INTENTIONAL DISCURSIVE INTERFERENCE THROUGH PHRASEOLOGICAL INTERTEXT IN ROMANIAN NEWSPAPER HEADLINES (2016-2025)

Monica-Geanina COCA
monica.coca@usm.ro
Ştefan cel Mare University of Suceava, Romania

Abstract: *This study analyzes the intentional discursive interferences achieved through phraseological intertextuality in the Romanian press between 2016 and 2025, in order to highlight the importance of these discursive markers in influencing and persuading the public. Cconsisting of 100 fixed constructions extracted from the general press in both canonical and modified forms, belonging to the category of proverbs and expressions, the corpus was examined through the mechanisms described by Quintilian: adiectio (addition), immutatio (substitution), detractio (deletion), transmutatio (transmutation), and was correlated with the pragmatic functions of information, evaluation, and irony. The results showed that in the news press, adiectio predominates, with the canonical form of fixed constructions being maintained, while in the opinion press, immutatio and detractio are favored, giving rise to various stylistic variations expressing ironic evaluation.*

Keywords: *intertextuality, phraseology, repeated discourse, figures of speech, pragmatic functions.*

1. In recent decades, recent reflections on Romanian journalistic writing have included observations on discursive formulas that are repeated and rewritten through changes in register, genre overlap, and voice alternation. The use of these discursive markers as a strategy to influence public perception involves formal operations and techniques of recontextualization that fulfil distinct pragmatic functions and serve as keys to interpretation.

1.1. Current state of research

The analysis of intertextuality defined as "the set of relationships (explicit or implicit) that a text maintains with other texts" (Rovenţa-Frumuşani, 2005: 230) has been extensively investigated from multiple perspectives in both foreign and Romanian literature.

In Europe, the concept, rooted in Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogism, was introduced by Julia Kristeva (1969) who defined intertextuality as "the permutation of texts, a textual space in which statements belonging to different texts intersect and amalgamate" (Rovenţa-Frumuşani, 2005: 231-232). In the German tradition, the investigation of intertextuality has emphasized the pragmatic functions and effects of intertextuality on the interlocutor (Ulrich, Manfred: 1985), while in French literature, exegeses analyse the phenomenon through the prism of collective cultural memory. J. Authier-Revuz's (1995/2012) theories on the Representation of the Other's Discourse follow the same line of thought, showing that any paraphrasing involves the sender's taking a position on the discourse.

According to Qin Xie (2018), when intertextuality is used as a strategy to influence the audience in journalistic texts it has the effect of engaging the readers and intensifying the pragmatic functions of news (information, attention, general evaluation) when used in headlines. Analysing the variation of these structures, the author identifies two types of intertextuality: "specific" (with the possibility of identifying the source), which takes the form of reported speech (direct/indirect); as paraphrasing/transformation of expressions/proverbs; references to historical figures/events; intertext with films, songs, literature; and "generic" with two aspects: a combination of styles and registers (colloquial + formal) and titles with a poetic rhythm, as an indication for identifying cultural genres. Recent works in the field draw attention to the cognitive impact of intertextuality, the fact that the points of encounter set by the media sender become forms of influence on the receiver (Kalenych, 2020). An emerging direction is opened by Tang K. S. (2025), who proposes extending the meanings of the term intertextuality to AI-generated texts. In this perspective, the author analyses AI generated texts and observes how they resort to intertextuality by inserting fragments signed by a human author, thus generating different interpretations.

In Romanian tradition, Romanian exegeses have analysed multiple facets of the summoning in journalistic texts of constructions subject to deconstruction and restructuring, changes that can be traced, as Camelia Cmeciu observes, at the level of "content and expression, and these bring to the fore the concept of intertextuality, both in terms of elements that come from different texts and the medium on which their combination is stored" (2005: 67). This special technique of creative language use, which can be associated with what in pragmatics studies appears under the name of intertextuality, was included by Eugeniu Coşeriu (1994: 189) in the formula "repeated discourse" and defined as "everything that is repeated in the speech of a community in a more or less identical form as already spoken discourse or a more or less fixed combination, as a long or short fragment of what has already been said."

The phenomenon was subsequently examined from multidisciplinary perspectives, ranging from print media to advertising arguments and works on contrastive phraseology, highlighting the creative potential of proverbs, idioms, and expressions when used in different types of discourse (Munteanu, 2007). In terms of the forms of creativity, in journalistic texts this often takes the form of lexical shifts, and according to Liviu Groza, phraseological variation manifests itself "both in terms of expression and content. [...]. Considering the nature of the modification of the initial model, the author distinguishes the following types of phraseological variation: variation within a phonetic series; variation within a grammatical series; variation within a lexical series; variation through ellipsis; variation through expansion; variation through distribution or through change of topic" (Groza, 2005: 55).

In typological terms, the variation of "statements belonging to repeated discourse" was included in a broad classification by Stelian Dumistrăcel, which was then applied to journalistic text in the work *Repeated Discourse in Journalistic Text. The Temptation to Establish Phatic Communion Through the Media* by applying Quintilian's model. The author identifies several categories of statements: [A] "anonymous" statements (which are, in turn, of two types: [A¹] popular and [A²] cultured) and [B] statements with known authors. For the first category [A¹], two classes can be distinguished: [α] EDR representing "speech" and [β] "quotations" from popular literature, each with several subclasses (expressive phrases, idiomatic expressions, parables (sayings, proverbs); common/stereotypical formulas of comparison; verses proper; stereotypical formulas from fairy tales; "riddles", formulas from religious discourse; dictums; slogans; technical formulas from various texts belonging to functional styles; titles of works of various genres (fiction, history, essays, musical works, films, works of fine art); actual quotations from (written) works in the previous category; "famous" words attributed to personalities from history, culture (literature, philosophy, arts), various fields of science, and public life (Dumistrăcel, 2006, 130-131).

The deliberate modification of journalistic headlines was also examined by Luminiţa Hoarţă Cărăuşu in 2009, in her study *Rhetoric and Journalistic Pragmatics. "Figures of Construction" and Persuasive Strategies in Article Headlines in the Current Romanian Press*, analysed the implications of the four figures of construction described by Quintilian: *adiectio* (addition), *immutatio* (substitution), *detractio* (suppression), *transmutatio* (permutation). Following an analysis of headlines from three Romanian publications, the author's conclusion was that through remodelling they maintain interaction with the public, "oscillating between informing and persuading (between telling and selling)" (Cărăuşu, 2009). Other exegeses of this type have analysed journalistic headlines from other perspectives: Maria Cvasnîi Cătănescu (2006) evaluated the implications of the journalistic headline as an element of paratext; Ilie Rad analysed the stylistic modalities used in the formulation of press headlines (2007), etc.

Recent studies in Romanian literature integrate modern computational linguistics methods into the investigation of journalistic headlines on large corpora, exploring various perspectives. Thus, the *SaRoHead Project (A Dataset for Satire Detection in Romanian Multi-Domain News Headlines*, Vîrlan, Smădu, Cercel, 2025) analysed, in a corpus of 20,000 headlines, the discursive mechanisms (hyperbole, irony, cultural allusion, resemantization) through which satirical intent is configured in news headlines, highlighting the difficulties of recognizing satire, both for readers and through automated models. Other research, such as *Exploring Linguistic Strategies in Romanian Clickbait Headlines* (Fărcaşiu, Gherheş, 2024), investigates the discursive techniques used in modifying online press headlines from the perspective of persuasion strategies. Important contributions in large corpus processing, such as *RoLargeSum (RoLargeSum: A Large Dialect-Aware Romanian News Dataset for Summary, Headline, and Keyword Generation*, (Avram, Timpuriu, Iuga et al., 2024) have comparatively analysed, by surveying lexical variation, canonical headlines with algorithmically modified ones.

Finally, an important segment of investigations, with remarkable results, demonstrates the advantages of including multimodal texts in the analysis. The integration of images in the interpretation of persuasive strategies is an important element in identifying satire, thus opening a new perspective in the study of discursive interference in the contemporary Romanian press, as demonstrated by *MuSaRoNews (MuSaRoNews: A Multidomain, Multimodal Satire Dataset from Romanian News* (Smădu, Iuga, Cercel, 2025).

1. 2. Research hypothesis

Based on these theoretical observations, this paper investigates the dominant pragmatic functions (information, evaluation, irony, etc.) activated in journalistic headlines of "canonical statements", in comparison with those present in intentionally modified statements. The corpus, representative from a functional perspective, includes 100 canonical and modified fixed constructions with recurrent circulation, extracted from the generalist press between 2016 and 2025 (proverbs, expressions, idioms) (Adevărul, Digi24, HotNews, News.ro, etc.). Communicative efficiency will be determined by reporting on the frequency and co-occurrence of pragmatic functions on construction figures (*adiectio*, *immutatio*, *detractio*, *transmutatio*) updated in both canonical and intentionally modified statements. The results will be correlated with the conclusions of previous studies to assess whether we are witnessing an intensification of the phenomenon or whether there are differences in terms of phraseological variation and distribution according to the specific characteristics of journalistic genres.

1.2.1. Intentional discursive interference through unmodified phraseological intertext

Analysis of the investigated material has shown that there is a corpus of idioms that function as cultural landmarks, with roots mainly in Romanian proverbs: *Where you hit, and where it cracks*; *Winter is not like summer*; *The pot shard laughs at the broken pot*; *The country is burning and the old woman is combing her hair*; *Good guarding wards off danger*; *The jug does not go to the water many times*; *The year does not bring what the hour brings*; *The sparrow dreams of corn*; *The calculation at home does not match that at the market*; *The wolf changes its hair, but not its habits*; *Man sanctifies the place;* etc. Referring to the typology established by Stelian Dumistrăcel, it can be observed that most titles are representative of the category of popular sayings, have a transversal and recurrent circulation in titles, and their exact reproduction is sometimes accompanied by additions that serve to reconfigure the theme. Here are a few examples:

Where you hit, and where it cracks/ He struck at Tib and down fell Tom ("The outcome of an action does not correspond to our expectations.")	"Where you hit, it cracks (split VAT)" (Adevărul, October 11, 2017) "Where you hit, it cracks! Fighting the split VAT law does more harm than good" (Adevărul, November 28, 2017) "Tăriceanu – where you hit, it breaks!" (Adevărul, June 13, 2017) "Where you hit, it breaks (gas)" (Adevărul, November 5, 2020)
Winter is not like summer ("Each context has its own particularities.")	"Winter is not like summer" (Adevărul, 04.12.2018) "Winter is not like summer: how construction is progressing... (Aqua Parc Galaţi)" (Adevărul, 15.11.2019)
The pot shard laughs at the broken pot ("It is said when someone mocks another's flaws while ignoring their own".)	"The pot calls the kettle black: [...] FCSB is second to last in the playoffs" (Adevărul, 25.02.2018)

(equivalent expressions: *The pot calls the kettle black*)	"The pot calls the kettle black: Burduja... on the Firea vs. Nicuşor Dan debate" (Adevărul, 11.05.2024)
The country is burning, and the old woman is combing her hair ("To focus on details while losing sight of the essential.") (equivalent expressions: *Fiddling while Rome burns*)	"Maria Constantin... "The country is burning, and the old woman is combing her hair" (Libertatea, 05.08.2018)
The small stump overturns the big cart ("Small things can cause great troubles".) (equivalent expressions: *A small spark can start a great fire*)	"The small stump overturns the big cart in retail in Focşani: who is..." (Adevărul, 09.07.2018)
Good security wards off danger ("If you are cautious, you avoid many troubles".) (equivalent expressions: *Better safe than sorry*)	"Good security wards off danger" (Adevărul, 19.11.2019) "Good security wards off danger. The calendar of targets in the COVID-19 crisis" (Digi24, 16.05.2020)
The pitcher does not go to the well many times ("The repetition of inappropriate behaviour can have serious consequences.") (equivalent expressions: *The pitcher goes so often to the well that it breaks at last*)	"The pitcher does not go to the well many times!" (Adevărul Iaşi, October 25, 2017) The year does not bring what the clock brings "Ţuţuianu: ... "The year does not bring what the clock brings" (Digi24, November 13, 2016) "Lotto December 31, 2020... "The year does not bring what the hour brings" (Digi24, December 31, 2020) "Ciucă... "The year does not bring what the hour brings" (News.ro, September 27, 2022)
The sparrow dreams of corn ("Poor people aspire to prosperity.")	"The sparrow dreams of corn" (Digi24, May 6, 2020) "Orban, asked about the expression "The sparrow dreams of corn" (Digi24, May 7, 2020) "Orban... to win all the elections in 2024. The sparrow dreams of corn..." (Adevărul blog, 30.08.2021)
The calculation at home does not match the one at the market ("Plans made at home do not correspond to what may actually happen in reality.") (equivalent expressions: Don't count your chickens before they hatch)	"Home calculations don't match market calculations: how much does a house actually cost?" (Digi24, 12.04.2022) "Home calculations don't match market calculations: what worries Romanians on vacation" (Adevărul, 25.07.2025)
The wolf changes its coat, but not its habits	"Zanella... "The wolf changes its coat, but not its habits" (Adevărul, 27.01.2017)

("Appearance can change, but not character.") (equivalent expressions: *A leopard can't change its spots*)	"President of the PNL Timișoara: "The wolf changes its coat, but not its habits!" (News.ro, March 27, 2024) "Firea... The wolf changes its coat, but not its habits" (News.ro, January 18, 2016)
The devil isn't so black ("The situation is not as serious as it was presented".) (equivalent expressions: *The devil is not as black as he's painted*)	"Gabriel Oprea... "the devil isn't so black" (HotNews, June 1, 2018)
There is no smoke without fire ("Rumours are based on a truth.") (equivalent expressions: *No smoke without fire*)	"The «perfect crime» is nonsense... (the principle of "there is no smoke without fire" explained)" (Adevărul Cluj, October 3, 2016) "CNN: the Taliban have received weapons... "there is no smoke without fire" (News.ro, July 25, 2017)
Man sanctifies the place ("A person's character leaves its mark on the place where they are".)	"Drought... "Man sanctifies the place" (Digi24, 08.27.2025)

With regard to "the coherent representation of the referent (real or imaginary) in the construction of a schematization" (Daniela Rovența-Frumușani 2005: 97), it can be observed that the same anchoring technique, with different positions of the addition, also applies to statements by well-known authors: in foreign literature: Shakespeare's famous phrase "*To be or not to be*" becomes "To be or not to be a debate" (HotNews, 18.11.2019), "To be or not to be monogamous" (HotNews, 21.03.2018), "To be or not to be politically correct?" (Adevărul, 24.04.2018); from Romanian literature: the title of I. L. Caragiale's comedy becomes "A letter lost on notes" (Adevărul, 06.12.2019); "We want land – why do your plants "quote" Coșbuc" (Libertatea, February 16, 2016) ("the title of the poem *We Want Land*" by George Coșbuc); "Let's join hands for our European present and future!" (News.ro, January 24, 2023) (the canonical expression, literal translation - *Let us join hands together*; the first verse of Vasile Alecsandri's *Hora Unirii)*; "Our flag bears the inscription "It takes a lot out of context" (Adevărul, December 5, 2024) (the title of the song *On Our Flag Is Written Unity*; patriotic song by Ciprian Porumbescu).

The condensed structure of certain "metaphorization schemes, based on conceptual or cultural metaphors [...] with the aim of putting them into circulation and fixing them in the consciousness of speakers" (Duda, 2016: 61) take the form of international clichés, invoked especially on political issues: "The 'apple of discord' between India and China" (Digi24, 17.09.2024), "Will Maduro be the 'apple of discord' at the NATO summit?" (Digi24, 03.07.2025), "The apple of discord in the government: who decides on funding?" (Adevărul, 01.09.2021).

Regarding the updated pragmatic functions, in the case of invoking the canonical statement, there is an oscillation between information and evaluation, with the clarification that the rapid recognition of the proverb does not have the ability to guide the readers, which can lead to a decrease in clarity. In the case of truncated forms through suppression

(*detractio*), the preserved fragments update the negative evaluative function: "The praised tree... (film review / Contributors, taken from HotNews)" (HotNews, 17.09.2022) (the literal translation of the proverb – *Don't go to the praised tree with a big sack*; equivalent expressions: *Don't expect too much from appearances*); "From the lake to the well, but both have dried up" (Adevărul blog, 19.07.2022) (the canonical expression, literal translation *From the lake into the well*; ("when someone goes from a bad situation to an even worse one.").

1.2.2. Intentional discursive interference through modified phraseological intertext

In the intentional register, the transfer of meanings from the source code to the target audience, completed through restructuring and re-signification, often has an ironic stake, "the ultimate goal of ironic utterance, found behind acts of linguistic suppression, analogy, addition, is also linked to the receiver, who is encouraged to discover the veiled meanings of the (re)created text brought into the contemporary world." (Ciocan, 2020). According to Ioana-Tatiana Ciocan, "irony is at the heart of satirical press, as an image of current, problematic situations, being a way of placing in the journalistic text a subtle criticism of weaknesses, a discrepancy between expectation and reality." Here are some examples: "The country is burning, and Prime Minister Ciolacu is busy with slot machines!" (Adevărul, October 2, 2023, opinion) (the canonical expression, literal translation *The country is burning, and the old woman is combing her hair*; ("To focus on details while losing sight of the essential."); "Timmermans and the observation that the emperor has no clothes" (*The emperor's new clothes*, "The truth is evident, yet overlooked by all.") (Adevărul, Opinions, October 1, 2018); "From the lake to the well, but both have dried up" (the canonical expression, literal translation *From the lake into the well*; "when someone goes from a bad situation to an even worse one.") (Adevărul, blog, July 19, 2022).

Thematically, there are other categories of linguistic facts in which, according to Rovența-Frumușani (2005: 144) "common sense logic" are, "apart from proverbs, simple notional dissociations: order/chaos, legitimate/illegitimate, just/unjust through which reality is encoded/decoded, and other branches of science endowed with strong legitimacy (economics, sociology) to account for the complexity of reality." From the perspective of the construction figures used, the use of *adiectio* predominates especially in the technical and administrative fields (70% of the total occurrences in which *adiectio* appears), as highlighted by the examples:

- *energy industry*: "Where you hit and where it cracks... Free gas connection…" (the literal translation of the proverb *Where you hit, and where it cracks*; equivalent expressions: *He struck at Tib and down fell Tom*, *Unintended consequences* or *Things don't turn out as expected.*) (Adevărul, November 5, 2020); "Where you hit and where it cracks (gas)" (Adevărul, November 5, 2020), "ANRE forces traders to sell gas... It's like putting the wolf in charge of the sheep" (HotNews, 31.07.2024) (the literal translation of the proverb *The wolf guarding the sheep*; equivalent expressions: *Putting the fox in charge of the henhouse*); Let's not fall from the frying pan into the fire — Interview (energy)" (SpotMedia, 16.09.2022) (the literal translation of the proverb *From the pond into the well*; equivalent expressions: *Out of the frying pan into the fire*);
- *economy*: "Where you hit and where it breaks (VAT split)" (Adevărul, 11.10.2017) (the literal translation of the proverb *Where you hit, and where it cracks*, ("The

outcome of an action does not correspond to our expectations."; equivalent expressions: *Unintended consequences* or *Things don't turn out as expected*.); "The small log overturns the big cart in retail in Focşani: who is..." (Adevărul, 09.07.2018) (the literal translation of the proverb *From the pond into the well*; equivalent expressions: *A small spark can start a great fire / The straw that broke the camel's back*;

- *health*: "Good security wards off danger. The target calendar in the COVID-19 crisis" (Digi24, May 16, 2020) (the literal translation of the proverb *Good watch passes bad danger*; equivalent expressions: *Better safe than sorry*)

- *psychology*: "What lies behind the expression "Let the neighbor's goat die". Neurolinguistic programming..." (Adevărul.ro, 24.02.2017) (the literal translation of the proverb *Let the neighbor's goat die too*; equivalent expressions: *cutting off one's nose to spite one's face*);

- *education*: "How to choose a school for your child and what you risk if you go for the most popular option" (HotNews.ro, 02.02.2024) (the literal translation of the proverb *Don't go to the praised tree with a big sack*; equivalent expressions: *Don't expect too much from appearances*);

- *politics*: "The apple of discord" between India and China (Digi24, 17.09.2024), "Will Maduro be the "apple of discord" at the NATO summit?" (Digi24, 03.07.2025), "The apple of discord in government: who decides on funding?" (Adevărul, 01.09.2021).

In the case of substitution, this is particularly evident in references to the political sphere: "Our bank is a treasure, don't condemn it to death!" (Libertatea, 15.12.2019) (the canonical expression *Our language is a treasure* - a line from a poem by Alexei Mateevici"); "The country is burning and those who hang around public money are combing their hair" (Adevărul – opinion, 22.04.2020), "Video The country is burning, Boc is doing push-ups. It happened on stage at the "10 for Cluj Gala" (Adevărul, 19.12.2024), "Video The country is burning, and the president of Cluj County Council is launching his book" (Adevărul, 21.12.2024), "The country is burning and the old woman... is talking on the phone!" (Libertatea, 08.02.2016), "Maria Constantin... The country is burning, and the old woman is combing her hair" (Libertatea, 05.08.2018), "The country is burning, and Valentina Pelinel is walking around!" (Libertatea 06.01.2016) (the canonical expression, literal translation: *The country is burning and the old woman is combing her hair*).

A recurring area in which "oral quotation used as a title or subtitle functions as a hook, as testimony or atmospheric effect subsumable to a generic effect of authentication" (Rovenţa-Frumuşani 2005: 94) is represented by the suppression of a fragment from the canonical text (*detractio*), usually the second part, without influencing the recognition of the proverb: "At the praised tree... (film review / Contributors, taken from HotNews)" (HotNews, 17.09.2022), "Nightmare vacation at the "praised tree" in Bulgaria" (Adevărul, 21.09.2022), "How to choose your child's school and what you risk if you go to the praised tree" (HotNews, 02.02.2024) (the canonical expression, literal translation *Don't go to the praised tree with a sack* "You should not set your expectations too high"); "Stings" between teachers... vs. "The dog dies on the long road" (Adevărul, 21.09.2025) (the canonical expression, literal translation *The dog dies on the long road and the fool from worrying about others* "Over-involvement in others" affairs can lead to adverse outcomes"); "From bad to worse: Russian armoured vehicle..." (HotNews, January 29, 2023), "From bad to worse, but both

have dried up" (Adevărul blog, July 19, 2022), "Simona Halep, from bad to worse?" (Adevărul, February 10, 2024), "Romania, from lake to well?" (Adevărul, October 24, 2022), "From lake to well! — Marius Budăi's message" (News.ro, 24.08.2021), "From lake to well: US fears possible ISIS attacks in Kabul" (Digi24, 22.08.2021), "From lake to well. He escaped the charges..." (Evenimentul Zilei, May 27, 2020), "From the lake to the well! The children moved..." (Evenimentul Zilei, November 13, 2018), "The saying "from the lake to the well" seems to be true in Transalpina Cluj" (Digi24, October 23, 2021) (the canonical expression, literal translation *From the lake into the well* "when someone goes from a bad situation to an even worse one."), "From Ana to Caiafa — a transition..." (Adevărul blog, May 28, 2024) (the canonical expression, literal translation *From Ann to Caiaphas* "to be passed around from one to another without resolution").

Functionally, the effect achieved by compression into common idiomatic patterns is motivated by rhetorical and cognitive efficiency, and "what can be said in many ways is systematically reduced to such a pattern, which communicates new information in a framework already familiar to the reader" (Zafiu, 2001: 62). A hierarchy in the use of figures of speech highlights the preeminence of addition, followed by substitution and suppression, which shows that, as in the previous period, the focus is on recognizing the model and updating it in themes through semantic indices.

As "relevance optimizers" (Daniel Dor, 2003), titles function as a guide to interpretation and propose a balanced relationship between the processing effort and the pragmatic result obtained. From the perspective of the construction figures found in the titles analysed, we note that, in the case of addition, when the context is explicit and the canonical form of the proverb is preserved, the decoding effort is minimal, and in this situation, we can speak of a function of observation or information, while the use of substitution activates the function of evaluation (positive or negative). Regarding the actualization of pragmatic functions in journalistic genres, one may observe the informational and technical genres (economic, administrative, educational) are predominantly informative and evaluative, while politics and culture appeal to evaluation through irony. The latter can generate ambiguity, which can be mitigated by the presence of a specific term: To be or not to be becomes "To be or not to be a debate" (HotNews, November 18, 2019), "To be or not to be monogamous" (HotNews, March 21, 2018), "To be or not to be politically correct?" (Adevărul, April 24, 2018). Thus, in the case of *immutatio*, we observe a preference for evaluation and irony, rather than a call to action: "Let's join hands for our European present and future!" (News.ro, 24.01.2023) (the canonical expression, literal translation *Let us join hands together* – the first verse of Vasile Alecsandri's *Hora Unirii).*

3. Conclusions

As an element in the architecture of the title, the phraseological intertext constitutes an instrument for transposing reality through cultural patterns fixed in the collective memory, a fact also noted by Gabriela Duda, who noted that "in the press, the metaphorical transfer model, based on the correspondence between source and target, must be understood in terms of a recontextualization of the source elements (Wee, 2005: 367), a discursive strategy without which the reader's understanding and acceptance of the metaphor would not be possible" (Duda, 2016: 61). Mapping thematic "reframings" through figures of speech highlights the fact that in the generalist news media, especially when the change is unintentional, *adiectio* predominates (62% of occurrences), while in the opinion press, the

functions of evaluation and irony are activated, expressed through *immutatio* (25%) and *detractio* (12%), while *transmutatio* plays a marginal role. With regard to the linguistic indicators used to update pragmatic functions in journalistic discourse, in the case of the informative function, we observe the use of action verbs (adopts, announces, obliges, chooses, verifies), numerals, and abbreviations: The evaluative and ironic functions are expressed mainly through the use of *immutatio* and *detractio*, through the use of adjectives, adverbs, verbs with evaluative meaning, and the expressive use of punctuation marks.

From the perspective of "intentional state as a "condition of sincerity in language" (Dragoș, 2000: 36), compliance with the condition of transparency can be observed through the reproduction of the canonical pattern by *adiectio*, with an informative function, less often an inciting function ("Let's join hands..."). In the case of the phraseological intertext intentionally modified by *immutatio*, it serves for ironic evaluation in the cultural and political sphere, with the marking of the target domain, and the proverbial truncation by *detractio* usually produces a negative evaluation effect ("From the lake to the well", "The praised tree... ").

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