein Garten>, totenähnlich <ein Schaf, e-e Starre>, wasserähnlich <e-e Substanz></p>	<p>gesagt hat, was der Sprecher ihm von vornherein zugetraut hatte/ * ähneln, Ähnlichkeit</p>
<p>2. (S. 207) dank-bar Adj; 1 (j-m) (für etw.) d. voll Dank <sich j-m d. erweisen, zeigen; j-m (für etw.) d. sein>: <i>Ich bin Ihnen für Ihre Hilfe sehr d. 2 d. für etw. sein</i> sich über etw. freuen (mst weil man es sehr nötig braucht): <i>Alte Leute sind oft für jede Hilfe d. 3 mst attr</i>; <ein Publikum> voll Anerkennung od. Bewunderung 4 nicht adv; <e-e Arbeit, e-e Aufgabe> so dass sie mit relativ geringem Aufwand ausgeführt werden können ≈ lohnend 5 nicht adv, gespr; (verwendet in Bezug auf ein Material o.Ä.) widerstandsfähig u. leicht zu pflegen: <i>Die Hose ist aus e-m dankbaren Stoff</i> zu 1 u. 3 Dank-bar-keit die; nur Sg</p>	<p>2. (S. 206) dankbar [ˈdan̩k...] <Adj.> 1. <Steig.reg.> ‘von Dank erfüllt und dies erkennen lassend’/vorw. auf Personen bez./: <i>wir sind dir für deine Hilfe, das Geschenk sehr ~; er hat sich immer wieder ~ gezeigt, erwiesen; sie hat unseren Rat ~ angenommen; ein ~er Blick; ein ~es Kind, Publikum 2. <o. Steig.; nicht bei Vb.> <i>eine d-e</i> (‘Erfolg bringende, versprechende, leichte’) Arbeit, Aufgabe, Rolle *↑ Dank</i></p>
<p>2a.(S. 207) Dank der; -(e)s; nur Sg; 1 der D. (für etw.) das Gefühl od. die Worte der Anerkennung für j-s Hilfe, Freundlichkeit o.Ä. <j-m D. schulden, j-m zu D. verpflichtet sein; Besten/Herzlichen/Schönen D.!>: <i>Haben Sie vielen D. für Ihre Hilfe!</i> K-: Dank-, -gebet, -schreiben; Dankes-, -formel, -worte 2 als /zum D. als Zeichen der Anerkennung für j-s Hilfe o.Ä. ≈ Belohnung: <i>Nehmen Sie dieses Geschenk als/zum D. für Ihre Hilfe</i> zu 1 dank-er-füllt Adj; nicht adv</p>	<p>2.a. (S. 206) Dank, der; ~es, <o.Pl.> ‘durch Äußerung, Verhalten, Tun ausgedrückte, an jmdn. gerichtete Anerkennung für etw. Gutes, das dieser ihm erwiesen hat’: <i>er hat uns seinen ~(für unsere Hilfe) ausgesprochen, übermittelt; wir sind ihm zu ~ verpflichtet; er hat uns zum, als ~ (für unsere Hilfe) ein Geschenk gemacht; Worte des ~es sprechen; jmdm. seinen ~ abstatten; jmdm.§↑ zollen; Gott sei ~!</i> Ausruf der Erleichterung; in kommunikativen Wendungen, mit denen man seine Dankbarkeit ausdrückt/: <i>vielen ~!; besten~!, herzlichen ~!</i> * dank, dankbar, Dankbarkeit, danke, danken, bedanken, verdanken –Danksagung</p>
<p>2b.(S. 208) danken; dankte, hat gedankt; Vt 1 j-m etw. (irgendwie) d. j-m seinen Dank, seine Anerkennung (für etw., das er gemacht hat) zum Ausdruck bringen: <i>Kein Mensch dankte (es) ihr, dass sie sich solche Mühe gemacht hatte 2 j-m etw. mit etw. d. oft iron</i>; irgendwie auf etw. (Gutes) reagieren: <i>Man hat ihm seine Freundschaft mit Verrat gedankt/ damit gedankt, dass man ihn verraten hat; Vi 3 j-m (für etw.) d.</i> j-m sagen, dass man ihm dankbar ist ≈ sich bei j-m bedanken <j-m herzlich, überschwänglich, vielmals, von ganzem Herzen d.>: <i>Er dankte ihr für das Geschenk; e-e Einladung dankend annehmen</i></p>	<p>2b. (S. 206) danken [ˈdan̩kn] <reg.Vb.> hat; ↑auch <i>danke</i> <1. /jmd./1.1. jmdm.~jmdm. seinen Dank aussprechen’/: <i>ich danke Ihnen sehr, herzlich (dafür)!; er hat das Geschenk ~d angenommen 1.2. jmdm. für etw.~</i> ‘jmdm. sagen, dass man für etw. dankbar ist’: <i>er dankte ihm herzlich, überschwänglich für die Einladung, das Geschenk; ich danke dir vielmals für die schönen Blumen; vgl. bedanken 2. /jmd./ jmdm. etw. ~</i> ‘jmdm. durch sein Handeln seinen Dank für etw. Gutes, das dieser ihm erwiesen hat, ausdrücken’; SYN lohnen (2): <i>er hat es ihnen, er hat ihnen ihre Liebe ein Leben lang, schlecht, nicht gedankt; wie kann ich Ihnen das jemals ~</i> (‘das jemals gutmachen’)?; vgl. vergelten 3. /jmd./ ‘den Gruß einer Person erwidern’: <i>wir haben ihn begrüßt, aber er hat nicht gedankt</i> * ↑ Dank</p>
<p>3. lösbar: kein Wörterbucheintrag dazu</p>	<p>3. (S. 636) lösbar [ˈlø:s...] <Adj.>; o.Steig.;</p>

	nicht bei Vb.; vorw. Präd.> 1. 'so beschaffen, dass man es lösen (2) kann'/ auf Abstraktes bez./: <i>das Rätsel, das Problem ist ~; eine ~e Aufgabe</i> 2. SYN 'löslich'/bes. auf Stoffliches bez./: <i>dieser Stoff ist ~* ↑los</i>
4.(S. 873f.) schul-dig Adj; ohne Steigerung; 1 (etw. (Gen)) s. für etw. Böses, Unmoralisches od. für ein Verbrechen verantwortlich ↔ unschuldig <sich (e-s Verbrechens) s. machen; s. bekennen, fühlen; j-n (für) s. erklären, befinden>: <i>Wir befinden den Angeklagten des Mordes s.; Er hat sich des schweren Betrugs s. gemacht</i> 2 (j-m) etw. s. sein/bleiben j-m etw. schulden (1,2): <i>Ich bin ihm noch fünf Mark s.; Kann ich dir den Rest erst mal s. bleiben?; Ich glaube nicht, dass ich dir über mein Verhalten Rechenschaft s. bin</i> 3 mst <der Richter, das Gericht> spricht j-n s. der Richter, das Gericht erklärt in e-m (Gerichts)urteil, dass j-d s. (1) ist ≈ j-d/etw. verurteilt j-n ↔ j-d/etw. spricht j-n frei ID j-m nichts s. bleiben j-n genauso kart kritisieren, wie er einen selbst kritisiert hat zu 1 Schul-di-ge der/die; -n,-n	4. (S. 900) schuldig ['ʃuldi ɕ] <Adj.; o. Steig.> 1. 'die Schuld (1) für etw. habend'; ANT schuldlos; ↑ FELD I.12.3: <i>ein ~er Mensch; der Angeklagte war ~, wurde für ~ erklärt, befunden; der Anwalt plädiert auf „nicht ~“; jmdn. ~ sprechen</i> ('jmdn. wegen erwiesener Schuld 1 gerichtlich verurteilen'); <i>er war in allen Punkten der Anklage ~; er war des Mordes, Diebstahls ~; der des Mordes ~e Angeklagte; sich ~ fühlen, bekennen; sich ~ machen</i> ('durch sein Handeln, Verhalten, seine Tat schuldig werden'); Jur. <i>das Gericht erkannte auf ~</i> ('erklärte ihn für schuldig') 2. <nur präd. (mit sein)>/ jmd./jmdm. etw. ~ sein: <i>jmdm. Geld, die Zeche ~ sein</i> ('jmdm. Geld, die Zeche zu zahlen haben') 3. <nur präd. (mit sein, bleiben)>/ jmd./ jmdm. etw. ~ sein, bleiben: <i>jmdm. Rechenschaft, Dank, eine Erklärung, Antwort ~ sein</i> ('schulden 2'); <i>jmdm. die Rechenschaft, den Dank, die Erklärung, Antwort ~ bleiben</i> ('jmdm. keine Rechenschaft gewähren, nicht danken, keine Erklärung geben, nicht antworten') * ↑ Schuld * jmd./ jmdm. nichts ~ bleiben ('jmdm. in einer Auseinandersetzung scharf antworten; sich zu wehren wissen')
5.(S. 989) trag-bar ¹ Adj; 1 so, dass man es (leicht) tragen (1) kann: <i>ein tragbarer Fernseher</i> 2 nicht adv ≈ kleidsam <e-e Mode> trag-bar ² Adj; nicht adv; 1 so, dass die betroffene Person/Sache noch toleriert werden kann: <i>Nach der Bestechungsaffäre ist der Vorsitzende für seine Partei nicht mehr t.</i> 2 mst finanziell, wirtschaftlich t. so, dass man es bezahlen, es sich (finanziell) leisten kann: <i>Das Projekt ist finanziell nicht mehr t.</i> NB: mst verneint	5. (S. 1035) tragbar ['tʀa:k.] <Adj.; o. Steig.> 1. <nicht bei Vb.> 'so beschaffen, dass man es (ohne besondere Mühe) mit den Händen tragen (1.1.) kann'/ vorw. auf Geräte bez./: <i>ein ~es Fernsehgerät, eine ~e Schreibmaschine, ein ~er Computer</i> 2. <nicht bei Vb.> SYN 'kleidsam'/ auf Kleidung bez./: <i>sie hat sich für ein ~es Modell entschieden; die Mode ist (nicht) ~; dieses Kleid ist auch in drei Jahren noch ~</i> 3. <nicht bei Vb.; vorw. präd. (mit sein)>/etw./~ sein 'so beschaffen sein, dass es für jmdn. keine besonders große (finanzielle) Belastung darstellt': <i>die Erhöhung der Steuern in diesem Jahr ist gerade noch so ~; <vorw. verneint> das Projekt ist nicht ~; die Preise für Lebensmittel sind nicht mehr ~; finanziell und wirtschaftlich ist das (für die Bevölkerung) nicht ~; dieser Zustand ist nicht länger ~</i> 4. <nicht bei Vb.; vorw. präd.; vorw. verneint>/ jmd./ ~ sein: <i>er ist nach dieser Affäre als Minister nicht mehr ~</i> ('er entspricht nicht mehr den Anforderungen, man kann ihn nicht mehr tolerieren') * ↑ tragen

Zu 1). Die Beschreibung des Lemmas „**ähnlich**“ in den zwei Wörterbüchern weist folgende Merkmale auf: In LGwDaF werden mehrere Bedeutungen zum Adjektiv „ähnlich“ verzeichnet und im Unterschied zu DGWDaF auch die Zugehörigkeit zu einer anderen Wortart, u.z. „ähnlich“ als Präposition und „-ähnlich“ als Teil eines adjektivischen Kompositums. Zu jeder Bedeutung steht ein Beispielsatz und der Gebrauch in der geschriebenen oder gesprochenen Sprache wird markiert. Diesbezüglich ist die Lemmabeschreibung in LGwDaF umfassender als in DGWDaF. Was die grammatischen Angaben betrifft, so sind diese explizit in DGWDaF genannt: „ähnlich“ als 1.1. <Steig(erung) reg(elmäßig) ungebr(äuchlich)> und 1.2. <Steig(erung) reg(elmäßig) nicht attrib(utiv) vorw(iegend) präd(ikativ)>. Wir erfahren also Informationen zum Gebrauch des Adjektivs und zur Steigerung, was im LGwDaF auf die Angabe der Wortart beschränkt ist. Zur Valenz des Adjektivs „ähnlich“ wird aber nichts gesagt, sie muß aus dem Kontext bzw. Beispielsatz oder aus der Bedeutungserklärung erschlossen werden: *j-m/etw. ä. sein/sehen*(LGwDaF), *'jmdm., einer Sache in bestimmten äußerlichen od. innerlichen Merkmalen gleichend'* (DGWDaF): *sie ist/sieht ihrer Mutter sehr ä., jmd. denkt, reagiert ~*. Die Zahl der Aktanten (1+(1) *Der ihm (in bezug auf sein Verhalten) ähnliche Sohn*) und die syntaktische Besetzung der Leerstellen (Sd, (pSd/pSg))⁴ wird nicht angegeben. Im DGWDaF stehen Angaben zur semantischen Beschreibung der Aktanten „/auf Sachen, Abstraktes bez./“, zwar unvollkommen, da „ähnlich“ auch auf Personen oder Belebtes bezogen sein kann, und dieses auch markiert werden sollte. Im DGWDaF wie auch im LGwDaF kann das implizit aus der Formulierung „jmdm.“ bzw. „j-m/etw.“ erschlossen werden.

Hinsichtlich der grammatischen Angaben zum Lemma „**ähnlich**“ ist die Beschreibung in DGWDaF umfassender als in LGWDaF, obwohl nicht vollständig und beschränkt auf den Gebrauch und die Steigerung. Valenzinformationen erhalten wir nur rudimentär für den semantischen Bereich, was meines Erachtens ein Mangel beider Wörterbücher darstellt.

Zu 2). Für einen besseren Vergleich des Eintrags zum Lemma „**dankbar**“ habe ich auch die Beschreibung des zugrundeliegenden Verbs „**danken**“ und des Substantivs „**Dank**“ gewählt. Wie auch im Falle von „ähnlich“ sind auch diesmal die Bedeutungserklärungen zum Vorteil des LGwDaF, weil die semantischen Nuancen besser hervorgehoben werden. Andererseits liegen in beiden Wörterbüchern Angaben zum Gebrauch des Adjektivs vor: „*mst attr.*“, „*nicht adv.*“ und „*nicht adv.gespr.*“ (LGwDaF) bzw. <Steig. reg.> und <o. Steig.; nicht bei Vb.> (DGWDaF mit zusätzlichen Angaben zur Steigerung). Interessant ist der Verweis am Ende des Eintrags auf die Wortbildungsmöglichkeit „**Dank-bar-keit**“ in LGwDaF und auf das Lemma „**Dank**“ in DGWDaF, das meiner Meinung nach auch in LgWDaF stehen sollte. Informationen zur semantischen Valenz sind in den Bedeutungserklärungen enthalten und in den Beispielen verdeutlicht: „*(j-m) (für etw.) d. sein*“, „*für etw. d. sein*“ „*e-e Arbeit, e-e Aufgabe*“, „*in Bezug auf ein Material o.Ä.*“ (LGwDaF) bzw. „*/vorw. auf Personen bez.*“, „*eine d-e Arbeit, Aufgabe, Rolle*“ (DGwDaF). Ebenfalls aus den Beispielsätzen kann auch die syntaktische Valenz festgelegt werden, vorausgesetzt die Lerner besitzen fortgeschrittene Linguistik- bzw. Valenzkenntnisse. Ein solcher Lerner kann aus dieser Beschreibung erschließen, dass „dankbar“ attributiv und prädikativ gebraucht werden kann, dass es ein Sd und/oder ein präpositionales Substantiv im Akkusativ mit der Präposition „für“ zu sich nehmen kann und dass diese Substantive auf Personen, Belebtes, Sachen oder Abstraktes/Geschehen bezogen sind. Ausserdem kann man aus der Beschreibung noch

⁴ Verwendete Abkürzungen: Sd- Substantiv im Dativ, Sg- Substantiv im Genitiv, pSd/pSg- präpositionales Substantiv im Dativ bzw. Genitiv, NS- Nebensatz.

schließen, dass das präpositionale Substantiv zu einem eingeführten Nebensatz mit „*dafür, dass*“ erweitert werden kann. Schwierig für den Benutzer eines solchen Wörterbuches könnte die Festlegung der Zahl der Aktanten sein, ob diese obligatorisch oder fakultativ sind, wie auch die Zahl der semantischen Varianten, die mit der Zahl der Bedeutungserklärungen in den beiden Wörterbüchern nicht immer übereinstimmen.

Im Falle des Substantivs „**Dank**“ stehen neben den Angaben zum Genus, zur Genitivendung und zum Plural (*nur Sg.* (LgGwDaF) bzw. *o.Pl.* (DGWDaF)) die Bedeutungserklärungen mit zahlreichen Beispielsätzen, die Synonyme und die Wortbildungsmöglichkeiten mit „Dank“ als Kompositionselement (LGWDaF) bzw. die Wortfamilie von „Dank“ (DGWDaF). Aus der Bedeutungsbeschreibung in LgWDaF erhalten wir ein paar Informationen zur Valenz des Substantivs „Dank“: „*der D. (für etw.)*“, was im DGWDaF aus dem Beispielsatz erschlossen werden kann: „*er hat uns seinen ~ (für unsere Hilfe) ausgesprochen, übermittelt*“. Explizite Angaben zur syntaktischen und semantischen Valenz werden nicht gegeben.

Ähnliches gilt auch für die Beschreibung des Verbs „**danken**“: im LGWDaF steht hinter dem Stichwort die Form des Präteritum und Perfekt, die Markierung als transitives Verb bzw. intransitives Verb, die Bedeutung mit Beispielsatz und die Kennzeichnung der stilistischen Färbung. Im DGWDaF steht hinter dem Verb nur das Auxiliar, danach die Bedeutungserläuterungen mit Beispielsätzen, wobei zum ersten mal auf das Adjektiv „**dankbar**“ verwiesen wird: „*jmdm. sagen, dass man für etw. dankbar ist*“. Der Verweis auf das Synonym und auf das Substantiv „Dank“ sind im Unterschied zu LGWDaF auch darin enthalten. Explizite Valenzinformationen werden nicht genannt, jedoch implizit sind sie in den Bedeutungserklärungen und in den Beispielsätzen zu finden: „*j-m etw. (irgendwie) d.*“, „*j-m etw. mit etw. d.*“, „*j-m (für etw.) d.*“ (LGWDaF), „*jmdm.~*“, „*jmdm. für etw.~*“, „*jmdm. etw.~*“ (DGWDaF).

Zu 3). Überraschend für ein Lernerwörterbuch mit „rund 66000 Stichwörtern“ ist das Fehlen des Lemmaeintrags „**lösbar**“ in LGWDaF, obwohl es ein häufig verwendetes Adjektiv ist. Ein lösbares Problem, wenn man das DGWDaF zur Hand nimmt und erfährt, dass es ein Adjektiv ohne Steigerung ist, das vorwiegend prädikativ gebraucht und auf Abstraktes bezogen ist. Die Beispiele zeigen jedoch auch den attributiven Gebrauch („*eine ~ Aufgabe*“). Als Synonym zu „löslich“ bezieht es sich eher auf Stoffliches. Der Verweis auf das Adjektiv „los“ scheint mir unzutreffend, stattdessen wäre es richtiger gewesen, auf das Verb „lösen“ zu verweisen, weil es semantisch eher vom Verb abhängt als vom Adjektiv „los“. Leider kann man aus diesem Eintrag die Valenz des Adjektivs „lösbar“ nicht erschließen u.z. dass es ein einwertiges Adjektiv ist mit fakultativem Aktant, das ein *pSvon/für/durch* zu sich nehmen kann (*Das Rätsel ist von den Schülern lösbar, aber für mich unlösbar*), welches wiederum auf Personen, Institutionen oder Abstraktes als menschliches Wesen bezogen werden kann (*Das Problem ist für den Lehrstuhl/vom Lehrstuhl lösbar, Das Problem ist von der Polizei/für die Polizei lösbar*).

Zu 4). Die Beschreibung des Lemmas „**schuldig**“ enthält neben den grammatischen Informationen (*Adjektiv ohne Steigerung*), den exemplifizierten Bedeutungen („*etw.(Gen.)s.*“, „*j-n s. sprechen*“ im LGWDaF, „*die Schuld für etw. habend*“, „*jmdm. ~sprechen*“, „*<nur präd.(mit sein)>/jmd./jmdm. etw.~sein*“, „*<nur präd. (mit sein, bleiben)>/jmd./jmdm. etw. ~ sein, bleiben*“ im DGWDaF), den Antonymen „*unschuldig*“ (LGWDaF) bzw. „*schuldlos*“ (DGWDaF) und der idiomatischen Wendung „*j-m nichts s. bleiben*“ auch die Wortbildungsmöglichkeit „*Schuldige*“ im LGWDaF und den Verweis auf das entsprechende Wortfeld „*FELD I.12.3*“ im DGWDaF. Hinsichtlich der Valenz verweisen die Bedeutungen und Beispielsätze darauf hin,

dass „schuldig“ ein *Sd* und *Sa* oder ein *Sg* als Aktanten hat („*ich bin ihm noch fünf Mark s. „*, „*er war des Mordes~*“), die auf Personen (*jmdm.*), Abstraktes (*des Mordes*) oder Unbelebtes (*Geld schuldig*) bezogen sind.

Zu 5). Im DGWDaF wird das Adjektiv „**tragbar**“ semantisch und grammatisch umfassender beschrieben als im LGWDaF. Es ist ein Adjektiv ohne Steigerung, mit vier Bedeutungen (tragbare Mode, Geräte, Person, finanziell), vorwiegend prädikativ (mit *sein*) und verneint gebraucht. Die Beispiele zeigen aber auch den attributiven Gebrauch. In LGWDaF wird die Wortart „*Adj.*“ und der Gebrauch „*nicht adv.*“ genannt. Diese Bedeutungen entsprechen auch den drei semantischen Varianten der Valenz dieses Adjektivs, was auch die Erschließung der Aktanten als Unbelebtes (*Computer*), Abstraktes (*Mode*), Person (*von jmdm.*) ermöglicht. Da die Beispielsätze eher den vorwiegend prädikativen Gebrauch hervorheben, kann sich die Festlegung der Zahl und syntaktischen Beschreibung der Aktanten als schwierig erweisen: „*tragbar*“ ist ein einwertiges Adjektiv mit einer fakultativen Ergänzung, die syntaktisch durch ein *pSvon* (*nur von zwei Männern tragbar*) oder ein Zeitadverb (*noch/bis jetzt tragbar*) besetzt werden kann.

Obwohl ich zum Vergleich nur Adjektive ausgewählt habe, können trotzdem ein paar Schlußfolgerungen bezüglich der Valenzinformationen in den zwei Lernerwörterbüchern LGWDaF und DGWDaF formuliert werden:

-In keinem der zwei Lernerwörterbücher werden explizite Valenzangaben gegeben, diese können z.T. aus den Bedeutungserläuterungen und den Beispielsätzen erschlossen werden, insbesondere was die semantische Valenz betrifft.

- Die detaillierten Bedeutungsbeschreibungen, insbesondere in LgwDaF, decken die semantischen Varianten der Valenz des Stichworts, auch wenn nicht immer in einem 1:1-Verhältnis. Der Vorteil des DGWDaF liegt darin, dass Begriffe der semantischen Valenz in den Lexikoneinträgen enthalten sind.

Um auf die am Anfang des Abschnitts gestellten Fragen zu antworten, so bin ich der Meinung, dass Valenzinformationen in Lernerwörterbüchern notwendig sind. Diese sollen nicht die Valenzbeschreibungen in den Valenzwörterbüchern ersetzen, aber sie können in benutzerfreundlicher und leicht verständlicher Form (bezüglich der Darstellung und des Notationssystems) in den Lexikoneinträgen enthalten sein. Natürlich, gemäß der vom Verlag bestimmten Adressatengruppe, die ein bestimmtes Niveau erreichen sollen und bereits spezifische Grammatikkenntnisse beherrschen, können diese Valenzinformationen detaillierter oder allgemein sein. Dabei muss die Trennung Muttersprachler und Nichtmuttersprachler immer vor den Augen behalten sein, wie auch die Tatsache, dass sich Lernerwörterbücher vorwiegend an Fremdsprachenlerner wenden, die bei der Wörterbuchbenutzung hauptsächlich nach einer Lösung für die richtige Textproduktion suchen und weniger an der Valenztheorie interessiert sind. Damit die Valenz besser ersichtlich wird, würde ich vorschlagen, die Beispiele in Form von Sätzen zu formulieren, damit der Lerner die Satzstrukturen und die Aktanten leichter erkennt, was bei Infinitivkonstruktionen oder syntagmatischen Beispielen nicht immer der Fall ist.

Ein solcher Wörterbucheintrag könnte wie folgt aussehen:

<p>Dankbar [ˈdan̩k...] <Adj.> 1. Dankbar₍₁₊₍₁₎₎ <Sd (pStür/NS)> <Steig.reg.. attr. u. präd.> (<i>j-m</i>) (<i>für etw.</i>) <i>d.</i> ‘von Dank erfüllt und dies erkennen lassend’/auf Personen, Belebtes oder Abstr./ Geschehen bez.: <i>wir sind dir für deine Hilfe, das Geschenk sehr ~; er hat sich immer wieder ~ gezeigt, erwiesen; sie hat unseren Rat ~ angenommen; ein ~er Blick; ein ~es Kind, Publikum</i> 2 Dankbar₍₀₎ <o. Steig.; attr. Auf Abstr. Bez.> ‘so dass sie mit relativ geringem Aufwand ausgeführt werden kann’≈ lohnend <i>eine d-e</i> (‘Erfolg bringende, versprechende, leichte’) <i>Arbeit, Aufgabe, Rolle</i> 3 dankbar₍₀₎ <o. Steig. vorw.attr.> ‘widerstandsfähig u. leicht zu pflegen (verwendet in Bezug auf ein Material o.Ä.)’ <i>ein ~er Stoff, ~es Material</i> *↑ Dank, danken, Dankbarkeit</p>

3. Lexikographische Informationen in bilingualen Lernerwörterbüchern

Wie bereits erwähnt, können Lernerwörterbücher monolingual und bilingual sein. Bilinguale Lernerwörterbücher sind besonders dann geeignet, wenn die Fremdsprachenlerner ihren Wortschatz erweitern wollen und darin die Übersetzungsäquivalente suchen. Bilinguale Lernerwörterbücher reichen aber nicht aus, wenn die Lerner schon ein höheres Niveau erreicht haben und detailliertere Informationen für den richtigen produktiven Sprachgebrauch brauchen. In diesem Fall greifen sie zu den monolingualen Lernerwörterbüchern, in denen sie umfassendere Informationen finden und die sich dann zuletzt als vorteilhafter erweisen.

Die Struktur der bilingualen Lernerwörterbücher ist den monolingualen ähnlich: das Vorwort, die Hinweise für den Benutzer, die Liste der verwendeten Abkürzungen und Symbole, das Wörterverzeichnis A-Z und Tabellen mit der Konjugation der Verben, eventuell auch mit der Deklination der Substantive und Adjektive. Das bilinguale Wörterbuch ist alphabetisch geordnet.

Der Lexikoneintrag besteht aus dem Lemma, den grammatischen Angaben (Genus, Pluralendung bei Substantiven, die Tempusformen bei Verben, Steigerung bei Adjektiven), den Übersetzungsäquivalenten mit Beispielen, Kollokationen und Angaben zum phraseologischen Gebrauch wie auch über die stilistische Färbung und die Wortbildung, und den Verweisen auf andere Einträge. Bei den Übersetzungsäquivalenten wird die Wortart mit wenigen grammatischen Informationen wie Genus, Pluralendung bei Substantiven angegeben.

3.1. Bilinguale Lernerwörterbücher: M. Isbășescu „Dicționar german –român“, J. Livescu / E. Savin „Dicționar română-german“ und I. Lăzărescu „Dicționar german-român, română-german“.

Für eine bessere Veranschaulichung der Lexikoneinträge in bilingualen Lernerwörterbüchern habe ich mich für folgende entschieden: 1. „Dicționar german-român“ (Deutsch-Rumänisches Wörterbuch) von Mihai Isbășescu, 1993 im Teora Verlag, Bukarest erschienen (von nun als DGR abgekürzt); 2. „Dicționar română-german“ (Rumänisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch) von Jean Livescu/Emilia Savin 1976 im Wissenschaftlichen und Enzyklopädischen Verlag, Bukarest erschienen (als DRG abgekürzt); 3. „Dicționar română –german, german-română“ (Rumänisch-Deutsches, Deutsch-Rumänisches Wörterbuch) von Ioan Lăzărescu, 1992 im Orizonturi Verlag, Bukarest erschienen (abgekürzt als DGR-DRG).

1. Das DGR hat 60.000 Stichwörter auf 355 Seiten (24x 34x3cm) und das Wörterverzeichnis ist vierspaltig. Es kann als Lernerwörterbuch betrachtet werden, obwohl es merkwürdigerweise kein Vorwort hat, wo der Typ und die Funktion des Wörterbuchs erläutert wird. Es beginnt mit den Hinweisen für die Benutzung des Wörterbuchs („Indicații pentru folosirea dicționarului“), in denen der Aufbau der Wörterbuchartikel erklärt wird: Stichwörter sind fettgedruckt, grammatische Angaben und die Beispiele kursivgedruckt, die Tilde ersetzt das Lemma im Kontext (~) oder als Kompositionsteil (≈), Akzent wird unterstrichen, der Stern (*) steht hinter dem Infinitiv der schwachen untrennbaren Verben, das Auxiliar sein (*s*) wird angegeben, der Umlaut wird vor der Tilde markiert (¨), der Strich (-) ersetzt den Wortteil, der während der Flexion unverändert bleibt (*absolvieren, -te, t*), der senkrechte Strich dient als Fugenstrich bei Komposita, der Schrägstrich dient zur Hervorhebung von Varianten, zwei senkrechte Striche markieren die trennbaren Verbpartikeln, zwei Schrägstriche trennen das Übersetzungsäquivalent vom Beispiel, in eckigen Klammern steht mit einer römischen Ziffer und einem Kleinbuchstaben das Konjugationsmuster der rumänischen Verben, das auf die Tabelle S. 11-24 verweist.

Es folgt die Liste der Abkürzungen, die Ausspracheangaben nach dem internationalen phonetischen Alphabet, die Tabelle mit den Konjugationsmustern der rumänischen Verben und das Wörterverzeichnis A-Z.

Die grammatischen Angaben sind: Wortart, Genitivendung und Nominativ Pluralendung bei Substantiven, 3. Person Sg., Präteritum und Partizip Perfekt Indikativ bei Verben, wie auch Kategorie, Genus, stilistische Färbung, Gebrauch und die Beispiele.

Der Wortschatz gehört der Standardsprache, enthält aber auch umgangssprachliche Ausdrücke.

2. Das DRG hat schon im Untertitel die Adressatengruppe formuliert (*pentru uzul elevilor*) und erläutert im Vorwort seine Funktion: es ist ein Wörterbuch für Schüler und Deutschlerner, das den modernen deutschen Wortschatz widerspiegelt, aber auch Fauchausdrücke in benutzerfreundlicher Art erklärt. Es berücksichtigt insbesondere die problematischen Aspekte des Deutschen und erklärt sich als Hilfsmittel für Wörterbuchbenutzer, die darin neben den Übersetzungsäquivalenten und den Bedeutungen in verschiedenen kommunikativen Situationen, ihre grammatischen, morphologischen und syntaktischen Kenntnisse vertiefen wollen. Der Umfang des Wörterbuchs beträgt 13x17,5x3cm, 494 Seiten, das Wörterverzeichnis ist zweiseitig, die Stichwortanzahl wird aber nicht genannt.

In den Hinweisen zur Benutzung des Wörterbuchs steht, dass die Folge der Übersetzungsäquivalente der Stichwörter nach Häufigkeitskriterien gewählt wurde, bei den Verben jedoch war die Reihenfolge transitiv, intransitiv, reflexiv. Die Polysemie wird durch Beispiele verdeutlicht und die grammatischen Angaben beziehen sich Genus, Pluralendung, Genitivendung bei Substantiven, auf den attributiven, prädikativen Gebrauch bei Adjektiven und deren Steigerung, auf die starken Verben im Infinitiv, die durch eine Ziffer in Klammern auf das Konjugationsmuster verweisen (S. 12). Das Auxiliar sein ist angegeben (*i*), trennbare Verbpräfixe und Akzent werden durch einen Punkt oder Strich markiert, die Silbentrennung nur bei den Wörtern mit *ck* oder Doppelkonsonant.

Es folgt die Liste der Abkürzungen, die Tabelle der deutschen starken Verben (Infinitiv, 2. und 3. Person Sg., 1. Person Sg. Präteritum Indikativ und Konjunktiv, Partizip Perfekt, Hilfsverb, Imperativ und Übersetzungsäquivalent), S. 12-23, und das Wörterverzeichnis A-Z.

3. Ähnliches gilt auch für das DGR-DRG, dessen Umfang 13x20x3,2 cm beträgt, 291 Seiten für den rumänisch-deutschen Teil bzw. 332 Seiten für den deutsch-rumänischen Teil. Das Wörterverzeichnis ist zweiseitig, die Zahl der Stichwörter wird nicht genannt.

Im Vorwort des rumänisch-deutschen Teils wird die Adressatengruppe bestimmt, u.z. Schüler, Studenten, autonome Deutschlerner, auf Anfängerniveau oder mit allgemeinen Deutschkenntnissen. Das Wörterbuch dient dem Verstehen von Texten und Alltagsgesprächen, hat aber auch manche häufig verwendete Fachausdrücke darin verzeichnet. Wenige Archaismen und Regionalismen sind darin enthalten. Wegen des großen Umfangs werden Beispiele nur dort gegeben, wo die Unterschiede in den beiden Sprachen besonders groß sind. Hingegen sind „zahlreiche morpho-syntaktische Informationen“ (S.3) in den Lexikoneinträgen enthalten: Genus, Genitiv- und Pluralendung der Substantive, starke Verben sind durch ein Stern (*) markiert, trennbare Verben durch einen senkrechten Strich, Rektion der Präpositionen, bei schwieriger Aussprache wird diese in eckigen Klammern angegeben. Die stilistische Färbung steht in runden Klammern. Es folgt das Wörterverzeichnis A-Z.

Der deutsch-rumänische Teil beginnt mit der Liste der Abkürzungen und der Liste der verwendeten Zeichen und Symbole. Auf S. 9-20 steht eine Tabelle mit den Konjugationsmustern der deutschen starken Verben (Infinitiv, 2. und 3. Person Sg. Präsens, Indikativ und Konjunktiv Präteritum, Partizip Perfekt, Hilfsverb, Imperativ und Übersetzungsäquivalent) gefolgt vom Wörterverzeichnis A-Z.

3.2. Valenzinformationen in den drei rumänischen bilingualen Lernerwörterbüchern

Da der Benutzer eines bilingualen Lernerwörterbuchs eher nach dem Übersetzungäquivalent sucht und für detaillierte grammatische Informationen zu einem monolingualen Lernerwörterbuch greift, sind die Valenzinformationen in bilingualen Lernerwörterbüchern so gut wie gar nicht verzeichnet. Trotzdem finden wir Angaben zur Rektion, d.h. die geforderte Präposition und den Kasus. Zur Analyse habe ich dieselben Lemmata wie in LGwDaF und DGWDaF gewählt.

DGR	DRG	DGR – DRG	
1. (S.20) ähnlich <i>adj.</i> asemănător, similar, analog	1. (S. 65) asemănător <i>adj.</i> ähnlich <i>adj.</i>	1. (S. 31) ähnlich <i>adj.</i> (+D) asemănător <i>und ~es și</i> altele asemenea	1.(S.25) asemănător <i>adj.</i> ähnlich
2. (S. 69) dankbar <i>adj.</i> 1. recunoscător, îndatorat. 2. (<i>fig.</i>) rentabil; productiv; de succes; aducător de satisfacții	2. (S. 390) recunoscător <i>adj.</i> dankbar <i>adj.</i>	2. (S. 77) dankbar <i>adj.</i> recunoscător	2.(S.220) recunoscător <i>adj.</i> dankbar
2a. Dank , ~ (<i>e</i>)s, <i>m</i> <i>sg.</i> mulțumire <i>f</i> , recunoștință <i>f</i> // ~ <i>sagen a</i> mulțumi [4h] ≈ adresse , ~, ~ <i>n</i> , <i>f</i> <i>adresă f</i> / <i>scrisoare f</i> <i>de</i> mulțumire	2a. (S. 298) mulțumire <i>f.</i> 1. <i>r</i> Dank, -es/; <i>multe</i> <i>mulțumiri</i> vielen/ besten/schönen Dank; <i>mulțumiri călduroase</i> herzlichen Dank 2. <i>e</i> Zufriedenheit,-/; <i>spre</i> <i>mulțumirea sa</i> zu seiner Zufriedenheit	2a. <i>r</i> Dank,-(e)s/ mulțumire <i>vielen/besten~!</i> Multe mulțumiri!	2a.(S.164) mulțumire <i>f.</i> 1. <i>r</i> Dank, -(e)s/ <i>multe mulțumiri</i> vielen/ besten/ schönen Dank 2. <i>e</i> Zufriedenheit,-/ <i>spre</i> <i>~a sa</i> zu seiner Zufriedenheit
2b. dank ≈ en I. <i>vi</i> 1. <i>a</i> mulțumi [4h] // <i>danke</i> (<i>schön/sehr/bestens</i>) mulțumesc (<i>frumos/mult</i>); (<i>ironic</i>) <i>na, ich danke!</i> Foarte mulțumesc. 2. <i>a răspunde</i> [3m] <i>la</i> salut. II. <i>Vt.</i> <i>a datora</i> [1b]; <i>a răsplăti</i> [4h]	2b. mulțumi I. <i>vt.</i> 1. (<i>a</i> <i>datora</i>) verdanken (-te, - t) <i>vt.</i> +D. 2. (<i>a satisface</i>) zufriedenstellen (-te, -t) <i>vt.</i> II. <i>Vi.</i> 1.+pentru danken (-te, -t) <i>vi.</i> +D+für+A; <i>vă</i> <i>mulțumesc pentru stilou</i> <i>ich danke Ihnen für den</i> <i>Füller. 2. (a-și exprima</i> <i>mulțumirea)</i> sich bedanken (-te, -t) <i>vr.</i> +bei+D; <i>el mi-a</i> <i>mulțumit pentru atlas</i> er bedankte sich bei mir für den Atlas; <i>vă mulțumesc</i> <i>mult</i> danke bestens/schön/sehr; <i>mulțumesc, asemenea</i> danke, gleichfalls. <i>Adv.</i> III. <i>Vr.</i> +cu; sich begnügen (-te, -t) <i>vr</i> +mit+D.	2b. danken <i>vi.</i> <i>a</i> mulțumi <i>nichts zu ~ n-aveți pentru ce</i>	2b. mulțumi I. <i>vt.</i> 1. (<i>a datora</i>) verdanken (+D) 2. (<i>a satisface</i>) zufrieden stellen II. <i>Vi.</i> 1. Danken (+D+für+A) <i>vă</i> <i>mulțumesc pentru</i> <i>cadou</i> ich danke Ihnen für das Geschenk 2. (<i>a-și exprima</i> <i>mulțumirea)</i> sich bedanken (+bei+D+für+A) <i>el</i> <i>mi-a ~t pentru album</i> er bedankte sich bei mir für das Album III. <i>Vr.</i> sich begnügen (+mit+D)

DGR	DRG	DGR – DRG	
3. (S. 200) lösbar <i>adj.</i> 1. rezolvabil; (și <i>chim.</i>) solubil. 2. detașabil	3. (S. 157) detașabil <i>adj.</i> <i>lös lösbar, trennbar adj.</i> ; rezolvabil (kein Eintrag); (S. 425) solubil <i>adj.</i> solubel, löslich <i>adj.</i>	3. (S. 181) lösbar <i>adj.</i> 1. Rezolvabil 2. (<i>chim.</i>) solubil	3. (S.74) detașabil <i>adj.</i> loslösbar, trennbar; (S.225) rezolvabil <i>adj.</i> lösbar; (S. 241) solubil <i>adj.</i> solubel, löslich
4. (S. 275) schuldig <i>adj.</i> 1. dator // <i>was bin ich ~?</i> Cît datorez/am de plată?; <i>einander nichts ~ bleiben</i> cum e turcul și pistolul, sacul și peticul. 2. obligat, dator. 3. convenit. 4. vinovat, culpabil.	4. (S. 144) dator <i>adj.</i> 1. schuldig <i>adj.</i> 2. verpflichtet <i>part.II.adj.</i> (S. 137) culpabil <i>adj.</i> schuldig <i>adj.</i> (S. 483) vinovat I. adj. 1. schuldig <i>adj.</i> 2. (+de) schuld <i>adj.pred.</i> (+an+D); <i>el e vinovat (de accident)</i> er (124) ist (an dem Unfall) schuld. II. m. 1. r Schuldige, -n/-n (ein ...er, ..en/viele..e) 2. (<i>fäptas</i>) <i>r</i> Täter, -s/-.	4. (S. 243) schuldig <i>adj.</i> 1. dator <i>was bin ich Ihnen~?</i> Cît vă datorez? 2. vinovat	4. (S. 67) dator <i>adj.</i> schuldig (s. 282) vinovat I. adj. 1. schuldig 2. schuld (+an+D) <i>el e ~ (de toate)</i> er ist (an allem) schuld II. m. 1. r Schuldige, -n/-n (<i>ein...er</i>) 2. (<i>fäptas</i>) <i>r</i> Täter, -s/-
5. (S. 303) tragbar <i>adj.</i> 1. portabil, portativ. 2. roditor, fertil. 3. suportabil	5. (S. 352) portabil <i>adj.</i> tragbar <i>adj.</i> ; <i>televizor portabil</i> ein tragbarer Fernseher; (S. 441) suportabil <i>adj.</i> erträglich <i>adj.</i>	5. (S. 268) tragbar <i>adj.</i> portativ, portabil	5. (S. 201) portabil <i>adj.</i> tragbar; (S. 251) suportabil <i>adj.</i> erträglich

Die Lemmabeschreibungen in den drei Wörterbüchern haben eine ähnliche Mikrostruktur: hinter dem Stichwort stehen: die Wortart, die Übersetzungsäquivalente, die Bedeutungsvarianten im Falle der Polysemie und die Beispiele. Im Unterschied zu den Substantiven und Verben, deren Einträge länger sind, weil sie mehrere Informationen und Beispiele enthalten, beschränken sich die Adjektivbeschreibungen hauptsächlich auf die Wortart und das Übersetzungsäquivalent. Wenn wir die Einträge im DGR und im deutsch-rumänischen Teil des DGR-DRG vergleichen, so können wir feststellen, dass im ersten die Bedeutungsvarianten genauer erfasst sind wie auch der Fachbereich und die stilistische Färbung. Kollokationen und idiomatische Wendungen sind auch darin enthalten. Ein Vorteil des DGR-DRG ist aber die Angabe der Rektion des Adjektivs „ähnlich“ (+D).

Im DRG und im rumänisch-deutschen Teil des DGR-DRG sind die Einträge ungefähr gleich (Stichwort, Wortart, Übersetzung), mit einer Ausnahme: Beim Adjektiv „**dator, vinovat**“ („schuldig“) wird die Rektion angegeben (*an+D*). Im Falle des Substantivs „**mulțumire**“ („Dank“) und des Verbs „**a mulțumi**“ („danken“) werden viel mehr grammatische Informationen gegeben: Transitivität, Intransitivität oder Reflexivität des Verbs, Präteritum- und Partizip II Endungen und die Rektion des Verbs samt Bedeutungsvarianten (*vi.+D+für+A*, *vr.+bei+D*, *vr.+mit+D*). Die Beispiele sind im Unterschied zu den Adjektiven in Satzform gegeben.

Valenzinformationen können also aus den Lemmabeschreibungen zu den Adjektiven nicht erschlossen werden, vielmehr aber bei den Verben, obwohl die Valenz des Verbs nicht explizit genannt wird.

Im Falle der bilingualen Lernerwörterbücher bin ich der Meinung, dass explizite Valenzinformationen das Kompetenzniveau der Benutzer überschreiten und daher unzutreffend sind. Trotzdem könnte ein Lexikoneintrag Angaben zur Rektion der Verben, Substantive und Adjektive enthalten (die geforderten Präpositionen und Kasus). Das ermöglicht zum einen dem Lerner, die Wörter grammatisch richtig zu verwenden, zum anderen kann ein bilinguales Lernerwörterbuch eine Brücke zum Gebrauch der monolingualen Lernerwörterbücher darstellen und eine Hilfe bei der Entzifferung der darin enthaltenen grammatischen Informationen, inklusive Valenzangaben.

Als Nachteil der deutsch-rumänischen bilingualen Lernerwörterbücher empfinde ich das Fehlen der Beispiele bzw. den geringen Umfang der Beispielsätze.

4. Schlussfolgerungen

Lernerwörterbücher sind hauptsächlich als Instrumente für den Fremdsprachenlerner gedacht. Da die Sprachkenntnisse dieser Fremdsprachenlerner unterschiedlich sind, scheint es mir sinnvoll, dass ein Lernerwörterbuch für jedes Kompetenzniveau erarbeitet wird. Das mag utopisch klingen und vielleicht kontraproduktiv, aber ausländische Germanistikstudenten kommen mit einem Wörterbuch, das fortgeschrittene Grammatik- und Wortschatzkenntnisse voraussetzt, oft nicht zurecht. Trotzdem erweisen sich die zwei deutschen Lernerwörterbücher LGwDaF und DGWDaF als nützliche Hilfsmittel für deren Benutzer, da sie darin die nötigen Informationen für den richtigen schriftlichen und mündlichen Sprachgebrauch finden. Die Bedeutungen eines Wortes sind leicht verständlich erklärt und durch gut ausgewählte Beispiele verdeutlicht. Vorteilhaft ist auch die große Zahl der Kollokationen und idiomatischen Wendungen.

Der Vergleich der lexikographischen Informationen in den einsprachigen Lernerwörterbüchern LGwDaF und DGWDaF weist folgende Merkmale auf:

- In LGwDaF finden wir detailliertere Bedeutungsbeschreibungen, in DGWDaF hingegen detailliertere grammatische Angaben
- In LGwDaF wird auf die Wortbildungsmöglichkeiten des Stichworts verwiesen, in DGWDaF auf die Wortfamilie
- In LGwDaF wird die Silbentrennung markiert, in DGWDaF die Aussprache
- Kollokationen, Synonyme, Antonyme und Verweise auf das Grundwort wie auch auf andere Lemmata sind in beiden Lernerwörterbüchern enthalten
- Ein Nachteil der beiden Wörterbücher, aber insbesondere des LGwDaF ist die Tatsache, dass die Nummerierung der Bedeutungen nicht immer auf die Polysemie des Wortes hinweist, sondern auch auf semantische Nuancen, die hinsichtlich der semantischen Valenz verwirrend wirken könnten
- Die Textverdichtung, die Länge des Eintrags wie auch die typographischen Merkmale und Abkürzungen kann sich manchmal zum Nachteil des Zugriffserfolgs und der Zugriffsschnelligkeit des Wörterbuchbenutzers erweisen, insbesondere wenn er immer wieder im Abkürzungsverzeichnis nachschlagen muss oder in den Erläuterungen zur Wörterbuchbenutzung, um die Bedeutung der Schrägstriche, der Schriftarten und der anderen Symbole zu verstehen.

Da ich mich bei der Analyse der fünf Lemmabeschreibungen hauptsächlich auf die Valenzinformationen bezogen habe, so empfinde ich es als Nachteil, dass diese inkonsequent und in geringem Umfang im Lexikoneintrag erfaßt sind. Die Angabe der syntaktischen Valenz hinter dem Stichwort, Beispielsätze, die die Valenz veranschaulichen wie auch die

Angabe der semantischen Rollen hinter der Bedeutungserklärung könnte eine Lösung sein. Ohne dass die Länge des Eintrags ihn unübersichtlich macht, können Valenzinformationen benutzerfreundlich und in verständlicher Form angegeben werden.

Das gilt nicht für die bilingualen Lernerwörterbücher, von denen ich mich auf drei rumänisch-deutschen bzw. deutsch-rumänischen bezogen habe, deren Benutzer offensichtlich geringere Deutschkenntnisse haben und dementsprechend vielmehr an dem Übersetzungsäquivalent interessiert sind. Auch hier könnte als Lösung, die Angabe der Rektion der betreffenden Wortart, sei es Verb, Substantiv oder Adjektiv gelten.

Von den drei rumänischen Wörterbüchern, scheint nur das von M. Isbășescu auch Lerner mit fortgeschrittenen Deutschkenntnissen berücksichtigt zu haben, die anderen zwei sind eher für Benutzer mit allgemeinen Deutschkenntnissen konzipiert. Dies ist ein Hinweis auf die dringende Notwendigkeit, Lernerwörterbücher mit einer komplexeren Wörterbeschreibung zu verfassen oder die existierenden neu zu bearbeiten und erweitern.

Deutsch ist eine internationale Sprache und immer mehr Deutschlerner und ausländische Germanistikstudenten benutzen Lernerwörterbücher. Daher betrachte ich es als notwendig, dass Lernerwörterbücher mehr und präzisere grammatische Angaben und warum nicht, auch Valenzangaben enthalten, natürlich ohne eine Grammatik oder ein Spezialwörterbuch zu ersetzen und dabei aber immer noch tragbar zu sein und benutzerfreundlich zu wirken.

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ON THE MNEMOTECHNICAL VALUE OF CERTAIN PHONETICALLY-BASED FIGURES OF SPEECH

CRISTINA TĂTARU

ABSTRACT. *The paper is a brief review of the so-called **mnemotechnical** figures of speech, i.e., rhythm, alliteration and rhyme, and its basic contention is that, apart from their traditionally ascertained mnemotechnical value, pertaining to a quantitative function, figures of speech can also be viewed qualitatively, in the context of a modern shift of canon, as bearers of aesthetic value.*

The present paper is a working hypothesis, probably part of a wider research focussing on a possible classification of tropes and figures according to the type of expectation they contradict.

It is assumed, in this respect, that the definition of style adopted is that of “style as deviance” and that the system of reference of this deviance is that of expectation.

Out of the range of phonetically based figures of speech, three have been selected for analysis, perhaps the most ancient ones, historically, i.e. rhythm, alliteration and rhyme, in other words, the field where mnemotechnical values are most likely to be found. Also, since the devices in question pertain traditionally to poetry, our hypotheses will be illustrated with examples from this literary genre.

It is our contention, here, that the respective mnemotechnical values could be regarded not only as a *primum motum* for the existence of the figures of speech in question, although there is more to them than only the need to make the verses more “memorable”, but also that they pertain to a certain quantitative stage in the evolution of style which creates a canon and thus expectation. The latter, once violated, a new, qualitative canon is instated alongside with the transition to what we currently call aesthetic effect of a style.

The instatement of the versification canon (or set of canons) could be regarded and labelled as *generative of poetry*, if one should take into account the fact that by it poetry is set apart from prose. If so, then the rhetorical value(s) inherent to it should not be overlooked either.

First, it should be mentioned that, as it happens in all ages and stages, at the beginnings of this phenomenon, the limits between poetry and prose were extremely fluid. The ancient Greek concept of *prosodia* (coming from *pros-odia* and meaning that in Old Greek every syllable carrying a main accent was pronounced in a five-tone-higher pitch) might cover to some extent the need to separate what we today call poetry from prose, in that it created the necessary signal for the shift to another mode of communication. The Latin equivalent *accentus* (which then generated the noun *cantus*) might help us define the notion, etymologically, as *the science of accent*. It appears clearly that the concept of prosody, thus defined, is larger in sphere than both that of theory of versification and metrics, which both refer explicitly to verse. Prosody exists through and by means of a type of expectation called *metrical impulse* (Hrabak, 1983, p.21), an expectation triggered by similarity of certain elements, which are to some extent conventional and patterned. The

text thus expected is not yet verse, but, say, non-prosaic. It might not be meant to create aesthetic emotion, at this stage, but only to signal passage from one (non-marked) mode of communication to another (marked) one. It ought to be mentioned, also, that rhythm is, perhaps, historically prior to all the other phonetically based expressive means, with the exception of euphony, perhaps, since alliteration, rhyme, accentuation and even more sophisticated syntactical devices such as repetition, syntactic parallelism or chiasmus are ancillary to rhythm, in that they imply it. The markers of such a text (be they generated by rhythm or by any other device) may rather be ascribed to rhetoric, since, at this stage, they primarily function as tension-strainers.

Scholars still contend upon the origins of rhythm in speech. Whatever human action may have generated it, be it work or incantation, rhythm seems to rely on the *cadence* involved into some, if not all of our deeds. Since omnipresent, rhythm could also be metaphysically seen as a quality that is projected upon matter by either speech or musical pitch and movement, existing *a priori* as *rhythmisomenon*. Regardless of its origin, rhythm is conditioned either endogenously, by stereotypes which create conditioned reflexes, or exogenously, by deliberately creating a rhythmical sequence, conventionally called *verse*. Deliberateness can have various causes, among which the predominant one seems to be the rhetorical one, in that it is much easier to follow a text in verse than one in prose. It also seems that in the bards' times, the author-recitor subjectivized the work and sometimes gave comments on the action by addressing directly his audience in non-versified speech. The latter was thus set apart from the versified sequences, which, on the other hand, were made to bear the mark of "authenticity" and would-be immovability – evoking even a certain ritual quality – by being patterned.

The mystique of reciting had, none-the-less, to be sustained by a prodigious memory on the part of the recitor, which should enable him to keep in mind sequences of thousands of verses and deliver them orally to his audience as logically and accurately as possible. Therefore, perhaps, rhythm and its ancillary phonetically based expressive means, also functioned, in the beginnings, as *aide-memoirs* to the bards. It seems easier to remember the sequel of a hemistich in an Old English epic if one knows that it should begin with the same sound that has been alliterated in the first hemistich, or to reconstitute a verse according to the expectancy in beat.

It might seem logical, in this case, that normal intonation should coincide with verse-beat (in verse-types based on rhythm) and that there should be no enjambment, lest the sound alliterated should change in the following verse (in verse-types based on alliteration). It is clear that these requirements are met neither by classical Latin poetry nor by classical Anglo-Saxon epics.

To some extent this situation is normal, if we take into account the previously stated assumption, that versification was *quantitative* (Hrabak, 1983, p.165, Pearsall, 1977, p.14). Quantitative versification (syllabo-tonic in Greek and Latin and pure tonic in Anglo-Saxon) implies that verse intonation is not necessarily normal sentence intonation, just like verse limit is not necessarily sentence-limit. The two intonations, that of verse and that of phrase, confront and converge, instating the canon of double-beats in poetry.

Isosyllabism of the verses is also a negligible requisite in syllabo-tonic verse, the expectation that following verses should have the same number of syllables as the previous one yielding to the tendency that accents should fall regularly. It is commonplace that, in classical Greek and then Latin verse, verse length is not given by the number of syllables,

but by the number of *morae* (the two fundamental moments making up the time necessary for the pronunciation of a long syllable). In dactylic hexameters, for instance, the metrical constant is the number of feet and the necessity to render heavy beats by long syllables. After the heavy beat, there can follow either a long or two short syllables. The fifth foot had to contain two syllables; if it was a spondee, the fourth foot had to be a dactyl. At times, the presence of a caesura was required (there were three types of obligatory metrical caesurae and an additional optional one) but dieresis (the compulsory limit among words as part of the metrical impulse) was in most cases compulsorily obliterated, unlike in Anglo-Saxon verse, where central “caesura” is actually a permanent central dieresis. It results that, in Greek and Latin verse, articulation by segmentation into sentences need not coincide with the articulation dictated by the form of the verse. At first sight this might contradict the postulated mnemotechnical function of verse-rhythm. Still, ancient saturnine verse, which is prior to classical poetry, seems to have neglected these rhythm requirements, each *ictus* (carrier of metrical accent) also bearing a lexical accent and thus observing dieresis.

The situation is more or less the same with pure tonic verse, represented by Anglo-Saxon classical poetry, where central dieresis is permanent, but the canon only norms the number of heavy beats, rigorously represented by lexical accents. The number and place of light beats being irrelevant, isosyllabism is not observed in Old English poetry either. Normally the verse has four *icti*; out of these two or three syllables are also underlined by consonant alliteration (more rarely also vowel alliteration). This situation results from the free, dynamic stress of Anglo-Saxon, whence its lack of syllable timing. The influence of syllabic verse only appeared in Middle English, where, under the pressure of French borrowings, at times syllables containing a mute *e* came to be included into the number of syllables in the verse. In Anglo-Saxon classical verse the function of stress is taken over by alliteration, which binds the two half-lines into a full line, thus establishing formal units with permanent central dieresis, permitted by the fact that lines are run-on freely. Major syntactical breaks are placed upon the central dieresis, this being a “favourite device of Anglo-Saxon poetry” (Pearsall, 1977, p.15). The stress-patterns of the half-line were analysed and postulated by Sievers and may occur in any combination or sequence. It is argued that (Bliss, 1962, p.29) “the divergences from the norm are to be found, not in the more or less exact accommodation of the speech material to the metrical pattern, but in the variation of the metrical pattern itself.”

It seems that enjambment is anti-mnemotechnical as well, since in the next verse another sound is alliterated; still, there is the on-going syntactic unit, which ensures this function. It should also be noted that the text of the 48-line fragment of *The Battle of Finnsburh*, a text clearly prior to *Beowulf*, for instance, has end-stopped lines.

On the other hand, rhyme seems not to have been a constructive principle of metric structure in ancient poetry. Theorists include it into the phenomenon of *homoioteleuton* (identity of the end of words succeeding at small distances from one-another). Perhaps one explanation lies in the fact that rhyme is a device rather qualitative than quantitative and will see its heyday some centuries after. Still, it was not unknown to Anglo-Saxon poets (there is a so-called *Rhyming Poem* in the Exeter Book), but there is strong reason to believe (Pearsall, 1977, pp72-73) that it was avoided by Anglo-Saxon poets of the classical period because of “how it makes the alliteration superfluous and therefore decorative and heavier”.

Rhyme seems to come of another tradition and seems to instate another canon, perhaps ulterior to that of beat and alliteration. If in old literature the difference between sung verse and recited verse is taken into account, it becomes clear that in sung verse the

necessity of underlining beat or euphony was not that strong, because of music rhythm. Rhyme will therefore be the *apanage* of popular poems and ballads which stray from the great tradition, creating, nevertheless, another canon: that of *transaccentuation* (where the word-stress at times yields to the music stress) It is argued that monosyllabic rhyme was characteristic of sung poetry, whereas disyllabic rhyme will become the mark of recited poetry, in later ages.

If, then, verse of the great classical tradition was not to be “decorative”, i.e. charged with emotional, aesthetic value, besides the strictly mnemotechnical one, what are the reasons for which great poems of both Latin and Anglo-Saxon provenance still continued to be created after the decline of the bardic tradition?

It is problematic whether these poems can be accurately dated, on the one hand, since all one can date is the variants or copies that have come down to us and which, in many cases, may capture works of prior centuries. But which is more important is the fact that one could witness a shift of canon in poetry, along with the disappearance of bards and/or the maturing of Christendom. The old canon seems to migrate towards a qualitative charge of whatever was quantitative in versification; rhythm and alliteration, deprived of their mnemotechnical function start absorbing aesthetical overtones, they become expressive, rather than technical and style grows on the very violation of the expectation instated by the old canon. Segmenting verse into metric feet becomes a source of beauty in poetry, and especially in its cultured variant, as is “spicing” the text with alliteration. Hence, perhaps the confusion between alliteration proper and euphony or secondarily motivated onomatopoeia, which contain some degree of sound symbolism.

Divested of mnemotechnical function, primarily pragmatically motivated devices will start contributing to the modern canon of poetry and become “things of beauty”.

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Recenzii - Book Reviews

Elena Rodica Colta, *Repere pentru o mitologie a Românilor din Ungaria*,
 Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, 225 p.

A părută la Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, cartea Elenei Rodica Colta, *Repere pentru o mitologie a Românilor din Ungaria*, este o mărturie a dăruirii unei cercetătoare față de o problematică dificilă, aceea a antropologiei minorităților din țara sa, precum și din Ungaria. Plecînd de la întrebarea dacă mai sînt funcționale vrăjitoria și magia, cercetătoarea reface *universul tradițional mental* al omului actual, poate, doar *întîmplător român din Ungaria*, în fapt, așa cum recunoaște și autoarea, al omului, în general, situat în Europa de est postcomunistă sau în oricare alt spațiu. Chiar dacă descoperim un univers mental general valabil, ca lector din minoritatea despre care Rodica Colta s-a interesat în repetate rînduri socotesc că ceea ce face din reconstituirea propusă o evocare a românilor din Ungaria este punctul de plecare: anchetele care s-au desfășurat la Aletea, Micherechi, Bedeu, Otlaca Pustă, Bătania, Chitighaz, Săcel, Pocei; în aceeași măsură, universul mental reconstituit e ancorat în minoritatea română din Ungaria prin faptul că autoarea e în măsură să descopere identitatea acestei comunități în atîtea și atîtea surse bibliografice de limbă maghiară sau publicate în Ungaria. Adunînd din localitățile anchetate *un bogat material folcloric, credințe, superstiții, practici magice și povești despre ființe din altă lume*, autoarea recuperează un capitol de spiritualitate românească, *o viziune*, cum îi spune, *ancestrală, azi dispărută ori pe cale să dispară*.

Structura cărții impresionează prin adecvarea la universul mental reconstituit. *Spațiul și timpul*, repere esențiale ale viețuirii ființei în lume, dau substanță primelor două capitole. *Puterile și lucrările magiei* continuă excursul

antropologic ca un al treilea capitol, propunînd o ilustrare a percepțiilor duale ale ființei care trăiește în limitele conturate, în egală măsură, de normal și de anormal, de personaje pămîtene și de personaje nepămîtene, cum ar fi pricolicii, moroii, paparudele, turca, Crăciunul și multe altele. Urmărind semnificațiile mitice ale spațiului, autoarea notează că *credința în puterea magică a locului determină precauții chiar din momentul întemeierii unui sat ca loc în care urma să se desfășoare viața unei comunități întregi*. Sunt, după cum remarcă autoarea, purtătoare de înțeles mitico-magic vatra satului, pășunea, hotarul, drumurile, podul, răscrucea, pe scurt, tot ce e unitate în diviziunile spațiului, partea și întregul. Referindu-se la motivele spațiale, cercetătoarea surprinde specificul reprezentărilor, coboară în sufletul celui de la care află semnificațiile faactorilor de spațiu și rămîne fidelă, în modul de a reda, acestor oameni care i s-au destăinuit și au dăruit astfel o fărîmă, așa zice, un mărgăritar, din viața lor, din sufletul lor. Rodica Colta nu-i învață, așa cum fac alți cercetători, ci învață de la ei ce înseamnă, de pildă, *rudimentele în care s-a conservat ideea de scară a sufletelor pe care coborau odinioară sfinții pe Pămînt*.

Urmărind, în secțiunea a doua a cărții, *timpul* ca factor ordonator al existenței mitico-magice, cercetătoarea descifrează, în mentalitatea românilor din Ungaria, *o logică a puterii* acestuia. Ca și elementele spațiului, unitățile timpului se dovedesc a fi, toate, în creșterea și descreșterea lor cantitativă și calitativă, încărcate cu infinite valori mitico-magice. Timpul de început de ciclu, de săptămîină, lună ori an, înregistrează virtuți aparte, cu *putere formativă*; fastele și nefastele,

ca zile sau ceasuri, compun calendarul magic, în care, adaugă autoarea, *sărbătorile marchează momentele critice ale timpului*, dar și, adăugăm noi, clipa eternei reînțoarceri, a începutului continuu, de vreme ce, în *derulare, timpul este marcat de momente critice, în care, potrivit credințelor românești, se deschideau cerurile*, se manifesta *sensibilitatea magică a ființei*, se săvârșeau riturile de inițiere și cele de trecere, care asigurau intrarea efectivă a ființei în *viața creștină și în cea a comunității*. Și în această secțiune a cărții Elena Rodica Costa reușește să reconstituie structurile arhetipale, pe care omul modern le-a desemantizat; ea este atentă la tot ceea ce oferă sursele vii, români din Ungaria, în mentalitatea cărora aceste structuri ocupă încă o poziție privilegiată și satisfac funcții simbolice ale existenței. Prin anchete, constatăm după lectura cărții, cercetătoarea a reușit să pătrundă în zonele interzise ale reprezentărilor mentale, acolo unde unitatea mitico-magică se plâsmuiește ori se însușește ca bun general uman; în etapa următoare anchetei, folcloristul (și, în același timp, antropologul Rodica Colta) a dat prioritate omului capabil să se bucure de această infinită semnificare și resemnificare a elementelor mitologice asupra cărora, prin descinderea în satul populat de români în Ungaria, a avut fericita împrejurare de a zăbovi.

A treia secțiune a cărții, consecvent dispusă după investigarea *puterii ordonatoare a timpului*, vine să identifice efectiv *puterile* în manifestarea lor directă, printr-o serie de reprezentări specifice, precum și prin *roluri proprii universului mitico-magic*. Fiecărui rol, autoarea îi circumscrie extensiunea ritualică, funcțiile și practicile asociate, dorind parcă să reazeze fiecare unitate în *cosmosul* pe care cercetătoarea îl consideră acum dezintegrat, fărîmă cu fărîmă, dispersat în memoriile ființelor ce își amintesc despre *farmece și făcături*, despre *desfaceri*, despre *descîntare, dezlegarea ploilor*, dar, cei ce își amintesc, parcă o fac ca și cum toate acestea ar fi practici străine chiar și de imaginarul în care s-ar fi situat vreodată.

Greu de detașat de secțiunea a treia, venind oarecum în continuarea acesteia, *Întîlnirile dintre lumi. Ființele de dincolo. Altfel de ființe*, ca o a patra parte a cărții, continuă efortul de

restaurare a imaginarului colectiv prin ordonarea agenților și instrumentelor care au dat substanța lumii investigate; cercetătoarea se îndreaptă întii spre *grupul oamenilor înzestrați încă de la naștere cu puteri speciale*, pentru a explica modul în care se armonizează contrariile acestei lumi *gîndite magic*; în prezentarea *ființelor pămîntene înzestrate cu puteri neomenești*, magicul se dovedește a fi principiul ordonator al existenței, cel ce populează conștientul și memoria subiecților din Chitighaz, care mai povestesc întîmplări legate de pricoloci sau ajung să descrie modalitatea în care *poate să ajungă cineva vrăjitor*. Poate tocmai sentimentul nemărturisit cu privire la o imanență a magicului, resimțit de Rodica Colta în numeroasele descinderi în satele noastre românești e cel care a determinat-o să așeze în această secțiune adevărate micromonografii care, credem noi, vor cunoaște dezvoltări în timp; e evidentă pentru această etapă dorința cercetătoarei de a aduna ceea ce ar putea să se piardă, să dispară și să lase vid locul ocupat cîndva de o atare practică magică în ansamblul pe care încercăm să-l recuperăm.

Această dorință e confirmată și de ultima secțiune a cărții, una de un riguros nivel teoretic subordonat încercării (și reușitei) de a sistematiza ceea ce trebuie să se știe despre mitologia românilor din Ungaria. Încercarea de structurare a reprezentărilor mitice românești active sau memorate conduce, am spune, la următoarele intrări de enciclopedie a mitologiei noastre: 1. *oamenii cu puteri supraomenești*; 2. *ființele supranaturale*; 3. *animalele mitice*; 4. *plante magice*. Interesată fiind de imaginea care înglobează toate componentele identității noastre, autoarea vede în lumea mitico-magică sondată în cele câteva sate din estul Ungariei un *rezervor complex de sedimente culturale provenind din epoci diferite*; în același timp, autoarea crede în posibilitatea de sondare a universului prin referire la gîndirea mitico-magică și, ceea ce e important pentru mine, ca român din Ungaria, înțelege că modelul de viață pe care l-a descoperit în satele românești din Cîmpia Maghiară e în măsură să reevalueze accepțiile mitului în acord cu *marca identitară definitorie acestuia*.

Cercetare sistematică a *universului exemplar* identificat în satul românesc din Ungaria, întreprinsă, socotim noi, cu mijloacele antropologiei și ale teoriei imaginarului, cartea Elenei Rodica Colta este cea dintâi monografie

completă a men-talităților reperabile în aria complexă de românitățe transfrontalieră vestică.

HOCZOPAN ANNA,
Ungaria

Philippe Ortel, *La Littérature à l'ère de la photographie. Enquête sur une révolution invisible*, Editions Jacqueline Chambon, Nîmes, 2002

Le culte de l'image engendré par l'apparition des dispositifs tels la lanterne magique, le panorama, le kaléidoscope, le stéréoscope, est interrogé par Ph. Ortel de la perspective de la photographie. Le but de cet ouvrage riche et dense est de mettre en discussion les effets produits par l'expansion de la photographie dans le champ littéraire. C'est également un plaidoyer pour une théorie rapprochée des arts, pour une unification du texte et de l'image par l'acte de la lecture. Si la littérature «donne à voir», l'image peut fort bien «signifier». L'image comme «signe continu» et la chaîne discontinue du langage deviennent inséparables dans «l'espace-temps de la lecture» où effets textuels et effets visuels s'entrecroisent.

Plutôt que d'exposer le rôle joué par telle ou telle photographie dans une œuvre littéraire, le théoricien se demande, plus radicalement, comment les œuvres littéraires du XIX- è siècle ont dû redéfinir leur contenu et leurs règles de composition sous la pression de ce nouvel art. Le livre de Ph. Ortel se veut un parcours théorique qui suit le mouvement de l'histoire littéraire, mettant en évidence la correspondance constante entre chaque courant littéraire et l'esthétique photographique qui lui est contemporaine. Ainsi le Romantisme s'intéresse à la scène de création, aux interactions entre le poète, le monde, le texte, au statut de l'artiste comme «écrivain» qui incorpore les images du monde, comme «écran» de projection sur lequel la nature renvoie ses images, ou comme «réflecteur» qui reproduit la nature à la manière d'une «glace vivante». Parallèlement la photographie atteste non uniquement la présence de l'objet, mais surtout

celle de l'opérateur au moment de la prise de vue, s'érigeant en «signe d'existence» et surtout de «coexistence». En revanche, puisque le Réalisme reconsidère les places du sujet et de l'objet de la création dans l'oeuvre, les notions de cadrage et recadrage deviennent essentielles. Le critique se méfie pourtant d'une identification entre l'essence du réalisme littéraire et le «modèle photographique», en raison du rôle de la praxis dans l'élaboration de l'oeuvre, du travail du romancier qui met en cause l'idée d'une transparence optique du récit réaliste.

La photographie n'intervient pas seulement à titre de thème, de motif narratif ou de modèle descriptif dans les œuvres, elle affecte les lois du genre: le poème en prose s'apparente plus visiblement à la photographie par la façon de court-circuiter le message qui ne passe plus par les détours du vers et accorde le primat à l'image. L'expansion de l'industrie de l'image influence les règles formelles de l'énonciation romanesque: ainsi le retour des personnages d'un roman à l'autre (*La Comédie Humaine*) demande de la part du lecteur un regard synoptique; à l'intérieur du récit la technique du point de vue permet à l'auteur de «s'effacer» derrière le regard des personnages; de nombreux dispositifs optiques: fenêtres, vitres et vitrines deviennent générateurs de descriptions et ouvrent sur des vues (Zola); des romans «en négatif» fonctionnent à la manière de l'image inversée (Céard).

Un autre point important sur lequel nous aimerions insister c'est la distinction que l'auteur opère entre une «esthétique du regard» à vocation herméneutique et une «esthétique de la vue» à vocation mimétique, autrement dit entre

le souci de la complétude et celui de l'incomplétude. Dans le premier cas la passion de l'artiste est optique et toute sélection vise à remplir l'image plutôt qu'à l'épurer, tandis que dans le second cas on introduit des manques dans l'image, par exemple de l'invisible, pour alléger la matière et l'acheminer vers la signification. Le rôle de cadre, joué par les horizons, fait que la photographie soit un fragment de la réalité extérieure et non une reconstruction comme en peinture. Même si elle s'appuie sur les lignes du paysage pour s'organiser, le cadrage lui permet de se forger une vision du monde.

La littérature de la fin du XIXe siècle qui s'intéresse au psychisme humain trouve - pour Philippe Ortel - son homologue dans la chambre photographique en tant qu'interprétant universel de l'homme et de ses facultés. Cette démarche est complétée par le théoricien avec l'analyse des portraits photographiques de quelques écrivains dont le photographe a su surprendre l'image intérieure, image qui se superpose à la tonalité de leurs écrits.

D'ailleurs l'invention de Niepce et de Daguerre est toujours mise en relation avec des noms qui ont pratiqué ou du moins ont eu de l'intérêt pour ce nouvel art. Lamartine, Hugo, Vigny, Du Camp, Flaubert, Baudelaire, Champfleury s'y réfèrent soit dans les termes d'une équivalence entre le poète nouveau et l'empreinte impressionnable, sensible de la photographie, soit dans les termes polémiques d'un «plagiat de la nature par l'optique», soit dans le débat pour une esthétique de la totalité dans le théâtre qui annonce le primat du regard (Hugo) ou, plus directement, par des albums photographiques qui accompagnent des récits de voyage. (Du Camp et Flaubert).

La singularité de l'entreprise de Philippe Ortel est d'avoir mis en évidence le passage d'une culture logo - centrique vers une autre, grapho- centrique et techno - centrique, par le biais d'un art qui n'a pas bénéficié longtemps d'une reconnaissance esthétique: la photographie.

AURORA BĂGIAG

Virgiliu Florea, M. Gaster & Agnes Murgoci – Avocați în Marea Britanie ai culturii populare românești. Advocates in Great Britain of Romanian Popular Culture.

Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, Cluj, 2003

Un eveniment neșemnat este cartea profesorului Virgiliu Florea, conferențiar universitar la Facultatea de Litere a Universității "Babeș-Bolyai" din Cluj-Napoca, "M. Gaster & Agnes Murgoci – Avocați în Marea Britanie ai culturii populare românești", (cu titlul în limba engleză "Advocates in Great Britain of Romanian Popular Culture"), apărută la Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, Cluj, 2003. Cartea, de un bogat interes documentar, oferă cititorului prilejul de a beneficia de o amplă documentație, înlesnind

relevarea dimensiunii spirituale a celor care se convertesc pentru o clipă din marele timp în ambasadori spirituali ai României peste hotare.

Titlul, sugestiv, aduce cu sine implicația unei bogate corespondențe, posibilă, evident, numai pe dimensiunea înălțării. În loc de prefață, ca un argument al spiritului, domnul profesor V. Florea formulează, cu tact și adâncă înțelegere a realităților zilei, mulțumirile care se impun tuturor celor care, preț de o clipă, s-au oprit din îndatoririle zilnice pentru a-și

deschide ochii minții și ai inimii spre orizontul altor spații culturale.

Convertindu-se într-o reală "aventură spirituală", așa cum o numește V. Florea, cercetarea între 1981-1982 a impresionantei arhive M. Gaster de la University College din Londra oferă posibilitatea reabilitării a doi reprezentanți de marcă ai folcloricii noastre. De altfel, în bogatul material documentar aflător la arhiva mai sus-numită, se găsește și o însemnată corespondență pe teme folclorice și naționale românești semnată Agnes Murgoci. Devenită prin adopție fiică a poporului român (prin căsătoria cu profesorul George Munteanu Murgoci), Agnes Murgoci desfășoară o activitate de seamă în vastul domeniu al folcloricii, militând pe diverse fronturi la reabilitarea imaginii României în străinătate. De cealaltă parte a baricadei, M. Gaster, doctor în lingvistică, întreține cu mare interes și dăruire corespondența cu A. Murgoci, contribuind la o mai bună cunoaștere a României dincolo de granițe istorice și vremelnice.

V. Florea oferă, în același timp, variate și însemnate informații privind cariera și activitatea didactică și publicistică a celor doi ambasadori spirituali, menționând, printre altele, frecventarea de către profesorul Gaster a Junimii, unde va citi, în prezența lui Eminescu, Creangă, Ispirescu, Slavici și Hasdeu, prieten și viitor emul, părți din cartea sa de debut "Literatura populară română", apărută în 1883, în care își formulează binecunoscuta teorie despre originea modernă și literară a basmelor populare europene. Ajungând la o înaltă poziție socială și științifică, susține numeroase conferințe care aduc în prim plan problematica românească, teoria despre originea basmelor, inclusă ulterior într-o antologie englezească de povești românești "Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories" din 1915 [Povești românești despre păsări și animale].

Corespondența dintre M. Gaster și A. Murgoci, pe care V. Florea o inserează în cartea sa, este oarecum de dimensiuni impresionante, atât din punct de vedere cantitativ (111 documente: scrisori, telegrame, cărți poștale, felicitări), cât și calitativ. Se adaugă aici scrisorile lui George Munteanu Murgoci și cele ale poetului O. Goga, pe atunci

ministru al cultelor și artelor. Problematika scrisorilor traduce în fond, la modul general, cele trei sectoare ale activității românești desfășurate de A. Murgoci, "vioara întâi" a acestei corespondențe, și anume: studii de folclor românesc, aspecte legate de viața economică, social-politică, dar mai ales culturală a României, și, nu în ultimul rând, susținerea ferventă a intereselor

naționale ale României, cu deosebire după înfăptuirea Marii Uniri "într-un stat unitar și indivizibil, act contestat de unele cercuri filomagiare".

Ca folclorist, A. Murgoci culege, în răstimpul celor 12 ani petrecuți în țară, un bogat material folcloric, completat ulterior cu prilejul fiecărei reveniri în țară. Valorificarea materialului folcloric s-a făcut exclusiv în Anglia, mai cu seamă în cadrul lui "Folklore Society". V. Florea oferă, din aceeași dorință de readucere în actualitatea zilei a avocaților culturii populare românești, și titlurile publicate ulterior în revista "Folklore". După dispariția prematură a lui A. Murgoci, ambasadoare de elită a sufletului românesc, activitatea sa este susținută de fiica acesteia, Helen Beveridge Murgoci.

Correspondența celor doi ambasadori de seamă, "avocați" cum îi numește V. Florea, re-actualizează problematica românească și interesul deosebit, susținut, pe care fiii altui neam îl arată unui pământ binecuvântat de cer și zodii, înscris în spațiul marii culturi, și care trăiește, prin excelență, în orizontul luminii. Importantă și sub aspect tematic și sub aspectul bogatului și foarte variatului material documentar, rod al unei îndelungi și laborioase cercetări, cartea lui V. Florea este un pas înainte în reabilitarea valorilor spirituale și un punct de reper, valoros, pentru posibilitățile cercetătorii.

CRISTINA PETRUȚ

George Irimiaș, *Structuri textuale ale discursului totalitar. Studiu din perspectivă semiotică a textului*. Clusium, 2003

Pe lângă foame, frig și întuneric, unul dintre "produsele de succes" ale "epocii de aur" este *limba de lemn*. Limba, domeniu și fenomen social prin excelență, nu a putut scăpa siluirii impuse de regim, devenind vehiculul perfect al ideologiei comuniste. Rămășițe ale acestei mutilări lingvistice am regăsit și după 1989. Nu de puține ori am zâmbit la auzul unei sintagme ca "integrare europeană", care ne amintea de "societatea socialistă multilateral dezvoltată".

O tratare inedită a *limbii de lemn* ne propune George Irimiaș în lucrarea **Structuri textuale ale discursului totalitar. Studiu din perspectivă semiotică a textului**, apărută la Editura "Clusium", în anul 2003. După cum reiese din subtitlu, autorul preferă o abordare semiotică a "obiectului textual discursiv", definit ca "obiect eminamente verbal, parte a unui proces de comunicare și de cunoaștere în și prin care se dezvoltă el însuși ca semn sau complex semnificativ purtător al sensului". Semiotica permite analiza *limbii de lemn* pe cele trei niveluri fundamentale: sintactic (relația

cu sistemul), semantic (relația cu lumea) și pragmatic (interpretările).

În cele șapte capitole riguros structurate ale cărții sale, George Irimiaș construiește o viziune globală atât asupra organizării *limbii de lemn*, cât și asupra funcționării acesteia în spațiul comunicării.

Pentru cercetător, *limba de lemn* este un subsistem al limbii naturale, un text saturat ideologic, reflex al unui dublu proces: de semnificare, în calitatea lui de *semn verbal complex*, și de comunicare, în ipostaza de *complex semnificativ verbal*. Analiza semiotică urmărește modificările produse în comunicare de perspectiva ideologică. *Limba de lemn* reprezintă o logocrație, o reificare a unui sistem social, o "comunicare patologică", rezultată din "disimularea opțiunilor alternative", o așa-numită "diglosie socială", "utilizare aberantă" a interacțiunii comunicaționale.

George Irimiaș dedică un capitol definirii conceptului de *limbă de lemn*, punctând abordările alternative ale acestuia, aria sa de cuprindere, relațiile cu ideologia și implicațiile sale

în discursul de influențare și în mass-media. Autorul pornește de la constatarea că "emblema unei jumătăți de secol de comunicare în spațiul comunist", *limba de lemn*, nu s-a bucurat de interesul specialiștilor, preferându-se simpla menționare a unor ipostaze și manifestări în dauna structurărilor teoretice.

Trecând peste inerentele diferențe de perspectivă asupra noțiunii, cercetători precum Umberto Eco, Lucien Sfez sau Louis Martinez au văzut în *limba de lemn* o comunicare alterată prin distorsiune, omisiune sau manipulare și un obiect semiotic, caracterizat prin hipercodificare și printr-o schimbare violentă a codului, generate de "surplusul ideologic" (U. Eco). *Limba de lemn* este limba celor care dețin o putere, George Irimiaș reproducând, în acest sens, afirmația lui J. Goebbels: "Noi nu vorbim ca să spunem ceva, ci ca să obținem un efect". După Groppo, în cazul limbii de lemn, "realitatea nu este ce este, ci ceea ce este formulat verbalizat".

Cel mai interesant capitol mi se pare al cincilea, în care "ritualul lingvistic" al limbii de lemn este analizat sintactic, semantic și pragmatic, desprinzându-se trăsături esențiale ale acestui subsistem, fixitatea, rigiditatea și clișeizarea.

La nivel sintactic, *limba de lemn* utilizează cu predilecție nominalizarea, prin articulare sau prin conversiune (procesele devin lucruri), multiplicarea subiectului și a calității, prezentul etern, imperativul și gerunziul, persoana I, plural, în opoziție cu persoana a III-a, plural și inflația numeralului, într-o "comunicare scientoidă". Toate aceste procedee contribuie la crearea unui univers centrat pe minciună, la construirea unei realități strict verbale.

Din punct de vedere semantic, *limba de lemn* aduce o viziune maniheistă a realității, termeni vagi, metafore globale (eroul providențial, cârmaciul, omul nou), multiplicarea și fracționarea sensului (metafora organismului, a luptei).

Palierul pragmatic consemnează încadrarea limbii de lemn într-o pragmatică a minciunii, prin

inadecvarea la context ca sursă de manipulare, și detașează fenomene specifice: recurența, parțială sau intratextuală, permutațiile, comentariul condensat sau extern și citarea ca argument absolut.

Această descompunere judicioasă a limbii de lemn, ca într-o lecție de anatomie, este completată cu trei texte de la Congresele P.C.R. din 1969, 1975 și 1981, prin care George Irimiaș demonstrează caracterul static al acestui "mutant lingvistic".

În concluzie, *limba de lemn* reprezintă o "disoluție a limbajului" într-o societate în care instanțe mai presus de legi hotărăsc în numele unor ideologii arbitrare ce trebuie să știe și ce nu trebuie să știe poporul. *Limba de lemn* este teritoriul reificării, al legitimării, al disimulării și al fragmentării, "desemnată să protejeze ceea ce nu poate fi protejat, ascunzând realitatea crudă" (George Orwell) și având ca unică finalitate controlul conștiinței.

George Irimiaș a elaborat în această carte un demers semiotic avizat, echilibrat între teoretic și practic. El a redus zonele de indeterminare ce înconjurau conceptul de *limbă de lemn*, prin preocuparea continuă pentru definirea exactă a termenilor și prin apelul la o bibliografie densă și autoritară, extinzând aria de cuprindere a fenomenului în domenii precum mass-media și publicitatea, care privilegiază discursul de influențare.

În afara acestei contribuții teoretice însemnate, cartea lui George Irimiaș se constituie ca un avertisment pentru cei care ar fi tentați de o "limbă fără memorie". Nu întâmplător lucrarea se încheie cu un citat din romanul lui George Orwell, 1984, demascând intențiile unei astfel de "limbi": "N-ai pătruns încă frumusețea distrugerii cuvintelor".

CORINA ȘERAN