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Undoubtedly there are all sorts of languages in the world, yet none of them is without meaning. If then I do not grasp the meaning of what someone is saying, I am a foreigner to the speaker, and he is a foreigner to me (1 Corinthians, 14: 10-11).

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**TYPES OF SIGNS, SPEECH AND INTERACTIONAL
MECHANISMS IN COMMUNICATION**

WAYS OF ACHIEVING 'MODALIZATION' IN THE ROMANIAN CONTEMPORARY MEDIA DISCOURSE. CASE STUDY

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Abstract

The present study contains several remarks on the specific circumstances of development of a controlled mediated interaction (the case of a television debate). The study is a case analysis of the televised debate during the show „Știrea zilei” (Today's News) on TV channel “Antena 3”, representing a controlled mediated interaction which has GF as moderator. CB, LO and LD are present as participants in the televised political debate under discussion.

Keywords: modalization, modality markers, lexical modality markers, lexico-grammatical modality markers, prosodic modality markers, pragmatic modality markers

Rezumat

Cercetarea poartă asupra circumstanțelor specifice de realizare a unui tip de interacțiune mediatică controlată, și anume debatele din cadrul programului „Știrea zilei”, difuzat de canalul „Antena 3” al televiziunii române. În articol, moderatorul acestui program este desemnat prin abrevierea GF. Abrevierile LO și LD sunt întrebuițate pentru a desemna participanții la programul politic menționat.

Cuvinte-cheie: modalizare, marcatori ai modalității, marcatori lexicali ai modalității, marcatori lexico-grammaticali ai modalității, marcatori prozodici ai modalității, marcatori pragmatic ai modalității

The televised debate under analysis is excerpted from *The Corpus of spoken contemporary unidiomatic Romanian language* (coordinated by Luminița Hoartă Cărașu), Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Iași, 2013, pp. 265-269.

The term and concept of *modalization* emphasizes the “way modality is represented in the message” (GLR, 2005, p. 673), *modality* being the “semantic, grammaticalized category which denotes the speaker’s attitude towards a propositional content, his/her cognitive, emotive or volitive attitude towards a state of affairs, real of potential, described by language” (*ibidem*). The modality markers, which are the “means of achieving modalization” (*idem*, p. 674), are commonly classified into four types (grammatical, lexical, lexico-grammatical, and prosodic) (*ibidem*).

We will focus on three of the four types of the mentioned modality markers, illustrating with examples from the televised political debate described above the following markers:

(1) the *lexical* ones (lexical verbs with a modal meaning (modals): deontic modal verbs, volitive modal verbs, epistemic modal verbs: *evidentials* and phrases with an appreciative meaning);

(2) the *lexico-grammatical* ones (modal verbs or modal operators, adverbs and adverbial phrases);

(3) the *prosodic* markers (*emphatic pitch accents*).

We shall also add a fourth type of modality markers, namely the *pragmatic* ones (overlaps, language of offence, discursive irony).

A. The *lexical* modality markers are lexical verbs with a modal meaning: *the deontic modal verbs, the volitive modal verbs, and the epistemic modal verbs: evidentials and phrases with an appreciative meaning.*

A 1. The *deontic verbs* describe the deontic modality which “illustrates the degree of obligation or permission indicated in a sentence” (GLR, 2005, p. 698). The Romanian verbs with a deontic value are *a trebui/must* (*idem*, p. 689), *a obliga/to oblige, to compel, a permite/to allow* (*idem*, p. 677), *a putea/can/could* (*idem*, p. 689), *a forța/to force, a impune/to impose*, the verbal *a avea obligația/to have the obligation to/should/ought* (Gherasim, 1997, p. 79).

The following example illustrates the way in which the verbs *a putea/can/could* and *a permite/to allow* are used with a deontic value:

“GF: domnu’ B ↑ vreți să veniți pe scaun mai lângă mine ↑ ++ am o întrebare pentru dumneavoastră.

CB: perfect. + *pot* să vorbesc și eu ? +” [CLRVAN, p. 265];

“GF: vreau] să v-adresez o [întrebare ↑ +

CB: stau ↑] + [vă zâmbesc ↑ +

GF: dar cum *puteți*] să-mi [spuneți așa ceva ?” [CLRVAN, p. 266];

“GF: îmi răspundeți la o întrebare ↑ + sau [nu ?

CB: INCREDIBIL.]

GF: nu.

CB: deci INCREDIBIL. +++ *v-ați permis* să mă jigniți de trei ori la [persoană ↑ ++” [CLRVAN, p. 267];

“GF: și dumneavoastră-mi spuneți de amant ↑ + adică domnul T e [amantul meu] ↑

CB: pentru că *mi-am permis* să-mi spun un punct de vedere în emisiune. ++ de unde știți că vorbeam de dânsu’ ” [CLRVAN, p. 267]?

The verb *a trebui/must* with a deontic connotation conveys, in this instance, the meaning of *obligation* (GLR, 2005, p. 689):

“CB: după ce dumneavoastră mă-ntrebați dacă [am mâncat ceva stricat ?

GF: *ar trebui* să vă-nroșiți ↑] ++ *ar trebui* să vă-nroșiți să vă ridicați [să plecați.

CB: sînteți] o doamnă ? ++ îmi [pare rău ↑

GF: deci *ar trebui*] să plecați” [CLRVAN, p. 267].

The bibliography in the field attributes to the deontic verb class a certain connotation of “politeness”, which may have the meaning of “a ‘soft’ obligation, a permission, or a lesser prohibition”, with the “connotations of politeness lexemized particularly by the verb *a ruga/to implore*” (Gherasim, 1997, p. 80). The following excerpt shows the deontic value of the Romanian verb *a ruga/to implore*:

“CB: a ↑ ++ deci acuma mă jigniți ↓ ++ cumva amantul dumneavoastră ?
 GF: ă: ↑ ++ amantul meu ? ++ da’ amanta [dumneavoastră ?
 CB: deci eu] *vă rog* frumos ↑ ++ eu am fost foarte drăguț ↑ ++ și nu am venit cu
 chestiuni [personale” [CLRVAN, p. 266];
 “CB: doamnă] vă dau și-n judecată. +++ unu. ++ că nu sînt milionar ↑
 GF: nu. ++ sînteți deja DAT DE MINE. +++
 CB: nu. ++ de dumneavoastră ↑ + pentru ce ? ++ deci mințiți cu o [nerușinare ↑
 GF: domnu’ O ↑ ++ *vă rog*” [CLRVAN, p. 269].

A 2. *The volitive verbs*

The Romanian verbs *a vrea/to want*, *a dori/to desire* (GLR, 2005, p. 677) have a volitive value. They are verbs that “convey the lexical meaning of volition and desire” and such verbal phrases “are constructed using in the subordinate clause a verb in the conjunctive mood” [*idem*, p. 693]. In the following excerpt from the debate moderated by GF, the verb *a vrea/to want* is used with a volitive value:

“GF: da. domnule B ↑ AM O ÎNTREBARE pentru dumneavoastră.
 CB: doamnă ↑ + NU VREAU SĂ RĂSPUND LA ÎNTREBĂRILE
 DUMNEAVOASTRĂ. *vreau* să vă-ntreb [și eu ↑” [CLRVAN, p. 265];
 “CB: dumneavoastră.] I-ați întrebat pă domnul O ↑ ++ cum [de s-au dublat
 cheltuielile publice ↑ + în patru ani de zile ↑
 GF: domnu’ B ↓] + eu *vreau* [să vă pun următoarea întrebare ↑” [CLRVAN, p.
 266];
 “GF: *vreau*] să v-adresez o [întrebare ↑ +
 CB: stau ↑] + [vă zâmbesc ↑ +
 GF: dar cum puteți] să-mi [spuneți așa ceva?” [CLRVAN, p. 266];
 “CB: deci ↑ +] eu vă spun următorul lucru. +++ extrem de drăguț. +++ eu *am vrut*
 să vorbesc despre ce-a făcut peneleul ↑
 GF: da’ am o întrebare să vă adresez ↑” [CLRVAN, p. 267].

A 3. *The epistemic modal verbs: evidentials*

The *epistemic* modality itself and the *evidential* modality are the two basic forms of epistemic modality. If the epistemic modality itself deals with the “the act of determining/evaluating the truth of a sentence, indicating the degree of certainty which the speaker possesses with relation to the reality of the state of things”, the evidential modality refers to the “way in which the speaker marks in the intended message his/her available resources for inferring the meaning of a sentence – using specific evidential indicators” (GLR, 2005, p. 678). In other words, the two types of epistemic modalities imply the “speaker’s knowledge of the world” (Gherasim, 1997, p. 71).

In the following example, the Romanian verb *a părea/to seem* has an evidential value, representing a “symbol of the subjective information processing” (GLR, 2005, p. 687) and is used in the impersonal-reflexive construction *mi se pare/it seems to me that*:

“CB: deci eu] *vă rog* frumos ↑ ++ eu am fost foarte drăguț ↑ ++ și nu am venit cu
 chestiuni [personale.

GF: *mi se pare*] INCREDBIL. ++ [INCREDBIL" [CLRVAN, p. 266].

A 4. Phrases with an appreciative meaning

The phrases with an appreciative meaning are used to express "appreciation for objects, or isolated, nonpropositional entities" (GLR, 2005, p. 694).

In the debate proposed for analysis, the phrase with an appreciative meaning is the appreciative adverbial *strigător la cer/out of bounds*, preceded by a copulative verb, within an impersonal verbal expression:

"CB: doamnă scumpă ↑ ++ *e strigător la [cer* ↑

GF: *deci] este strigător la cer* ↑ că-i a doua oară când faceți așa ceva ↑ ++ la realitatea ↑ ++ v-ați făcut de râs [la realitatea ↑

CB: după ce] m-ați jignit de trei ori ↑ ++ *distinsă doamnă*" [CLRVAN, p. 267]).

B. The lexico-grammatical modality markers (modal verbs or modal operators, adverbs and adverbial phrases)

B 1. The modal verbs have the grammatical value of "grammatical operators (semi-auxiliary verbs)", and the predicate structure comprised of a modal verb operator and a supportive verb "represents a semantico-syntactic unit (a complex predicate)" (GLR, 2005, p. 675).

In the study case proposed for analysis, the Romanian semi-auxiliary modal verb *a putea/can*, and the supportive verb at the infinitive mood, form complex predicates:

"GF: *domnu' B* ↓] + eu vreau [să vă pun următoarea întrebare ↑

CB: *deși productivitatea muncii a scăzut* ↑ +]

GF: *dacă vreți să m-ascultați* ↑ + bine ↑ ++ *dacă nu* ↑ ++ [*puteți vorbi la bec*" [CLRVAN, p. 266].

Sometimes, the Romanian modal *a putea/can* that forms the complex predicate is used to express possibility as in "to be possible", and falling under the so-called "dynamic pseudo-modality" category (GLR, 2005, p. 694), it "depicts both the internal abilities and the exterior circumstances alike" (*ibidem*):

"GF: vreau] să v-adresez o [întrebare ↑ +

CB: *stau* ↑] + [vă zâmbesc ↑ +

GF: *dar cum puteți] să-mi [spuneți așa ceva ?"*

The Romanian modal verb *a putea/can*, may have, in another context from our example, an epistemic value, meaning "possibility (as in speculative judgement, hypothesis)" (*idem*, p. 679):

"GF: *oricum* ↑ ++ la cât de tare țipați ↑ + vă auzeați pe ambianță. +++ *domnu' O* ↓ ++ vă rog.

LO: *ați fost un reprezentant al partidului democrat* ↑

GF: *ați fost invitat să nu jigniți. ++ ați fost invitat să dați răspunsul întrebărilor.*

+++ *ați fost jignit* ↑ + după ce-ați jignit de patru ori. + *putem lua caseta. ++ deci cu mine nu mai aveți oricum ce discuta*" [CLRVAN, p. 268].

B 2. In the case of modality, the adverbs and the modal adverbials function as “modifiers of another predication, thus of an entire sentence with a declarative predicate” (GLR, 2005, p. 674).

In the chosen example, we have identified *modal adverbs* such as *chiar/really, cumva/perhaps/maybe, doar/just*:

“CB: nu știu.] am mâncat ceva la dumneavoastră aicea. ++ ceva ↑ ++ am găsit ↑ + am găsit aici ↑ pă masă ↑ ce mâncați dumneavoastră în fiecare [seară aicea.

GF: da’ *chiar* nu vă e jenă] domnu’ [B ?

CB: pă da [↑ +] mă-ntrebați așa de urât ↑ + să știți că nu plec din [emisiune ↑” [CLRVAN, p. 266].

CB, the guest with whom GF, the TV host, gets into a conflict, uses the word *cumva/perhaps/maybe* as an “epistemic symbol of uncertainty” (GLR, 2005, p. 685):

“GF: și [↑] + cine v-a spus ↑ + că sînteți băiatul cu mucii în freză a avut dreptate. ++ nu sînteți altceva decât [un băiat ↑

CB: a ↑ ++ deci acuma mă jigniți ↓ ++ *cumva* amantul dumneavoastră?” [CLRVAN, p. 266].

In this case, the modal adverb *doar/just* has a restrictive value:

“CB: n-am vorbit] DELOC. +++

GF: a:↑ +++ ați tăcut din [gură.

CB: nu m-ați lăsat] dumneavoastră.

GF: deci noi ne-am imaginat *doar*. +++ domnu’ D ↑ +++ sunteți neutru. +++ a vorbit domnu’ B [sau nu” [CLRVAN, p. 267]?

C. The prosodic modality markers

We will particularly focus on the *emphatic pitch accents of the word/syllable* of all the *prosodic modality markers*. In the example taken from the *Corpus de limbă română vorbită actuală nedialectală* [CLRVAN], the emphatic pitch accent of the word/syllable is marked by the words/syllables written in uppercase characters:

“CB: perfect. + pot să vorbesc și eu ? +

GF: da. domnule B ↑ AM O ÎNTREBARE pentru dumneavoastră.

CB: doamnă ↑ + NU VREAU SĂ RĂSPUND LA ÎNTREBĂRILE DUMNEAVOASTRĂ. vreau să vă-ntreb [și eu ↑” [CLRVAN, p. 265];

“CB: deci eu] vă rog frumos ↑ ++ eu am fost foarte drăguț ↑ ++ și nu am venit cu chestiuni [personale.

GF: mi se pare] INCREDIBIL. ++ [INCREDIBIL.

CB: eu n-am venit cu chestiuni personale ↑ în emisiune. ++ mă atacați [la persoană ↑

GF: întrebare.] ++ o [întrebare” [CLRVAN, pp. 266-267].

D. The pragmatic modality markers¹

¹For a detailed account of the televised debate analyzed here, please refer to Hoară Cărașu, L. (2013). Dezbateră politică televizată. Studiu de caz. *Limbaj și context*, 1(5), 88-97.

D1. Overlaps

The speakers' discourse, regarding the way both the *conventions for access to the spoken word*, and the *conversational code-switching conventions function*, contains numerous *interruptions* of the ongoing conversation, followed by *overlaps* of the other two speakers' discourse. The pertinent characteristic of this conflictual exchange is the frequency of the different speakers' constant *overlaps*. In the transcript, this particular type of overlapping speech is marked by brackets:

“CB: doamnă ↑ + NU VREAU SĂ RĂSPUND LA ÎNTREBĂRILE DUMNEAVOASTRĂ. vreau să vă-ntreb [și eu ↑
 GF: da' de] ce-ați venit? ++ [vă rog să vă ridicați să plecați.
 CB: domnu' O v-a răspuns] la vreo întrebare?
 GF: mi-a răspuns ↑ + la [toate întrebările.
 CB: la ce] întrebare [v-a răspuns?
 GF: la absolut] toate întrebările. +
 CB: eu am văzut c-a ținut un discurs [politic.
 GF: am o] întrebare ↑ + și mă chinui să v-o [adrez ↑
 CB: dumneavoastră.] l-ați întrebat pă domnul O ↑ ++ cum [de s-au dublat cheltuielile publice ↑ + în patru ani de zile ↑
 GF: domnu' B ↓] + eu vreau [să vă pun următoarea întrebare ↑
 CB: deși productivitatea muncii a scăzut ↑ +]
 GF: dacă vreți să m-ascultați ↑ + bine ↑ ++ dacă nu ↑ ++ [puteți vorbi la bec.
 CB: nu vă plac chestiunile sensibile.] + [nu vă plac sensurile↑” [CLRVAN, pp. 265-266].

D 2. Language of offence

In addition to the frequent *interruptions* followed by the speakers' *overlapping speech* (particularly the overlapping interferences of GF over CB's discourse), we have to point out the pragmatic *impoliteness* between the two interlocutors, impoliteness explained by the obvious aversion against each other: one as a moderator, and the other as a guest. According to its definition, *impoliteness* is a “deliberate attack against the interlocutor's individual self, generating negative effects on a social level” (Ionescu Ruxăndoiu, 2003, p. 100). In other words, impoliteness consists of threatening phrases directed towards the ongoing speaker. GF's ostentatiously contemptuous remarks arouse the manifestations of impoliteness between the two “public figures”. Thus, we witness the starting point for the further discontent marked by insults which imply that *CB might have eaten something rotten* or that the guest *must have a high fever*. The latter remark seems to mark the beginning of the conflictual interaction between the two actants:

“GF: domnu' B ↑ sunteți de acord ↑] +++ domnu' B ↓ ++ da' ce-ați mâncat? +++ ați mâncat ↑ î: ↑ ++ ceva stricat ↑ + înainte de [emisiune?
 CB: nu știu.] am mâncat ceva la dumneavoastră aicea. ++ ceva ↑ ++ am găsit ↑ + am găsit aici ↑ pă masă ↑ ce mâncați dumneavoastră în fiecare [seară aicea.

GF: da' chiar nu vă e jenă] domnu' [B ?

CB: pă da ↑↑ +] mă-ntrebați așa de urât ↑ + să știți că nu plec din [emisiune ↑"
[CLRVAN, p. 266].

The following are a series of insulting remarks the two protagonists throw at each other. The two speakers successively articulate denigrating comments:

"CB: mă uit ↑] + și vă pun niște întrebări ↑ și văd cum [vă deranjează.

GF: da' ↑ + dumneavoastră ↑] ++ îmi puneți mie întrebări? ++ în ce [calitate?

CB: că telespectatorii] [văd ↑

GF: domnu'] B↑ +

CB: că dumneavoastră sînteți [părtinitoare.

GF: domnu'] B ↑ + asta credeți [dumneavoastră" [CLRVAN, p. 266].

D 3. Discursive irony

The show host's aversion for CB is not only expressed explicitly, but also implicitly, using *irony*, a type of *implicature*:

GF: da ↑] ++ n-ați făcut niciodată afaceri cu statu' ↑ +++ ați ajuns milionar ↑ ++ muncind din [greu.

CB: doamnă] vă dau și-n judecată. +++ unu. ++ că nu sînt milionar ↑

GF: nu. ++ sînteți deja DAT DE MINE. +++

CB: nu. ++ de dumneavoastră ↑ + pentru ce? ++ deci mințiți cu o [nerușinare ↑
[CLRVAN, p. 269].

GF's ironic remark, "da ↑] ++ n-ați făcut niciodată afaceri cu statu' ↑ +++ ați ajuns milionar ↑ ++ muncind din [greu", entails precisely the opposite of what it actually expresses.

Conclusions

In the present study, we have emphasized and highlighted several types of *modality markers*, using examples from the televised debate „Știrea zilei”: (1) the *lexical* ones (lexical verbs with a modal meaning (modals): deontic modal verbs, volitive modal verbs, epistemic modal verbs: *evidentials* and phrases with an appreciative meaning); (2) the *lexico-grammatical* ones (modal verbs or modal operators, adverbs and adverbial phrases); (3) the *prosodic* markers (*emphatic pitch accents*). We shall also add a fourth type of modality markers, namely the *pragmatic* ones (overlaps, language of offence, discursive irony).

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'De rien ma puce ! C'est entre nous !'

RESPONDING TO THANKS IN CAMEROON FRENCH

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Abstract

This study examines strategies employed by Cameroonian French speakers when responding to gratitude expressions. Based on data collected by means of Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs), the study explores communicative choices in the realization of responses to thanks and the pragmatic motivations behind such choices in three different situations. The findings show that Cameroon French speakers have at their disposal a variety of face-saving and face-enhancing strategies that are used to downplay the cost of the benefit they are being thanked for, express positive feelings towards the addressee, express pleasure for providing the benefit, etc. Overall, responses to thanks occur in the data either as single head acts or as combinations of head acts and supportive acts.

Keywords: responses to thanks, face, politeness, Cameroon French, strategy

Rezumat

În articol, abordăm modalitățile camerunezilor francofoni de a răspunde mesajelor de grațitudine. Bazându-ne pe datele înregistrate după Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs), ne propunem să cercetăm atât actele de răspuns la mulțumiri, cât și motivația pragmatică a acestora în trei situații de comunicare distincte. Rezultatele obținute ne arată că camerunezii francofoni pun în aplicare strategii variate de face-saving și face-enhancing, care au drept scop minimalizarea politicoasă a aportului lor la realizarea unui lucru sau acțiune, dar, în același timp, servesc la exprimarea atitudinii pozitive față de interlocutor, a plăcerii de a-i fi util etc. În general, răspunsurile la mulțumiri sunt repertoriolate, în acest caz, atât ca acte unice, cât și ca unele combinate cu alte tipuri de acte.

Cuvinte-cheie: răspuns la mulțumiri, face, politețe, franceza cameruneză, strategie

1. Introduction

This study examines the realization of responses to thanks in Cameroon French. The speech act of *responding to thanks* has been studied extensively in many languages and cultures and from different perspectives. In her research on responses to thanks in American English, Grando (Grando, 2016, pp. 11-33) provides an overview of studies on thanking, both in English and other languages and a review of literature on responses to thanks in English and other languages². As far as French is concerned, the studies currently available are usually not entirely dedicated to this speech act. Responses to thanks are rather examined alongside with other speech acts³. There is, to

²Also see Gesuato (2016).

³See for instance Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2005, pp. 122-143 who examines apologies, thanks and responses to both acts in the same chapter.

the best of my knowledge, no study entirely dedicated to responses to thanks in French in general and in Cameroon French in particular. The present paper is an attempt to fill this research gap. The main aim is to investigate communicative strategies adopted by Cameroonian French speakers when responding to gratitude expressions from a friend, a stranger, and a professor. To achieve this aim, I use data elicited by means of Discourse Completion tasks and an analytical framework based on the conception of French as pluricentric language. From this viewpoint, the study is based on the assumption that “in any language, each illocution can be performed in different ways. The different structural patterns and lexicosemantic devices conventionally available for performing a given illocution [...] represent different strategic options for the speaker. [...] The strategies and forms conventionally employed to realize a given speech act differ across varieties of the same language” (Schneider, 2005, pp. 101-102).

Other frameworks that are beneficial for exploring patterns of responses to thanks in Cameroon French include the politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987), cross-cultural pragmatics (Wierzbicka, 2003), and postcolonial pragmatics (Anchimbe & Janney, 2011). This article is structured as follows: section 2 presents the theoretical background of the study. Section 3 presents the methodology. Findings and discussions are presented in section 4. Section 5 concludes the study.

2. Theoretical Background

According to Schneider, “responses to thanks follow acts of thanking. Thanks and responses to thanks form dialogical units known as adjacency pairs or, [...] simple interactional exchanges [...]. Thanking exchanges involve two interactants who appear in the local roles of thanker and thankee, with the thanker uttering a thanks and the thankee uttering a response to thanks. [...] A response to thanks is a reactive interactional move which follows a reactive move, as the act of thanking also refers back to an offer or after compliance with a request. [...] Responses to thanks fulfill an important social function. In all cases, a response to an act of thanking terminates the sequence it occurs in, irrespective of the length and complexity of this sequence. Thanks and responses to thanks, thus, form a sequence-final dependent simple exchange” (Schneider, 2005, p. 103).

In most of the studies currently available, it is claimed that strategies used to respond to gratitude expressions are mostly attempts to restore the social balance between the interactants. This is generally achieved by choosing strategies that focus on the thanker, the thankee, the debt generated by the benefit, the act of thanking itself, etc. For instance, the thankee can downplay the cost of the benefit they are being thanked for, express positive feelings towards the thanker, express pleasure for providing the benefit, etc. In order to achieve this, speakers have at their disposal a range of strategies that could be interpreted as politeness, face-saving or face-enhancing strategies.

The general point of agreement in cross-cultural pragmatics has been that the realization of speech acts and other pragmatic phenomena vary across languages and cultures. With respect to pluricentric languages,⁴ however, recent studies have shown that “speakers who share the same native language do not necessarily share the same culture” (Barron & Schneider, 2009, p. 425), and that “pragmatic differences may occur across varieties of the same language” (*ibidem*). In both cases, there is need to examine how language-specific and sociocultural norms influence the ways speakers of a specific language realize speech acts. Research on speech acts in Cameroon French generally takes into account the complex, multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural postcolonial context. In order to adequately explain choices of Cameroonian French speakers when responding to thanks, it is necessary to operate on the premises of postcolonial pragmatics. According to Anchimbe and Janney, postcolonial pragmatics focuses on “experiences, interactions, challenges, and communicative strategies of members of postcolonial communities using ex-colonial languages, non-colonial languages, pidgin and creoles in their activities” (Anchimbe & Janney, 2011, pp. 421-422)⁵. In other words, the present study considers responses to thanks in Cameroon French (an ex-colonial language in a postcolonial space) as an example of postcolonial pragmatic behavior.

3. Method

The data for this study were collected by means of a written Discourse Completion Task (DCT) questionnaire, which was designed for a larger project on speech acts (e.g. apologies, requests, complaints, invitations, refusals, thanks, responses to thanks, etc.) in Cameroon French. Each situation comprised a brief description of the setting, i.e. “the general circumstances [...] and the relevant situational parameters concerning social dominance, social distance and degree of imposition” (Barron, 2008, p. 43). The present study focuses on responses to thanks elicited from the DCT. The participants were asked to provide responses to gratitude expressions from a close friend, a stranger and a professor. The three scenarios were described in the questionnaire as shown below:

Situation 1 : *Un(e) ami(e) proche vous demande de l'aider à saisir un document à l'ordinateur. Lorsque le travail est fait, il/elle vous dit « merci ». Vous lui répondez :... / 'A close friend asks you to help type a paper. When the work is done, s/he says “thank you”. You respond :'*

Situation 2 : *Un(e) visiteur/visiteuse s'est égaré(e) sur votre campus. Il/elle vous demande de le/la conduire à la bibliothèque universitaire. Quand vous y arrivez, il/elle*

⁴ See Clyne, 1992.

⁵For more details on the scope, aims, and goals of postcolonial pragmatics, see Janney (2009) too.

vous dit : "Merci beaucoup pour votre aide". Vous lui répondez : .../ 'A stranger got lost on campus. S/he asks you to take him/her to the university bookstore. When you get there s/he says "Thank you very much for your help". You respond : '

Situation 3 : Votre professeur(e) vous demande de l'aider dans l'organisation d'une conférence. Après cet événement, il/elle vous appelle à son bureau et vous dit : « Merci beaucoup pour votre aide la semaine dernière ». Vous lui répondez : .../ 'Your Professor asks you to help him/her organize a conference. After the event s/he calls you in his/her office and says "Thank you very much for your help last week". You respond : '

Overall, 148 Cameroonian students participated in the study: 104 respondents were students at the University of Douala and 44 participants were students at the University of Yaoundé I, more precisely at the *École Normale Supérieure de Yaoundé*. Of the 148 respondents, 100 (67.6%) were females and 48 (32.4%) were males. They ranged in age from 18 to 30, however, 105 (70.9%) of the respondents were between 20 and 25 years old. The respondents were speakers of French in a multilingual context where two official languages (French and English) are permanently in contact with more than 250 native languages. With regard to how long the participants have been using French, all the participants indicated that they acquired French through school education and that they have been speaking French for more than 15 years. With regard to the questions of the main language used at home, 118 (79.7%) use indigenous languages and 41 (27.7%) use French. Concerning the main language used with friends, 144 (97.3%) use French, 11 (7.4%) use camfranglais, 8 (5.4%) use English, 3 (2%) use German. The complex sociolinguistic and cultural background and language choices of the participants certainly also play an important role in the choice of strategies when responding to gratitude expressions in French.

The 148 participants provided a total of 413 answers (142 examples in Situation 1; 133 examples in Situation 2 and 138 examples in Situation 3). The data collected were analyzed at many different levels. The first step consisted in identifying head acts, i.e. the communicative units or components that can realize the responses to thanks independently of the other units of a conversational turn. Head acts represent the main content of the conversational turn, the speech act proper (in this case, the response to thanks). In the 413 examples provided by the informants, responses to thanks appear as single head acts, as in (1), (2) and (3) or as combinations of head acts, as in (4):

- 1) (Friend⁶): *De rien./ 'Not at all'.*
- 2) (Professor): *C'est moi qui vous remercie./ 'I am the one to thank you'.*

⁶Examples from the data are coded as follows: (Friend) means 'response to thanks from a close friend; (Stranger) means 'response to thanks from a stranger' and (Professor) means 'response to thanks from a professor'.

- 3) (Stranger): *Il n'y a pas de quoi.*/'Don't mention it'.
- 4) (Professor): *De rien, monsieur. Tout le plaisir est pour moi.*/'Not at all sir. The pleasure is all mine'.

The second task was to classify the head acts found in the data according to their pragmatic functions. Using Aijmer's classification of responses to thanks in English, it was found that the Cameroonian French speakers employ the following five strategies to respond to thanks and to minimize the indebtedness of the thanker (see section 4.1.1) (Aijmer, 1996):

- a) Strategy A: 'Minimizing the favor'. The thankee downplays the favor offered to the thanker or indicates that the action taken to do a favor to the other did not cause any trouble: e.g. *Il n'y a pas de quoi.*/'Don't mention it'. It is a negative politeness strategy.
- b) Strategy B: 'Expressing pleasure'. The thankee says that he/she had pleasure in doing the other a favor: e.g., *C'est un plaisir.*/'My pleasure'. This is a positive politeness strategy that enhances the positive face of the speaker and the addressee.
- c) Strategy C: 'Expressing appreciation'. The thankee expresses appreciation of the addressee: e.g., *Je vous en prie.*/'You are very welcome'. It is positive politeness strategy.
- d) Strategy D: 'Returning thanks'. The thankee thanks the addressee in return: e.g., *Merci aussi.*/'Thank you too'. This is positive politeness strategy.
- e) Strategy E: 'Acknowledging the thanks'. The thankee indicates that he or she acknowledges the thanks: e.g., *Ok.*/'Yeah'. It is a positive politeness strategy.

In the third step of the analysis I examined the linguistic realization forms of the five major strategies used to respond to thanks. Using Schneider's (Schneider, 2005) inventory, the forms used by the respondents were classified into many sub-categories (see section 4.1.2). The fourth step of the analysis focused on types and functions of supportive moves (see section 4.2). Supportive moves are additional speech acts that either mitigate or aggravate the effect of the head act (response to thanks), as in (5):

- 5) (Friend): *Il n'y a pas de quoi. Les amis sont là pour ça.*/'Don't mention. Friends are meant for that'.

In the next section, findings are presented and discussed.

4. Findings

4.1. Head acts

4.1.1. Strategies and Pragmatic Functions

Following Aijmer, the head acts were examined and classified according to speakers' pragmatic intent regarding the initial gratitude expressions (Aijmer, 1996). Table 1 summarizes the distribution of the pragmatic strategies found in the corpus:

Strategy	Frequency
Strategy A: Minimizing the favor	348 (63%)
Strategy B: Expressing pleasure	120 (21.7%)
Strategy C: Expressing appreciation	44 (8%)
Strategy D: Returning thanks	35 (6.4%)
Strategy E: Acknowledging the thanks	5 (0.9%)
Total	552 (100%)

Table 1: *Distribution of head strategies in the data*

Overall, all the strategies documented in Aijmer's (1996) taxonomy are also represented in the Cameroon French data. As displayed in Table 1, the most frequently employed strategy is strategy A (Minimizing the favor), which accounts for 63% of all examples. Strategy B (Expressing pleasure) accounts for 21.7% and is the second most common strategy in the data. The three other strategies occur with much lower percentages: strategy C (Expressing appreciation) appears in 44 (8%) instances, while strategy D (Returning thanks) accounts 6.4%. Strategy E (Acknowledging the thanks) accounts for less than 1% of the data. In terms of politeness orientation, this result shows that the respondents mostly prefer negative politeness strategies while responding to gratitude expressions. In other words, they most frequently attempt to save the face of their counterparts by insisting on the fact that the acts they are being thanked for are not really thankworthy. The analysis also reveals situational variation in the use of the head act strategies, as can be seen in Table 2:

	Friend	Stranger	Professor
Strategy A: Minimizing the favor	128 (73.5%)	110 (65.5%)	110 (52.4%)
Strategy B: Expressing pleasure	29 (16.7%)	33 (19.6%)	58 (27.6%)
Strategy C: Expressing appreciation	7 (4%)	14 (8.4%)	23 (11%)
Strategy D: Returning thanks	9 (5.2%)	7 (4.2%)	19 (9%)
Strategy E: Acknowledging the thanks	1 (0.6%)	4 (2.3%)	0
Total	174 (100%)	168 (100%)	210 (100%)

Table 2: *Distribution of head-act strategies across the three situations*

Table 2 indicates that the most preferred strategy, namely strategy A (minimizing the favor) is not equally distributed across the three situations. As a matter of fact, strategy A is most frequently employed when the respondents react to thanks from close friends. This strategy accounts for 73.5% of all tokens in the Friend situation. The second most common strategy in the corpus, strategy B (expressing pleasure), is most frequent in the Professor situation (27.6%). This is also the case with the third and fourth preferred strategies, strategy C (expressing appreciation) and strategy D (returning thanks), which occurs with a percentage of 11% and 9%

respectively in the Professor situation. The least employed strategy in the data, namely strategy E (acknowledging the thanks), mostly occurs in situation 2 (stranger) and is not employed at all in situation 3 (professor).

4.1.2. Linguistic Realizations of Head Act Strategies

After examining the linguistic realization of the head act strategies discussed in the previous section, it was found that the respondents employ many different patterns to react to thanks. The patterns identified were classified following a modified version of Schneider's (Schneider, 2005, p. 116) typology. In his inventory of linguistic realization forms of thanks in English, Schneider identified the following eight groups of realization form and indicated how they relate to the head act strategies: *No problem; Welcome; Pleasure; Anytime; Thanks; Don't worry about it; Yeah; Don't mention it*. Based on this typology, I identified the following groups of realization patterns in the Cameroonian French corpus (represented by their distinctive element or dominant form): *De rien; Pas de quoi; Normal; Plaisir/Honneur; T'en/vous en prie; À votre service, Merci; D'accord*. Table 3 shows a breakdown of the realization forms in the data and how they relate to the five head act strategies of responses to thanks:

Head act strategy and linguistic realization forms		Frequency
Strategy A	PAS DE QUOI	155 (28.1%)
	DE RIEN	152 (27.5%)
	NORMAL	41 (7.5%)
Strategy B	PLAISIR	96 (17.4%)
	HONNEUR/JOIE/SATISFACTION	24 (4.3%)
Strategy C	JE T'EN/VOUS EN PRIE	36 (6.5%)
	À VOTRE SERVICE	8 (1.4%)
Strategy D	MERCI	35 (6.4%)
Strategy E	D'ACCORD	5 (0.9%)
Total		552 (100%)

Table 3: Distribution of linguistic realization pattern of head act strategies

As can be seen in Table 3, the three most favoured patterns in the data are, in decreasing order, PAS DE QUOI 'Don't mention it', which accounts for 28.1% of the data, DE RIEN "No Problem/Not at all", which accounts for 27.5% of all examples, and PLAISIR "Pleasure", which accounts for 17.4% of all occurrences. Overall, the three most frequent types represent more than 70% of all tokens in the data. The other patterns are employed with much lower frequencies: JE T'EN/VOUS EN PRIE 'Welcome' (6.5%), MERCI 'Thanks' (6.4%), À VOTRE SERVICE 'Anytime' (1.4%), D'ACCORD 'Okay' (0.9%). Table 3 also shows that while strategy A is realized in three different ways, Strategies B and C have two main realization patterns each. The two remaining strategies, D and E, are each realized using one pattern each. Let's

now turn to the linguistic realization forms of the various realization type presented in Table 3. We will begin with Strategy A.

Strategy A: "Minimizing the Favour"

Table 2 above shows that this strategy is realized in the data by means of three different sub-strategies, namely PAS DE QUOI, DE RIEN, and NORMAL. The first sub-strategy, PAS DE QUOI/"Don't mention", is realized in many ways. In addition to the elliptical variants, *pas de quoi* and *y'a pas de quoi*, more elaborated variants are employed, namely : *Il n'y a (vraiment) pas de quoi* ; *Il n'y a pas de quoi me dire merci*. This pattern is also realized as *Ne vous inquiétez pas* ; *Ne vous en faites pas* ; *Ça ne vaut pas la peine de me remercier* ; *Vous n'avez pas à me remercier*, etc. The second sub-strategy, DE RIEN "No problem", is realized in the data as *De rien* ; *C'est rien* ; *Sans souci* ; *Il n'y a pas de soucis*. These forms may also be accompanied by adding address terms and or conjunctions (e.g. *Mais de rien, monsieur*). The third sub-strategy, NORMAL 'It's normal', is realized as *C'est normal*; *C'est naturel*. In some cases, adverbs and clauses are added, as in *C'est (tout) naturel* ; *C'est normal que je t'aide*. Other variants attested in the data are : *C'est la moindre des choses* ; *Cela va de soi* ; *Entre amis, c'est tout à fait normal*, etc.

Strategy B: "Expressing Pleasure"

This strategy appears in the data in the forms of two sub-categories, namely PLAISIR and HONNEUR/JOIE/SATISFACTION. PLAISIR "Pleasure" is the third most frequent pattern in the data. It appears in short utterances such as *C'est un plaisir*, *Ce fût un plaisir*; *Le plaisir est partagé*/"my pleasure"; *Tout le plaisir a été pour moi*/"The pleasure was all mine". Some respondents employ adverbs or adjectives to reinforce short expressions of pleasure, as in *Cela était un réel plaisir*. This pattern also appears in long utterances ("it was/is my pleasure to..."): *Ce fut un réel plaisir pour moi de vous aider*/"It was a real pleasure to help you". The second sub-strategy, HONNEUR, JOIE, SATISFACTION, is realized 24 times (4.3%) in the corpus. The expression of honor and pride is framed as follows : *C'est un honneur de t'aider*/"It's an honor to help you"; *J'en suis fier*/"I am proud about it". JOY is expressed as follows: *Je suis ravi de vous rendre ce service*/"I am happy to render this service"; *Je suis heureuse de t'avoir été utile*/"I am happy to have been useful to you". SATISFACTION is expressed as follows: *Je suis satisfait de t'avoir aidé*/"I am satisfied to have helped you".

Strategy C: "Expressing Appreciation"

This strategy can be divided into two sub-strategies, namely JE T'EN/VOUS EN PRIE and À VOTRE SERVICE. JE T'EN/VOUS EN PRIE "Welcome" is employed 36 times (6.5%). It is used to express appreciation for the interlocutor. It is realized as: *je vous en prie*/'You are welcome'. À VOTRE SERVICE is realized as *Je suis à votre (entière) disposition* ; *C'est quand vous voulez*/'At your service'.

Strategy D: "Returning the Thanks"

MERCI "Thanks" appears 35 times (6.4%) in the data and is employed to reciprocate the thanks. It is realized as *Merci*, the elliptical form which can be accompanied by adverbs *Merci aussi*/'Thank you too'. Other variants of MERCI in the data are *C'est plutôt moi qui vous remercie*/'It's me who should thank you'; *C'est moi qui vous remercie*/'I want to thank you'.

Strategy E: "Acknowledging the Thanks"

D'ACCORD is employed 5 times in the data (0.9%). It is used to acknowledge the thanks. It is realized as *D'accord*; *Tant mieux*; *Ok*; *Okay*; *Oui*.

4.1.3. Situational Distribution of Strategies and Realization Forms

This section presents the distribution of the pragmatic strategies and their linguistic realization patterns across the three situations (see Table 4):

Strategy and sub-strategy		Friend	Stranger	Professor	Total
Strategy A	DE RIEN	63 (41.5%)	44 (28.9%)	45 (29.6%)	152 (100%)
	PAS DE QUOI	52 (33.5%)	50 (32.3%)	53 (34.2%)	155 (100%)
	NORMAL	13 (31.7%)	16 (39%)	12 (29.3%)	41 (100%)
Strategy B	PLAISIR	19 (19.8%)	26 (27.1%)	51 (53.1%)	96 (100%)
	HONNEUR/JOIE / SATISFACTION	10 (41.6%)	7 (29.2%)	7 (29.2%)	24 (100%)
Strategy C	JE T'EN/VOUS EN PRIE	4 (12.1%)	11 (33.3%)	18 (54.5%)	33 (100%)
	A VOTRE SERVICE	3 (27.3%)	3 (27.3%)	5 (45.4%)	11 (100%)
Strategy D	MERCI	9 (25.7%)	7 (20%)	19 (54.3%)	35 (100%)
Strategy E	D'ACCORD	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	-	5 (100%)

Table 4: *Distribution of the realization types of head-act strategies across the three situations*

As displayed in Table 4, the sub-strategy DE RIEN is mostly used by the respondents in the Friend situation, while it is almost equally distributed in the Stranger and Professor situations. By contrast, PAS DE QUOI, the most frequent realization type or sub-strategy in the data, appears to be equally distributed in the three situations. PLAISIR, the third most preferred realization type of head act strategies in the corpus, appears mostly in the Professor situation. The respondents mostly employ forms belonging to NORMAL sub-strategy in the Stranger situation. Table 4 also indicates that MERCI and JE T'EN/VOUS EN PRIE, the fifth and sixth most employed realization types, are most common in the Professor situation. The least employed realization pattern D'ACCORD mostly appears in the Stranger situation and is not employed in the Professor situation.

4.2. Supportive Acts and Their Pragmatic Functions

Several speech acts are used as supportive acts in the data. Of the 144 tokens of supportive acts attested 63 (43.8%) occur in the Friend situation, 54 (37.5%) tokens appear in the Stranger situation, while 27 (18.7%) instances are used in the Professor situation. With respect to their pragmatic functions, the 144 supportive acts identified were classified in different groups.

The first group consists of supportive acts that occur exclusively in the friend situation. They are chosen by the speakers in order to remind the addressees that the existing friendship is the reason for providing the benefit. By attributing the benefit to their close relationship, the speakers want to minimize the favour and flatter the face of the addressees. Friendship can be expressed in an explicit manner, as in (6) or indirectly, as in (7). In some examples, these supportive acts serve as suggestions that speaker and addressee have to help each other or cooperate beyond the present situation. In this case, the speaker explicitly says that friends are there to help, as in (8). Overall, the expression of social responsibility (to friends and superiors) and the strengthening of cordial relationships are the motivations behind such supportive acts:

- 1) (Friend): *De rien. "C'est entre nous camarades"*⁷./'Not at all. It's between friends'.
- 2) (Friend): *Pas de quoi. "Ton travail est aussi le mien".*./'Don't mention it. Your work is also mine'. *Il n'y a pas de quoi. "Les amis sont faits pour ça".*./'Don't mention it. Friends are meant for that/What are friends for?'

The second group consists of supportive acts that are used to indicate that the speaker also benefited from favor. Acts belonging to this group appear in the formal situation (professor), as in (9) and in the informal situation (friend), as in (10):

(Professor): *Je vous en prie. Ce fût un plaisir. "J'en ai beaucoup appris".*./'You are welcome. It was a pleasure. I learned a lot from it (the conference)'.

(Friend): *De rien. "Cela m'a permis aussi d'améliorer mes performances".*./'Don't mention it. It also helped me develop my skills'.

The supportive acts of the third group are employed to express the conviction that the addressee would have acted in the same way. The acts belonging to this category are employed to enhance the positive face of the other: s/he is implicitly presented as a helpful person. The positive image is also presented as the leverage to provide the benefit for which the speaker is being thanked. In most cases, the face-enhancing supportive act could be interpreted as a justification of the head act, as in (11):

(Friend): *C'est rien. "Je pense quand même que tu aurais fait pareil pour moi".*./'It's nothing. I think you would have done the same thing to me'.

⁷The supportive acts are in comas.

Another category consists of supportive acts that are used to stress the speaker's willingness or duty to help, as in (12) and to describe "the benefit as ordinary rather than special or costly" (Grando, 2016, p. 62), as in (13). In both cases, the supportive acts intensify the minimizing function of the head acts:

- 3) (Friend): *De rien ma puce ! C'est l'amitié. "Je suis là pour toi ma belle et tu pourras toujours compter sur moi".* /'Not at all darling. It's friendship. I am there for you beautiful and you can always rely on me'.
- 4) (Stranger): *Ce n'était pas grandiose. "Ce n'était qu'une aide".* /'It was not a big deal. It was just a help'.

The fourth group consists of supportive acts that are employed to close the exchange by treating the other as a potential partner in the future, as in (14):

- 5) (Stranger) : *Vous n'avez pas à me remercier, "passez tout simplement un bon séjour et à nous revoir prochainement s'il plait à Dieu".* /'You don't have to thank me. I just want to wish you a nice stay and see you next time by the grace of God'.

The fifth group consists of promises of future help to the other if assistance is needed, as in (15):

- 6) (Friend): *Il n'y a pas de quoi. "Je serai toujours disponible quand besoin sera".* /'Don't mention it. I will always be available when needed'.

The sixth group is that of supportive acts that are employed to assert reciprocity with the other. These include welcoming as in (16), expressions of empathy, as in (17), well-wishes, as in (18):

- 7) (Stranger): *Je vous en prie. "Vous êtes la bienvenue dans notre campus".* /'You are welcome. Welcome to our campus'.
- 8) (Stranger): *Il n'y a pas de quoi me remercier, "car tout le monde peut s'égarer et avoir besoin d'aide".* /'You don't have to thank me because anybody can get lost and need help.' *Il n'y a pas de quoi! "Faites un bon choix du livre que vous voulez acheter et passez une bonne journée".* /'Don't mention it. I wish you a good choice of the book you want to buy and have a nice day'.

The last group consists of a variety of supportive acts. They include advice, offering help, requests, etc. Advice is often intended to encourage the addressee to do something in connection with the favour granted. In (16), the speaker explicitly tells the addressee that if they do what they are advised to do, they should be able to help themselves in the future and also help other people. It is important to note in this example that the expression *quand tu as le temps* 'when you have time' and two justifications serve as mitigations for the advice. Another type of advice is illustrated in (17): the addressee is encouraged to be more careful in order not to miss their way. The advice is mitigated by a justification:

- 9) (Friend): *De rien, "mais il faut aussi apprendre à saisir quand tu as le temps car cela peut aussi aider quelqu'un comme toi demain et t'aider aussi dans d'autres situations".*./'Not at all, but you also have to learn how to type when you have time because it could also help somebody like you in the future and help you out in other situations'.
- 10) (Stranger): *De rien Monsieur, ne vous en faites pas, "prochainement il faut prêter attention. Ce campus est vraiment quelque chose à s'égarer, mais il n'est même pas grand".*./'Not at all sir, don't worry about it, you have to be more careful next time. You can easily go astray on this campus, but it's not that big'.

After responding to the gratitude expression, the speaker may use the act of offering help to indicate their readiness to help (again) in the near future. This consolidates the student-professor relationships, as in (18) and solidifies social bonds, as in (19):

- 11) (Professor): *C'était un plaisir! "N'hésitez-pas de me faire signe si vous avez encore besoin de moi monsieur".*./'It was my pleasure. Don't hesitate to contact me if you need me sir'.
- 12) (Friend): *De rien, le plaisir est partagé. "Tu peux revenir quand tu le souhaites".*./'No problem, the pleasure is also mine. You can come back when you want to'.

The speaker can make a request for reciprocation in the future, as in (20) or for a different kind of reward (money, drink, etc.), as in (21):

- 13) (Friend): *Merci aussi, "mais j'espère que tu m'aideras de même lorsque j'aurai besoin de faire saisir mon devoir si je n'ai pas le temps".*./'Thank you too, but I hope you will help me when I need to type my homework and I don't have time'.
- 14) (Professor): *De rien. "Mais monsieur il n'y a pas un pot pour moi"?*./'No problem. But, is there a drink for me sir?'

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to describe strategies adopted by Cameroon French speakers to respond to gratitude expressions in three different situations. The findings show that Cameroon French speakers have at their disposal a variety of face-saving and face-enhancing strategies to downplay the cost of the benefit they are being thanked for, express positive feelings towards the addressee, express pleasure for providing the benefit, etc. Overall, responses to thanks occur in the data either as single head acts or as combinations of head acts and supportive acts. With respect to head act strategies, it was found that 'minimizing the favour' is the most common strategy among the respondents. The results also show that the head acts are mostly realized using structures that belong to pattern such as *DE RIEN*; *PAS DE QUOI*; *PLAISIR*. The various supportive acts attested are employed, as the analysis above has shown, not only to mitigate and intensify the

preceding or following head acts, but also to express many other pragmatic and social intents.

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A SYNTHETIC OUTLOOK ON MODERN THEORIES ON CONCEPTS

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Abstract

Scientific interest towards concepts as basic mental structures reflecting the processes of human cognition of the world and the results of various human activities, has been gaining momentum these last years. The attempts to explain the ontology, the organization and the functional peculiarities of the concepts were extremely numerous and diverse. Reviewing the main theories on the origins of the concept from a linguistic, philosophical, psychological or culturological perspectives, is a necessary stage in constructing a solid theoretical basis for further more specialized reflections on the lexical concept, its structure and the principles of its functioning. Synthetizing statements and theories of scientists belonging to the American and the Russian scientific traditions, we try to present an integrated overview of the modern pluridisciplinary vision of the concept.

Keywords: *concept, concept theory, mental representation, lexical concept, concepts network, categorization*

Rezumat

Interesul științific față de concepte ca unități mentale fundamentale, care reflectă procesele de cunoaștere a lumii și rezultatele diverselor activități umane, a luat amploare în ultimii ani. Încercările de a explica ontologia, organizarea și particularitățile funcționale ale conceptelor au fost extrem de numeroase și variate. Trecerea în revistă și revizuirea principalelor teorii asupra originii conceptului din perspectivă lingvistică, filozofică, psihologică sau culturologică reprezintă o etapă necesară în constituirea unei baze teoretice solide pentru reflecții ulterioare asupra conceptului exprimat lexical, structurii lui și a principiilor de funcționare ale acestuia. Sintetizând aserțiunile și ipotezele savanților din școlile americană și rusă, încercăm, în acest articol, să prezentăm o imagine de ansamblu a viziunii pluridisciplinare moderne asupra conceptului.

Cuvinte-cheie: *concept, teoria conceptelor, imagine mentală, concept exprimat lexical, rețea de concepte, categorizare*

Reasoning about concepts nowadays, means dealing with multiple theories and approaches situated at the confluence of linguistics, psychology, philosophy, logic, culturology. The term "concept" is crucial for the description of such processes as cognition, learning, categorization, inference, and finally communication, that is why, in order to have an integrated view of the phenomenon, recent years studies on the nature of the concept turn to history, mathematics, informatics and other sciences the contribution of which to the elucidation of the issue is less evident at the first sight. In such a way the topic becomes so rich and lively that making a synthesis of the modern scientific outlook on concepts gets to be more and more complicated.

In linguistics “concept” is a quite old term regarded as the basic semantic unit of natural languages. Its study is deciding in revealing the logical constitution of a linguistic system, as well as in explaining structural relationships existing between its elements. Etymologically the term derives from the Latin word “conceptus” which comes from the verb “concupere – concapere” meaning “to conceive”. As thus, the simplest definitions of the concept present it as “something conceived in the mind” (Merriam Webster Dictionary). The ideal nature of the concept that is identified with a structural constituent of thoughts, a unit of knowledge or a mental symbol, doesn’t leave doubts. The problem consists in explaining its ontology, trying to describe its structure and to analyze its functional mechanisms.

Scientists who chose a linguistic approach in studying the nature of the concept assert that there is a concept corresponding to each lexical meaning, and suggest the idea that the concept is a kind of algebraic expression of meaning, which a man operates relying on his previous language experience (Karasik, 2001, p. 152). These linguists (we refer here especially to Ascolodov, Lihachev, Neroznak) speak about the concept as about the total meaning potential of a word taken together with its connotative element. From this perspective the concept appears as the basic semantic unit of natural languages. Linguistics deals with lexical concepts, that are conceptual representations susceptible of being encoded in and of being externalized by units of language.

It has been considered for a long time that our thought is based on a word-like mental scheme. According to Fodor’s Language of Thought Hypothesis “thought and thinking take place in a mental language. This language consists of a system of representations that is physically realized in the brain of thinkers and has a combinatorial syntax (and semantics)” (Aydede, 2015, p. 1). Representatives of the cognitive approach of the problem of concept study in Russian science (Popova, Sternin etc.) define the concept as «a quantum of structured knowledge» and an operative content unit of the mental lexicon (Balmagambetova, 2016, p. 85). In other terms they assign to the concept the same role in the mental processes as Fodor did when speaking about the Language of Thought.

It is, however, obvious that concepts have a superior status to words, serving as mediators between words and extra-linguistic reality (Nemickiene, 2003, p. 3), representing a strictly necessary articulation in the process of an individual’s situation and multidimensional integration in the world. Any fragment of the reality has to get a mental icon in the human’s internal system of representation. The basic mental images or ideas compose our beliefs. Theorists who adopt the mental representation view of concepts, usually identify concepts with basic mental representations. According to the Representational Theory of the Mind, beliefs and desires and other propositional attitudes enter into mental processes as internal symbols (Margolis, 2014, p. 2). For example Mary may believe that Andy is fatter than

Sam, and also believe that Sam is fatter than Bill. If taken together, these considerations will cause Mary to believe that Andy is fatter than Bill. This conclusion results from Mary's mental representations about Andy, Sam and Bill and their relative weights. It becomes clear that mental symbols have a characteristic causal-functional role in the formation of beliefs. The mental symbols that compose Mary's beliefs are Andy, Sam, Bill and Fatter, their content and the way they are arranged determine the manner she evaluates the situation.

Admitting that concepts are entities or images of some kind inside the head (Blunden 2012, p. 14), one should consider that the world of mental objects and the one of material objects are two different worlds. It is possible for one and the same object to receive different mental representations in different individuals. It can also be true that there are concepts human beings may never acquire, because of their intellectual limitations, or because the sun will expand to eradicate human life before humans reach a stage at which they can acquire these concepts (Peacocke, 2005, p. 169). This implies that not all the objectively existing concepts are word-sized.

The objective world of material objects is seen atomistically, the mental object of the existing entities of the objective world the individual consciousness of a subject establishes, is built on some attributes or features of these real objects. Still, in order to get to the essence of the object, that sometimes transcends the contingent visible attributes or features, one should connect the processed concept with others acquired earlier through social experience and interaction. Thus, Askoldov's qualifications of the concept as "a unit of memory", "a quantum of knowledge" or "a germ of mental operations" appear more than accurate.

Speaking about the relation between the concept and the fragment of the reality it corresponds to, it is worth mentioning the Conceptual atomism theory, according to which lexical concepts have no semantic structure, a concept's content being determined by its direct relation to the world and not depending on its relation to other concepts.

It is indeed insufficient to explore the concept as just an idle image or an inert symbol. The concept also implies an ability to discriminate a concept A from non-A and to draw certain inferences about A, so that further on, the newly acquired concept could potentially become a constituent of some propositions.

According to the Classical Theory of Concepts, that dominated the concept studies till the 1970s, every concept is given by its definition. A word is taken as the sign for the concept, and the meaning of each word is explained in terms of other words (Blunden, 2012, p. 16). The definition usually involves some necessary and sufficient characteristics or features of any thing coming under the definition and being attributed to a certain class of objects. In other words, when a person uses a concept, he/she does it

according to the definition of the concept in mind (the word-sized side of the mental representation). The sum of these mental definitions, constitute a kind of dictionary, by reference to which a person's perceptual field can be interpreted. Every lexical concept is thought to be composed of some basic concepts, so that new complex concept acquisition is possible by assembling definitional constituents of the already possessed ones. Thinking and cognition, storing and transforming information are based on categorization operations in which complex concepts are matched to target items by checking to see if each and every one of the definitional constituents of the concept applies to the target.

Concepts have a content which is objective, and insofar as concepts reflect the material world that is in a continuous evolution, the concepts will be inconsistent, unstable and even sometimes contradictory. Such characteristics of the concepts assure their vitality. Philosophers as Kant and Hegel explained that some complex concepts fall into contradictions with themselves (self-contradiction) because they go beyond the bounds of possible experience (Blunden, 2012, p. 180). Definitions we give to concepts are basically grounded on environmental relations and personal experience, and express our concernment to place the concept in a semantic network.

In an attempt to make order in the semantic network built of concepts, Eleanor Rosch and her colleagues suggested to distinguish «prototypes» - referential mental representations of an individual thing which is considered most typical or ideal, all other things are included or not included under the concept depending on how much they resemble the prototype. Admitting the existence of prototypes implies dealing with typicality effects. According to the number of constituents that a concept holds in common with a prototype, it is considered to be more or less typical for the generic cognitive model. In such a way, it was experimentally proved that apples are judged to be more typical than plums with respect to the category of fruit, because the concept «apple» has more constituents in common with the concept "fruit" (Margolis, 2014, 2.1). Even if the prototype theory has its limitations, and not all reflexive operations may be reduced to similarity comparison, still, prototypes constitute parts of the structure of the concept, entering the conceptual core. The conceptual core comprises all the relevant characteristics that determine the nature of the concept and underwrite compositional processes.

Reflections about the role of eventual prototypes in the formation of concepts may be also extended to an ethno-cultural perspective. The idea of the existence of some original common models on which specific concepts are patterned within a more or less uniform socio-cultural community is supported by many thinkers belonging to both the Russian and the American schools. They claim that different people see the world in a different manner, and this is related to the culture they have acquired and to

the social environment they live in. The culture is seen as a summation or a complex of concepts and connections existing between them. A concept can be understood as bunch of culture in the consciousness of people; the culture enters the mental world marking the concepts people from different cultural areas construct. The concept is also a discrete unit of the collective consciousness, which is stored in the national memory of native speakers in verbally determinate form (Nemickiene, 2003, p. 2).

Stepanov states that the "concept" is "a basic cultural cell in the mental world of a man" (Stepanov, 2007, p. 248). Any person representing a certain linguistic and social community forms a particular picture of the world in which certain values and principles are emphasized. That is to say that together with some general features, figuring in the structure of a concept for all humans, there can exist some characteristic additional traits valid and relevant for only native speakers or for people associated with a certain civilization. An example in this sense is the concept of white birch as perceived by someone of Russian origin opposed to what this same concept means for any other nation. In this sense V. Nezornak states that the "concept is a remarkable image abstracted in a word and reflecting a fragment of the national picture of the world".

Another view trying to explain the relations existing within semantic networks constituted of concepts, is the *Theory Theory*. According to this view, a concepts network is analogized with a scientific theory, and the concepts are related to one another in the same way as the terms of a scientific theory. In this context concepts are viewed as extremely complex data structures composed of some sort of theoretical principles, laws, generalizations, explanatory connections etc. (Weiskopf, p. 8). This theory might be applicable to the cognitive activity of a subject at a certain stage of intellectual development, but it is clearly inappropriate to describe infants' or young children's constructing of knowledge, as it can't be compared to what scientists do in producing, testing and revising scientific theories, even if we take into account the simplest of them.

Discussing the relevance of the different theories treating the ontology of concepts, it is also necessary to consider the problem of the concept structure. Scientists analyze the structure of the concept from various points of view, and almost always indicate to a complex composition involving several layers or levels.

The linguist Stepanov states that the concept has a multilayered structure, including a main feature, one or several additional passive features that are historical, and an inner form that is mostly unconscious being imprinted in the verbal form. These layers are the result of the cultural changes throughout different epochs. The basic layer on which all the other strata are built is the inner form, that is also called the etymological criterion and it is the less evident for simple speakers. The most clearly understood

component of a concept is its main actual feature, familiar for all the representatives of a certain linguistic and cultural community and commonly used in communication (Balmagambetova, 2016, p. 85).

Studying the same problem, Slyshkin and Karasik, for example, propose to differentiate a notional, a figurative and a value side in the structure of a concept. The notional part is represented by the means that assure the linguistic fixation of a concept – its name, description, feature structure, definition and comparative characteristics that reflect the relation existing between a concrete concept and other groups of concepts. The figurative side of a concept comprises the totality of visual, auditory, tactile, taste characteristics of objects or events, that are reflected in human consciousness. It is also called the imagery side of the concept. Finally, there is the value side, that specifies the importance of the object, event, action etc., reflected in the concept in the educational process for an individual as well as for the society in general (Nemickiene, 2003, p. 4).

Kuznetsov speaks about a triplet model of the concept that is susceptible to express three kinds of information. The first unit of the triplet described by the Ukrainian scholar is the base that is constituted of all the entities subsumed under a concept, as well as of all their properties and relations. For example the base of the concept Mammals is constituted of all the existing or ever existed warm-blooded vertebrate animals that nourish the young with milk produced by females. The second unit is the representative part of the concept and it is about means and ways of representing the base in intelligent systems. This second part is mainly constituted of the visual images and of the linguistic descriptions of the base of the concept. These elements can exist in the consciousness of an individual as encoded iconic or sound messages (Kuznetsov, 1997, p. 101). The representative part of the concept Mammals includes a list of names of various species of animals as well as more or less detailed descriptions of the features characteristic for creatures attributed to the base of the concept. The third element of the triplet model is about linkage between the first and the second units, and methods of its construction. This element is very important as it allows to call things by their proper names and assures an adequate use and interpretation of concepts.

Another largely discussed scheme of the concept structure is the circular model, according to which there can be identified a core or a central element in the composition of a concept, from which several associative multidirectional vectors diverge. As thus, the most relevant associations with a concept name that arise in the consciousness of native speakers of a language, form the nucleus or the core of the concept, whereas the less significant or less common associations circumscribe its periphery. All this being said, it is important to mention that the concept has no clear or stable

boundaries, as it has been previously mentioned. Concepts can manifest themselves in the mind with the help of language units of different degree of complexity: one and the same concept may be expressed by lexemes, idioms, collocations or sentences.

According to another approach to the analysis of the circular model of the concept structure, the basic notion underlying the concept has the role of the kernel or core, while everything that is added by culture, traditions and people's personal experience stays at the periphery (Nemickiene, 2003, p. 5). Popova and Sternin consider that the internal structure of the concept includes a sensual image, informational content and an interpretative field. The sensual image may be perceptual (formed with the help of sensory organs) or cognitive, when it's formed by metaphorization of objects or of phenomena. The informational content of the concept consists of certain cognitive features that determine the most important and distinguishing features of an object or phenomenon. The cognitive features, which interpret the informational content of the concept, influence the formation of the interpretative field. The interpretative field is not homogeneous and can be divided into several zones: the evaluative zone (expressing the general assessment), the encyclopedic zone (it characterizes the features of the concept that need to be learnt, experienced etc.), the utilitarian zone (it expresses people's utilitarian, pragmatic attitude towards the denotatum of the concept, their knowledge concerning the possibility and the peculiarities of its use for some practical purposes), the regulatory zone (it prescribes what is to be done and what is not to be done in the sphere "covered" by the concept), the socio-cultural zone (it results from the relation existing between the concept and the people's culture and way of life: customs and traditions, certain artistic works and texts), the paroemiological zone (it is reflected in proverbs, sayings, aphorisms etc., representing the totality of affirmations and of representations about the phenomenon corresponding to the concept that can be found in national paroemias) (Popova & Sternin, 2007, p. 82).

We have to admit that all these hypothesis or structure models may be of great help in describing the concept and trying to apprehend its complex nature from various perspectives and having definite objectives. But whatever the chosen perspective is, it is always true that in order to fully manifest itself in the cognitive-communicational processes, a concept has to be couched linguistically, and the crucial concepts have a verbal expression. Thinking and language are tightly related and one has to think in his/her natural language to be able to solve tasks that are superior to contrastive discrimination specific for animals (Margolis, 2014, 4.2).

Language and words are especially important in the process of learning and formation of new concepts. Citing Vygotsky, Andy Blunden in his book

«Concepts. A critical approach» points to the fact that concepts may be divided into pseudoconcepts, that are acquired by habit, spontaneously and without conscious awareness, and true concepts that can only be acquired with conscious effort and awareness (Blunden, 2012, p. 275). In this logic, pseudoconcepts are forms of activity that not only higher animals but even machines can attain, whilst the whole process of the development of true concepts hinges around words and word meanings. Thus true concepts refer to the highest intellectual activity, mental consciousness and independent thinking.

According to Vygotsky thought can be exteriorized and communicated only indirectly, in a mediated way. The internal mediation of thought is realized first by meanings and then by words. This means that thought is never the direct equivalent of the word meanings. Meaning is only an intermediary stage of thought in its path to verbal expression. So thought is always individual and subjective, depending on one's inclinations and needs, interests and impulses, affect and emotions (Blunden, 2012, p. 276).

Thought can be only partitioned into words, as thought is something of clearly greater extent and volume than a separate word. Very often to express one and the same thought, an orator may need a considerable time and a whole text in order to make others understand what he means and wants to transmit. At the same time, Blunden claims that in order to understand other's thoughts, and therefore concepts, we have to go behind speaking and thinking, to the sphere of thought motivation, its «affective-volitional basis». That is to say the concepts have a volitional and affective content as well as a cognitive one, and both these sides come from the outside world, as individuals draw them from the outside through collaboration within different activities in which they produce and reproduce their life and that of others. The volitional tasks that motivate our activity have their origin in the institutions of the wider society in which we participate (*idem*, p. 277). The most important concepts originated in ancient times and were refined through collective experience. Their circulation and continuity were assured by different forms of tuition. In such a way concepts are grounded in collective consciousness, in social experience, they merge with the general culture of a community and basically, the linguistic community determines the correct use of concepts.

Making a conclusion to all the cited standpoints, we should start from the inevitable interdisciplinary nature of the contemporary research on concepts. It is impossible to give a unipolar and strictly specific definition to the concept. Representing crucial structural and functional units of human intellectual activity, concepts embody human theoretical and practical understanding of the things and phenomena from both the external and internal worlds. Concepts are relevant for learning, recognizing new objects and events and for harmonious integration and adequate interaction with the environment. Analyzing and describing concepts one should keep in

mind that these are ideal units of knowledge, elaborated as mental representations of existing objects and phenomena, susceptible of being externalized by language units and underlying human thoughts and beliefs. Concepts are clusters of meaning that are of primary importance for the categorization of the kinds of things there are in the world.

Any signal coming from one's perceptual field can be interpreted with reference to the conceptual dictionary everyone of us possesses, having acquired it as the result of learning, observation, social experience and interaction. Any new concept is configured with reliance on some referential prototypes that involve an inventory of typical characteristics that allow to classify a new thing as belonging or not to a certain concept. Because of the tight connection between concepts and real elements of the objective world that is in a permanent evolution, it becomes evident that concepts have to be also flexible and changing. The complex semantico-functional network in which all our concepts are organized, is an individually marked structure with some specific configurations that have their origins in our daily praxis, intellectual background and cultural medium.

The multi aspectual nature of the concept leads to a variety of structural models researchers work on, trying to explain and to reproduce exhaustively the composition and the internal organization of the concept. The triplet model, the circular scheme and the zonal pattern are among the most discussed attempts to circumscribe the limits of something as extended as human thoughts. Analyzing and synthesizing all these statements is essential for taking a multipolar and aware position among the variety of hypotheses on a phenomenon as complex as the concept is.

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ANTHROPOMORPHIC AND ZOOMORPHIC SEMIOTIC CODES OF MIKHAIL BULGAKOV'S SATIRE

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Abstract

The article considers Mikhail Bulgakov's satirical texts in semiotic and axiological linguistic aspects. The prosaic texts of modernist fiction are analyzed as semiotic structural units, which can be interpreted with the help of key anthropomorphic and zoomorphic satirical codes of classic Russian literature. The article analyzes zoomorphic images of a wolf, a snake, a ferret, a bird etc., which are used in the novels of Mikhail Bulgakov to show the transformations of a human nature in the space of the Civil war. Semiotic axiology of these images is considered to be the most relevant instrument of Bulgakov's satire. The article reveals the interrelation between the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images of Bulgakov's satirical texts to represent the semiotic borders between the different levels of social hierarchy of his characters.

Keywords: *semiotic code, modernist fiction, Mikhail Bulgakov, satire, text*

Rezumat

În articol, supunem cercetării operele satirice ale lui Mihail Bulgakov din perspectivele semioticii și lingvisticii axiologice. Operele prozaice ale ficțiunii moderniste sunt analizate drept realități structural-semiotice, care pot fi interpretate prin codurile antropomorfic și zoomorfic ale literaturii clasice ruse. Se analizează imaginile zoomorfice ale lupului, șarpelui, dihorelui, păsării etc., care apar în operele scriitorului menționat pentru a simboliza metamorfozele naturii umane în condițiile războiului civil. Se consideră că conturul semiotico-axiologic al acestor imagini este modalitatea cea mai relevantă de exprimare a satirei la Bulgakov. În articol, se mai studiază și relația dintre imaginile antropomorfice și zoomorfice din operele satirice ale lui Bulgakov, imagini care dau în vileag anumite granițe semiotice, impuse de treptele ierarhiei sociale, cărora le aparțin personajele acestor opere.

Cuvinte-cheie: *cod semiotic, ficțiune modernistă, Mihail Bulgakov, satiră, text*

Neomythology of modernist fiction supposes authors to use zoomorphic semiotic codes in the texts of the "buffoonery" genre, which the texts of Mikhail Bulgakov are included into, as all the texts, derived from the *Satyricon* (Petrovskiy, 1988, p. 369), (Petrovskiy, 2001, pp. 218-225). But Bulgakov's satire shows not only the modernist sources of different zoomorphic codes (see also Milne, 1998). First of all, there should be mentioned the traditions of satirical extravaganza of Nikolai Gogol' and Mikhail Saltykov-Schedrin, who were thought of by Bulgakov as his literary teachers.

"Bulgakov highly appreciated the satire of Saltykov-Schedrin. In his letter to the Soviet Government of March, 28, 1930 he defined the main purpose of

his works as "picturing of the awful characteristics of my nation, which made suffer my teacher M.E. Saltykov-Schedrin long before the Revolution". In September and October, 1933 Bulgakov answered two questionnaires referring to the works of Saltykov-Schedrin. ...He said that the role of Saltykov-Schedrin in the forming of his world-view was crucial" (Sokolov, 1998, p. 414) (*The translation is ours* – V.K.).

One of the aspects of such an influence of Saltykov-Schedrin's texts onto Bulgakov's prose is represented by the zoomorphic images of Bulgakov's satire. Bulgakov, being compared to Saltykov-Schedrin, avoids such genres as fairy-tale or parable. But he includes into his prosaic texts a lot of zoomorphic characters, whose axiological features differ due to situations they play in.

The animal images in Bulgakov's texts are almost always ambivalent: being related to one or another character, they can differ at the axiological scale. The most autopsychic hero of Bulgakov (Chudakova, 1988, p. 11) is a military doctor Alexei Turbin from the early novel of *The White Guard*. It is him with whom the very important image of a *wolf* is connected to in Bulgakov's philosophy of history:

"Достаточно погнать человека под выстрелами, и он превращается в мудрого волка: на смену очень слабому и в действительно трудных случаях ненужному уму вырастает мудрый звериный инстинкт. По-волчьи обернувшись на угонке на углу Мало-Провальной улицы, Турбин увидал, как черная дырка сзади оделась совершенно круглым и бледным огнем, и, надав ходу, он свернул в Мало-Провальную, второй раз за эти пять минут резко повернув свою жизнь. ...Уже совершенно по-волчьи косил на бегу Турбин глазами. Два серых, за ними третий, выскочили из-за угла Владимирской, и все трое впереводку сверкнули. Турбин, замедлив бег, скаля зубы, три раза выстрелил в них, не целясь" (M. Bulgakov, 1988, p. 167).

Hunting Turbin soldiers of Petlyura see him as *a hare*:

"На лице первого ошеломление сменилось непонятной, зловещей радостью. – Тю! – крикнул он, – бачь, Петро: офицер. – Вид у него при этом был такой, словно внезапно он, охотник, при самой дороге увидел зайца" (*ibidem*).

The positive connotations of the *wolf* image are connected there with the plot line (a person escapes from the murderers) and with the double usage of an attribute *мудрый* 'wise': *мудрый волк*/'a wise wolf', *мудрый звериный инстинкт*/'a wise animal instinct'. The same zoomorphic image with positive connotations is used by Bulgakov when he describes an escape and a wonderful rescue of Nikolka Turbin:

"Ярость пролетела мимо Николкиных глаз совершенно красным одеялом и сменилась чрезвычайной уверенностью. Ветер и мороз залетел Николке в жаркий рот, потому что он оскалился, как волчонок. Николка выбросил руку с кольцом из кармана, подумав: «Убью гадину, лишь бы были патроны!»" (Bulgakov, 1988, p. 136).

But the same image of *a wolf* is given negatively, when the death-hunters, soldiers of Petlyura, are marked with that image:

"На черной бесплодной улице волчья оборванная серая фигура беззвучно слезла с ветви акации, на которой полчаса сидела, страдая на морозе, но жадно наблюдая через предательскую щель над верхним краем простыни работу инженера, навлекшего беду именно простыней на зелено окрашенном окне. Пружинно прыгнув в сугроб, фигура ушла вверх по улице, а далее провалилась волчьей походкой в переулках, и метель, темнота, сугробы съели ее и замели все ее следы. ...- Позвольте узнать... по какому поводу? - С обыском, - ответил первый вошедший волчьим голосом и как-то сразу надвинулся на Василису. ...На голове у волка была папаха, и синий лоскут, обшитый сусальным позументом, свисал набок" (Bulgakov, 1988, p. 29), (Bulgakov, 1988, p. 187).

Then, in the following text, the leader of the death-hunters is called only the *wolf* (*повторил волк*/'the wolf repeated', *пока волк вновь овладевал бумажкой*/'while the wolf took the paper again', *волк вынул из кармана черный браунинг*/'the wolf took the black gun out from his pocket', *сипловато спросил волк*/'the wolf asked in a harsh voice', etc.). The text emphasizes the link of the death-hunters to the dark world (*метель и темнота съели волчью фигуру*/'the blizzard and the darkness swallowed the wolf's silhouette'). A human being is not compared to a wolf, as we saw in the situations with the Turbin brothers (*превращается в мудрого волка*/'turns into a wise wolf', *как волчонок*/'as a wolf cub'), but is metaphorically identified with the animal itself (*повторил волк*/'repeated the wolf', *на голове у волка была папаха*/'the wolf wore an Astrakhan hat'). The author's axiological point of view is obvious there: he appreciates the actions of those people negatively, although their behavior is motivated by their hunger and almost lack of clothes in winter. So, the ambivalence of the zoomorphic image of *a wolf* is connected, first of all, to the special space of the City in the Civil war time, though the axiological features of this image vary due to the different characters of the novel.

The biographical code of Bulgakov's life is not less relevant for the interpretation of this zoomorphic image of *a wolf*. In the most famous Bulgakov's letter to Stalin the writer uses this savage and bright image to explain the impossibility to live and work in his native country in the 1930s:

"Многоуважаемый Иосиф Виссарионович! ...С конца 1930 года я хвораю тяжелой формой нейрастении с припадками страха и предсердечной тоски, и в настоящее время я прикончен. Во мне есть замыслы, но физических сил нет, условий, нужных для выполнения работы, нет никаких. Причина болезни моей мне отчетливо известна: на широком поле словесности российской в СССР я был один-единственный литературный волк. Мне советовали выкрасить шкуру. Нелепый совет. Крашеный ли волк, стриженный ли волк, он все равно не похож на пуделя. Со мной и поступили

как с волком. И несколько лет гнали меня по правилам литературной садки в огороженном дворе. Злобы я не имею, но я очень устал и в конце 1929 года свалился. Ведь и зверь может устать. Зверь заявил, что он более не волк, не литератор. Отказывается от своей профессии. Умолкает. Это, скажем прямо, малодушие. Нет такого писателя, чтобы он замолчал. Если замолчал, значит, был ненастоящий" (Bulgakov, 1997, p. 243).

As an extended epigraph to this very important letter Bulgakov chooses the words from the *Author's Confession* by Nikolai Gogol', whose poem *Dead Souls* he transformed into the play to the theater despite a lot of problems. This extended epigraph from the text of a writer, who was highly appreciated and known in details by Bulgakov, is semiotically relevant in this context. Together with the bright image of a *hunted wolf*, which is the key image of the letter, it gives the necessity to overcome the borders of the inner space, in which Bulgakov can not put his ideas into life, and the outer space, the space of the country, his Native land, the outcome of which can probably give the possibility of full-fledged creative activity.

For the autopsychic characters of *The White Guard* the only chance to survive was to overcome the borders between standard human behavior and "the wise animal instinct". For Bulgakov himself the situation appears, in which he sees the only possibility to save his writer's voice that means to overcome the borders as the wolves do.

The situation mentioned has one more intertextual link to the text of *War and Peace* by Leo Tolstoy:

"Граф оглянулся и направо увидел Митьку, который выкатывавшимися глазами смотрел на графа и, подняв шапку, указывал ему вперед, на другую сторону.

- Береги! - закричал он таким голосом, что видно было, что это слово давно просилось у него наружу. И поскакал, выпустив собак, по направлению к графу.

Граф и Семен выскакали из опушки и налево от себя увидели волка, который, мягко переваливаясь, тихим скоком подскакивал левее их к той самой опушке, у которой они стояли. Злобные собаки взвизгнули и, сорвавшись со свор, понеслись к волку мимо ног лошадей.

Волк приостановил бег, неловко, как больной жабой, повернул свою лобастую голову к собакам и, так же мягко переваливаясь, прыгнул раз, другой и, мотнув поленом (хвостом) скрылся в опушку. В ту же минуту из противоположной опушки с ревом, похожим на плач, растерянно выскочила одна, другая, третья гончая, и вся стая пронеслась по полю, по тому самому месту, где пролез (пробежал) волк. Вслед за гончими расступились кусты орешника и показалась бурая, почерневшая от поту лошадь Данилы. На длинной спине ее комочком, валясь вперед, сидел Данило, без шапки, с седыми встрепанными волосами над красным, потным лицом.

- Улюлюлю, улюлю!.. - кричал он. Когда он увидел графа, в глазах его сверкнула молния...

...Граф, как наказанный, стоял, оглядываясь и стараясь улыбкой вызвать в Семене сожаление к своему положению" (Tolstoy, 1987, pp. 258-259).

Many links to the *War and Peace* in Bulgakov's *The White Guard* and *The Master and Margarita*, his try to stage *War and Peace* in the Bolshoi Dramaticheskii Theater (1932) show the relevance of Tolstoy's texts for Bulgakov. They were the key cultural codes for the writer, well-known and familiar from his childhood.

Yakov Lur'e says it was crucially important for Bulgakov to see Tolstoy's philosophy of history in his novels: "Tolstoy's idea of inevitable historic events, which are caused by "endlessly little elements leading the peoples mass", "similar desires of people", of "great people" as the myths playing no role in real history, was shown even in *The White Guard*" (Lur'e, 1990, p. 609) (*The translation is ours* – V.K.). But the most relevant fragment of Tolstoy's philosophy of history cultural code was the following: "...и началась война, то есть совершилось противное человеческому разуму и всей человеческой природе событие" (Tolstoy, 1987, p. 5).

The space of war in the City is marked in *The White Guard* by the zoomorphic codes. Besides the most biographically marked image of a wolf, the novel gives the zoomorphic images of other creatures (*a fox, a ferret, a bird, a bat, a snake*, etc.). The images of *a bird* and *a bat* are positively marked, because they link to such characters as Nikolka Turbin, Alexei Turbin and Lariosik, when they suffer: Nikolka's *blue eyes, close to his long bird's nose, were sad*; Alexei Turbin says in his delirium, «*All people are birds, by the way*»; Lariosik looks *like a bat with the wings cut*.

The images of *a fox* and *a ferret* are marked with negative connotations only.

"Худой, седоватый, с подстриженными усиками на лисьем бритом лице человек, в богатой черкеске с серебряными газырями, заметался у зеркал. Возле него шевелились три немецких офицера и двое русских. ...Они помогли лисьему человеку переодеться. ...Затем дверь отворилась, раздвинулись пыльные дворцовые портьеры и пропустили еще одного человека в форме военного врача германской армии. Он принес с собой целую грудку пакетов, вскрыл их и наглухо умелыми руками забинтовал голову новорожденного германского майора так, что остался видным лишь правый лисий глаз да тонкий рот, чуть приоткрывавший золотые и платиновые коронки" (Bulgakov, 1988, p. 93).

The traitor hetman, running from the siege of the City, is compared to *a fox* in a functional way: his behavior and impersonal escape are emphasized by nameless people, involved into the situation, and specific Bulgakov's sarcasm in the accusations of the text narrator.

One more negative image of the war space is the image of *a ferret*:

"Дверь открылась, и вошел похожий на бесхвостого хорька капитан – помощник начальника снабжения. Он выразительно посмотрел на багровые генеральские складки над воротничком и молвил:

– Разрешите доложить, господин генерал.

- Вот что, Владимир Федорович, - перебил генерал, задыхаясь и тоскливо блуждая глазами, - я почувствовал себя плохо... прилив... хем... я сейчас поеду домой, а вы, будьте добры, без меня распорядитесь.

- Слушаю, - любопытно глядя, ответил хорек, - как же прикажете быть? Запрашивают из четвертой дружины и из конногорной валенки. Вы изволили распорядиться двести пар?

- Да. Да! - пронзительно ответил генерал...

Любопытные огоньки заиграли в глазах хорька" (*idem*, p. 120-121).

The comparison of a military man to a *ferret* is changed then to his metaphorical calling 'a ferret' at the moment, when the narrator gives the change of a space perspective: firstly, the deputy supply officer is seen from the point of view of his chief as a familiar person with the name and the patronymic (*Vladimir Fyodorovich*), who just looks like a *ferret*. Then, the point of view of the chief is changed to the point of view of the narrator, and the reader sees a metaphorically called non-human, the creature of the war space (*ответил хорек 'the ferret answered', огоньки заиграли в глазах хорька 'the ferret's eyes flashed'*).

Those negatively appreciated creatures of the war space have their opposition in the novel. The Colonel Nai-Turs is positively marked at the axiological scale of the novel. His surname is connected to the zoomorphic codes (*a Caucasian tur*), on the one side, and to the historical perspective of the Russian army battles (*Nai-Turs - bui-tur Vsevolod* from *The Lay of Igor's Campaign*). As his zoomorphic totem, the Colonel Nai-Turs embodies pride and bravery. He symbolizes in *The White Guard* the ideal of a Russian officer, which was impossible either to Viktor Myshlaevsky (ideologically), or to Alexei Turbin (because of his psychological features). Nai-Turs is brave on the battlefield, he is "a father to soldiers", and he saves young cadets in the uneven battle with the Petlyura soldiers to fall in this battle himself.

It was not mentioned in the researches on Bulgakov's works that all the relevant semiotic details of Nai-Turs character (he has a burr, he is extremely brave, as a real hussar, and takes care of his soldiers, etc.) allow to compare him with the Colonel Denisov from Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (Karpukhina, 2015). The prototype of the Colonel Denisov was Denis Davydov, the hero of the war with Napoleon. Bulgakov reinterprets the situation with young Petya Rostov's death, which was impossible for Denisov to avert. Bulgakov gives the Colonel Nai-Turs a chance to save young Nikolka Turbin at the expense of his own life in the battle. Martyrdom and sacrificial death of all people who died in the battlefield are emphasized in both texts by Tolstoy and Bulgakov with the poses of dead bodies of Petya Rostov and Nai-Turs. Both spread their arms like lying on the cross (Tolstoy, 1987, p. 162), (Bulgakov, 1988, p. 2240). Specific parallelism of the plot lines is observed in the posthumous situations of both characters: survived in the battle, Denisov writes down a letter to Petya

Rostov's mother and sister about his death; survived Nikolka Turbin tells Nai-Turs's mother and sister about his death and goes with his sister, Irina, to take and bury his body.

During the uneven battle, in which the colonel Nai-Turs is killed, the sound of tender cavalry trumpet instead of his voice and full of light eyes of Nai-Turs allude to the prophetic dream of Alexei Turbin, in which he sees the Colonel in Heaven wearing a very strange military uniform:

"...на голове светозарный шлем, а тело в кольчуге, и опирался он на меч, длинный, каких уж нет ни в одной армии со времен крестовых походов. Райское сияние ходило за Наем облаком" (Bulgakov, 1988, p. 58).

Edythe C. Haber concludes her research in early Bulgakov's prose with the chapter of «Bulgakov's Early Works: The Knight and the Dragon» (Haber, 1998, pp. 228-240). That image of the Colonel Nai-Turs in the lighting helmet allows her to make parallels between Bulgakov's early prose and Old Russian literature (for example, with *The Lay of Igor's Campaign*). Edythe C. Haber supposes Bulgakov's biographical code to be the key note to decipher his "childhood ideal" – his first literary effort of the seven-year-old Bulgakov about the bright chivalric figure of Svetlan, who came to fight against the Dark forces. Haber thinks it "encapsulates the ideals of Bulgakov's childhood, culled both from his religious upbringing and, on quite another level, his adventure reading" (*idem*, p. 228). We should agree with the researcher that this mythopoetic image was extremely relevant as a cultural code of the writer, although we should say that in Russian mythopoetic conscience it is rather connected to the image of St. George fighting with the Snake than to the image of an Arthurian knight fighting with a Dragon. For example, one of the early titles of the *Flight* novel was *The Seraphima's Knight* (Gudkova, 1990, p. 641).

Different reptiles symbolizing enemies appear in Bulgakov's satiric *Gudok* feuilletons and in his early prose (*The Fatal Eggs*, *The Diavaliada*). The imagery of enemies as *reptiles* was, in fact, remade in the ideologically marked Soviet official discourse of the 1920s. Being contaminated with the traditional Biblical symbols, it fixed visually and verbally (see for the cartoons, *Okna ROSTa* with biting short poems by Vladimir Mayakovsky) the new enemies of the Soviet country – former white guardians, bourgeois, foreign spies, etc. This dualism of the reptilian images can be seen in the early works by Bulgakov, too.

The visual image of an army as *a snake* is connected in *The White Guard* with both struggling forces:

"Замелькали мимо Турбина многие знакомые и типичные студенческие лица. В голове третьего взвода мелькнул Карась. Не зная еще, куда и зачем, Турбин захрустел рядом со взводом... В черную пасть подвального хода гимназии змеей втянулся строй, и пасть начала заглывать ряд за рядом" (Bulgakov, 1988, p. 78).

"- То не серая туча со змеиным брюхом разливается по городу, то не бурые, мутные реки текут по старым улицам – то сила Петлюры несметная на площадь старой Софии идет на парад" (Bulgakov, 1988, p. 205).

Moreover, as Edythe C. Haber notes, "In his description of Petlyura's parade, Bulgakov utilizes a folkloristic negative simile in the style of the most famous work of Old Russian literature, *The Lay of Igor's Campaign*, whose reptilian image once again recalls the devil and the beast of apocalypse" (Haber, 1998, p. 85). The negative semantics of the *snake*, swallowed by the jaws of the school, in the first text fragment, is counterbalanced with the negative semantics of associations of the words *брюхо* 'belly', *мутный* 'blurred', *сила несметная* 'countless forces' in the second text fragment. In such a case, we can see the negative semantics of all the objects, connected to war, either the military forces of the defended citizens, or the forces of the invaders. The negative component of the reptilian mythological image goes together with the general spacial image of the City in the situation of the Civil War. It is supported by the additional associations with Petlyura's army:

"Откуда же взялась эта страшная армия? Соткалась из морозного тумана в игольчатом синем и сумеречном воздухе... Туманно... туманно..." (Bulgakov, 1988, p. 141).

The mist follows invading the City by the soldiers of Petlyura's colonel Kozyr'-Leshko:

"Да, был виден туман. Игольчатый мороз, косматые лапы, безлунный, темный, а потом предрассветный снег, за Городом в далях маковки синих, усеянных сусальными звездами церквей и не потухающий до рассвета, приходящего с московского берега Днепра, в бездонной высоте над городом Владимирский крест. К утру он потух. И потухли огни над землей" (Bulgakov, 1988, p. 99).

Deeply associated images of the reptilian army, mist, frost, darkness, and the light, died down above the land, strengthen the apocalyptic component of the mythological Biblical image.

Biblical mythological semantics is associated with one of the key characters of *The White Guard* – lieutenant Viktor Myshlaevskii, the only character of the novel, who can foresee his own place in the future space of the City. The most obvious idea of that will come in the remake of *The White Guard*, the play of *The Turbin Days*, where Myshlaevskii plainly says he comes to the Bolsheviks. Myshlaevskii, who tries to seduce Anyuta, is called *a constrictor* in the text:

"...исчезли усы... Но глаза, даже в полутьме сеней, можно отлично узнать. Правый в зеленых искорках, как уральский самоцвет, а левый темный... И меньше ростом стал..."

- Виктор Викторович, пустите, закричу, как бог свят, - страстно сказала Аня и обняла за шею Мышлаевского, - у нас несчастье - Алексея Васильевича ранили....

Удав мгновенно выпустил.

- Как ранили? А Никол?!" (Bulgakov, 1988, p. 176).

The *snake of temptation* characteristics predict the description of one of the most well-known "mysterious strangers" in Bulgakov's works:

"Третья лаконически сообщает, что особых примет у человека не было. ...Раньше всего: ни на какую ногу описываемый не хромал, и росту был не маленького и не громадного, а просто высокого. Что касается зубов, то с левой стороны у него были платиновые коронки, а с правой - золотые. ...Выбрит гладко. Брюнет. Правый глаз черный, левый почему-то зеленый" (Bulgakov, 1989, p. 8).

The first description of Myshlaevskii in *The White Guard* corresponds to the description of Woland:

"...и оказалась над громадными плечами голова поручика Виктора Викторовича Мышлаевского. Голова эта была очень красива, странной и печальной и привлекательной красотой давней, настоящей породы и вырождения. Красота в разных по цвету, смелых глазах, в длинных ресницах. Нос с горбинкой, губы гордые, лоб бел и чист, без особых примет" (Bulgakov, 1988, p. 16).

Most of the characteristics in the picture of Myshlaevskii (the eyes of different colors, sad beauty of an ancient race and degradation, proud mouth) match with the Biblical description of the fallen angel, the Satan, and some of those characteristics will go later to Woland in the last novel of Mikhail Bulgakov.

In the escort of Woland, who connects the spaces of the old and the new worlds and myths, there is one of the brightest anthropomorphic characters in the modernist social extravaganza of the 20th century - Behemoth. A literary prototype of this charming trickster was the Cat Murr by E.T. A. Hoffman, the ideal educated narrator. Cat Behemoth is not given such a high status of an all-seeing diegetic narrator in *The Master and Margarita*, he is just one of the most important characters in the "Moscow chapters" of the book. His semiotic function in these chapters is to buffer the antagonism between the ideology of the space of "the pitiless Moon justice", the ministry of Woland, and the everyday world of Moscow in the 1920s. He works as a "translator", explaining the logic of Woland's actions to Margarita on the ball, or to the Muskovites, who get the oblation from the ministry of Woland for their greed, rudeness, or stupidity. Behemoth comically repeats in the novel the functions of Woland, who, in the opinion of Miron Petrovskiy, plays in *The Master and Margarita* "the role of a buffoon, a mediator... Opposite to the epigraph, which alludes to Mephistopheles, Bulgakov's

Woland relates to this character in a very distant way. A family relation is not supported by the functional one. ...Woland and Mephistopheles are the Hell functionaries of different levels. Mephistopheles is a great hunter, the Fisher of Men. Woland is a great trigger, the Investigator of Men" [11, p. 84-85] (*The translation is ours* – V.K.). Such a dubbing of the main semiotic function of Woland in the novel is supported by the hierarchy of his escort, construed by the narrator: "Тот, кто был котом, потешавшим князя тьмы, теперь оказался худеньким юношей, демоном-пажом, лучшим шутком, какой существовал когда-либо в мире" (Bulgakov, 1989, p. 336). The social hierarchy "prince - page" shows possible parodying dubbing of the characters' functions.

E. Farino describes such a character (*a clown, a buffoon, a fool*) as a non-systematic figure. "Being non-systematic, such a character should not obey the laws, which work in the sphere of his existence, and the laws of the world do not work with such a character, either. In all positions he is an observer, who can see the world from at least one semiotic level higher than other participants of the world and the system can see. In other words, the observer reveals the systematicity of that what is not appreciated by the observables as a system, and the conventionality of that what is appreciated by the observables as something natural (non-conventional). That is why the main function of such a character is to unmask all the conventions" (Farino, 2004, pp. 126-127) (*The translation is ours* – V.K.).

In the finale of the novel there appear the "counterparts" of the anthropomorphic buffoon cat in the "real" world, which are made anthropomorphic by force:

"Навалившись на кота и срывая с шеи галстук, чтобы вязать его, гражданин ядовито и угрожающе бормотал:

– Ага! Стало быть, теперь к нам, в Армавир, пожаловали, господин гипнотизер? Ну, здесь вас не испугались. Да вы не притворяйтесь немым. Нам уже понятно, что вы за гусь!

Вел кота в милицию гражданин, таща бедного зверя за передние лапы, скрученные зеленым галстуком, и добиваясь легкими пинками, чтобы кот непременно шел на задних лапах.

– Вы, – кричал гражданин, сопровождаемый свистящими мальчишками, – бросьте, бросьте дурака валять! Не выйдет это! Извольте идти, как все ходят!

Черный кот только заводил мученические глаза. Лишенный природой дара слова, он ни в чем не мог оправдаться. Спасением своим бедный зверь обязан в первую очередь – милиции, а, кроме того, своей хозяйке, почтенной старушке-вдове. Лишь только кот был доставлен в отделение, там убедились, что от гражданина сильнейшим образом пахнет спиртом, вследствие чего в показаниях его тотчас же усомнились. А тем временем старушка, узнавшая от соседей, что кота замели, кинулась бежать в отделение и поспела вовремя. Она дала самые лестные рекомендации коту,

объяснила, что знает его пять лет с тех пор, как он был котенком, ручается за него как за самое себя, доказала, что он ни в чем плохом не замечен и никогда не ездил в Москву. Как он родился в Армавире, так в нем и вырос и учился ловить мышей.

Кот был развязан и возвращен владелице, хлебнув, правда, горя, узнав на практике, что такое ошибка и клевета" (Bulgakov, 1989, pp. 341-342).

On the one side, this fragment of the novel is rich in different characteristics of the anthropomorphic cat Behemoth (but the tie, which he wears going to the ball, the spirits, which he drinks, go to the cat's hunter). On the other side, we can see the reverse buffoon prospective onto the situation of the "Yershalaim chapters" of the novel (suffering eyes, a mistake, a slander). "Forced" anthropomorphize of an animal to hyperbolize the comical effect is given by Bulgakov from the point of view of the diegetic narrator. It appears when the speech of the narrator includes the inner monologues of other participants of the "law discourse": witnessing neighbors (*кота замели, бедный зверь, почтенная старушка-вдова*) and the owner of the cat (*знает его пять лет с тех пор, как он был котенком; ручается за него как за самое себя; он ни в чем плохом не замечен и никогда не ездил в Москву; как он родился в Армавире, так в нем и вырос и учился ловить мышей*).

The most relevant marker of the social status changing of the character (*the cat*) is the tie, which substitutes *a dress* as a dominant sign of social space. Before the ball the bow tie (Bulgakov uses the obsolete word *галстух* for it, which was one of the markers of his personal discourse) substitutes *a tail coat* for the Behemoth:

"Стоящий на задних лапах и выпачканный пылью кот тем временем раскланивался перед Маргаритой. Теперь на шее у кота оказался белый фрачный галстух бантиком, а на груди перламутровый дамский бинокль на ремешке. Кроме того, усы кота были вызолочены.

- Ну что же это такое! - воскликнул Воланд, - зачем ты позолотил усы? И на кой черт тебе нужен галстух, если на тебе нет штанов? <...>

- Не понимаю, - сухо возражал кот, - ...я вижу, что ко мне применяют кое-какие придирки, и вижу, что передо мною стоит серьезная проблема - быть ли мне вообще на балу?" (Bulgakov, 1989, pp. 225-226).

The cat, being highly criticized by Woland, is offended, because he thinks that even an official buffoon in the escort of Woland should have *a dress* before going to the ball. It is equal to his ability to come to the ball. Behemoth differs from the traditional anthropomorphic characters, related to him by the genre (for example, from the *Puss in Boots*), and from the people on the ball because of his absent dress. The conventional male dress on the ball is *a tail suit with a bow tie*, but Behemoth, being between zoomorphic and anthropomorphic characters, chooses only the most conventional part of the dress - *a bow tie and opera glasses* (a special comic version of them - ladies' opera glasses).

E. Farino notes, "A dress as a semiotic unit, as a sign is non-separable from a person. But a dress as a thing is independent and separable from its owner. In the cultures, where there is the dominated attitude to the conventionality of a sign, changing dresses is strictly institutionalized. Changing dresses in such cultures is possible only in some situations. This is fundamental for the carnival dress changes: outlived old world (old annual cycle) turns into chaos. On the level of a dress this chaos is being modeled with the help of dress changing, which annihilates all old world forms. ...It seems obvious that, being highly semiotic, a dress can be a specific "descriptive language", that means that any outer world can be articulated in the terms of a dress" (Farini, 2004, pp. 194-195) (*The translation is ours – V.K.*).

The outer world of the Grand Satan's Ball can be described as a mixture of a traditional aristocratic ball and a demonic carnival due to the dresses of the guests and the hosts of the ball. Revived for this night dead men should come wearing the tail suits, as the witches following them, are emphatically naked. This element (the absence of clothes) is semiotically relevant in the space of the ball, because it shows the changed, non-human nature of the guests. Margarita, who changed her human body for the witch one, accepts the guests naked, too. The dress changing of Woland is semiotically relevant at the end of the ball: being the host of the ball, Woland wears everyday clothes:

"Поразило Маргариту то, что Воланд вышел в этот последний великий выход на балу как раз в том самом виде, в каком был в спальне. Все та же грязная заплата висела на его плечах, ноги были в стоптанных ночных туфлях. Воланд был со шпагой, но этой обнаженной шпагой он пользовался как тростью, опираясь на нее" (Bulgakov, 1989, p. 241).

The metamorphosis happens when the ball is almost over and Woland tastes the blood from the cup: "Исчезла заплата рубашки и стоптанные туфли. Воланд оказался в какой-то черной хламиде со стальной шпагой на бедре" (Bulgakov, 1989, p. 241). The old robe of Woland, turned to the silk black cloak on Margarita, and the hospital robe of the Master makes those guests of Woland similar, creating their own, different space. This new dress is a symbol of Margarita's different space, and Annushka-the-Plague will see it as a black church robe, worn right on the naked body (*idem*, p. 262). It is one more sign of Bulgakov's buffoonery, where the church robe appears in the "upper" level of "the Nativity play" of the novel: the characters, coming downstairs, go out into the "real world".

So, the social space of "the Moscow chapters" in *The Master and Margarita*, in which a dress, but not human characteristics, is a marker of the hierarchy status of a character, is satirically profaned due to different provocative situations, initiated by Woland and his escort.

Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic characters of Bulgakov's texts are connected intertextually to the modernist and realist traditions of Russian literature (mostly, to the texts of Nikolai Gogol', Mikhail Saltykov-Schedrin, and Leo Tolstoy, who were Bulgakov's favorite writers). These characters and together with the plot lines mark the borders of inner and outer semiotic spaces in the texts of Mikhail Bulgakov.

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CZECH MALE PROPER NAMES OF LATIN ORIGIN

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Abstract

The research object of the present text consists in Czech male proper names of Latin origin. The main aim is to present their full list, as well as to check their initial meaning. The anthroponyms under research are divided into three major groups according to: (1) the type of the Latin name, from which the Czech one is derived; (2) their derivation, i. e. the type of the basic word, used during the process of name coining, as a part of speech; (3) the canonization of the studied names.

Keywords: Czech male proper name, Latin origin, anthroponym, meaning, derivation

Rezumat

Cercetarea este axată pe un șir de nume proprii de bărbați, înregistrate în limba cehă, care au origine latină. Scopul principal este de a le repertoria și de a cerceta semnificația lor inițială. Antroponimele date sunt clasificate în baza următoarelor principii: (1) tipul unității din latină, de la care descinde numele în cehă; (2) tipul derivației care stă la baza creării numelui în cehă; (3) canonizarea numelor în cauză.

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Cuvinte-cheie: nume propriu de bărbat din cultura cehă, origine latină, antroponim, semnificație, derivare

The research object of the present text consists in 157 Czech male proper names of Latin origin. The main aim is to present their full list, as well as to check their initial meaning.

The anthroponyms under research are divided into three major groups according to: 1) the type of the Latin name, from which the Czech one is derived; 2) their derivation, i. e. the type of the basic word, used during the process of name coining, as a part of speech; 3) the canonization of the studied names.

It is very important to be underlined that the second classification is done according to the Latin grammatical rules.

The analyzed anthroponyms are excerpted from Knappová (1985), www.behindthename.com and <http://kurufin.narod.ru/>.

1. Classification of the Czech Male Proper Names of Latin Origin According to the Basic Latin Name

We distinguish:

- Czech male proper names of Latin origin, derived from a Roman mythological name: *Honor* (< Honor/Honos), *Libor* (< Leber/Liber), *Remus* (< Remus), *Romus* (< Romulus), *Saturn* (< Saturnus), *Silvân* (< Silvanus);

- Czech male proper names of Latin origin, derived from a Roman praenomen: *Cézar* (< Caesar), *Gajus/Kájus* (< Caius/Cajus/Gaius), *Faust* (< Faustus), *Lucius* (< Lucius), *Marek* (< Marcus), *Oktavius* (< Octavius), *Pavel* (< Paullus/Paulus), *Sixt* (< Sextus/Sixstus), *Tiber* (< Tiberius), *Titus* (< Titus);
- Czech male proper names of Latin origin, derived from a Roman gentile name: *Anton* (< Antonius), *Antonín* (< Antoninus), *August* (< Augustus), *Augustýn* (< Augustinus), *Aurel* (< Aurelius), *Cecil* (< Caecilius), *Cyprián* (< Cyprianus), *Emil* (< Aemilius), *Fabius* (< Fabius), *Flavián* (< Flavianus), *Flavius* (< Flavius), *Havel* (< Gallus), *Horác* (< Horatius/Oratius), *Ignác* (< Egnatius/Ignatius), *Julius* (< Iuleus/Iulius/Julius), *Kasián* (< Cassian/Cassianus), *Klaudián* (< Claudianus), *Klaudius* (< Claudius/Clodius), *Kornel* (< Cornelius), *Livius* (< Livius), *Lucián* (< Lucianus), *Lukrécius* (< Lucretius), *Marcel* (< Marcellus), *Marcelín* (< Marcellinus), *Marcianus* (< Marcianus), *Marián* (< Marianus), *Marin* (< Marinus), *Marius* (< Marius), *Oktavius* (< Octavius), *Ovidius* (< Ovidius), *Petronius* (< Petronius), *Sergej* (< Sergius), *Sever* (< Severus), *Severin* (< Severinus), *Terenc* (< Terentius), *Vergilius/Virgilius* (< Vergilius/Virgilius), *Virgin* (< Verginius/Virginus);
- Czech male proper names of Latin origin, derived from a Roman cognomen: *Adrián/Hadrián* (< Adrianus/Hadrianus), *Alban* (< Albanus), *Albín* (< Albinus), *Aurelián* (< Aurelianus), *Cézar* (< Caesar), *Donát* (< Donatus), *Fabián* (< Fabianus), *Faustýn* (< Faustinus), *Faust* (< Faustus), *Felicián* (< Felicianus), *Felix* (< Felix), *Florentius* (< Florentius), *Florián* (< Florianus), *Havel* (< Gallus), *Januarius* (< Ianuarius/Januarius), *Julián* (< Iulianus/Julianus), *Justýn* (< Iustinus/Justinus), *Kamil* (< Camillus), *Kryšpín* (< Crispinus), *Laurenc* (< Laurentius), *Laurentýn* (< Laurentinus), *Mauricius* (< Mauricius/Mauritius), *Maxim* (< Maximus), *Oktavián* (< Octavianus), *Pavel* (< Paullus/Paulus), *Pavln* (< Paulinus/Paullinus), *Rufinus* (< Rufinus), *Rufus* (< Rufus), *Saturnin* (< Saturninus), *Sever* (< Severus), *Sixt* (< Sextus/Sixstus), *Tibor* (< Tiburtius), *Torkoát* (< Torquatus), *Urban* (< Urbanus), *Valentýn* (< Valentinus), *Valerián* (< Valerianus), *Viktor* (< Victor), *Viktorián* (< Victorianus), *Viktorin* (< Victorinus), *Vincenc* (< Vincentius);
- Czech male proper names of Latin origin, derived from a Roman agnomen: *Felix* (< Felix), *Silvius* (< Silvius);
- Czech male proper names of Latin origin, derived from a Neolatin name: *Amadeus* (< Amadeus), *Amand* (< Amandus), *Amát* (< Amatus), *Beatus* (< Beatus), *Benedikt* (< Benedictus), *Blažej* (< Blasius), *Bonaventura* (< Bonaventura), *Bonifác* (< Bonifatius/Bonifacius/Bonifatius), *Brit* (< Britannus), *Celestýn* (< Caelestinus/Coelestinus), *Dezider* (< Desiderius), *Dominik* (< Dominicus), *Eligijs* (< Eligius), *Fidel* (< Fidelis), *Florentýn* (< Florentinus), *Fortunát* (< Fortunatus), *František* (< Franciscus), *Gabin* (<

Gabinus), *Gracián* (< Gratianus), *Grant* (< Grantus), *Haštal* (< Castulus), *Hilar* (< Hilarius), *Honorius* (< Honorius), *Inocenc* (< Innocentius), *Kajetán* (< Caietanus/Gaetanus), *Klement* (< Clemens), *Kolumbán* (< Columbanus), *Kolombín* (< Columbinus), *Konstantýn* (< Constantinus), *Krescenc* (< Crescens), *Kristián* (< Christianus), *Leo* (< Leo), *Libor* (< Liberalis), *Lukáš* (< Lucas), *Magnus* (< Magnus), *Martin* (< Martinus), *Maximilián* (< Maximilianus), *Moric* (< Maurus), *Modest* (< Modestus), *Oliver* (< Oliver), *Paskal* (< Paschalis), *Patrik* (< Patricius/Patritius), *Pelhřim* (< Peregrinus), *Pius* (< Pius), *Placidus* (< Placidus), *Prosper* (< Prosper/Prosperus), *Reginald* (< Reginaldus), *Remig* (< Remigius), *Renát* (< Renatus), *Roman* (< Romanus), *Sebastian* (< Sebastianus), *Serenus* (< Serenus), *Servác* (< Servatius), *Sidon* (< Sidonius), *Silver* (< Silverius), *Silvestr* (< Silvester), *Vincenc* (< Vicentius), *Vít* (< Vitus), *Vivian* (< Bibianus/Vivianus).

2. Classification of the Czech Male Proper Names of Latin Origin According to the Basic Derivational Word as a Part of Speech

We distinguish:

- (a) Czech male proper names of Latin origin, derived from:
- a Roman mythological name: *Martin* (< Martinus < Martis, Gen. sg. of Mars), *Saturnin* (< Saturninus < Saturnus);
 - a Roman praenomen: *Lucián* (< Lucianus < Lucius), *Oktavián* (< Octavianus < Octavius), *Pavlín* (< Paulinus/Paullinus < Paulus);
 - a Roman gentile name: *Antonín* (< Antoninus < Antonius), *Augustýn* (< Augustinus < Augustus), *Aurelián* (< Aurelianus < Aurelius), *Emilián* (< Aemilianus < Aemilius), *Fabián* (< Fabianus < Fabius), *Flavián* (< Flavianus < Flavius), *Julián* (< Iulianus/Julianus < Iuleus/Iulius/ Julius), *Kasián* (< Cassian/Cassianus < Cassius), *Klaudián* (< Claudianus < Claudius), *Marcianus* (< Marcianus < Marcius), *Severin* (< Severinus < Severus), *Valerián* (< Valerianus < Valerius);
 - a Roman cognomen: *Faustýn* (< Faustinus < Faustus), *Felicián* (< Felicianus < Felix), *Rufinus* (< Rufinus < Rufus), *Viktorián* (< Victorianus < Victor);
 - a Neolatin name: *Kolumbán* (< Columbanus < Columba), *Kolombín* (< Columbinus < Columba);
- (b) Czech male proper names of Latin origin, derived from an appellative, which is:
- a common noun: *Brit* (< Britannus < Britannus, *-i*, m - "British"), *Fabius* (< Fabius < faba, *-ae*, f - "bean"), *František* (< Franciscus < Franciscus, *-i*, m - "French"), *Honor* (< Honor/Honos < honor, *-oris*, m - "honour"), *Horác* (< Horatius/Oratius < hora, *-ae*, f - "hour, time, season"), *Leo* (< Leo < leo, *-onis*, m - "lion"), *Pelhřim* (<

Peregrinus < peregrinus, -i, m - "pilgrim"), *Ovidius* (< Ovidius < -ovis, -is, f - "sheep"), *Reginald* (< Reginaldus < regina, -ae, f - "queen"), *Silvan* (< Silvanus < silva, -ae, f - "forest"), *Viktor* (< Victor < victor, -oris, m - "winner");

- an adjective: *Celestyn* (< Caelestinus/Coelestinus < caelestinus, 3/caelestis, e/coelestis, e - "celestial"), *Cyprian* (< Cyprianus < Cyprianus, 3 - "from Cyprus"), *Faust* (< Faustus < faustus, 3 - "lucky; happy"), *Felix* (< Felix < felix, icis - "happy; lucky; successful"), *Fidel* (< Fidelis < fidelis, e - "faithful"), *Fortunat* (< Fortunatus < fortunatus, 3 - "happy; lucky"), *Gabin* (< Gabinus < Gabinus, 3 - "from Gabius"), *Grant* (< Grantus < grandis, e - "great"), *Hilar* (< Hilarius < hilaris, e/hilarus, 3 - "happy"), *Inocenc* (< Innocentius < innocens, entis - "innocent"), *Januarius* (< Ianuarius/ Januarius < Ianuarius, 3 - "belonging to Janus"), *Kajetan* (< Caietanus/ Gaetanus < Caietanus, 3/Caetanus, 3 - "from Caiete"), *Klement* (< Clemens < clemens, entis - "kind"), *Konstantyn* (< Constantinus < constans, antis - "constant"), *Libor* (< Leber/Liber < liber, era, erum - "free; independent"), *Magnus* (< Magnus < magnus, 3 - "big; great"), *Maxim* (< Maximus < maximus, 3 - "the greatest"), *Modest* (< Modestus < modestus, 3 - "modest"), *Moric* (< Maurus < maurus, 3 - "dark-skinned"), *Oktavius* (< Octavius < octavus, 3 - "eighth"), *Oliver* (< Oliver < olivifer, fera, ferum - "giving olive oil"), *Pavel* (< Paullus/Paulus < paullus, 3/paulus, 3 - "small; modest"), *Pius* (< Pius < pius, 3 - "pious"), *Placidus* (< Placidus < placidus, 3 - "quiet; paeceful"), *Prosper* (< Prosper/Prosperus < prosperus, 3 - "prosperous"), *Romul* (< Romulus < Romulus, 3 - "Roman"), *Rufus* (< Rufus < rufus, 3 - "redhead"), *Sebastian* (< Sebastianus < Sebastianus, 3 - "Sebastian"), *Serenus* (< Serenus < serenus, 3 - "calm"), *Sever* (< Severus < severus, 3 - "serious; stict"), *Sidon* (< Sidonius < Sidonius, 3 - "from Sidon"), *Sixt* (< Sextus/Sixstus < sextus, 3 - "sixth") , *Tiber* (< Tiberius < Tiberius, 3 - "belonging to the Tiber River"), *Tibor* (< Tiburtius < лат. Tiburtius, 3 - "belonging to Tibur"), *Torkvat* (< Torquatus < torquatus, 3 - "with a necklace (martial honour)"), *Urban* (< Urbanus < urbanus, 3 - "urban");
- a verboid: *Amand* (< Amandus < amandus, 3 - "beloved" (gerundius of the verb amo, 1 - "to love"), *Amat* (< Amatus < amatus, 3 - "loved" (past participle of the verb amo, 1 - "to love"), *August* (< Augustus < augustus, 3 - "great" (past participle of the verb augeo, 2 - "to enlarge"), *Donat* (< Donatus < donatus, 3 - "given, presented" (past participle of the verb dono, 1 - "to give, to present")), *Florentius* (< Florentius < florens, entis - "flourishing" (present participle of the verb floreo, 2 - "to flower")), *Krescenc* (<

- Crescens < crescens, entis - "growing" (present participle of the verb *cresco*, 3 - "to grow"), *Renát* (< *Renatus* < *renatus*, 3 - "reborn" (past participle of the verb *renascor*, 3 - "to be born again");
- (c) Czech male proper names of Latin origin, derived from:
- an objective syntagma: *Amadeus* (< *Amadeus* < *amo*, 1 - "to love" and *Deus*, -i, m - "God");
 - an attributive syntagma: *Bonaventura* (< *Bonaventura* < *bona* - "good" (feminine form of the adjective *bonus*, 3 - "good") and *ventura*, -ae, f - "chance, fate");
- (d) Czech male personal names of Latin origin with uncertain etymology:
- Alban* (< *Albanus* < 1) *Albanus*, 3 - "from Alba"; 2) *albus*, 3 - "white"), *Albín* (< *Albinus* < 1) a Roman cognomen *Albus*; 2) *albinus*, 3 - "the white one"), *Anton* (< *Antonius* < 1) *Antenium*, an Etruscan name of unclear origin; 2) Greek *ανθος* - "flower"; 3) Greek *αντέω* < *αντιάω* < *αντιάω* - "to take part in a fight"), *Aurel* (< *Aurelius* < 1) *aureolus*, 3/ *aureus*, 3 - "golden"; 2) *aurum*, i, n - "gold"), *Beatus* (< *Beatus* < 1) female name *Beata*; 2) *beatus*, 3 - "blessed; happy"), *Benedikt* (< *Benedictus* < *benedictus*, 3 - "laudable" (past participle of the verb *benedico*, 3 - "to praise someone"); 2) *benedico*, 3 - "to praise someone"), *Blažej* (< *Blasius* < 1) *blaesus*, 3 - "fleece"; 2) *blatio*, 4 - "to blab"; 3) Greek *βλάσιος* - "bowlegged"), *Bonifác* (< *Bonifatius*/*Bonifacius*/*Bonifatius* < 1) *homo boni fati* - "good fortune; a person with good deeds"; 2) *bonum* - "good" (neutral form of the adjective *bonus*, 3 - "good") and *fatum* - "fate"; 3) *bonus*, 3 - "good" and *faciens, entis* - "doing" (present participle of the verb *facio*, 3 - "to do")), *Cecil* (< *Caecilius* < 1) *caecus*, 3 - "blind"; 2) *cado*, 3 - "to fall"), *Cézar* (< *Caesar* < 1) *caesaries, ei, f* - "hair"; 2) *caedo*, 3 - "to cut"), *Dezider* (< *Desiderius* < 1) *desiderium, ii, n* - "longing, desire"; 2) *desiderius*, 3 - "desired"; 3) *desidero*, 1 - "to desire, to long"), *Dominik* (< *Dominicus* < *dominicus*, 3 - "belonging to the master/God"; 2) *dies Dominicus* - "God's day; Sunday" < *dies, diei, m/f* - "day" and *Dominicus*, 3 - "belonging to God"), *Eligius* (< *Eligius* < 1) *eligo*, 3 - "to select"; 2) *eligius*, 3 - "selected" (past participle of the verb *eligo*, 3 - "to select"), *Emil* (< *Aemilius* < 1) *aemulus, -i, m* - "enemy"; 2) *aemilius*, 3 - "hostile"; 3) Greek *αμβλιος* - "glittering"), *Flavius* (< *Flavius* < 1) *flavus*, 3 - "yellow; blond"; 2) *Flavius, -ii, m* - "Flavian"), *Florentýn* (< *Florentinus* < 1) *florens, -entis* - "flourishing" (present participle of the verb *floreo*, 2 - "to flower"); 2) *Florentinus, 3/Florentinus, -i, m* - "Florentian"), *Florián* (< *Florianus* < 1) a Roman cognomen *Florus*; 2) *florianus*, 3 - "flourishing"), *Gajus/ Kájus* (< *Caius/Cajus/Gaius* (< 1) unclear meaning; 2) *gaudeo*, 2 - "to enjoy"), *Gracián* (< *Gratianus* < 1) *gratus*,

3 - "kind; grateful"; 2) gratianus, 3 - "grateful"; 3) gratia, ae, f - "grace; kindness"), *Haštal* (< Castulus < 1) castus, 3 - "innocent"; 2) castellum, i, n - "castle"; 3) castulus, 3 - "innocent (diminutive form)", *Havel* (< Gallus < 1) gallus, i, m - "rooster"; 2) Gallus, i, m - "Gaul"), *Honorius* (< Honorius < 1) honorius, 3 - "honest"; 2) honoro, 1 - "honorable"), *Ignác* (< Egnatius/Ignatius < 1) unclear meaning; 2) ignis, is, m - "fire"; 3) gnatus, 3 - "born" (past participle of the verb gnascor, 3 - "to be born"); 4) ignotus, 3 - "unknown"; 5) igneus, 3 - "fiery"), *Julius* (< Iuleus/Iulius/Julius < 1) Greek ιουλος - "curly"; 2) Iovilius, 3 - "belonging to Jupiter"), *Justýn* (< Iustinus/Justinus < 1) iustus, 3 - "fair"; 2) male name Iustus), *Kamil* (< Camillus < 1) unclear meaning; 2) camillus, i, m - "young religious servant"), *Klaudius* (< Claudius/Clodius < 1) claudus, 3 - "lame"; 2) claudeo, 2 - "to become lame"; 3) claudius, 3 - "locked"), *Kornel* (< Cornelius < 1) cornu, us, n - "horn"; 2) corneus, 3 - "insensitive"; 3) corneolus, 3 - "hard"; 4) cornum, i, n - "strawberry"), *Kristián* (< Christianus < christianus, i, m/christianus, 3 - "a Christian/Christian"), *Kryšpín* (< Crispinus < 1) a Roman cognomen Crispus; 2) crispinus, 3 - "curly"), *Laurenc* (< Laurentius < 1) Laurentius, 3 - "from Laurentius"; 2) laurentius, 3 - "crowned with a laurel wreath"), *Laurentýn* (< Laurentinus < 1) a Roman cognomen Laurentius; 2) Laurentinus, 3 - "Lavrentian"), *Livius* (< Livius < 1) liveo, 2 - "to be envy; to become blue"; 2) livor, oris, m - "envy"; 3) lividus, 3 - "envious"), *Lucius* (< Lucius < 1) lux, lucis, f - "light"; 2) loucus, 3 - "bright"), *Lukáš* (< Lucas < 1) Greek Λουκάς - "from Lucania"; 2) lucus, i, m - "forest, dedicated to the gods"; 3) lux, lucis, f - "light"), *Lukrécius* (< Lucretius < 1) lucrum, i, n - "richness"; 2) lucretius, 3 - "to benefit"), *Marcel* (< Marcellus < 1) a diminutive form of the Roman praenomen Marcus; 2) marcellus, i, m - "little hammer"), *Marcelín* (< Marcellinus < 1) a Roman gentile name Marcellus; 2) marcellus, i, m - "little hammer"), *Marek* (< Marcus < 1) Roman mythological name Mars; 2) mas, maris - "male"; 3) marcus, i, m - "hammer"; 4) marceo, 2 - "to be exhausted"), *Marián* (< Marianus < 1) a Roman gentile name Marius; 2) a female Biblical name Maria), *Marin* (< Marinus < 1) a Roman gentile name Marius; 2) marinus, 3 - "marine"; 3) mare, -is, n - "sea"; 4) a Roman mythological name Mars (44); 5) a female Biblical name Maria (rare from the female name Marina)), *Marius* (< Marius < 1) a Roman mythological name Mars; 2) mas, maris - "male"; 3) mare, is, n - "sea"), *Mauricius* (< Mauricius/Mauritius < 1) male name Maurus; 2) mauricius, 3 - "Maverick"; 3) Mauritius, 3 - "from Mauritania"), *Maximilián* (< Maximilianus < 1) a Roman cognomen Maximus; 2) combination between the anthroponyms

Maximus and Aemilianus), *Paskal* (< Paschalis < 1) Paschalis, e - "linked with the Easter"; 2) *Pascha*, ae, f - "Easter"); *Patrik* (< Patricius/ Patritius < 1) patricius, ii, m - "patrician"; 2) patritus, 3 - "paternal"), *Petronius* (< Petronius < 1) petro, petronis, m - "foozle; old ram"; 2) Greek πέτρα/πέτρος - "stone; rock"), *Remig* (< Remigius < 1) remex, remigis, m - "rower"; 2) remigium, ii, n - "row"), *Remus* (< Remus < 1) unclear meaning; 2) remus, i, m - "row"), *Roman* (< Romanus < 1) Romanus, i, m/ Romanus, 3 - "a Roman/Roman"), *Saturn* (< Saturnus < 1) unclear meaning; 2) satur, ura, urum - "fruitful"; 3) sero, 1 - "to seed"; 4) sator, oris, m - "seedsman"), *Sergej* (< Sergius < 1) servus, i, m - "slave"; 2) Greek σέργιος - "guard"; 3) unclear meaning), *Servoác* (< Servatius < 1) servatus, 3 - "saved, kept" (past participle from the verb servo, 1 - "to keep"); 2) servo, 1 - "to keep"; 3) servator, oris, m - "savior"), *Silver* (< Silverius < 1) nickname of the Alba Longa legendary kings; 2) silva, ae, f - "forest"; 3) silverius, 3 - "silvan"), *Silvestr* (< Silvester < 1) silva, ae, f - "forest"; 2) silvester, tra, trum/ silvestris, e - "silvan"), *Silvoius* (< Silvius < 1) silva, ae, f - "forest"; 2) silvius, 3 - "silvan"), *Terenc* (< Terentius < 1) unclear meaning; 2) terens, entis - "friction" (present participle from the verb tero, 3 - "to rub"); 3) terentius, 3 - "deleted"; 4) teres, teretis - "slim"), *Titus* (< Titus < 1) unclear meaning; 2) titulus, i, m - "title"; 3) tueor, tuitus, tutus sum, 2 - "to watch"; 4) an Etruscan word titus - "to defend"), *Valentýn* (< Valentinus < 1) valens, entis - "healthy" (present participle from the verb valeo, 2 - "to be healthy"); 2) valentia, ae, f - "power"; 3) valentinus, 3 - "a healthy person"), *Vergilius/Virgilius* (< Vergilius/Virgilius < 1) virens, entis - "greenish" (present participle from the verb vireo, 2 - "to become green"); 2) virgo, inis, f - "virgin"; 3) virgula, ae, f - "twig"; 4) virga, ae, f - "rod"; 5) vergiliae, arum, f - "Constellation Pleiades"; 6) vireo, 2 - "to be greenish"), *Viktorin* (< Victorinus < 1) a Roman cognomen Victor; 2) victorinus, 3 - "winning"), *Vincenc* (< Vincentius < 1) vinco, 3 - "to win"; 2) vincens, entis - "winning" (present participle from the verb vinco, 3 - "to win")), *Virgin* (< Verginius/Virginus < 1) virgo, inis, f - "virgin"; 2) virginus, 3 - "virgin"; 3) virga, ae, f - "rod"; 4) vergo, 3 - "to be declined"), *Vivian* (< Bibianus/Vivianus < 1) vivus, 3 - "alive"; 2) vivo, 3 - "to live"), *Vít* (< Vitus < 1) vita, ae, f - "life"; 2) vitulus, i, m - "youngster"; 3) avitus, i, m - "grand-father"; 4) vitus, 3 - "invited; wanted"; 5) vitis, is, f - "centurion"; 6) via, ae, f - "way").

3. Classification of the Czech Male Proper Names of Latin Origin According to their Canonization

We distinguish:

- names of saints, canonized by the Orthodox Church: *Grantus, Lucretius, Ovidius* etc.;
- names of saints, canonized by the Catholic Church: *Albanus, Amatus, Beatus, Bonaventura, Caecilius, Columbanus, Columbinus, Crispinus, Dominicus, Eligius, Gallus, Laurentinus, Oliver, Paschalis, Peregrinus, Reginaldus, Romulus, Servatius, Sextus/Sixstus, Sidonius, Vergilius/Virgilius,Victorianus* etc.;
- names of saints, canonized by both the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches: *Adrianus/Hadrianus, Aemilius, Albinus, Amadeus, Amandus, Antoninus, Antonius, Augustinus, Augustus, Aurelianus, Aurelius, Benedictus, Bibianus/Vivianus, Blasius, Bonifatius/Bonifacius/Bonifatius, Britannus, Caelestinus/Coelestinus, Caesar, Caietanus/Gaetanus, Caius/Cajus/Gaius, Camillus, Cassian/Cassianus, Castulus, Christianus, Claudianus, Claudius/Clodius, Clemens, Cornelius, Crescens, Cyprianus, Desiderius, Donatus, Egnatius/Ignatius, Fabianus, Fabius, Faustinus, Faustus, Felix, Fidelis, Flavianus, Flavius, Florentinus, Florianus, Fortunatus, Franciscus, Gabinus, Gallus, Gratianus, Hilarius, Honor/Honos, Honorius, Horatius/Oratius, Ianuarius/Januarius, Innocentius, Iuleus/Iulius/Julius, Iulianus/Julianus, Iustinus/Justinus, Laurentius, Leo, Liberalis, Livius, Lucas, Lucianus, Lucius, Magnus, Marcellinus, Marcellus, Marcianus, Marcus, Marianus, Marinus, Marius, Martinus, Mauricius/Mauritius, Maurus, Maximilianus, Maximus, Modestus, Octavianus, Octavius, Patricius/Patritius, Paulinus/Paullinus, Paullus/Paulus, Petronius, Pius, Placidus, Remigius, Renuat, Romanus, Rufinus, Rufus, Saturninus, Saturnus, Sebastianus, Serenus, Sergius, Severinus, Severus, Silvanus, Silverius, Silvester, Silvius, Terentius, Tiberius, Tiburtius, Titus, Torquatus, Urbanus, Valentinus, Valerianus, Victor, Victorinus, Vincentius, Vitus.*

In the classification according to the basic Latin name six subgroups are formed – Czech male proper name, derived from: 1) a Roman mythological name; 2) a Roman praenomen; 3) a Roman gentile name; 4) a Roman cognomen; 5) a Roman agnomen; 6) a Neolatin name. The biggest group is that of Czech male anthroponyms, derived from a Neolatin name, while the smallest group includes those of them, derived from a Roman agnomen.

In the second classification, according to the type of the basic Latin word, from which the Latin name, and respectively the Slavonic one, is coined, are divided into four groups: 1) from another name; 2) from an appellative; 3) from a syntagma; 4) with uncertain etymology. The biggest group is the last one.

The classification according to canonization includes: 1) names of Orthodox saints (the smallest group); 2) names of Catholic saints; 3) names of saints, canonized by both Churches (the biggest of the three groups).

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THE MARCH AMULET IN TRANSYLVANIA

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Abstract

This paper intends to highlight the impact that the March Amulet from Transylvania has on people coming from the urban and the rural environments. The synchronic analysis emphasizes, on the one hand, the unity in diversity, and on the other hand, the uniqueness of the Transylvanian March Amulet. In the past, the March Amulet had the power of an amulet, but in the present, it is subjected to desacralization. The monochromatic, bicolor, three-color, and polychromatic March Amulet reveals its evolution in Transylvania – the ancestral March Amulet, the traditional March Amulet, and the contemporary March Amulet. Throughout time, the March Amulet was subjected to certain functional mutations, but it has succeeded in surviving. The braided string confers value. Throughout time, in Transylvania, a wide range of trinkets has been encountered: the March Amulet with a twinned string ending with elongated or rounded tassels (a white one and a red one); the March Amulet to which a silver, a golden or a copper coin, (according to the bearer's status) or a cross is attached; the three-color March Amulet having the colors of the national flag (red, yellow, blue); the March Amulet with tinder flowers; the trinket to which different things are hung – the symbol which anticipates the coming of the spring (spring flowers, migrating birds); the luck (the chimney sweeper, the horseshoe, the trefoil with four leaves); love; health etc. The Transylvanian March Amulet fascinates everyone due to its shape and chromatism and seems to belong to a universe being under the control of the miraculous. Being transmitted from generation to generation, starting with our ancestors, we have the moral obligation of cherishing it; of revitalizing it; of confronting the present against the past, in order to take it to the future.

Keywords: March amulet, Transylvania, unity, diversity

Rezumat

Lucrarea își propune să evidențieze impactul pe care îl are măștișorul din Transilvania asupra oamenilor din mediul rural și urban. Analiza sincronică subliniază, pe de o parte, unitatea în diversitate, iar, pe de altă parte, unicitatea măștișorului transilvănean. În trecut, măștișorul avea forța unei amulete. În prezent este supus desacralizării. Măștișorul monocrom, bicolor, tricolor, policrom dezvăluie evoluția măștișorului din Transilvania – măștișor ancestral, măștișor tradițional, măștișor contemporan. De-a lungul timpului, măștișorul a fost supus unor mutații funcționale, însă a reușit să supraviețuiască. Șnurul răsucit îi conferă valoare. În Transilvania, de-a lungul timpului, s-a întâlnit o gamă variată de măștișoare: măștișorul cu șnurul îngemănat, terminat în canași alungiți sau rotunzi (unul alb, unul roșu); măștișorul de care se anină o monedă de argint, de aur sau de aramă (în funcție de status-ul purtătorului) ori o cruciuliță; măștișorul tricolor în culorile drapelului (roșu, galben, albastru); măștișorul cu flori din iască; măștișorul de care se acroșează diverse obiecte-simbol care anticipează sosirea primăverii (flori de primăvară, păsări călătoare);

norocul (coșar, potcoavă, trifoi cu patru foi); iubirea; sănătatea etc. Mărțișorul transilvănean, datorită formei, cromatismului, fascinează pe oricine și pare a aparține unui univers aflat sub tutela miraculosului. Fiind transmis din generație în generație de la străbuni, avem obligația morală de a-l prețui; de a-l revitaliza; de a confrunța prezentul cu trecutul pentru a-l propulsa spre viitor.

Cuvinte-cheie: mărțișor, Transilvania, unitate, diversitate

1. Introduction

The March Amulet is identified both on the Romanian cultural territory – Banat, Bucovina, Crișana, Dobrogea, Maramureș, Moldavia, Muntenia, Oltenia, Transylvania, and at peoples from South – Eastern European countries – Albanians, Basarabians, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Greeks, Serbians, etc. The trinket found in Transylvania has similarities, but also particularities in contrast to the trinket coming from other regions of the country⁸. We notice, on the one hand, the unity in diversity, and on the other hand, the uniqueness of the March Amulet. We identify the polysemy of the term *March Amulet/trinket*: on the one hand, we distinguish the month of March, on the other hand, we remark the thread (red, black, white or blue) or the string braided in white – black; white – blue; white – red. From an etymological and linguistic point of view, Doru Mihăescu specifies that the term March Amulet [*mărțișor*] has its roots in the name of the month of March (*Marț, marțu, Martius; mensis*), being derived with the help of the diminutival prefix *-ișor*, but it also holds a series of folk/regional names which are noteworthy: “Taking into account that trinket also means (pop., reg.) herbaceous plant (*Geum Montanum*), «snowdrop», «a plant species», «the white soft woolen bud of the willow (catkin)» (DLR, VI, 289-290), we believe that the existence of certain links between some of these words (for instance, between *trinket* and *catkin*) cannot be omitted. Another noticeable thing would be that while in Romanian, trinket is used with this meaning, the etymological form coming from Latin, *marțu* (present in the Aromanian dialect; DDA, 771) or its derivative, *mărțișor* (present in the Dacian – Romanian dialect), not occurring under the analogical form, due to the Serbian – Byzantine influence, *martie (mart)* or a derivative coming from this word, synonym to the Bulgarian *martenica* – «adornment; trinket» represents a derivative coming from *mart* (pop. *marta*), originating, at its turn, from

⁸The paper is a short version of a forthcoming complex research, which concerns the Romanians’ trinket from every region of our country; see the research on the traditional trinket from Maramureș, at Răchișan, D.-A. (2013). *Formulele magice și antropologia vârstelor. Magia cuvântului în Maramureș* (pp. 178-182). Romanian Academy Publisher; Răchișan, D.-A. (2015). *Mitologia românească și estetica artei tradiționale românești din Maramureș* (p. 46). Romanian Academy Publisher; see details about the month of March, at Răchișan, D.-A. (2014). March and the March Amulet. *The Scientific Journal of Humanistic Studies*, 10(6), 15-18.

mgr. *martis, martios* (BER, III, 672-673), meaning the result of a more modern influence which has brought the occurrence of the analogical form as well (now literary) in the Romanian language" (Mihăescu, 2005, pp. 81-82).

The term *mărțișor* is also explained in *The Dictionary of Romanian Language*: I. Diminutive for the word *marț*; 1. month of March; 2. little item of adornment attached to a braided string in red and white, which is offered as a gift, especially to women and girls (and which is worn around the neck, or attached to a coat); II. 1. Catkin (of a willow, of an osier); 2. Name given to different species of willows; 3. Herbaceous plant being part of the rosaceae family, having big yellow flowers and deeply - cut leaves (*Geum montanum*); 4. Snowdrops (*Galanthus nivalis*) (DLR, 2010, pp. 289-290), (DELR, 1998, p. 610).

The braided string has different names, depending on the ethnographical region: *Mart, Marte, Mărțișor, Mărțișuș, Marț, Mărțug, Mărțăruș, Mărțăguș* ori *Mărțâșor, Mărție*. In Transylvania, the day of "March 1st" has a series of regional appellations: *Cap de Primăvară (Spring Head), Dragobete, Baba Dochia, Dochia, Ghiocel (Snowdrop), Mărțișor* etc.

2. Following the traces of the Transylvanian trinket - Oldness, attestation, roles, rites related to the trinket

As far as the oldness of the March Amulet is concerned, researchers are divided into two categories: some who believe that it is 2000 years old; others who consider it to be 8000 years old.

We encounter the oldest attestation of the trinket in the XIXth century, at Iordache Golescu (the period 1810 - 1820), in *Condica limbii rumânești*, in one of his seven volumes. He was mentioning that the trinket was, in fact, the month of March, but also a thread braided with white and red. We find out that mothers used to give their children the twinned string so that they should be healthy, that they should not be bewitched (apotropaic function).

The purpose of the trinket is to cease, to destroy, to cast away the sickly spirit and to confer its bearer health, luck, wealth, beauty, protection, a flawless complexion, efficiency concerning everything. The March Amulet protected not only the human being, but also the non-speaking creatures living at the household, if it was, of course, attached to the horns of the cattle, to the legs of the poultry. If it was attached to the boughs of the trees, it would give them fruitfulness.

Throughout time, the March Amulet has gained a series of basic/fundamental and secondary functions. Gradually, the trinket has been subjected to desacralization, and the fundamental functions (apotropaic [of protection], agrarian, augural, cyclical, fertilizing, initiating, mediating awakening between the microcosm and the macrocosm, magical and erotical rituals, utilitarian, therapeutic, and heraldic) have been substituted with the adjoining functions (aesthetical, decorative, entertaining, social).

The bearers of the March Amulet on the Romanian cultural territory, form a heterogeneous group. The March Amulet is usually worn at present in Transylvania by everybody, regardless of the ontic levels – childhood, youth, adulthood, old age; regardless of gender (masculine/feminine), of social status, or of religious confession. Children, girls having a premarital status, and young wives prefer it: "Children, girls, boys, men"; "All the members of a family"; "Everybody" (Ghinoiu, 2003, p. 281).

In the past, a special attention was assigned to the trinket. In Transylvania, people used to appeal to ritualic practices: "During spring, on March 1st, a member of a family would go out in the yard and shout: "Trinket in the house", and someone within the house would answer: "The fleas in the third house", this being said three times; After revealing the trinket, this used to be put under one's head in order to see whom a person dreams of" [*idem*].

We notice that the stake was on the verbal command, on the imperative value of the verb or on the power of gesture. The tone, voice timbre announces authority, entwining verbal language with paralanguage. The invocation – "Mart in the house/Fleas out" was acting according to the principle – "Said and done!" The power of the word is remarked, the syncretism of the languages, the spreading and the oldness of the mentioned invocation as well. Usually the clothes, the textile materials inside the house were shaken. The vestments, *țolurile* [the rugs], the towels shaken outside, symbolically may be associated with Baba Dochia's coats. The banished fleas, the shaken clothes anticipates, actually, at a mythical and symbolic level, the chasing of winter, the cold season dismissal. Sometimes the new moon was invoked, because, at the level of the collective consciousness from the rural environment, the selenal star, called *Crai Nou*, repelled the fleas, poverty, the disease state, so that the initial state, the benefic state of equilibrium to be reinstated in the house.

The March Amulet string was hanged by the bearer on a blossoming tree (apricot, cherry, corn, quince, apple, pear, peach, plum, acacia, cherry, apricot)/on a flowering shrubs (lilac, hawthorn, rose): "After it had been worn for a week it had been hanged on a tree" [*idem*]. In this context, the sympathetic magic works – concept developed by the English anthropologist James Frazer. It starts from the premise that "the similar produces similar" (Frazer, 1980, p. 33).

It was thought that the possessor of the trinket took the vitality and health of the respectively tree/shrub; the beauty of the flowers. The white flowers were preferred, because they were correlated with purity. Among children, nubile girls and flowering trees a special relationship was established, apart, ritual-magical-symbolic connotations.

The innocent and cute children, the righteous girls, are like the delicate flowers from the trees. The trinket conferred children protection, health and

vitality. The health and the tree fruit were associated with the child health. The child that was wearing the trinket became mischievous, strong, lucky.

The girls with premarital status, rural married women are considered beautiful and healthy only if they have ruddy cheeks, flushed, white-pink, as flowers and trees. The sympathetic magic works, the young lady was convinced that she will have an immaculate skin, white-pink, like the flowers of the tree and that the year will be good or bad for her, according to the fruit of that tree. In Transylvania, the twin string was hanged at the icon. Depending on the ethnographic area, the trinket was worn until the feast of Măcinici (9 or 12 days) or until Sângiorz, Palm Sunday, Easter, Armindeni. There are exceptions. For example, in Sălaj county, in the village Chechiș – Transylvania, the trinket was not worn. In contrast, the catkins [*mâțișoarele*] the flowers that are taken to the church in the Palm Sunday, to be sanctified, are correlated with the day of March 1st: "The catkins give in flower on the day of March 1st, that's why it is called like that [...] . They are placed at the icon and in hard weather are ignited in order to keep the house out of thunders and troubles (Almășan, 2007, p. 2179).

We remember that the regional name of the trinket [*mărțișor*] refers to *mâțișorul* the willow/wicker catken; is the name of several species of willow tree. Among the listed feasts, The Palm Sunday/*Floriile* can be correlated with the flowers, with the budding of the trees, with flourishing.

The Palm Sunday feast represents the goddess of spring, personifications of flowers, celebrated on Palm Sunday, over which the Church overlapped the feast of Lord's entry into Jerusalem. In the Roman mythology we encounter the goddess Flora, in the Romanians mentality from the traditional society, on The Palm Sunday, the nettles are blooming, the Nettle Wedding takes place. On Palm Sunday is an opportune occasion to plant flowers. Extrapolating, we remind you that from willow twigs are prepared circles that are clinged to the trees to bear fruit (agrarian function, cyclic, of regeneration, of fertility). With willow branches were touched the cattle in order not to lose the manna; infants were touched symbolically with willow branches in order to grow. The willow`s catkins are auspicious: they are put in the hives for bees to give honey, are inserted in layers to stop pests.

The red thread may be attached at the newborn baby hand to confer protection. The red *ciucalăi* were hanged on the horns of cattle, on the leg of the hen to benefit from protection. The red *ciucalăi* through their apotropaic function protects the farm animals, animals indispensable for the people living in the rural world. If we assume that the first fruits, the firstborn babies, the first calved animals have the role of *primitiții*/"offerings" then we find that they belong to God, not to the human being. Both newborns and newly calved animals are vulnerable to the unknown, to the malignant or even to the sun of March, and the red thread or bicolour string or *ciucalăii* confers them protection.

3. Transylvanian March Amulet Chromaticism

In Transylvania, from the ancient times to the present, distinguish the monochrome trinket, bicolor, tricolor, polychrome were distinguished, both in rural and urban environment.

Initially, the monochrome March Amulet consisted of a black woolen thread. In some areas, the black thread of wool was substituted with white or red, or blue thread wool. Usually, the respective thread, from black, white, blue or red wool, was attached on the hand or finger of the newborn baby to protect him, to defend him from malignant forces. Currently various materials are used – silk, cotton, sometimes wool and rarely hemp and flax.

The ancient twin string, at first, was formed by twisting white wool with black wool then, once at a time, came other pairs: white-blue; white-red; red-black. In the past, before 1800, the twin string was knotted at the ends (Photo 1a, Photo 1b, Photo 1c⁹):



Photo 1a: Woolen lanyard – black and white



Photo 1b: Woolen lanyard – white and blue



Photo 1c: Woolen lanyard – white and red

Currently in Transylvania predominates the twisted string with tassels at the ends, one white (the masculine) and one red (the feminine), namely a go-forth between the microcosm and the macrocosm, between descending and ascending on a dialectic of opposites that harmonizes: winter-summer, impurity-purity, light-dark, death-rebirth, death-life, neophyte-initiated, sacrifice-love, infertility-fertility, old-new, yin-yang (Photo 2):



Photo 2: *Mărțișor* with tassel, one white and one red

On the bicolored string a crucifix or a silver, golden or bronze coin can be attached, depending on the status of the wearer. For example, in the time of Prince Franz Joseph I, of Transylvania, silver krones were circulating. We exemplify two coins, dated from 1895 and 1894 on which the twisted white

⁹All the photos of this article are made by Delia-Anamaria Răchișan, 2017.

and red string was attached. The front side of the coin indicates their value – one krone; the year and phytomorphic symbols; the reverse side of the coins have in the middle the portrait of the Prince, and all around is engraved the name of the Prince – Francis Joseph I, of Transylvania (Photo 3a and Photo 3b):



Photo 3a: *Avers*–the currency value, year and vegetal symbols, dating 1895 and 1894

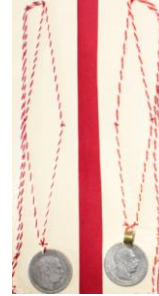


Photo 3b: *Reverse*– the portrait and all around is engraved the name of the Prince–Francis Joseph I, Transylvania

In Sărmașu locality from Mureș County – Transylvania, currently two types of old trinkets from 1950 are manufactured, with white and red twisted string, and with white and red braided string. The trinket, worn on the chest in the year 1950, is revitalized by the local craftsmen, but also by the people from the local community. Usually, on “March 8th” the girls prepare a gift for their mothers, a crocheted string. On the top the girls make a small riband, a recumbent eight, tied three times. Interesting is the fact that the upside-down eight it is threefolded, not simple as the string itself, archaic and contemporary, intercepted at Romanians, regardless of ethnographic area. However, the string is crocheted, it is not composed of left and right twisted threads. The crocheted string, with a length of 12-15 centimeters, is left free, and at the ends red and white tassels are realized. The tassels, which comprise several threads, appear to be some miniature anthropomorphic figures. The white tassel (the masculine) and the red tassel (the feminine) symbolically confer harmony.

The other variant differs from the variant previously mentioned and described. The string is not twisted, but braided. The string braided from three white threads and three red ones, resembles the girl’s small braided tails. The March Amulet/the braided trinket is left free; the ends are bound at a distance of 4 centimeters. Then, a link is made up of three circles from which results a form similar with a phytomorphic symbol – a miniature trefoil over which is applied a red or white tassel. The respective connection substitutes the upside-down eight and appears as a small riband, on the top of the trinket.

Both types of trinkets are weared on the chest on the day of “March 8th”. The trinket should not be thrown, it should be kept. The artisan Gisela

Perjavaer achieves, in the present, the two types of trinkets. Reactualizing such trinkets, teaching others to create them, emphasizes the communication and the transmission between generations (Photo 4):



Photo 4: March Amulets, gift offered to March 8, for mothers and girls¹⁰

Another trinket specific to Transylvania is made of tinder. The Hungarian craftsmen from Corund locality – Harghita stand out from other craftsmen due to tinder handicrafts marketing. According to the *Explanatory Dictionary of Romanian Language* tinder [*iasca*] (lat. *esca* <“food, medicine”>) is the name given to several parasitic fungus in the shape of a horse's hoof, dried and firm that grow on the trunk of the trees; in the past it was used for making the fire; in folk medicine as a hemostatic (DELR, 1998, p. 469). In the Corund commune–Harghita, the craft of tinder processing is passed from generation to generation. Mihaela Bucin, in the article *Márciuska. Flori de iască, șnururi de mătase*, notes that Corund locality is one of the fewer municipalities in our country where currently tinder is processed: “The craft of tinder processing is for Corund commune as important as pottery. Here it is one of the fewer places in the world where tinder is still processed” (Bucin et al, 2016, p. 76).

The trinkets made out of tinder are common today, every year, in particular, both in rural and in urban areas of Transylvania. The Szeklers (magh. *Székely*) that, according to the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language*, are part of a population of Turkic Language assimilated by the Magyar tribes they had accompanied in their migration to Europe and which settled alongside the Romanian population in the south-eastern Transylvania” (DELR, 1998, p. 469). Alongside with the Hungarians from Corund they began to realize tinder after 1920. Zsigmond Gyözö in the article *Játékok és játékos [Play-things and habits related to play-things]*, inserted in *Korunk* magazine from Cluj-Napoca, provides relevant details about making and selling trinkets, made of tinder, by the members of Hungarian, Szeckler families from Corund locality – Harghita. People from Corund, regardless of age, were identified and still identify themselves with trinkets made out of tinder: “Men gathered the raw material, the birch tinder, sliced

¹⁰Models from 1950, similar to Romanian March Amulets – to be worn one day and then kept, Author: Ghizela Perjavaer, Sărmașu, Mureș–Transylvania, Collection: Rodica Belea, Timișoara–Banat, photo made by Delia-Anamaria Răchișan, 2016.

it into thin pieces using a special jointer, then they cut out from these leaflets, petals. Women and girls helped in adjusting the leaves with the scissors, in dyeing, splicing and in string manufacturing, assembling and packaging the trinket was almost entirely their work [...]. The trinkets were attached with a needle to a piece of plastic, pasteboard or leather. The white-red strings must have also tassels white as the snow [...]. The authorization for the sellers of trinkets was issued by the Agricultural Production Cooperative [...]. First, local Gypsies, but also from other parts, and as well as other kinds of merchants were buying goods from the tinder processors [...]. A while ago they made a greater amount of March Amulets. They started with them on February 20th, and returned home on March 1st. The goods were carried in crates, at least five-six thousands *mărțiușka* in a crate. But there were also families who sold fifteen-twenty thousands. Best were sold the flowers, red and purple flowers” (Bucin et al., 2016, pp. 76-77).

The March Amulet with tinder flowers, dated from 1960, attracts attention because of the chromatising (Photo 5):



Photo 5: *Mărțișor* from tinder¹¹

The Corund craftsmen, focusing on the commercial side, not on the traditional side, used bright colors (red, purple-fuchsin, cyclamen).

Unlike other regions of the country, in Transylvania, the tricolor March Amulet is identifying itself, especially in the colors of the flag (red, yellow, blue) and with rounded tassels at the ends. For example, the rounded tassels from Brașov area comprise the three colors (Photo 6). The tricolor trinkets began to gain amplitude, to find themselves also in other regions of Romania, since 2007, the integration year of Romania into the European Union:



Photo 6: *Tricolor Mărțișor* with tassel and flowers¹²

¹¹Dated fom 1960, Corund, Harghita-Transylvania, Collection: Rodica Belea, Timișoara-Banat; photo made by Delia-Anamaria Răchișan, 2016.

The string, twisted, bicolor in white and red or the tricolor string (particularly in red, yellow and blue); the tassels made out of hemp and wool (elongated or rounded), in the past, were handmade, in the house. The symbol-objects made out from metal were bought; little cross or coin attached on the string, including beads: “[...] twisted red and white string put at the neck and sleeve; *Cănăcei* painted in three colors [...]. *Cănăcei* made of wool; Coin, little cross, a red and white *fițău*; little cross from monks, string, tassels made of hemp; Tricolor string, homemade paper flowers; Branches of osier were taken, were sanctified at the church, and then were put on the chest; It was made out of beads placed on the string; The March Amulet was bought or made at home” (Ghinoiu, 2003, p. 281).

The woolen threads from the twisted string, as it was mentioned above, have been replaced by threads of hemp, flax, cotton, arnica, then with silk threads.

The polychrome March Amulet is found in certain ethnographic areas of Transylvania: “little cross, string beautiful braided by girls, twisted with red, yellow, white, blue, as each one wanted; they also put tassels” [*idem*]. Currently, in all the regions of our country, including Transylvania, in regard of the trinket string appears a new element, valid to the period 1990-2017. At the twin string (the red and white symbiosis) is added a metallic thread, a *liță*. In this way, the part in form of upside down eight [“∞”], the lower side, supports functional mutations, takes on a different form: cockscomb, cross, flower, butterfly, etc. The aesthetic function is prevailing, so the bottom part of the string turns, more like a flower with many petals. The merchants, emphasizing on beautiful, trying to sell their trinkets, minimize actually the bicolor string. Firstly, because of the metal thread is introduced, the trinket can not be worn on the chest, but eventually only exposed as a “window object” as an object in a collection. Although the respective trinket is achieved with delicacy and delights the eye, “wrinkles”, becomes a “shaking” trinket, avoided by buyers. Secondly desecration appears, the upside down eight takes us back, to the traditional dishes in the form of eight given as alms, in other ethnographic areas, particularly in Moldavia, Bucovina, on the Day of the Martyrs (Folk Calendar)/The Forty Saints of Sebaste (Christian Calendar), namely on March 9. Moreover, the trinket was worn in certain areas of our country until March 9, then was hanged on a blooming tree branch. We highlight some of these strings made of a white thread and a red thread, with a wire made out of copper or by factory. We recall that such a string must not be put on the chest, having purely decorative purposes only.

In the present, on the twin string a series of symbolic objects are attached, highlighting: the arrival of spring (migratory birds, flowers); love (small

¹²Brașov–Transylvania, personal archive, photo made by Delia-Anamaria Răchișan, 2017.

hearts, key, ladybugs) fortune (horseshoe, chimney sweep, four-leaf clover). The symbol-objects, sometimes striking through chromaticism are made of different materials: *doublé*, ceramics, coral, *fimmo*, paper, tinder, wood, beads, precious or non-precious metals, *origami*, bone, skin, material, dried plants, plastic, resin, shells, *scârț*, glass etc.

Regardless of the material or sentimental value of the symbol-object we must not forget that the trinket value consists in the string.

The contemporary trinket is subjected to desacralization. Sometimes on the trinket's string a consumer product is attached – perfume, cosmetics, jewelry, etc. The plocon trinket; The gift trinket; The souvenir March Amulet; The virtual March Amulet minimizes the trinket itself. The old values, the ritual praxis, the fundamental functions of the trinket are defied. The modern man, which accepts the trinkets standing under the tutelage of kitsch, is risking to become a man socially alienated, emotionally distant from the ancestral values or, on the contrary, the modern man, which prefers authentic trinkets handmade by craftsmen, a man who appreciates the cultural values.

4. Conclusions

The fact is that the March Amulet from Transylvania, through the tricolor string (red, yellow and blue) stresses the national identity, and through the tinder trinket and the polychrome string (red, white, yellow, blue) enhances the originality, the uniqueness. The bicolor string (red and white binarity), to which a coin is attached, the elongated or rounded tassels point the unity in diversity. Time will decide the fate of the Transylvanian trinket in rural and urban areas. The boundary between tradition and modernity is lax. Some will lean toward ancient roots, preferring the traditional trinket, the simple trinket, authentic, original, handmade. Others will prefer the kitsch or will fall under the spell of hedonism, choosing an astounding symbol-object, fascinating, shocking. Indifferent of the choice, the March Amulet will last as long as the twisted string, the bicolor white and red string will persist.

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(LITERARY) LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL CONDITIONING

THE LANGUAGE GENERATIVE PHILOSOPHY OF VLADIMIR DAL

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Abstract

The article deals with the philosophy of Russian language, created by V. I. Dal and based on consideration of "live essence" of reality, i.e. the relation real to another embodied in the person. The Logos is the inner form of Dal's language peace-building conception which is the cornerstone of the graphic system of Russian language and codifying cognitive activity of Eastern Slavs.

Keywords: *language generative philosophy, logical form of the language, spiritual reality, symbolic matrix of consciousness*

Rezumat

În articol, se supune cercetării filosofia limbii ruse, dezvoltată de V. Dali, filosofie care se bazează pe noțiunea de esență vitală a realității, adică pe cea de realitate străină incorporată într-o persoană. Logosul este esența concepției lui Dali despre limbă ca mediator al pacificului. Concepția în cauză, la rândul ei, este una principală cu referire la limba rusă. Ea este pusă la baza întregii activități cognitive a slavilor de est.

Cuvinte-cheie: *filosofia generativă a limbii, forma logică a limbii, realitate spirituală, matrice simbolică a conștiinței*

1. Introduction

The linguistic turn in intellectual life of the Western society is associated primarily with the name of F. de Saussure who proclaimed semiological priorities in the linguistic research. The linguistic turn in the life of the speaker of Russian language should be associated with the lexicographic activity of V. I. Dal, who carried out the modification relations of things to their different specific embodiment. According to Dal's ideas of peace-building language, concrete embodiment of the real attitude to another is a fixation of a live (sounding) human speech, or a sound person. The reference of the real being to its another is the implementation of the idea, or the reality that is different from the original reality, the reality of the absolute, in the context of the *vseedinstvo philosophy* (philosophy of all-unity) (Solov'ev, 1990, apud Akulinin). Commenting on the position of this philosophy, V. N. Akulinin comes to the conclusion that man is generated by reality and it exists; the reality is a result of the relationship ('positive nothing', containing all potential unity) to its other, specifically embodied in man (Akulinin, 1990): human beings find the inner reality. The direct relation between man

and things is established through the Logos. V. I. Dal created methodological subjects: 1) generative philosophy of Russian language; 2) generative grammar for Russian native speakers based on word formation. Dal's generative philosophy of language is the inner form of *vseedinstvo philosophy*.

2. The Philosophical and Linguistic Conception of Man: the Philosophy of V. S. Solovyov and Applied Theory of the Essence of the Russian Language of V. I. Dal

Linguistic and philosophical conceptions of man, the philosophy of V. S. Solovyov and the applied theory of the essence of the Russian language of V. I. Dal were actually built in one time space. *Vseedinstvo philosophy*, according to V. N. Akulinin, is a striking example of the deformation of philosophy: it "deformed" philosophical and religious components; *vseedinstvo philosophy* extends by combining areas of irrational and rational sphere of the latter. The main fundamental question that "deformers" had to answer, was formulated by V. N. Akulinin as follows: "if there is a revelation of Truth, giving in religion, that is, whether there is a need for reflection about the truth" (Akulinin, 1990, p. 72).

The answer offered by the authors of the *vseedinstvo philosophy*, according to the researcher, combined the concept of a "living essence" of absolute truth and its "conceivable formula". The "living essence" was given in religion, "its formula" is found by philosophy. The "living essence" of reality, i.e. the real attitude to its another embodied in man, represented in the philosophy of language by V.I. Dal, in essence, the deforming philosophy: "It seems that our native language can undergo big changes. We begin to guess that we started in the slums that need to get out of it without losses and pave another way. Everything was done before, from the time of Peter the great, in the spirit of distortion of language, it must dry out and fall off, giving scope for the wilding, which needs to grow on its root, on its juices, to have care and leaving but not ruling intervention from the outside. If it is said that the head don't wait for the tail, so our head, or our heads dashed away far sideways that almost broke away from the body; and if bad shoulders without a head, so the head feels bad without the body. Applying it to our language, is given as if this head should or come off at all and to fall off, or to come round and be turned back. Speaking simply, we believe that the Russian speech will have one of two things: either it becomes trite, either it will see reason to turn another way, besides taking with itself all stocks left hurriedly" (Dal', 1994, p. 21).

The language peace-building in Dal's philosophy transforms the Logos (Dal', 1994), which is the deep structure of Russian language graphic system and codifying system of cognitive activities of the Eastern Slavs. The Logos thus should be understood as the principle, method, law of enterprises and

comprehension (Losev, 1993). “Its nature is entirely principled. It acquires meaning only in connection with formal enforcement into connection, into a meaningful whole. It doesn’t justify itself; and it is unknown in the Logos why such a combination of features was given in it and not some other. There is justification of this connection, if there is life, where all these signs are given in a living whole, in the Eidos” (Losev, 1993, p. 706).

The objectives of V. I. Dal were the transformation of the Logos in the Eidos, the creation of sense and the whole picture of a living subject – the living great Russian language and its lively thinking media – “Russians”, on the one hand, and on the other hand, it was necessary to show the merits of this method – the Logos, generating the semio-implicational meanings.

3. The Experience of V. I. Dal as the Experience of Reproduction of the Eastern Slavic Cataloguing Principles of the World

The experience of V. I. Dal is can be defined as a kind of return to the source for the Eastern Slavs principles of cataloguing the currently reproducing world and fixing implicational processes. According to M. Nikitin, implicational processes take place in the psyche of the animals on before signs level, in the psyche of people on sign level (Nikitin, 1988). On the iconic level implicational processes are summarized as a reflection of natural connections – work units of the abstracting conceptual consciousness.

The reflection of natural connections is possible, as evidenced by the entry in the “Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language” by V. I. Dal, through the demonstration of derivational potentials of the root morpheme as a marker of the consciousness opportunities to be shown in a network of dialects. The logical form becomes the result of such an activity of the consciousness.

4. The Logical Form of the Eastern Slavic Language

The logical form of the language is determined by the principles of consciousness in the understanding of a word establishing relations between the non-subject theme and the principles of its system classification. So, for the theme of *калина* (guelder-rose), the system of distribution of its context, marked by the morphemes – *ин(а)* (*калина* – tree, bush of *guelder-rose*); *-н-, -ов-* (*калинный, калиновый* – related to *guelder-rose* (tree or fruit) made of; *-овк-* (*калиновка* – fruit liqueur from berries; tincture of leaves, young branches); *); -няк* (*калинняк* – grove from a *guelder-rose*); *-ник* (*калинник* – grove from a *guelder-rose* bush; brushwood; pie; dough; the one who likes to eat a *guelder-rose*); *-ник(и)* pl.t. (*калинники* – distant autumn thunderstorms, glow; frozen); *-к-* (*калинка* – fish ‘*ukleika*’ *уклейка*). The root morphemes can be characterized based on the theoretical modeling of the language by E. F. Kirov (Kirov, 1989): the root morphemes is an unstructured block of images in the thinking, or meaning. This is what is

seen by the thought, is perceived by the mind, intellectually is beheld in the logical form of the language, i.e. Eidos. With respect to the dialectical mobility of each Eidos, A. F. Losev says that it “suggests the appropriate *meonalnoe* environment, on the basis of which he speaks of undifferentiated unity that becomes the dismembered image, staying in constant motion (the dialectical triad with *meonalny* background)” (Losev, 1993, p. 702).

5. The Formation of a Spiritual Reality as a Denotation of the Physical Reality of the Language as a Symbolic System

The process of formation of the spiritual reality in the explanatory dictionary of the Russian language as the motivational basis for thinking to choose V. I. Dal's Dictionary, fixes complex oscillatory movement of the spirit in the formation of a spiritual reality – a denotation of the physical reality of the language as a symbolic system. R. R. Kaspranskij (Kaspranskij, 1973) correlates the marked type of motion with the ethical and emic rows, the first of which represents what is transmitted from one partner to another in the process of communication; the second has a location in nonvolatile memory of the transmitter. Vibration emic units forms the basis of verbal works of the telling, constructed primarily in accordance with sequence level of psychological models by Ch. Osgood.

The realization of vocal works (sound vibrations), in accordance with the psychological model of Charles Osgood, consists of four levels: motivation level, semantic level, sequence level and integration level. R. R. Kaspranskii explains that the material substance of the communication channel contains information of a multi-layer structure, that is represented by and for native speakers (listeners), and “bearers” of the meta-language (linguist and researcher) in the form of whatnot, the third shelf of which (namely, the level that is interesting in this case for us) are the units having a service-semantic value – word formation and forming units, connecting, pointing, etc. elements. This unit belongs to the sequence level of perceiving speech, which contains twofold information: emic (emic or information of emic type) and ethical (or information of ethics series). In V. I. Dal's Dictionary both implementations of the sequence level of psychological model of the speaker of the Russian language are presented: a number of emic information and ethics information lines.

6. A Psychological Model of the Speaker of the Russian Language

V. I. Dal correlates emic information row (structural representatives of long-term memory) with the “vatazhny” principle of selection of linguistic data under one common root. The method of common root selection of linguistic data - korneslovny method, in the opinion of the compiler of this Dictionary, is fairly difficult, since knowledge of the roots already in itself constitutes a science and requires a study of all related languages, including languages not functioning. Moreover, the korneslovny principle

arrangement of the material suggests not only equal knowledge in the writer and reader, but also the same views and beliefs at the expense of attributing words to the same root. However, close monitoring of the content dictionaries allows V. I. Dal to come to the conclusion that it is possible to structure the most of set phrases according to obvious family ties and the close relationship. Otherwise, the principle of classification and consideration of the linguistic semiotic system (comparative historical linguistics, comparative-historical method of the study of languages) is possible, with an appropriate change of the scale, moving to study the relations between structural units of one language, identical to the emic structures. Such a pragmatic procedure allows to compare different states of the same language, taking into account the psychological characteristics of the user of this language. Primarily the researcher must pay attention to the sequence level of the psychological models of processing information coming from outside in the intellectual system of the man.

7. The Discovery of the Irrationality of the Rationality of Things: Modeling Meonalnoe Environment in Translation Article by V. I. Dal

Meonalnoe environment opens the necessary irrational moment in the rationality of the real, the moment that is dialectically necessary. This moment makes sense, i.e. Eidos, but loosing definition and shape, it loses sense. Meonalnoe environment in the dictionary entry is modeled by V. I. Dal through '*preditirovaniya*' that D. N. Ovsyaniko-Kulikovsky defined as a mental process based on focusing on sign actions, characterized by appeal to the "I" of the subject (Ovsyaniko-Kulikovskij, 1989).

So, the meonalnoe environment of the word *калина* (guelder-rose) consists of four levels: (a) breaking (guelder-rose, bunches), shake (apples), take (berry); (b) tree - fruit; berry - leaves, young branches, brushwood - bridges (road to the swamp), (c) bunch; morok; dough; (d) baked in a free spirit under tightly smeared the dough with a lid; a bottle of wine, tucked a bunch of guelder-rose with red tape. Grammatical thinking of the language user makes thought trip through, the meonalnoe environment of the Eidos, finds a new logic, in the context of which the extension of Russian language is interpreted not so much as many things (denotata), with which relates the notion of value, name, and many pragmatic-praxiological structures representing the result of classifying activities conceptual consciousness.

8. Irrationality in rationality being through the prism of pragmatism of Charles Pierce

The new aspects of conceptual content of meonalnoe environment levels are found with the help of the pragmatism of Charles Pierce, proposed by William James in "Pragmatism: a New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking" (Kaspranskij, 1973).

As noted by William James, at first the term pragmatism was introduced in the philosophy by Charles Pierce in 1878 in the article "How to Make Our Ideas Clear". Pierce's principle, or the principle of pragmatism, is formulated as follows: the value of the statement consists in a way of action which it can cause. Clarity in thoughts about any subject is determined by the consideration of practical effects contained in the object, i.e. clarity in thoughts depends on feelings, which we can expect from this subject, and reactions to which we need to prepare. The idea of similar consequences, there is everything that is possible to imagine about this subject. The principle of pragmatism relies primarily on intellectual activity, in the context of the concept of V. I. Dal, correlated with the technique of human activity, or praxeologies constituting the basis of the historical materialism. "Historical materialism, - said a famous Japanese philosopher and political activist, Kanjiti Kuroda, - or the dialectic of society, begins with an explanation of the principle of the production of human life. The theory of technology of human activity finds out its natural party, i.e. production of means for existence as a technical practice activities" (Kuroda, 2001, p. 35).

The result of pragmatico-praxeology registration of real, according to V. I. Dal, is the implicational meaning of the Russian language, presenting the environment, and more precisely, the element of being conceptual consciousness which is understood as a network of dialects. Like the goals of the creators of the praxeological dialectical materialism, the task of the author of the "Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language" was to determine the structure of the reconstructed logic of a topos, which, according to K. Kuroda, at the same time is the logic of the historical process of the nature development, i.e. the dialectic process.

The significant activity, speech with all its components and carried in information are the base of implications (Nikitin, 1988). First of all, the information assimilated from the knowledge of the world and significant human activities: sign is acquired as the subject, immersed in a natural context, the topos in which it is manifested and thus it marks the dialectic process. Hence, the intension of the educated language is a principle or method of the connection of the feelings about the subject, of the reactions to the subject and of the logic of a topos. It is the kind of a peculiar scheme of mental achievement (cognitive map) by a language person to the subject entity of the word. "To get to the subject of words, to the subject essence, we had to walk through the place where the subject essence, as such, is embodied in a specific word hic et nunc the importance of a word, dialectically-necessary associated with the same subject essence as such. Subject essence, we said, presents in the word itself as a kind of its quality. And this quality is just its meonal design and expression" (Losev, 1993, p. 647).

9. The Truth in Mental Sphere: the Conception of E. N. Trubetskoy

In Russian language and culture the Logos is the method of association, reflection of the spontaneous manifestations of the world in a "network" - a

nest, the method of knowledge in the context of absolute synthesis, we express our thoughts in. Absolute consciousness, according to E. N. Trubetskoy, "sees" thoughts as a true, being spiritual and sensual contemplation or vision. "All my experiences and feelings, and so, and all my perceptions of *paints* of the Universe are filled with absolute consciousness and contained in it *in the context of vseediny Truth*. So, in this context any of my feelings becomes *an element of vseediny revelation*: it is necessary to be able to read them in this context, *to be able to find* this revelation. Revelation consists not in my feeling, not in the subjective experience of my mentality, *and in the supermental sense of the endured*. This sense opens not to everyone having eyes to see. *To understand value of those posyustoronny paints* which we see, rising over a direct reality of another to vseediny and initial Light which is reflected in it, is necessary. Therefore, in this context, all my feelings become an element of a uniform revelation: you need to be able to read them in this context, to be able to find this revelation. The revelation was not really in my feeling, not in the subjective experience of my psyche, and in the sense experience. The meaning of this offer is not for everyone, but for those who have eyes to see. To understand the significance of those this-worldly colors that we see, we need to rise above the immediate reality of the other to all uniform and the primordial Light, which is reflected in it" (Trubeckoj, 1998, p. 169). In the supermental sphere the truth is concrete: sound and light waves are indissolubly connected as conditional and unconditional, "illustrating" penetration of light into another, a combination of two various elements of life; in which "we have a live image of connection of a motionless Great wild world and that moving *dark* area into which it gets" (Trubeckoj, 1998, p. 170).

E.N. Trubetskoy believes that the sound is a necessary condition of light generated by the movement; in the conditions of "local" experience the sound and light exist in the movement and through it, but between them, sound and light, on the one hand, and the movement, on the other hand are not identical. In essence, E.N. Trubetskoy concludes, we have various ranks, various contents of consciousness here.

The sound causes the movement of light which can be presented as its spectral stratification, "multi-colored beams", according to E.N. Trubetskoy. In V. I. Dahl's dictionary the sound "is beheld" in two resounding spheres - the sphere of language lifeless ("artificial", Latin) and the sphere of language "live" ("natural", Russian). The first represents a waste product of the state which reached a civilization phase, the second is urged to solve problems of "formation" of society, giving of "education" to it and, perhaps, "statehood" imperial, i.e. network.

The movement of light has to remove resistance of "another" real, specifically embodied in the person, resistance to merge to light (Trubeckoj, 1917, p. 164).

10. The Symbolic Matrix of Consciousness of V.I. Dal as a Russian Reality, or the Center of the Mental Life of the Russian People

The movement to light actually assumes transformation of the reality which is the result of the relation real to another. In this movement true dynamism of life, or "vital will" find themselves. According to V. V. Malyavin, vital will of an *otozhdestvimi* with primary synthesis, a symbolical matrix of consciousness which is the cornerstone of the Chinese tradition (Malâvin, 1995). The symbolical matrix - a source and the internal center of mental life is a reality. It is absolutely unconditional, wholly, has no anything out of itself; "it is twisted in itself" (*hun zhan*) and inspires experience of "comprehension of loneliness" (*Jian du*). Its action corresponds to involution, a return to a condition of primary integrity (= "povertyvany lives back", "saving of unity", "return to emptiness"); it has no subject contents and only represents possibility of any experience.

The symbolical matrix of consciousness in V. I. Dal's dictionary includes first of all information on actions as about functions of the perceived subjects (and); information on functional stratification of a subject (in); information on possible combinatory communications of language contents (names) (c); descriptions of technology of the human activity combining various elements of life (d).

The "Image" of a symbolical matrix of consciousness is followed in an entry of living great Russian language by an all-classification language matrix for which development creates prerequisites for the formation of the literary language of a new type. The word-formation paradigm showing the derivational potential of a root morpheme of a language, its variability and ability to serve various quantity of semantic environments enters this matrix. The root should be regarded as a certain cyclic sign which is carrying out the function of a variable. Cyclic signs reflect the cyclic movement of things, "which in the consciousness is presented by orders of images and ideas, and in the behavior of the person - dance practice under rhythmic changes of things" (Malâvin, 2003, p. 110). The uncertainty of a cyclic sign - a root - is removed with the help of quantifiers - derivational affixes, standard designations of a primary element of an idea - and a range of definitions - the general matrix of the judgement of which V. I. Dal offers samples of the aphoristic speech of the Russian ethnos:

Убожество учит, богатство пучит; Счастье пучит, беда крючит; На чужую кучу нечего глаза пучить; Ешь больше теста, в брюхе есть место; Дьяк у места - что кошка у теста, а дьяк на площади - то Господи прости; Морочила морока, а проскочила сорока; Он все лясы точит, да людей морочит.

11. The Elements of Vseedyiny Revelation of V.I Dal marking supermental sense of the endured

Similar contexts of functioning of a root element open new associative communications which are shown first of all when pronouncing the word in

the speech stream generating nedenotativny components of value, or sense components, - the elements of vse diny revelation marking supermental sense endured, perception of paints of the Universe.

The all-classification language matrix in V. I. Dal's dictionary finds a special function of sense - an oznachivaniye of the principle of production of human life. Illustrations of this principle are easily found in entries:

Землю *вспучило*. Что глаза *выпучил*? Всю дорогу *испучило*. Река *напучилась*. Весь *опучился* в водяной опух. Обшивку *отпучило*. Вишь *отпучил* брюхо! отостил. Доски *попучило*. *Подпучило* меня под грудь, подперло, подвалило. Всю мебель *перепучило*, переборобило. Больного совсем *распучило*. Фигляр всех *обморочил*. *Проморочил* его долгонько.

The basis of the principle of production of human life, and also the technology of the cognitive activity interconnected with it, the reproduction of the same property, the subject essence in different situations, or environments makes this principle to find combinatory properties of a brain and elementary syntagmatic rules of its language (brain language).

“Technical development” of the symptomatic function of the language identifying it with other forms of behavior of a live organism creates a certain fundamental principle for the development of a vision or a spiritual and sensual contemplation, i.e. registration of an absolute consciousness. The probability of its use in Y corpus is compared to each language unit of X; the text is a sequence of independent realization (playings) of a random variable of Z (choice). Thus, one of the conditions of drawing up the dictionary in a system of theoretical provisions of quantitative linguistics is formulated (Arapov, 1988). In the context of the theory of the essence of language developed by V. I. Dal in the course of the creation of the *Explanatory Dictionary of Living Great Russian Language*, this condition is met at the reconstruction of the principle of the production of human life in the semantic form of the word which is present in the dictionary in the form of a thing. “The name of a thing is the expressed thing. The word of a thing is the understood thing. The name, the word of a thing is a razumevayemy thing, the thing in reason shown, a thing as reason and concept, as consciousness and, therefore, - reason, concept and consciousness as a thing. The knowledge of the dialectics which is essentially identifying knowledge and life - unlike a set of the metaphysical systems arguing on mutual influence of “consciousness” and “life” is so erected. They *do not influence* each other, but they - *are initially identical*” (Losev, 1993, p. 651).

12. The Revelation of the Daily Experience

The all-classification language matrix concentrates attention on the articulation and sound associations which are saved up in the experience of the language subject, and in the grammatical forms, always ready to be used. According to D. M. Ovsyaniko-Kulikovskiy, area unconscious where

numerous acts of thought are made and where mental associations including that form language (Ovsâniko-Kulikovskij, 1989) remain, is relevant for total forming. In the field of the unconscious “another” “is found” real without which the reality is impossible, because the relation real to another, i.e. revelation of absolute consciousness in human consciousness is made out. Through revelation all the process of knowledge, revelation in the broadest sense is carried out, E.N. Trubetskoy considers: “ The revelation of daily experience opens not absolute Real, but absolute consciousness about another, moving, becoming, imperfect, besides - not all completeness of absolute maintaining about other, and its certain spheres which can be wider or already moderately than the capacity of the developing, improved human consciousness” (Trubeckoj, 1998, p. 220). Discovery (revelation) of the absolute consciousness in human consciousness allows the person to know everything that s/he knows, means the activity of the absolute consciousness in the human, testifies the existence between human consciousness and absolute consciousness of a communication that is not only logical, but also vital. In this regard, the preliminary phenomenon of two natures, which beginning with the connection finds itself in the truth obligatory for a component of the informative act, takes place.

13. The Formalization of Vital Communication

In V. I. Dal's dictionary three types of vital communication come to light: procedural (the sign static corresponds to a sign dynamic) (1), assimilativno-variable (2) and metonymy (3): *пучковый, пучной, пучковатый, пучечный* – connected by bunches, to a bunch relating (2); *пучковатый, пучковатый* – on bunches similar (2); *пуклый, пухлый, выпуклый, горбом, коробом* – chubby, convex, a hump, a box, inflated (3); *пучить, пучивать* – raise, blow up or hunch, jar on (1).

“Formalization” of the vital communication happens in the concept and is a form of conclusion. The concept occurs in a type of independent essences - ideas (eidoses) which are in the special logical and associative relations: a bunch - a hump, a box. The form of the conclusion depends on contents of the statements covered by it, that is eventually a derivative of concrete language expressions. Catching and the description in an entry of the vital communication allows its author to present the process of filling (verbalization) of the proposition which is the minimum unit of thinking and to show features of technology of cogitative activity in a network semantic adverbs, acting as a symbolical matrix of the consciousness for a new formation of Russian as ‘educated’ language.

14. The Technology of Cognitive Activity of the Native Speaker of Russian

The technology of the cogitative activity popularized in the Russian book language is focused on the three-part scheme “language statehood (religion) - collective (communal) consciousness” generating an axiology of the Russian ethnos. In the Explanatory dictionary of V. I. Dal there is a

modification of the initial trinity in a *tetraktida* "consciousness - implicational value - "network" of topos - logic of topos, or dialectics of existence a topos". Especially transformation of the statehood component in the "implicational value" component, determined top axis present, or "eternal present" attracts attention; "now", executed the past and assuming the future. "Topos or "here and now" is a starting point for the valid creation of the history of society which represents the self-movement of the Matter. It matters as reproduction in the present of creation of the beginnings of human society, i.e. its Primary creation. In this sense of top wasps it is possible to define it ontologically as the cross section of "historical process of the nature", as a process of the self-movement of the Matter" (Kuroda, 2001, p. 259).

Similar transformation is rather basic for the Russian linguistics as a new understanding of language begins, as a certain independent essence not identical to the style reduced to combinations of set phrases according to conventional requirements of creation of the text which is not contradicting the state axiology. Detection of properties of the language possibly when studying features of the speech practice of the ethnos having a sign character and opening the possibility of vision of the world in the spontaneity of its manifestations. Research of the speech creates prerequisites for the understanding of the realization in sign system of the literary Russian (perhaps, system of signs) supermental sense, the principles of streamlining of meanings which are owned by consciousness, on a numerical continuum.

The reality treated in *vseedinstvo* philosophy as the result of the relation real to another, specifically embodied in the person, will be transformed in the Explanatory dictionary to a semantic field, nonlinear interaction which surrounds the person - space "live dialogue of consciousness, reality and language" (Batrakova, 2002), the language understood in the spirit of R. Barts as an epistemological category (Bart, 1994). The semantic field structured in the theory pragmatical concept of V. I. Dal in the form of a nest allows to present most adequately features of the technology of the cogitative activity of the Russian ethnos and the principles of a categorization of the world, to its peculiar model. The introduction of a semantic field, V. V. Nalimov and Zh. A. Drogalina consider, sets the idea of psychological space. "The measure task on a semantic field allows to describe its various manifestations happening in systems of preference. These preferences are set by the distribution functions attributing various values to different sites of this field. We will always deal with differential functions of distribution, i.e. with probability density" (Solov'ov, apud Akulinin, 1990, p. 107).

Conclusions

The interest in V. I. Dal's dictionary naturally renewed giving a qualitatively different status to the speech activity as an activity marking the free identity of the democratic society. Orientation to speech practice assumed the description of consciousness "out of categories of space of

action and time”, and the physical space and time at similar approach are not arguments of those functions of distribution of a semantic field through which the image of the consciousness is under construction. The return to a speech glavenstvovaniye to the organizations of semantic space of history and management of the communication process undertaken with a support on the concept and empirical data of V. I. Dal was carried out without fundamental theoretical installations of the author. It is necessary to rank as such installations: 1) in speech practice it is necessary to find not spontaneity of the activity of consciousness of the representative of the ethnos, but the possibility of the vision of the world in the spontaneity of its manifestation; 2) in a situation of speech communication, there is spontaneously as result of a free choice of a conditional function of distribution, the functional converter selectively changing initial function - probability density; 3) the task of a probability measure on a semantic field (psychological space) is caused by the communication of absolute consciousness and human consciousness.

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LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES TEACHING AND LEARNING

TEACHING ENGLISH IN HIGHER ESTABLISHMENTS OF ROMANIA

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Abstract

The present article discusses the issue of teaching English in Romanian higher educational institutions and its topicality nowadays. Alongside the analysis of different reasons of Romanian success story in this respect, some phenomena in two languages – English and Romanian – are being elucidated. The similarities found can be helpful in teaching/learning activity.

Keywords: globalization, EFL (English as a foreign language), borrowing, term, lexical unit, bilingual dictionary

Rezumat

În acest articol, se examinează problema predării limbii engleze în instituțiile de învățământ superior din România. Se analizează cauza succesului în acest domeniu și se cercetează câteva fenomene în două limbi: engleză și română. Similaritatea prezentată poate ajuta în activitatea de predare/învățare a ambelor limbi.

Cuvinte-cheie: globalizare, ELS (engleza ca limbă străină), împrumut, termen, unitate lexicală, dicționar bilingv

1. English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in Romania

Teaching English in Romanian higher educational institutions is tightly connected with the process of globalization. The world has changed greatly for the last time, society has turned into a high-tech civilization, new technologies, as well as new approaches to the system of education have appeared. More and more people have the opportunity to travel all over the world nowadays, to communicate with native speakers in English speaking countries. No less is the influence of mass media – newspapers, TV and Internet, which contribute to our reading and hearing abilities; people can compare different facts and make conclusions. Besides, more and more countries endeavour to join the European Union, as a result people of those

countries have individual contacts with each other and facilitate learning foreign languages, English in particular. People are trying to gain proficiency in English, as it helps to study at higher educational establishments, to get a decent job, to have access to different fields of culture and arts. Indubitably, English is playing the dominant role in the modern world and Romania does its best to take the right niche in this process to communicate with the universe. That's not a secret that globalization is one of the strongest traits of our time, people should think globally and be prepared to solve global problems. Thus, global mediation is the framework within which the teachers of English and the students must consider the subject of the English language to gain more competences characterizing the future teacher of English. Globalization tendency makes English a language of communication and development giving the students chances to enhance their proficiency and to gain success.

English as a foreign language (EFL) is taught in most countries of the world, in Romania as well. Here the language is taught at all levels of the system and it is a means of Romanian undergraduate students' development, being the world-wide language of trade, diplomacy, business, technology, music and all the other spheres of people's life. As it was stated before, English has become the main medium of communication, and no wonder that a great number of academic curricula include English. As students of other countries, Romanian undergraduate students were also taught English since their early childhood via pop culture, movies, music and the Internet and all that facilitated students' interest in English. English as a foreign language takes a very important place in the Romanian education system, it's one of the main subjects in students' curricula and it explains the fact why the authorities try to draw Romanian education nearer to European standards. Romania has a population of 22 million and an area of 237,000 km², it is the second largest country in Central and East Europe and, on January 1st 2007 it became member of the European Union. In its turn, the latter helps Romania greatly to reform its organization system. Taking into account the fact that the country had been influenced by the French culture for a long time, we must estimate the level to which the teaching of English was raised, as nowadays the majority of students study the English language as a first foreign language.

English as the main language in global education is fulfilling new functions. A lot of undergraduate and graduate students pay attention to the advantages of the international higher education and programmes. For example, the Erasmus programme is another outcome of the globalization and international cooperation between universities. Thus, studying abroad opens all the doors to universal education and culture and is simply a modern necessity.

English has a great influence on the European continent, first of all, because of its presence in the media: the Internet, forms of popular youth culture and popular entertainment, advertising etc. That is why English in Romania can be heard daily on the radio, in music, in films and on television. As the dubbing is not common in Romania and most films are subtitled, English is used as a language for the enjoyment of the cinema, to say nothing of English being used increasingly by Romanian authors.

At the same time, people express their fear as to the dominance of English on a global scale, of losing individuality and originality, but English language programmes, international conferences and journals using English as their official language online or in class courses give reasons to believe, that this process is rather an aid than a threat in international cooperation.

Different reasons stimulate people to learn foreign languages. It is important, first of all, concerning international students when talking of their motivations. There are students who speak English as a first language, those for whom it is the second language and those who speak it as a foreign language. And only those students for whom the language is a foreign or a second one can appreciate its global future.

Alongside with other countries Romania has adopted a national education policy, which stipulates new curricula changes and new approaches to teaching English. It helps students to acquire not only the information or simply knowledge about the language, but to gain new heights of communicative ability.

Both state and private universities try to attract international students, it enlarges the international scope of those establishments and their marketing strategy. Surely, the fact has its advantages and responsibilities, as now professors have to deliver their lectures in English and it is another manifestation of English as a global language. Of course, it influenced the Romanian higher educational system, which offers two approaches to internationalize its educational programmes and offers: instrumental and integrative. While the first orientation means learning a foreign language as a tool or a means of job development, the second implies cultural activity for people communicating in that language.

Globalization covers both everyday life and education, and, as a result, Romanian higher institutions are widely promoting teaching courses in English, which have political, economic and cultural meaning for the country. Certainly, teaching Romanian students English as a foreign language and offering international students new possibilities means keeping in pace with the demands and requirements of the modern world and a step forward in the European evolution process. Higher educational institutions in Romania do their utmost to help their students to compete in a globalized labour market, mobility trends and work out intercultural and

language skills. Traditional methods of teaching are used to promote research in foreign countries and exchange programmes.

The Romanian academic system becomes an active part of the Erasmus and Erasmus Plus mobility programmes. Acknowledging the key role of the English language in this context, the Romanian higher education system promotes multilinguistic and multicultural aspects of teaching with the help of these programmes. Nowadays the Romanian higher educational system endeavours to globalize its content, where IT, the online educational system and distance learning are topical. Actually, to attract students from all over the world educational programs should be conveyed in English and it is no longer a fashion, but a necessary stage in the development of the world education system.

English is conquering new and new horizons of technological and scientific development. It is the language of new literature and entertainment, new thinking in economics and management. Also, it gives green light to new technologies and, consequently, there appear new ways of speaking and writing, new grammatical forms and vocabulary.

As the globalization influences the educational sphere, a lot of Romanian higher institutions have to look for new strategies for a multicultural educational process, where the role of the English language is invaluable.

2. A General Overview of Literature on the Subject

The problem under discussion becomes the center of attention in different sources among which are those providing the necessary information about Romania Higher education (*Romania Higher...*, 2014). Thorough explanations of the structure, types and cycles of the Higher Education System in Romania, admission requirements, curricula, teaching methods, student assessment, certification (the Diploma Supplement is issued in Romanian and English), employability, lifelong learning programs prove to be helpful for a better understanding of how the system works.

Much attention has been paid to the teaching of the English language at the early stages of instruction (Loboda, 2017), the evolution of the curricula (Bucur et al., 2015, pp. 52-54), teacher training and main strategies in primary education and pre-school stage of learning English in Romania based on personal experience (Loboda, 2017, p. 128). Romania is included into the manual of the educational systems of the European Union Council (Sisoeva et al., 2012, pp. 131-135). The authors emphasize that after the Romanian language, foreign languages belong to the main subjects in the curricula (*idem*, p. 133).

Valuable data can be found in the article written by Oana-Roxana Ivan entitled "Why do Romanians speak foreign languages so well?" (Ivan, 2013). The author states that English is the foreign language that Romanians speak most and shows the reasons of it: the early foreign language learning, the increase in the number of hours allotted for it, attending courses organized

and paid by various companies, summer camps in foreign countries. English as a foreign language in Universities and Romanian academia became the issue discussed by Maria-Miruna Ciocoi-Pop. In her investigation the author draws the attention to the fact that “English is always the student’s first option for the foreign language class” (Ciocoi-Pop, 2015, p. 565) for the overwhelming number of studying programmes, international conferences or journals, online or in class courses use English as their official language (*idem*, p. 566). In her research Narcisa Țirban has examined the future of teaching English in Romanian higher education as a second language and the effect of the globalization upon it (Țirban, 2013, pp. 74-79). Explaining the reasons for the proficiency in English of Romanian students the author elucidates the influence of the European Union, the globalization, modern technologies on the presence of English noting that it is also used for “the enjoyment of cinema, since the dubbing is not very common in Romania” (*idem*, p. 76) arguing that in future new vocabulary, grammatical forms and ways of speaking and writing will lead to further development of the so-called ‘net English’ (*idem*, p. 77). Among the reasons for Romanian students being “the best among the European speakers of English, with the least country-specific accent” (*ibidem*) the author cites the sudden burst of alternative textbooks, the enthusiasm of the English teachers, intensive study, bilingual classes, division into groups, scholarships offered to Romanian teachers which “meant an important turn point in many Romanian teachers of English careers” (*idem*, p. 78). There also exist investigations concerning similarities between English and Romanian but the authors mostly concentrate on separate spheres of activity, economy in particular.

3. Lexical Similarities between English and Romanian.

One can’t but fully agree with the explanations provided in different sources, with all the above mentioned reasons of Romanian students high level of background, their proficiency in English. The aim of our investigation is to add one more detail to these considerations, namely, the linguistic aspect of the problem. The device of calculations and the comparative method helped to state the number of similar words in both languages on the basis of the English-Romanian and Romanian-English dictionary published in Bucarest (author A. Bantaș). The choice of words always being a bit subjective to a certain extent, it mostly covers the frequently used vocabulary of the language. The author of the dictionary, Andrei Bantaș states in the foreword that the dictionary is based on authoritative sources such as Hornby, Muller and Webster. The explanation is provided that due to the small scope of the dictionary he avoided including the words that have a form close to each other in both languages (e. g. precept, grammatical), but preserved the terms with similar forms and different translation (e. g. *fabric* = țesătură). The number of derivatives were also reduced (e. g. *headless* = fără cap, *unimportant* = neînsemnat). In general, the

compound words were grouped by their initial word and the most frequently used words were selected. English-Romanian dictionary is 95 pages bigger than the Romanian-English, the latter having less words and no transcription as the Romanian reading rules do not need one. The English-Romanian part has got approximately 15, 000 words, respectively the Romanian-English one has 12,000 words. After the selection of similar words it turned out that their number out of 15, 000 is 3286 which constitutes 22% and out of 12, 000 their number is 4112 which makes up 33, 3 %. This leads to one possible outcome: $\approx 22-33,3$ % of the vocabulary in two languages is very much alike. Out of all 10 parts of speech mentioned in the foreword almost a half has a big number of similar words, the rest have either none or very few similar lexical units. Three out of 5 types of verbs have a lot of similar words. The overall number of similar words in the English-Romanian dictionary being 3286, the distribution according to the parts of speech is as follows: nouns (s) make up 2043, adjectives (adj.) - 558, transitive verbs (vt) - 402, transitive and intransitive verbs (vt, vi) - 89, intransitive verbs (vi) - 82, nouns, adjectives (s, adj.) - 62, adverbs (adv.) - 22, interjections (interj.) - 10, transitive and reflexive verbs (vt, vr) - 6, prepositions (prep.) - 3, nouns and transitive verbs (s, vt) - 2, pronoun (pron.) -1, numeral (num.) - 1, adjective, adverb (adj., adv.) - 1, reflexive verb (vr) - 1.

The degree of similarity may be different. Some lexical units in Romanian are borrowings from English: *lord, camping, trust, lift, snob, toast, set, jet, golf* etc. Certain words need explanation: *grog* [grɔg] s. = rachieu cu apă și lămâie, *grog*; *penny* ['peni] s. = monedă de un penny. Some words have certain differences and are only partially similar. Romanian words may be shorter: *gesture* ['dʒestʃə] s, = gest; *luxury* ['lʌks(ə)rɪ] s. = lux. Being identical in spelling they may have different pronunciation: *raid* [reɪd] s. = raid [raɪd]. Some letters may change: *jockey* ['dʒɔki] s. = jocheu; *ferry-boat* ['ferɪbɔt] s. = feribot. Both languages have similar names of the months: *December* [dɪ'sembə] s. = decembrie. This similarity is observed only in the literary names of the Romanian months, not only the ones used in folklore. Adjectives characterizing people or objects, mostly have synonyms in translation: *popular* ['pɒpjələ] adj. = popular, simpatizat, admirat. Similar are the names of the citizens of certain countries, representatives of the race, the continent, the nationality: *Canadian* [kə'neɪdɪən] s. adj. = canadian (ă). In English this word denotes both masculine and feminine gender whereas in Romanian for feminine letter ă appears in this case or there are some other changes. In compound words one part of the English word may be a capital letter, in translation into Romanian the words are in full form and are placed vice versa: *A-bomb* ['eɪ.bɒm] s. = bombă atomică. Doubling of letters is changed in Romanian: *giraffe* [dʒɪ'rɑ:f] s. = girafă. Not all derivatives may be alike: only 3 words out of 6 derivatives from the word *real* are the same. Some prefixes are identical and some are different: *pre* (E) = pre (R), *sub* (E) = sub (R), but *super* (E) = supra (R), *in* (E) = ne (R), *un* (E) - de (R). At the same time there are certain regularities in digraphs: *th* (E) = t (R), *ph* (E) = f (R).

One of the crucial issues is stylistic differentiation. Similar words for the most part are bookish, literary used less often than corresponding colloquial or neutral words: *obtain* [əb'tein] *vt.* = a obține is used more rarely than get which has no similarity in translation into Romanian. The curriculum of English teaching at the university demands working with texts on speciality which include terms. They are mostly similar in both languages, to say nothing of internationalisms.

Similar words include names of different domains of knowledge and types of activity, abstract notions, they may belong to medicine, science, education, linguistics (grammar, style), politics, art (theatre, architecture), military sphere, history, sport, geography, religion, seafaring, economy, finance, biology, clothes, meals, entertainment and others.

There is also one phenomenon we should dwell on in the article. Romanian is open to other languages, especially English. The reasons being explained, it is necessary to quote some examples taken from the manuals, newspapers, radio programs and everyday speech. English words get Romanian endings and become part of the Romanian active vocabulary: *week-end-ul*, *CV-ul*, *gadget-ul*, *job-ul*, *rogaining-ul*, *lounge-ul*, *hit-ul*, *hackerul*, *business-ul*, *show-ul*, *logo-ul*, *body-gardul* etc., *-l* being an article and *-u* – the linking element between this article and the word. Plural forming suffix is added and is written hyphenated: *site-uri*, *like-uri*, *sweatshirt-uri*, *modemuri*, *disc-uri* etc. Article is added to the plural form: *topurile*, *iconurile* etc. Some cases of the Romanian nouns are formed by means of such endings, but they are added to English words: *brand-ului*, *jeans-ului*, *starurilor*, *shopping-ului*, *play-off-ului*, *hip-hop-ului*, *rapperului*, *showbizului*, *selfie-urilor*, *modelling-ului* etc. English entered the Romanian speech very visibly and actively.

4. Concluding remarks

A lifelong experience of teaching English both to English and non-English majors, some of them being Romanians, self-study, attending in class lessons, courses of the Romanian language, systematic listening to both English and Romanian speech, work with dictionaries, watching films and attending festivals prompted the writing of this article with the aim of a thorough study of the Romanian experience of teaching English at higher-educational institutions. Much needs to be further explored: the specific domains where similarity prevails, terms in certain spheres of activity, new vocabulary and changes that appear in the languages due to the innovative technologies. The difference between the two languages is likely to attract the attention of the scholars probably even more than similarity, for students still experience great difficulties in learning English, especially when it comes to the tricky issue of the difference between the sounds and letters in English. But it goes without saying that some measures taken in some countries (change of the alphabet), the availability of students-

polyglots in the group enhances the general level of knowledge of any foreign language, widens the horizons of the students and finally leads them to positive results and a fairly good background.

The present investigation is also essential for the receptive technology as it denies the desire of some scholars to exclude Romanian from the European group of languages. Joachim Grzega, while creating his table of similar words, excluded Romanian for reasons of readability. The author acknowledged that the Romanian language was respected by Klein and his team, but he considers that “the classification of Rumania as part of European civilization is doubted; at least it is a borderline case” (Grzega, 2005, p. 3). Indeed, there are some difficulties in writing some Romanian letters, but for us the belonging of Romanian to Europe from the geographical, historical, political, economic and cultural points of view is beyond any doubt.

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