

LINGUA

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

YEAR XIX, NO. 1 / 2020, NEW SERIES

Table of Contents

COMMUNICATION, LANGUAGE, ON-LINE TEACHING

The Importance of Context in Online Meetings and Courses <i>Diana Zelter</i>	9
The Pattern of the Business Letter in Romance Languages – a (New) Discursive and Pragmatic Approach <i>Diana Sopen</i>	15
Practical Facts on Romanian-language Acquisition in a German-speaking Context <i>Diana V. Burlacu</i>	21
A Sociolinguistic View on the Romanian Young Adults' Language <i>Bettina Ene</i>	31
Two Strategies for Noticing and Recording Phraseology in an ESP Course <i>Adrian Ciupe</i>	49
L'Ellipse dans les médias et dans la formation	
Ellipsis in Media and Teaching <i>Sergiu Zagan</i>	63
Assertive Kommunikation im Fremdsprachenunterricht	
Assertive Communication in Foreign Language Teaching <i>Kovács Réka</i>	69
„Kurzarbeit, în varianta românească”¹ – Zur Übertragung des Fachbegriffes Kurzarbeit aus dem Deutschen ins Rumänische	
“Kurzarbeit, in Romanian Version” – Insights into the Translation of the Term <i>Kurzarbeit</i> from German into Romanian <i>Maria Parasca</i>	77

LITERATURE
& PHILOSOPHY**Le nozze funebri di Psiche – Apuleio, *Met.* IV 33-34 alla luce del folklore romeno**

Psyche's Funeral Wedding – Apuleius, Met. IV, 33-34 in the Light of Romanian Folklore
Nicola Perencin 89

Leopardi “anti-romantico” e l’opzione neoclassica della poesia di Duiliu Zamfirescu

Anti-romantic Leopardi and Duiliu Zamfirescu Neoclassical Poetics
Federico Donatiello 112

Miron Kiropol – À la recherche d’une langue totale

Miron Kiropol – Looking for a Total Language
Letiția Ilea 123

Ontological Dimensions and Images of the *Other* in the Romanian Philosophical Discourse (Constantin Noica, Mircea Eliade and Emil Cioran)¹

Maria-Zoica Balaban 128

VARIA

Oxford University Press, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary 10th edition (Android App)*
Adrian Ciupe 139

Die politische Karikatur: ein Mittel zur politischen Meinungsbildung? The Political Cartoon: a Means of Shaping Political Opinion?
Veronica Câmpian, Alfred Fellner 143

Il romeno nel percorso di studio degli studenti universitari italiani

Romanian for Italian university students as part of their educational training
Dana-Maria Feurdean 158

BOOK REVIEWS

iDiplomacy – The New Kid on the Block. Book review of Tom Fletcher's *The Naked Diplomat: Understanding Power and Politics in the Digital Age*
Cristina Mărășescu 167

Communication, Language, On-line Teaching

The Importance of Context in Online Meetings and Courses

*Diana Zelter**

The aim of this paper is to show that under the current circumstances of pandemic our ways of living and working have changed making room to more online communication than ever. Nevertheless, in organizational communication the best model encompassing the field of experience and the context stays the same, although these elements need to be detailed, adapted and reconstructed for the online environment. Our purpose is not to change an existing model, but to show the necessity of considering more issues and adapting to them in order to perform better both as employees and as teachers or students.

communication; context; field of experience; online environment.

Introduction

Traditional models of communication comprise the well-known elements such as: sender, receiver, message, code, channel, feedback. However, the study of organisational communication shows that another element is of equal importance and that is the context. The communication context may be defined as the environment for communication interaction which includes not only the specific time and place of the interaction, but also the roles, relationships and status of the communication participants.

The model of organizational communication

The basis for the research about the communication context is the model of organizational communication created by Pamela Shockley-Zalabak in 2002 which preserves the basic elements of communication (sender, receiver, message, channel, noise), its processes (coding, decoding, feedback) and adds interaction of the experience fields which are specific to the sender and the receiver, the organizational context of communication and the communication competencies. She considers four such competencies: the knowledge competency (the ability to understand the organizational communicational environment), the sensitivity competency (the ability to sense correctly the meanings and the feelings of the other members of the organization), the skills competency (the ability to analyse organizational situations correctly and to

* Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

initiate the organizational messages correctly), the values competency (the ability to take responsibility for effective communication).

Knowledge competency represents the ability to understand the organizational communication environment and it develops through the exploration of the interactive process nature of human communication. Sensitivity competency is the ability to sense organizational meanings and feelings accurately and it is related to our ability and willingness to understand what others feel and do. Skills competency is the ability to analyse organizational situations accurately and to initiate and consume organizational messages effectively and it develops through analysis and practice opportunities. Values competency represents the importance of taking responsibility for effective communication, thereby contributing to organizational excellence.

In addition to the communication competency, Pamela Shockely-Zalabak's model of organizational communication includes two more elements besides the traditional ones (sender, receiver, message, channel, code, noise): field of experience and context. The field of experience is "a set of specific experiences or background that all parties in communication bring to bear on the interaction. Generally, it is believed that the more common the field of experience among those communicating, the easier it is to share similar meanings or to construct shared realities."¹ What we do and what we say in a particular situation depends a lot on how much we know about it from our experience. When we are exposed to new things, we may react very differently compared to situations which we encountered in the past.

Communication context is the environment for the communication interaction. Context includes not only the specific time and place of the interaction but also the roles, relationships and status of communication participants. As such, prior interactions between participants contribute to the construction of the current communication context. [...] We can therefore say that context is both culturally and physically influenced and as with other elements in the communication process, perception of context can differ from one communication participant to another.²

Physical environment versus online environment

With the unfortunate development of the COVID 19 pandemic worldwide, more and more organizations decided on remote work for their employees and so did universities when switching to online courses. The physical environment became the online environment overnight which meant that employees, teachers and students had to adapt to the new conditions trying to get the most out of it. Under the circumstances, the question is: do traditional models of communication stay in place or do we need to reconsider our perspective, enrich current models or create new ones?

Obviously the basic elements are the same: sender, receiver, channel, code, maybe noise as well. However, in the context of online meetings or lectures noise could encompass more than just physical noise caused by external elements. We could add here technical issues due to Internet connection problems, power breakdowns or personal computer matters. Nevertheless, noise and technical problems represent the major distractions during online meetings or online courses particularly when participants are not allowed to mute their microphones. For example, employees working from home are distracted by noise created by neighbours who are redecorating their homes and this noise may also affect their colleagues who are participating at the meeting. At the same time, both employees and students may be distracted by elements inside their own environment such as their own family, pets or house chores.

Noise could be controlled up to a point; when it comes to technical issues, things get more complicated. A storm causing Internet connection breakdown or a power breakdown cannot be controlled. Consequences may vary from just interrupting an activity for a while up to resuming a meeting or taking an exam again.

Noise and technical issues create frustration among participants to a meeting, teachers or students during an online course or an online exam. They are not able to hear and/or understand the information which is transmitted, which, in turn, may lead to not being able to respond, to contribute or to perform an activity later. This is why the importance of minutes during an online meeting actually increases in comparison with a physical meeting as people may lose track of information because of noise or technical problems. In addition to that, online platforms such as Zoom offer the possibility of recording the meeting, so whatever is lost may be recovered any time after the meeting.

However, which are the major differences between the physical environment and the online environment when referring to online meetings or classes? Theoretically speaking, we are tempted to see only limitations: the online environment is more impersonal, allows for limited visual contact or even audio contact, meaning limited interaction, we actually tend to say: "It's different. It's not like the physical setup". Is it really so?

I would go as far as saying that the online environment, in comparison with the physical one, is an environment we can create and influence and hence we are able to develop a more freedom of expression and more diverse interaction. Take for example a Zoom meeting: you are at home, but you can choose a virtual background and create your own environment. Nobody actually knows where you really are. You can pretend you are somewhere else or even somebody else.

You have the choice not to use the video option and use only the audio which actually facilitates interaction for people who are shy or fear public speaking. It is also of help for people working from home who may share premises with family members.

So, the online environment offers more freedom and more control than the physical one. You have choices which are impossible in the physical setup.

Under the circumstances, let us see how other elements of the organizational communication model are influenced by the online environment. The first to analyze is the field of experience. Both employees and students share common fields of experience; their work life or school life, colleagues, events and now the common experience of home confinement during the pandemic. It could be said that now people all over the world have a similar field of experience no matter their age or job. We have all experienced confinement and emergency conditions as well as fear and concern about the new situation. Employees meeting online would generally express such concerns whatever the purpose of the meeting might be. Teachers would start their online classes by expressing concern for the students' health and wellbeing. So, now, the field of experience could be divided into two dimensions: the general field of experience (the pandemic experience) and the particular field of experience (related to work or school). The reality is that nowadays the particular field of experience is determined by the general field of experience. They cannot be separated. People are working from home because of the pandemic; students are learning online because of the pandemic. Hence, a broader conclusion: the field of experience determines the context. This is why people may react differently. They are exposed to a new context which is dependent on their field of experience but, at the same time, it is new.

Some categories of employees may be used to working from home and having online meetings, but for others it is a totally new experience. As for students, online courses and seminars are clearly something new and this is why they react differently. Some are shy and wouldn't like to turn cameras on; others become more "courageous" in the online environment and perform better than in the physical classroom. The same goes for people involved in online meetings; some feel more at ease in the online environment and tend to express their opinions more freely than before. These observations come from my personal experience as a teacher and a head of department.

However, the context does not change. It is new, but it is still the context of professional communication. An online meeting is still a professional meeting, being it formal or informal. A course or a seminar is still a teaching activity. The context is the environment for communication, but also the nature of the environment may change from physical to online the context will stay the same.

Conclusions

The model of organizational communication stays in place; however it is necessary to detail certain elements in order to fit the current situation. Among the disturbing factors or factors which impede communication the technical issues should be added. We need to take into account that the field of experience is dual: on one hand, the participants

share a common general experience of the pandemic time and on the other hand they share the professional particular experience they have together. Although their fields of experience have common parts, they may be intimidated or influenced by the novelty of the environment and by the "freedom" it actually gives and their communication might suffer.

Nevertheless, online communication is and will always be human interaction; participants to an online meeting or students during an online course have the same needs as in the physical environment and master the same competencies and abilities.

This is not an attempt to recreate a model, it is just a way of showing that by adding or detailing elements we are not changing the context, but we adapt it to a situation which, unfortunately, may last for a long time and which has changed our ways of working and living.

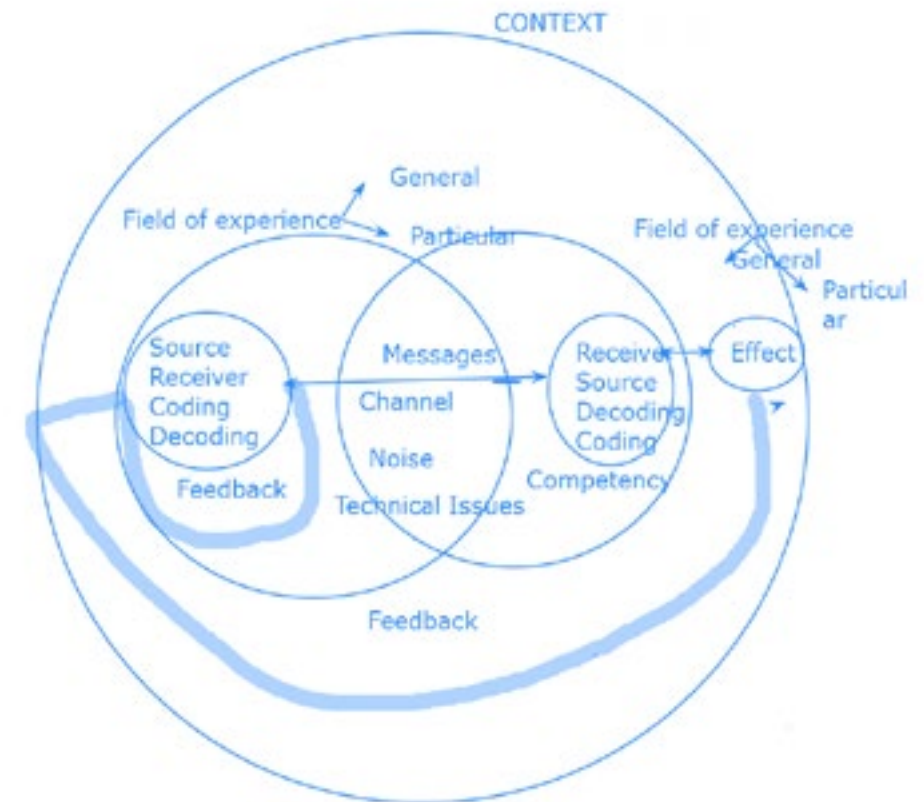


Fig. 1: Pamela Shockely-Zalabak's Model Reinterpreted

Notes

- 1 Pamela Shockely-Zalabak, *Fundamentals of Organizational Communication. 9th edition* (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2015), 13.
- 2 *Idem*, 14.

Lecturer Diana Zelter, PhD. She is a member of the Department of Modern languages and Business Communication within the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration of Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. She has been teaching practice courses and Business Communication courses to students at Bachelor level. Her main areas of interest are: communication, management, ESP. (diana.zelter@econ.ubbcluj.ro)

The Pattern of the Business Letter in Romance Languages – a (New) Discursive and Pragmatic Approach

*Diana Sopon**

This study attempts to offer a new perspective on the discursive, semantic and pragmatic analysis of the business letter. This perspective is based on the van Dijk's theory of episodes as units of discourse analysis, Vilar Sánchez's theory about the microfunctional composition of a text and Vergaro's approach to the business letter seen as macrotext and microtext. We conclude that this perspective can be useful both for theoretical studies and for the didactics of this field.

business letter; episodes; microfunctions; pragmatic units.

Introduction

As the business letter is getting more and more attention in the linguistic field, more approaches regarding its analysis have been emerging lately. Most of the studies have taken into consideration its importance for the professional communication field or have underlined a rhetorical, stylistic, historical perspective^{1, 2, 3, 4, 5}. Given the multitude of perspectives for the analysis of the business letter, we have chosen to tackle the most recent theories on this topic, with the intent to portray a new perspective for the business letter analysis. Therefore, this study is meant to offer a new way to consider the French, Italian and Romanian business letter from a discursive and pragmatic point of view.

A brief theoretical *excursus*

The present structure of the business letter starts with the old model of *ars dictaminis*. Some changes and reforms occurred overtime^{6, 7} contributed to the reshaping of the structure of the business letter. According to Perelman⁸, the dictaminal rhetoric reduced the Ciceronian rhetoric to the following parts: *salutatio, captatio benevolentiae,*

* Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

narratio, *petitio* and *conclusio*. In this view, considering the present structure of the business letter, there are researchers who assert that “*ars dictaminis* stands [...] as the first discernible ancestor of the modern manual of business communication.”⁹

More recent approaches attempt to say that any discourse (including business letters) can be analyzed through the lens of the “episodes as unit of discourse” theory. Teun van Dijk¹⁰ is the first to offer a cohesive approach about interpreting a text as a macrostructure made out of sub-units. In his opinion, along with the “usual morphophonemic, syntactic, semantic or pragmatic units or categories of sentence grammars”, this approach introduces “new notions, such as ‘coherence’, ‘cohesion’, ‘topic’, or ‘theme’ – explicated in so-called ‘macrostructures’”¹¹. The episode is defined as a coherent sequence of “sentences of a discourse, linguistically marked for beginning and/or end, and further defined in terms of some kind of ‘thematic unity’ – for instance, in terms of identical participants, time, location or global event or action”¹². In a nutshell, the very core of this theory can be found in the following lines:

Since episodes are taken to be semantic units of discourse, one must be able to define them in semantic terms, for example, in terms of propositions. I will indeed so do, and characterize an episode of a discourse as a specific ‘sequence of propositions’. Just like the discourse as a whole, such a sequence must be coherent according to the usual conditions of textual coherence [...]. That is, the respective propositions should denote facts in some possible world, or related possible worlds, that are – for example, conditionally – related. Besides this so-called local coherence, the sequence should be globally coherent, that is, be subsumed under some more global macroproposition [...]. Such a macroproposition explicates the overall unity of a discourse sequence as it is intuitively known under such notions as ‘theme’, ‘topic’, or ‘gist’. Macropropositions are derived from sequences of (local, textually expressed) propositions of a discourse by means of some kind of semantic mapping rules, so-called macrorules, which delete, generalize, or ‘construct’ local information into more general, more abstract or overall concepts. These macrorules are recursive, so that one may have several layers of macroproposition sequences, together forming the macrostructure of a discourse.¹³

Complementary to this theory, there are some authors^{14 15} who approach the discourse through the concept of microstructures. The microfunctional composition of a text is mainly based on the premise that the text is an analysis unit. According to the author of this theory, the microfunctions are represented by minimal communicative, semantic, grammar and pragmatic units (“las microfunciones son definidas por Vilar Sánchez como las unidades comunicativas, semántico-gramaticales y pragmáticas mínimas del texto”¹⁶). In this way, besides the traditional semantic and grammar values of a text, a new series of communicative and pragmatic functions can be stressed out. This

theory also creates some links between the concept of microfunction and the speech acts, as the former is actually based on the latter (“El concepto de microfunción tiene su base en el de acto de habla. En Vilar Sánchez se especifica que: Frecuentemente, las microfunciones coinciden con los actos ilocucionarios descritos por Austin y Searle, pero en muchos casos los actos ilocucionarios son más complejos y se componen de varias microfunciones.”¹⁷).

More or less, one could say that Vergaro¹⁸ envisaged the analysis of the business letter according to these two opposite, but at the same time related theories. The analysis performed in *Discourse strategies of Italian and English sales promotion letters* demonstrates the way a business letter can be interpreted at macrotextual and microtextual level, by employing to some degree the key elements of the theories mentioned previously.

Analyzing the business letter pattern

The business letters presented below underline the existence of a common structure in all three languages, presenting an identical macrostructure and an identical rhetorical pattern. One can observe that the traditional model of *ars dictaminis* is to be found in these examples, as its parts can be identified in the present pattern.

Model no. 1¹⁹

(1) *Messieurs,*

(2) *Nous accusons réception ce jour de votre lettre référencée 1643FM.*

(3) *Nous avons le plaisir de vous informer que, conformément à vos souhaits, nous acceptons de réduire de moitié le volume de votre comande n° 279.*

(4) *Vous trouvez ci-joint un nouveau bon de commande que vous voudrez bien nous retourner rapidement afin de régulariser la situation, et que nous puissions procéder à l'exécution de votre ordre.*

(5) *Pensant vous avoir donné pleinement satisfaction, veuillez agréer, Messieurs, l'expression de nos salutations distinguées.*

Cigierre S.n.c.

Model no. 2²⁰

(1) *Gentile Signor Pellicano,*

(2) *Con riferimento alla sua domanda d'impiego del 15 maggio u.s., (4)Le confermiamo che abbiamo dedicato tutta la nostra attenzione alla Sua richiesta.*

(3) *Siamo però spiacenti di doverLe comunicare che non possiamo accogliere la Sua domanda perché il posto cui Ella fa riferimento nella lettera succitata è già occupato.*

(5) *Nella speranza di poterci avvalere della Sua collaborazione per il futuro, Le inviamo i migliori saluti.*

Il Direttore,...

Model no. 3²¹

(1) *Domnule Director General,*

(2) *Am citit cu deosebit interes anunțul Dumneavoastră privind intenția de a deschide o reprezentanță în orașul nostru și – trebuie să recunosc – (4) sunt interesat de a colabora cu aceasta.*

(3) *Societatea noastră comercializează produsele Dumneavoastră, pe care le procurăm de la diverși intermediari, dar trebuie să vă spun că nu o dată am întâmpinat greutăți în aprovizionare, tocmai datorită respectivilor intermediari.*

Acest lucru m-a determinat să dau o atenție sporită anunțului dumneavoastră. Totodată, menționez că aprovizionarea se poate face atât pe șosea cât și pe cale ferată, întrucât amplasamentul depozitului permite ambele variante.

(5) *În speranța unei colaborări viitoare, vă asigurăm de toată stima noastră.*

Director vânzări,...

In the examples above, we emphasize the fact that the introductory parts or the addressing formulas are represented by (1) (in model 1, 2, 3) and they all correspond to the *salutatio* part. In the same way, the second part of the letters (2) (in model 1, 2, 3) represents a communicative, pragmatic and discursive unit which stands for *captatio benevolentiae*. The present pattern of the business letter can display slight differences if we are to consider the *narratio* and the *petitio* parts. In models 2 and 3 there is an inversion between part (3) and (4), due to a certain rhetorical freedom the present pattern offers, while model 1 follows the original pattern. The last part (5) stands for the old form of *conclusio* in all the models.

According to the van Dijk's theory of episodes as units of discourse analysis, the parts of the models above represent distinctive units with a communicative, pragmatic and discursive identity. Therefore, we suggest that business letters can be interpreted and analyzed from this point of view. They represent macrostructures made out of sublevels or microstructures that can be analyzed in the same way. These macrostructures are articulated by other discursive episodes with a thematic and pragmatic identity.

The example below²² offers a larger discursive unit (*narratio*) in which we can identify a chain of smaller discursive units, with a thematic and pragmatic identity.

(i) *Suntem mulțumiți de calitatea echipamentului sportiv, dar și de (ii) promptitudinea cu care ați executat și expediat mărfurile respective.*

(iii) ***Am virat în contul dumneavoastră contravaloarea facturii nr. 4326/2003.***

The first subunit (i) refers to expressing a contempt or satisfaction, which can be identified with an expressive speech act. Similarly, we consider that the second

subunit (ii) represents an expressive speech act, while the third subunit (iii) represents an assertive speech act (it transmits an information). Therefore, the business letter can be analyzed from this perspective of the discursive microunits or of the pragmalinguistic units that identify themselves with one theme and one semantic and pragmatic content.

Final remarks

The first purpose of this research was to demonstrate that this new approach, presented as a sum of the most recent perspective in this field, can offer an articulate method to analyze and interpret the business letter. Starting from a larger perspective, based on the larger structure of the text, the introspection is done taking into account the discursive, pragmatic and communicative level simultaneously.

The second aim of this paperwork is to emphasize that such an approach can be useful in the didactics of the business letter. It has already been said that teaching business correspondence is a special scholar discipline which needs more resources and attention:

cette discipline se distingue des autres disciplines [...] par le fait qu'elle représente un défi pédagogique tout à fait particulier. En effet, la rédaction d'une lettre, commerciale ou autre, suppose que l'étudiant maîtrise certaines stratégies discursives qui sont rarement abordées dans l'enseignement de langues étrangères à l'université."²³

In this view, we assume that such researches might be of help not only for theoretical linguists, but also for the applied field of linguistics and for the didactics of this discipline.

Notes

- 1 Bruni, Francesco, Fornasiero, Serena & Tamiozzo Goldmann, Silvana, *Manuale di scrittura professionale*, (Bologna: Zanichelli, 2005).
- 2 Del Lungo Camiciotti, Gabriella, *Nineteenth Century Business Correspondence in Genre Variation in Business Letters*, edited by Paul Gillaerts & Maurizio Gotti, (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005).
- 3 Del Lungo Camiciotti, Gabriella, *Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern Culture: an Introduction*, *Journal of Modern Studies*, n.3/2014, 2014, 17-35.
- 4 Dossena, 2006.
- 5 Dossena, Marina, *The study of correspondence – Theoretical and methodological issues in Letter Writing in Late Modern Europe*, edited by Marina Dossena & Gabriella del Lungo Camiciotti, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012).
- 6 Perelman, Les, *The Medieval Art of Letter Writing in Textual Dynamics of the Professions*, eds. Charles Bazerman & James Paradis, (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991).
- 7 Milică Ioan & Morcov Gabriela – Iuliana, 2016, *Scrisul epistolar românesc: o perspectivă cultural – retorică*, *Diacronia*, available online https://www.academia.edu/26209698/Scrisul_epistolar_rom%C3%A2nesc_o_perspectiv%C4%83_cultural-retoric%C4%83_I accessed on the 4th of February 2020.
- 8 Perelman, Les, „The Medieval Art of Letter Writing”, in *Textual Dynamics of the Professions*, eds. Charles Bazerman & James Paradis, (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991).

- 9 Perelman, Les, *The Medieval Art of Letter Writing* in Textual Dynamics of the Professions, eds. Charles Bazerman & James Paradis, pag.116, (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991).
- 10 van Dijk, Teun, 1981, *Episodes as Units of Discourse Analysis*, Deborah Tannen (Ed.), *Analyzing Discourse: Text and Talk*. (Georgetown: Georgetown University Press), 177-195.
- 11 *ibidem*, 177.
- 12 *idem*.
- 13 *idem*, 180.
- 14 Mesa Arroyo, María del Pilar, *Un análisis pragmático, comunicativo y semántico-gramatical de la carta de presentación en español*, available online <http://www.fil.bg.ac.rs/wp-content/uploads/obavestjenja/iberijske/ehes21/19Mesa%20Arroyo.pdf>, accessed on the 4th of September 2020.
- 15 *idem*, 1.
- 16 *idem*, 2.
- 17 *idem*, 6.
- 18 Vergaro, Carla, Discourse strategies of Italian and English sales promotion letters, *English for Specific Purposes*, (Volume 23, 2004), 181-207.
- 19 Bignami, Francesca, *La nuova corrispondenza commerciale italiano-francese*, (Milano: de Vecchi Editore, 1998), 115.
- 20 Zichella, P., *Corrispondenza commerciale*, (Sesto. S. Giovanni: Bignami, 2001), 99.
- 21 Răchișan, Simion & Todericiu, Daniela, *Corespondență de afaceri*, (Cluj-Napoca : Pro Vita, 2003), pag. 79
- 22 *idem*, 57.
- 23 Whittaker, Sunniva, « La correspondance commerciale : apprentissage de stratégies discursives en langue étrangère », in *Revue française de linguistique appliquée*, 2001/2 (Vol. VI), 95-102.

Assistant Lecturer Diana Sopon, Ph.D. She is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication at the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration of Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. Her main areas of interest are: applied linguistics, Romance linguistics, pragmatics, higher education and academic management. (diana.sopon@econ.ubbcluj.ro)

Practical Facts on Romanian-language Acquisition in a German-speaking Context

*Diana V. Burlacu**

The present study aims to survey the main RFL (Romanian as a Foreign Language) difficulties that the German-language speakers struggle with, especially when their RFL language level is rather low – the so-called A1 or A2 levels, as described by the standards of the now traditional CEFR (The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages). Naturally, not all the linguistic worries will be eventually overcome by a higher language level, but this may be the subject of a different study. Romanian is considered an atypical Romance language, influenced throughout its history not only by different Slavic, Greek and Turkish languages, but also by the German, Hungarian or other Romance languages; hence, its complexity and the variety of lexical items, sometimes too hard to be understood by a monolingual speaker. Due to pragmatic reasons, merely the Romanian vocabulary will be taken into consideration and only partially. As a matter of fact, this study represents an experimental but practical tool for the German-language speakers, by providing various tips and tricks, concrete examples and certain learning (including mnemonic) strategies, validated through the author's two-year teaching experience at the University of Regensburg, after a ten-year RFL teaching experience at the Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca. Sharing the double role of RFL teaching staff and a DaF (German as a Foreign Language) student, the author herself has started to discover more and more similarities, as well as puzzling aspects concerning the two languages, German and Romanian. After all, is puzzlement not the main ingredient in foreign-language learning and teaching?

communication; learning; lexicology; RFL, vocabulary.

Motto:
 A more practiced eye,
 A more receptive ear,
 A more fluent tongue,
 A more involved heart,
 A more responsive mind.
 Rebecca L. Oxford¹

* Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj Napoca, Romania, Universität Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany

Rebecca Oxford's clear-cut aims in the motto listed above – probably the most wished-for goals in a language teacher's life – fundamentally refer to the main outcomes of any successful didactic process (the comparative form of the five adjectives subtly convey the idea of a process). The students' better written (reading, writing) and oral (listening, speaking) competences will eventually lead to a refined global comprehension of the newly learned language, which obviously includes a further intercultural competence, acquired by both 'heart' and 'mind'.

Restricting such general goals to lexicology, which represents the object of the current study, we may claim that the students' 'eyes', 'ears', 'tongues', 'hearts' and 'minds' should be gradually familiarized, during the acquisition process, with the various types of word knowledge, namely:

- the meaning(s) of the word
- the written form of the word
- the spoken form of the word
- the grammatical behaviour of the word
- the collocations of the word
- the register of the word
- the associations of the word
- the frequency of the word²

At the end (is there ever an end to language learning?) or better say, during this acquisition process, the students will ideally be able to recognize such aspects of a word, or at best the first four, especially at a beginner's or first intermediate's level (A1-A2, as the *CEFR – Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* stipulates).

However, taking into consideration the fact that German itself is not an easy language at all, quite on the contrary, Germans probably do not seem to face too many RFL difficulties (at least at the first levels of acquisition), as in the case of English –, Arabic- or Chinese-language speakers, to mention only a few. For instance, even if spelled differently, the German and the Romanian sounds are identical, with the exception of î/â, hence the pronunciation problem of such a sound (an approximation to the German sounds *u* or *ü* would never be accurate; my suggestion is to associate î/â with an interjection of intense dislike). At the same time, the grammar systems (with their much loathed nouns classified according to gender and number) of both languages are extremely complex, so the German students tend to accept without difficulty a relatively similar morphological system.

'The German students' above is actually a reference to the students attending various Romanian courses at the University of Regensburg, during the academic years 2017-2019, and at the University of Leipzig (2019 – present). Many of these students

are polyglots and have notions of Latin – roughly classified, the majority can speak several Germanic and Romance languages, as well as a few Slavic languages. Naturally, their acquisition of Romanian is, to a certain extent, influenced not only by their mother tongues, but also by the other languages of which they have knowledge. As a curiosity, besides native speakers of German, there are also one native speaker of English, two of Spanish, two of Italian, one of French, one of Czech, two of Russian, one of Ukrainian, one of Arabic and one of Turkish. In addition, some of them have basic knowledge of Chinese and Bulgarian, intermediate of Bosnian and Polish, and advanced knowledge of Portuguese and Finnish. Although very few indeed, the monolingual students have constantly encountered problems with the Romanian lexical items, since they lack their colleagues' ability to associate them to any other Romance language. The present study thus particularly addresses them, the monolingual German-speaking students.

1. **Genuine German words**

Undoubtedly, the easiest Romanian lexical items to be assimilated by Germans are those of German origin, most of which preserve their original pronunciation. Such a fact is not at all surprising, taking into account the evolution of the German population and, implicitly, of the German language in Romania:

According to the census, 36,042 people who identified as Germans were still living in Romania in 2011. This corresponded with approximately 0.18 % of the total population of Romania, making the Germans the fifth largest ethnic group after the Romanians, Hungarians, Roma and Ukrainians. [...] In 1930, thus during the interwar period, less than one century earlier, approx. 745,421 people (4.1 % of the total population) still defined themselves as Germans.³

As a matter of fact, the history of 'Romanian Germans' dates back to the 12th century, once with the settlement of the so-called Transylvanian Saxons, followed by other German populations, "in nearly all regions of the country, the great majority of them in the two historical regions, Transylvania and the Banat [...]"⁴.

The two most significant groups exhibit an entirely different history: while the Transylvanian Saxons settled in Transylvania in the High Middle Ages and had extensive privileges and a pronounced sense of community resulting from their own **Landstand** (status as one of three politically leading estates), German-speakers only settled further west in the Banat during the course of the 18th century⁵.

During the eight centuries of German-Romanian relations (more or less intense) on the Romanian territory, the Romanian language has obviously borrowed various lexical items from the German, which are nowadays preserved in its standard language

(of great interest would be indeed the study of dialectal words, such as *fîrong* – lit. Rom. *perdea*, Germ. *Vorhang*, Engl. curtain). Thus, considering the *Dictionary of the Modern Romanian Language* (DLRM, published in 1958), Nicolae Felecan concludes that the German elements cover 1,77 % of the entire Romanian lexis⁶, whereas Marius Sala and his research team⁷ (Sala et al., 1988) determine a percentage of 2,47 in the representative vocabulary of the Romanian language (quoted by *wikipedia.ro*).

Among the best-known lexemes of German origin range the traditional *șnițel* (Germ. *Schnitzel*, Engl. cutlet), the delicious *ștrudel* (Germ. *Strudel*, Engl. strudel – a type of pastry) and the fluffy *cremșnit* (Germ. *Cremschnitte*, Engl. custard cream cake). Besides such renowned gastronomy lexical items, could by any chance the trivial *cățel de usturoi* (Engl. *a clove of garlic*) be actually derived from the German *Zehe*, as one of my colleagues in Regensburg (and simultaneously an RFL student) suggested? The online version of the official monolingual Romanian dictionary, *dexonline.ro*, claims a Latin origin, namely *catellus*, which surprisingly means puppy or small dog, hence the Romanian *cățel*. Still, a second meaning of the Latin word is “little, light chain” (OLDO), somehow a better illustration of the garlic cloves. Nevertheless, in the absence of any further valid etymological proofs, for the time being we may accept the above-mentioned example as a case of adjusting a non-familiar foreign (German) word to a Romanian one (*Zehe* to *cățel*), whereas the very first examples are naturalized transcriptions of German words to a Romanian spelling, thus loanwords.

Further German loanwords present in the Romanian language are briefly listed below, randomly and personally selected from various domains, such as food, medicine, technology, etc.:

aspirină (Germ. *Aspirin*, Engl. aspirin), nowadays an international word⁸;

bere (Germ. *Bier*, Engl. beer), probably also influenced by the ‘long infinitive’ of the verb *a bea* (to drink), *bere* (MDA2, *dexonline.ro*);

bormașină (Germ. *Bohrmaschine*, Engl. drill);

cartof (Germ. *Kartoffel*, Engl. potato), whose origin actually dates back to Latin⁹;

chelner (Germ. *Kellner*, Engl. waiter);

chiflă (Germ. *Kipfel*, Engl. croissant/muffin)¹⁰;

clamă (de haine) (Germ. (*Wäsche*)*klammer*, Engl. clothes peg), the Romanian word being an identical phonetic transcription of its German counterpart;

crenvurst (Germ. *Krenwürstchen*, Engl. a type of sausages, perhaps originally served with horse radish, explained by the word *Kern*, typical for Austria and southern Germany); as another lexical curiosity, *virșli* (Germ. *Würstchen*, Engl. small/thin sausages) is well-known only regionally (in Transylvania), as a type of spicy thin sausages (a Hungarian influence should also be taken into account);

a exmatricula (Germ. *exmatrikulieren*, Engl. to expel), together with *a absolvi* (Germ. *absolvieren*, Engl. to graduate);

griș (Germ. *Grieß*, Engl. semolina/farina);

halbă (Germ. *Halbe*, Engl. half-a-litre beer mug), the Romanian lexeme exclusively signifying this type of a ½-litre beer mug, characteristic for Austria and southern Germany. The general meaning of ‘half’ is rendered by the all-embracing Rom. *jumătate*, having unknown etymology, and the rather specialized particles *demi-* or *semi-*, of French origin, as in *vin demisec* (Engl. semi-dry/off dry wine), or *semicerc* (Engl. semicircle);

lagăr (Germ. *Lager*, Engl. concentration camp), the Romanian word retaining only the military-political meaning, and not that of a store/warehouse, like in German;

pensulă (Germ. *Pinsel*, Engl. (paint-)brush);

polișist (Germ. *Polizist*, Engl. policeman);

rucsac (Germ. *Rucksack*, Engl. rucksack);

șablon (Germ. *Schablone*, Engl. template);

șină (Germ. *Schiene*, via Pol. *Szyna* (*dexonline.ro*), Engl. rail);

șlap (Germ. *Schlappen*, Engl. slipper/flip-flop);

șmecher (Germ. *Schmecker*; Rotwelsch *Schmecker*/ *Schmeckert*, Engl. trickster/slyboots). In Rodica Zafiu’s view, although this is the official explanation in the current dictionaries, such a term only speculatively designates “a refined person” (as derived from German)¹¹. A more plausible variant is a Rotwelsch (German jargon) origin, meaning ‘nose’ (Wolf, in Zafiu¹²), and by extension, “an agile law-breaker”¹³, able to sniff both tips and traps. “The slyboots is thus the absolute hero of the argotic space, as opposed to the loser (Rom. *fraier*), which is a victim or a simpleton”¹⁴.

șorț (Germ. *Schurz*/*Schürze*, Engl. apron); dialectally (in Transylvania) *șurț*, thus identical to the German lexeme;

ștecăr (Germ. *Stecker*, Engl. plug);

șurub (Germ. *Schraube*, Engl. screw);

tanti/ mătușă (Germ. *Tante*, Engl. aunt), whose origin dates back to Latin¹⁵;

tort (Germ. *Torte*, Engl. (anniversary) cake);

turn (Germ. *Turm*, Engl. tower);

țel (Germ. *Ziel*, Engl. aim);

țigară (Germ. *Zigarre*, Engl. cigar);

zaț (*de cafea*) (Germ. *Kaffeesatz*, Engl. coffee grounds).

2. Similar German words

A second category is represented by the incredibly similar lexemes in the two languages, probably stemming from a common root, usually from Latin (the *Duden Dictionary* frequently offers etymological explanations dating back to Old German, and

rarely to Latin, like the *DEXonline*). The words between the German and the English lexical items below basically refer to the origin of the Romanian lexemes, which sometimes coincide with the etymology of the German lexemes as well:

albină (Germ. *Biene* > Lat. *alvina* – Engl. bee)

beton (Germ. *Beton* > Fr. *béton* – Engl. concrete)

castană (Germ. *Kastanie* > Gr. *kastáneia* – Engl. chestnut)

ciment (Germ. *Zement* > Fr. *ciment* (probably originally from Latin, *caementum*, according to the Duden) – Engl. cement)

cupolă (Germ. *Kuppel* > Fr. *coupole* (probably originally from Latin, *cupula*, according to the Duden) – Engl. cupola)

galben (Germ. *Gelb* > Lat. *galbinus* – Engl. yellow)

lung (Germ. *Lang* > Lat. *longus* – Engl. long)

nimeni (Germ. *Niemand* > Lat. *nemo, neminem* – Engl. nobody)

papagal (Germ. *Papagei* > It. *pappagallo* – Engl. parrot)

plug (Germ. *Pflug* > Sl. *plugü* – Engl. plough)

scurt (Germ. *Kurz* > Lat. *curtus* – Engl. short)

șuncă (Germ. *Schinken* > Hung. *sonka*, dial. Germ. *Schunke* – Engl. ham)

Obviously, the examples provided here represent merely a scarce list, a work in progress, still in need of a solid theoretical and practical ground.

3. General Tips and Tricks

A third class eclectically includes words, suffixes and verbal tenses meant to facilitate the RFL acquisition:

- The German noun-suffix *-(t)ion* mostly translates into Romanian as *-(t)ie*:

Animation – *animație* (Engl. animation)

Konvention – *convenție* (Engl. convention)

Revolution – *revoluție* (Engl. revolution)

Segregation – *segregație* (Engl. segregation)

- The German noun-suffix *-keit* (sometimes, also *-heit*) frequently translates into Romanian as *-tate*:

Ehrlichkeit – *sinceritate* (Engl. honesty)

Möglichkeit – *posibilitate* (Engl. possibility, opportunity)

Schwierigkeit – *dificultate* (Engl. difficulty)

Vielfältigkeit – *diversitate* (Engl. diversity)

Freiheit – *libertate* (Engl. freedom)

yet not in the following:

Dunkelheit – *întuneric/ întunecime* (Engl. darkness)

Höflichkeit – *politețe* (Engl. politeness)

Krankheit – *boală* (Engl. illness)

Schönheit – *frumusețe* (Engl. beauty)

- In Romanian, the present-perfect tense does not differentiate between verbs formed by means of the auxiliaries *to have* (Germ. *haben*) or *to be* (Germ. *sein*), like in German, but it always makes use of the auxiliary verb *to have* (Rom. *a avea*). Consequently, the students do not need to think any longer about motion verbs, state verbs and so on (taking into account this aspect, then both Romanian and English are easier to use than German):

e.g. *am mers* (Germ. *ich bin gegangen*, Engl. I **have** gone)

am scris (Germ. *ich habe geschrieben*, Engl. I **have** written).

- In order to learn fewer words denoting the offspring of various animals, specific for higher levels, but still be able to communicate correctly and efficiently, the beginners (not only the German-speaking ones) can easily employ *pui/ pui de* + the animal name. The noun *pui* actually means chicken, but broadly signifies “any animal from birth to adulthood” (*dexonline.ro*), thus *pui de pisică* (Engl. kitten), *pui de urs* (Engl. bear cub), *pui de elefant* (Engl. baby elephant), etc. As a language bonus, *pui* is also the conjugated form of the verb *to put*, second-person pronoun, singular, *you put*. In a mnemonic punning line,

e.g. În *supa de pui, pui pui* (Engl. In the chicken soup you put chicken).

4. Witty mnemonics

Last but not least, mnemonics should not be neglected in a communicative approach, irrespective of its multi-faceted aspects (for certain historical considerations on mnemonics and more general RFL mnemonic strategies, see Burlacu 2018)¹⁶. As a matter of fact, most of the times, “[r]emembering is not the re-excitation of innumerable fixed, lifeless and fragmentary traces. It is an imaginative reconstruction, or construction, built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass of organized past reactions or experience”¹⁷. To put it plainly, sometimes we cannot find the right, theory-based explanation, so appealing to mnemonic strategies can actually come in handy with a witty, playful mind, the most accessible strategy probably being the mere association of similar or identical sounds:

e.g. *podea* (Germ. *Boden*, Engl. floor)

demult (Germ. *damals*, Engl. back then)

The German *Mandel* designates both *amigdală* (Engl. tonsil) and *migdală* (Engl. almond); the first Romanian word has a French origin, *amygdale* (Gr. *amýgdalon*), the name of the fruit probably being later influenced by Old Slavic, thus *migdalŭ*. How can then a German easily differentiate between the two? By using imagery, as a memory strategy! If you open your mouth and make the characteristic sound A (Engl. -A-, as in *park*), as if in front of a dentist, for example, you will concretely ‘see’ the *a*-word, thus the two tonsils (*amigdale* in the plural form)!

Yet, there is also the reverse of the coin, reading in the presence of the so-called false friends. Even if belonging to the same semantic family (clothing), the noun *Rock* (Rom. *fustă*, Engl. skirt) deceptively echoes the Romanian *rochie* (Germ. *Kleid*, Engl. dress). Linguistically surprising, the Swiss German employs *Rock* for *Kleid*, so in Switzerland such a Romanian word would no longer be considered a false friend, but a real one.

To end with, could anyone imagine a certain linguistic relation among (Romanian) clothes and boots, and two legendary German poets? It is said that Mihai Eminescu, Romania’s national poet, worked in his youth as a prompter for Pascaly’s theatrical troupe. Seeing his rather worn-out clothing, the director gave him some money and said: ‘Now go and buy yourself some new clothes and boots!’ Later on that evening, Eminescu was still wearing his old clothes and boots, but carrying two books. ‘Where are your new clothes (Rom. *haine*) and boots (Rom. *ghete*)?’, asked Pascaly. ‘Here they are’, replied Eminescu, revealing the two volumes he had bought: one written by *Heine* (pronounced exactly like the Romanian ‘clothes’, *haine*) and the other one, by *Goethe* (in an approximate pronunciation to *ghete*, due to the non-correspondence between the Rom. sound *ghe* and the Germ. *goe*)¹⁸. Such a funny, witty story shows not only Eminescu’s character and his deep interest in the spiritual, rather than in the material aspects of life, but it could function as a further RFL mnemonic strategy for any German-language speaker, eager or bound to learn Romanian.

Conclusions

Words migrate not only through neighbouring borders, but they also travel far and wide, both in space and time, mostly on account of economics (on a horizontal, spatial axis) and history (on a vertical, temporal axis). Although there are no magic recipes for language learning, emphasizing the similarities between the first/familiar language(s) and the target language, rather than the difficulties, has always been a good method to motivate the (RFL) students and to raise their confidence. Naturally, this is not a long-term strategy in properly acquiring a foreign language, but it may be actually helpful and encouraging at an A1-A2 level. Even if the present study needs further improvement and deeper etymological and lexicological research, it has aimed to validate the efficiency

of such RFL methods for the German-language speakers: the identity and the similarity between German and Romanian lexemes or sounds, as well as polysemy and mnemonics. No matter what strategy they prefer, the RFL learners should always be encouraged to communicate even from the very beginning, since, needless to say it, *practice makes perfect!*

Diana-Viorela Burlacu (née Ionescu), PhD, teaching assistant within the Department of Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization, Faculty of Letters, Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca. Since 2019, a Romanian-language lecturer within the University of Leipzig, 2017-2019 within the University of Regensburg (Germany). Author of *A Pragmatic Approach to Pinteresque Drama* (2011, Cluj-Napoca), co-author of *Antonime, Sinonime, Analogii* (1st ed., 2011, Bucharest; 2nd ed., 2013, Cluj-Napoca) and translator of various literary texts. Main areas of interest: RFL (Romanian as a foreign language), lexicology, pragmatics, semantics and translation studies. (dianav.burlacu@gmail.com)

References (Online Dictionaries)

- *** *DEXonline*, Copyright © 2004-2020 dexonline, available at <https://dexonline.ro> [April 23rd 2020].
- *** *Duden Online Wörterbuch*, © Bibliographisches Institut GmbH, 2018, available at <https://www.duden.de/> [April 23rd 2020].
- *** *Micul Dicționar Academic* (MDA2, 2010), The Romanian Academy, Institute of Linguistics, Univers Enciclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, second edition, quoted by <https://dexonline.ro/definitie/bere>, Copyright © 2004-2020 dexonline [April 25th 2020].
- *** *Online Latin Dictionary Olivetti* (OLDO) by Enrico Olivetti © 2003-2022 – Olivetti Media Communication, available at <https://www.online-latin-dictionary.com/latin-english-dictionary.php?parola=catellus> [April 25th 2020].

Notes

- 1 Rebecca L. Oxford, *Language Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- 2 Norbert Schmitt, *Vocabulary in Language Teaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 5.
- 3 Daniel Ursprung, (20152), “*The German Minority in Romania: A Historical Overview*”, in Ursprung, Daniel; Scheide, Carmen; Tagangaeva, Maria (Ed.) *Euxeinos. The German Minority in Romania* (St. Gallen: Universität St. Gallen * Center für Governance und Kultur in Europa, 20152), 7. Posted at the Zurich Open Repository and Archive, University of Zurich, [euxeinos_19_20_2015_compressed.pdf](https://doi.org/10.11588/11111111).
- 4 *idem*, 7.
- 5 Ursprung, Daniel (20151), ‘The German Minority in Romania’, in Ursprung, Daniel; Scheide, Carmen; Tagangaeva, Maria (Ed.) *Euxeinos. The German Minority in Romania* (St. Gallen: Universität St. Gallen * Center für Governance und Kultur in Europa, 20151), 4. Posted at the Zurich Open Repository and Archive, University of Zurich, [euxeinos_19_20_2015_compressed.pdf](https://doi.org/10.11588/11111111).
- 6 Nicolae Felecan, *Vocabularul limbii române* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega. Presa Universitară Publishing House, 2004), 101-102.
- 7 Marius Sala (coord.), Mihaela Bîrlădeanu, Maria Iliescu, Liliana Macarie, Ioana Nichita, Mariana Ploae-Hanganu, Maria Theban, Ioana Vintilă-Rădulescu, *Vocabularul reprezentativ al limbilor romanice* (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1988) (quoted by [https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Limba_romanica](https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Limba_roman%C3%A2)) [March 2nd 2019].
- 8 Marius Sala, *101 cuvinte moștenite, împrumutate și create* (București: Humanitas Publishing House, 2010), 62.
- 9 *idem*, 56-57.

- 10 *idem*, 139.
 11 Rodica Zafiu, *101 cuvinte argotice* (București: Humanitas Publishing House, 2010), 304.
 12 *idem*, 305.
 13 *ibidem*, 305.
 14 *idem*, 303.
 15 Marius Sala, *101 cuvinte moștenite, împrumutate și create* (București: Humanitas Publishing House, 2010), 58.
 16 Diana V. Burlacu, “Mnemonic Strategies in RFL Learning”, in Platon E., Vasiliu L., Arieșan A. (Ed.). *The Proceedings of the International Conference Discurs polifonic în Româna ca limbă străină* (Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință Publishing House), 143-151.
 17 Roger M. Tarpay; Richard E. Mayer, *Foundations of Learning and Memory* (Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, Glenview, Illinois, 1978), 10.
 18 Silvestru Pațița; George Zărafu, *Rideți, copii!* Antologie de anecdote și epigrame, selecționate, prelucrate sau create; second revised edition (București: Ion Creangă Publishing House, 1990), 171.

A Sociolinguistic View on the Romanian Young Adults’ Language

*Bettina Ene**

The present study explores the linguistic changes that have occurred in contemporary Romanian in the last few years and illustrates the major impact of *Anglicisms* and *Americanisms* in the Romanian young adults’ everyday speech. We wish to offer a brief insight into the actual social contexts in which these language patterns occur and discuss briefly the theoretical framework that supports our investigation. The aim of the present study was to explore in more detail the discourse patterns frequently used by our target group, namely a homogeneous group of young adults (predominantly students, teenagers or young employees), and gather tangible data that supports our initially stated hypothesis.

anglicisms; contemporary Romanian; young adults’ language; sociolinguistics; group membership; discourse patterns.

*The language belongs to all of us,
 professional and amateur,
 worrier and feckless,
 to make of it what we choose.¹*

1. Introduction

Our paper explores the linguistic tendencies that have occurred in the contemporary Romanian language in the last few years, with particular reference to the aggressive “invasion” of *Anglicisms* and *Americanisms* in the Romanian young adults’ everyday speech. The aim of our investigation was to isolate a homogeneous group of native Romanian young adults and observe in depth the discourse patterns frequently displayed in their colloquial speech. Our research objective was to identify the intention or the reasoning behind our target group’s linguistic options with respect to the frequent use of *Anglicisms*. In essence, the main focus of our collected data was to diagnose how

* Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

often and when exactly these English words are put to use by our target group and, most importantly, what words are predominantly used by these young adults.

The academic material collected in the present paper attempts to provide answers to questions, such as: In a café or pub in Romania, why does the waiter ask: "Cum doriți să plătiți, *cash* sau cu cardul?"; in a cinema in Romania, how do we know what the cashier intends to say, when s/he informs us: "Puteți beneficia de oferta *all nighter* folosind cardul studentesc"; When we follow the TV listings to see what films are on tonight or tomorrow, for instance, how do we know what the words *thriller*, *stalker* or *slasher* film genres mean?; When we go to a fast-food restaurant, how do we ask for a hamburger and a coke in Romanian? – "Un hamburger și o coca-cola, vă rog!" or "O hamburger și un coca-cola, vă rog!".

Considering that the subjects of the present investigation belong to a delineated social category, namely the native Romanian young adults' group, whose members share recognizable linguistic features that are recurrent in their everyday communication, we wished to approach the topic from a sociolinguistic angle. Hence, we conducted a qualitative research that sought answers to some of the above-listed questions, while collecting data by doing field research that consisted of informal interviews.

However, before delving into the topic more deeply, we consider it essential to dwell on the notions of *Anglicisms* and *Americanisms* first and offer a brief insight into the theoretical background that supports our study. The two concepts can be defined in multiple ways, taking into account the definitions provided by several different linguists. However, a solid and detailed definition of the concept is given by Avram (1997):

It is necessary for me to explain what the concept Anglicism means in my opinion: a linguistic unity (not only words, but also idiomatic expressions, meaning or grammatical construction) even regarding pronunciation or spelling of English origin, no matter the territorial variety of English, consequently the American English as well, not only the British English.

It is noteworthy to remark though, that the average Romanian reader who is accustomed to the standard literature of his/her native language, encounters a massive number of words of English origin in different fields, such as journalism or in the Romanian sport terminology, such as: *challenge-round*, *goalkeeper*, *drop-goal*, *time-out*, *knockout/cnocaut*, *stopper*, etc).

Beside the sport terminology, one can frequently encounter English loan-words from various other domains as well, such as: *happy-end*, *management*, *juke-box*, *flipper*,

chewing-gum, *cameraman*, *sex-appeal*, *smog*, *hostess*, *play-back*, etc. Indisputably, English origin words have penetrated the vocabulary of the Romanian language both directly and indirectly through different loan channels.

We have illustrated above some of the most frequently used *Anglicisms* encountered in the contemporary Romanian language, however the aim of our research was to understand the reason behind the use of these English origin words by young adults. Manea² assumes that the reason why this massive wave of loan words has penetrated the Romanian language is due to the fact that "more and more people speak English, mainly the younger generation, thus English is clearly overcoming French from this point of view."³ Manea⁴ continues along the same line explaining that a second reason for this phenomenon would be that "there have been established tighter cultural relationships between Romania and the anglophone countries in the last decade, especially regarding domains as follows: science, technology, arts, mass-media (scientific/academic publications) and audiovisual means of communication."⁵.

It is interesting to notice, however, that some of the recent loan-words in Romanian are used ostentatiously by the younger generation especially, in order to display style, trendiness or poshness. Needless to point out that some of these terms follow a trend and others are absolutely useless because they cover their already existing Romanian equivalents.

In view of the sociolinguistic nature of our investigation, we find it important to introduce here some of the key notions from the specialized literature that sociolinguists frequently work with and which are closely related to the phenomenon we are scrutinizing in the present study. The first notion we wish to consider is the notion of *metaphorical switching*. According to Holmes⁶, "each of the codes used by the speaker represents a set of social meanings, and the speaker draws on the associations of each, just as people use metaphors to represent complex meanings. The term also reflects the fact that this kind of switching involves rhetorical skill. Skillful code-switching operates like metaphor to enrich the communication." Holmes⁷ continues along the same line, explaining that "some people call the kind of rapid switching *code mixing*", however she clearly inclines toward the term *metaphorical switching*:

code-mixing suggests the speaker is mixing up codes indiscriminately or perhaps because of incompetence, whereas the switches are very well motivated in relation to the symbolic or social meanings of the two codes. This kind of rapid switching is itself a specific sociolinguistic variety. It is a distinctive conversational style used among bilinguals and multilinguals – a rich additional linguistic resource available to them.

By switching between two or more codes, the speakers convey affective meaning as well as information.

The problem of *code-switching* or *code-mixing* has been discussed by several other scholars as well, such as Bernard Spolsky⁸ who notices that "bilinguals often switch between their two languages in the middle of a conversation. These code-switches can take place between or even within sentences, involving phrases or words or even parts of words. The switching of words is the beginning of *borrowing*, which occurs when the new word becomes more or less integrated into the second language."

At this point, we already deal with a different phenomenon, which is known as *lexical borrowing*, illustrated by Spolsky⁹ as follows: "one bilingual individual using a word from language A in language B is a case of *switching*, but when many people do, even speakers of B who don't know A are likely to pick it up. At this stage, especially if the pronunciation and morphology have been adapted, we can say the word has been borrowed."

Of course, many words in Romanian have been adopted from English. Words such as *mouse*, *laptop*, *cocktail*, *weekend* or *job* are present in almost everyone's vocabulary and usually only "language fanatics" claim Romanian equivalents or speakers who are extremely careful with their linguistic choices/habits. It is noteworthy to observe that there are not only isolated words that frequently occur in the Romanian young adults' speech, but also "trendy" expressions that sometimes sound ridiculous once translated into Romanian. One of such examples is the word *frate* (<En. *brother*), which is the Romanian alternative to *bro*, recurrently used by the younger generation. One of the issues with this phenomenon might be that many speakers have turned this word into a verbal tic, and use the word *frate* to address anyone, including female interlocutors as well: "*Fratele* meu, tu ești băiat, dacă se ia cineva de tine să vii la mine!" ["*Bro*, you're a guy, if someone's messing with you, come find me!"]¹⁰.

According to Zafiu¹¹, not necessarily the *borrowing process* of English words – the *Romglish* language is a serious problem, but the clichéd expressions: "It is a serious problem that many swear-words (because of the slang maybe) are used as simple clichés. It is one thing to use vulgar words for swearing, and a different thing to use them as punctuation marks, used after each word. This has become indeed a popular juvenile fashion."¹².

If we were to give an extreme example, we would dare to describe the online networking websites as a modern digitized "slaughterhouse", not only for the Romanian language, but languages in general. Young digi-citizens, for instance, have personalized their language to such an extent that they completely ignore the use of

diacritics (ex: *ă, â, î, ș, ț*) in Romanian, or stopped using hyphens altogether, creating their own spelling system by growing the habit of deliberately misspelling certain words, using "sh" instead of "ș", "tz" instead of "ț" or "k" instead of "c". Thus, we can frequently encounter words, such as "partikip" (instead of *particip*), "sharpe" (instead of *șarpe*) or "intzelegi" (instead of *înțelegi*).

In the following section of our paper, we wish to illustrate a few more of the above described expressions or clichés that lack punctuation marks, diacritics or have gone through spelling modifications: "Frumos profil... treci si pe la mn cu un *comm... dak* ai timp.normal"¹³ [En: "Nice profile! Leave me a comment, if you have time, of course."]. Another such example has been extracted from a dialogue between two students:

Student A: "... eu m-am mai gândit și cred că nu fac la mate. Știu de 7. Și ghici cine stă în spatele meu?" [Student A: I've been thinking and I don't think I'll study for Maths. I'll get a 7. And guess who's sitting behind me?]

Student B: "La Bac? Păi ce, știi de acum? *Geez!*" [En: *Jesus* – American jargon] [At the exam? What, how can you know that? *Geez!*]

Student A: "Păi pe Calu' îl cheamă ca pe mine, mă. Da-l cheamă Vali și cre' că-l pune în spate, nu? Dă-l în pana mea de penal, oricum mă *stâlkuiește* pe Facebook."¹⁴ [Student A: Well, Calu' and I share the same surname. His name is actually Vali and I think they'll place him at my back, don't you think? Screw him, he's stalking me on Facebook anyway.]

We can easily observe how the previously discussed phenomena, namely the notion of *code-mixing/code-switching* and *lexical borrowing* are present in the above illustrated examples. Holmes¹⁵ finds it important to distinguish this kind of switching from "switches which reflect lack of vocabulary in a language". She explains that:

when speaking a second language, for instance, people will often use a term from their mother tongue or first language because they don't know the appropriate word in their second language. These "switches" are triggered by lack of vocabulary. People may also borrow words from another language to express a concept or describe an object for which there is no obvious word available in the language they are using. Borrowing of this kind generally involves single words – mainly nouns – and it is motivated by lexical need. It is very different from switching where speakers have a genuine choice about which words or phrases they will use in which language.

Holmes¹⁶ concludes by stating that "borrowings often differ from code switches in form too. Borrowed words are usually adapted to the speaker's first language. They are pronounced and used grammatically as if they were part of the speaker's first language."

It is relevant to note that most of the above-illustrated examples do not fall into either of these categories. We can easily observe that the speakers in our examples do not opt for the use of *Anglicisms* because of the reasons earlier described by Holmes¹⁷, namely: 1) lack of vocabulary in their language; 2) to express a concept or describe an object for which there is no obvious word available in the language they are using. We can equally notice that the English words employed by our subjects are all single words, predominantly nouns (ex: *comm* – shortened version of *comment* and *Geez* – American jargon of *Jesus*).

However, we consider it important to point out the only *verb* case in our examples, namely the word "stălkuește" which is, obviously, a word combination between Romanian and English, that comes from the English verb "to stalk" and the Romanian verb ending "iește". In this particular case, we might consider Holmes's¹⁸ above-given explanation to the phenomenon, namely that "borrowed words are usually adapted to the speaker's first language. They are pronounced and used grammatically as if they were part of the speaker's first language", to the extent, we might add, that it seems absolutely natural for the speaker to use it in his first language. Beside this single example, we might frequently encounter other English verbs, typically on Social Media platforms, that have been borrowed from English, such as: "M-a *tăgu*it în poză" [He *tagged* me in the picture]; "Mă *followu*iește pe Instagram" [She *follows* me on Instagram]; "M-a *ghostu*it" [He *ghosted* me¹⁹], "Hai să *share-u*im această înghețată!" [Let's *share* this ice-cream!] etc.

We wish to give special attention to the noun category, however, since these English words have gained so much popularity in the contemporary Romanian language in the last decade. In the next part of our paper, we wish to illustrate a few of the nouns with English origin that are either at the initial/preliminary stage of adaptation or under way of adaptation. According to Athu²⁰, the orthographic and the phonic system differences between the two languages, English and Romanian, generate difficulties in the adaptation of the English loanwords spoken form. There are a lot of English sounds that do not exist in the Romanian phonic system and their articulation balances between a couple of possibilities: a) close imitation of the phonetic English aspect; b) pronunciation of the graphic aspect; c) the combination of the two imitation methods (see **Fig. 1, 2, 3** and **4** below):



Fig. 1. English noun, with no orthographic adaptation

We may notice that due to the current tendencies, a significant number of English borrowings are used as invariables, increasing the number of those already existing in Romanian. This leads to a considerable increase of invariables, both nouns and adjectives, and the neuter form, which is the specific gender for most of the English borrowings, that numerically overcomes the other two genders.

The Romanian terminology of Mass Media (TMM) follows the Anglo-American conceptual pattern. As a consequence, the lexical and phrasal borrowing from the English language are prevalent in the lexicon used in this field. In the Romanian TMM, the absence of corresponding lexical, semantic and stylistic units and the necessity to integrate this specialized lexicon into a mass media global context, linguistically motivates the phenomenon to borrow a large number of English words.

An interlingual means of communication certainly has its merits, but also involves a number of disputes, such as disadvantages regarding a lack of language proficiency,

the diversity of cultures and their history, and the different structures and meanings of different languages. Moreover, language is commonly viewed as a symbol of the national and cultural identity of a speech community and, consequently, *Anglicisms* in mass communication may be perceived as an embodiment of the Anglophone or American social and cultural structures and values, therefore a threat to one's own values, leading to a nation's somewhat legitimate concern of being foreignized through the constant presence of the English language.

The following examples were also retrieved from different marketing/advertising campaigns in Romania, all including certain English loan-words or borrowings that have never been completely adapted (see Fig. 2 and 3):

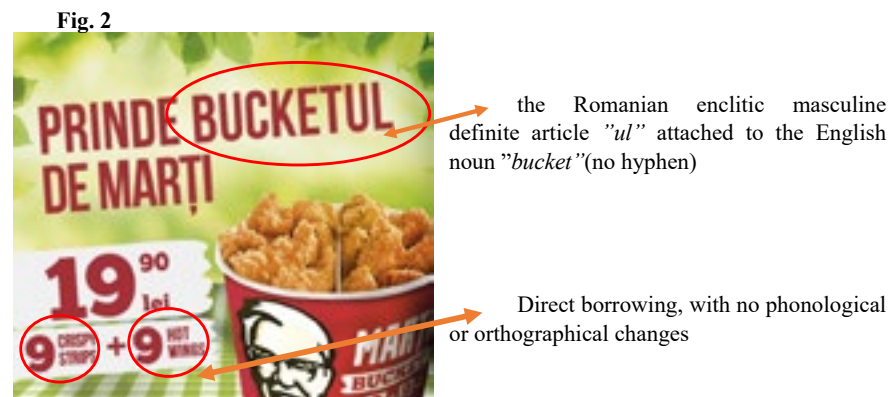


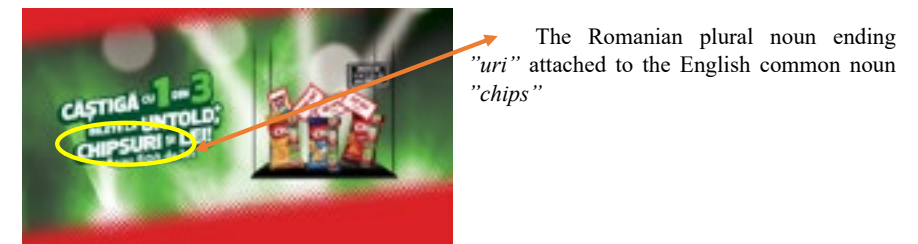
Fig 3.

The Romanian plural form of the noun ending in "e" attached to the English compound noun "eBookreader"



There are certain nouns with English origin that are still not adapted morpho-syntactically. Some of these adapt with difficulty, others have failed to adapt completely. In such cases, Romanian speakers do not always recognize the English plural forms (-s, -es or the *irregular plural form*) and, by adding the Romanian plural ending, pleonastic forms (the so-called morphologic pleonasm) occur: *pungile de snacksuri*, *un pachet de sticksuri*, *bluesuri*, *chipsuri*, *clipsuri*, *comicsuri*, *hotspots-uri*, *skills-uri*, etc. (see Fig. 4 below):

Fig. 4



2. Corpus selection and compilation

Our sociolinguistic excursion into the issue of the English loan-words in the Romanian lexicon, intended to identify an easily recognizable linguistic pattern present in our target group's everyday speech. Therefore, we sampled 28 young adults (between 18-25 years old), both males and females, among whom 14 were philology students who had a good knowledge of the English language, and 14 other young adults, who used to study at different other specializations or had other occupations.

As we previously mentioned in our paper, we conducted a qualitative research and collected data by doing field research that consisted of informal interviews. We wished to stay passive throughout our investigation, thus we had the quality of observers, rather than experimenters. Therefore, we divided the above-mentioned participants into two different categories, and applied different methodologies.

Our research methodology consisted of *face to face interaction* and *virtual interaction*. The first one is probably the most relevant method of the survey research due to its accuracy. It allowed us to be selective with regards to the interviewees, but also provide any additional explanations or details regarding the interview. However, the face to face approach can be counterproductive as well. Firstly, the interviewees could be reluctant with respect to their time, effort, privacy, etc. Another factor to bear in mind is the difficulty of asking questions face to face, without reaching certain

undesired reactions, such as nervousness, inaccuracy in speech, vague responses, etc, and eventually putting the subjects in an uncomfortable situation.

On the other hand, the *virtual interaction* with the interviewees was a time-saving and more efficient research method. Each participant to the interview received a document with five or six ordinary questions in Romanian, and simply had to send it back fully completed. In our opinion, this method is the best alternative for corpus gathering, since it has more advantages than disadvantages: it saves time, energy, effort and we get quick and efficient results. The only disadvantages would be that the participants might not understand the task correctly, they might have certain questions or they might not respect the task properly.

Furthermore, we had to take into consideration some important aspects throughout the corpus gathering process. The questionnaire had to be kept as short as possible. Young adults usually do not have the necessary patience to answer lengthy questionnaires, and they either refused to answer our questions, or simply got bored halfway through. Cover notes are also an important tool when it comes to virtual surveys. It is indicated, especially with this kind of questionnaires, to attach a brief cover note explaining our academic intentions behind the interview and what will eventually happen with the results.

The questions we asked in the questionnaire were usually open-ended, which allowed various different answers – the participants could provide any answer they considered appropriate. We exemplify some of them, as follows: "*Unde mergi să-ți faci cumpărăturile de obicei?*" [Where do you usually go shopping?], question to which the interviewees might have answered: "*La supermarket/second-hand/mall*" [At the supermarket/second hand store/mall] or "*Denumeste un sport extrem pe care l-ai încerca măcar o dată în viață*" [Name an extreme sport that you would like to try at least once in life], and the answers might have varied between *base jump*, *bungee-jumping* or *skydiving*.

When it comes to such type of surveys, especially when the aim of the interview is corpus gathering, it is absolutely necessary to avoid entrapment, that is why we opted for open-ended questions that allow the interviewee to give a personal response based on his/her experiences. Our main focus was to avoid entrapment and try to follow the natural course of the procedure.

The order in which the questions were asked was another important aspect to consider. We started the interview with non-threatening questions in order to put the interviewee at ease, asking simple and straightforward questions, using a colloquial register.

Grouping the questions is also an excellent method that helps the participants answer the questions more quickly and more easily. Here are a few examples:

- 1) *Denumeste un sport extrem pe care l-ai încerca măcar o dată în viață.*
- 2) *Ce sporturi de iarnă preferi?*
- 3) *În ce locuri mergi de obicei cu prietenii?*
- 4) *Cum achiți nota de plată într-un local?*

- 1) *Name an extreme sport that you would like to try at least once in life.*
- 2) *What winter sports do you prefer?*
- 3) *What places do you usually go with your friends?*
- 4) *How do you pay the bill in a restaurant/pub?*

3. Discussion of findings

The purpose of our survey was to take a close-up view on the Romanian young adults' everyday speech and linguistic choices in a colloquial context. We have approached two different young-adult groups and asked them five or six ordinary questions about their lifestyles, personal preferences, likes and dislikes.

The first category of interviewees, students from different academic backgrounds, was interviewed in different locations, such as library, commercial centre, in the street, etc. The second group of students, the philology students, was subject to the online survey.

Before starting our corpus gathering process for our investigation, we had launched a baseless assumption according to which the members of our target group would not employ English loan-words in their answers from the questionnaire frequently or at all, taking into account the fact that some of the questions had been deliberately structured in such way, that the answer could have been obvious even for them. Our research objective was to diagnose whether English loan-words or Anglicisms of any kind are present in their speech.

The present investigation reports on findings regarding the frequent use of English loan-words in informal settings. These elements, isolated words or even more complex phrases appear in every interview, without any exception. This is the point where we identify a strong sense of group membership, that sociolinguists, such as Hudson²¹ describes as "the most obvious source of influence on linguistic variables is the speaker himself; the kind of person he/she is and the experiences he/she has had". Hudson²² continues along the same line stating that "after surveying a number of social factors on the basis of which people may associate themselves with one another, such as status, sex, race and age. Each of these factors may influence people's use of linguistic variables, either directly or in combination with other factors.

In the present study, the most obvious difference which delinates this particular social group from others, is *age* and perhaps *social status* (most of the interviewees were students). Based on our findings, young-adults who had foreign languages or linguistics as their main field of study, used English words as much as their peers, who were not necessarily skilled English speakers. We can only assume that this phenomenon is due to their constant contact with English, and it has become natural for them to express themselves switching from one code to the other.

If we were to point out an interesting difference in the use of English elements by our participants from the two categories, philology students did not only use isolated English words or skeletal utterances in English, but more complex phrases, too. We wish to illustrate a few, as follows: "Cu siguranță aș încerca *offshore racing – I love cars*"; "O mică plimbare cu *snowmobil-ul – not really into skiing*"; "Are you kidding me?" etc.

Sociolinguistics defines the above-described phenomenon, notably a speaker's linguistic choices in difference circumstances, as *accommodation* and *audience design*. According to Spolsky²³, "people tend to talk like the people they talk to most of the time [...]. The social isolation of specific groups explains why their languages or dialects remain relatively unaffected by that of other groups." Spolsky²⁴ explains the idea of *audience design* by stating that:

a speaker who can control more than one variety chooses a level of speech according to the audience he or she is addressing. We might consciously choose an informal style when speaking to strangers in order to seem friendly. Related to this is unconscious *accommodation*, we automatically adjust our speech to be more like that of our interlocutor. Both of these approaches offer some idea of the importance of language in establishing social relations and in representing a speaker's sense of identity.

Throughout our investigation, we experienced the above-described linguistic phenomena in our interviewees' answers to some of our questions, notably the case of *accommodation*, where the subject adjusted his/her speech to be similar to the interlocutor's, namely ours in our attempt to put the interviewees at ease before starting recording their answers. We are going to illustrate an example, as follows: "Probabil o să plec în străinătate" or "Depinde în ce *mood* îs în ziua respectivă".

4. Conclusions

To sum up, in the present article we wished to identify and diagnose the linguistic changes that have occurred in the contemporary Romanian language in the last few years, with respect to the Romanian young-adults everyday speech. Considering that the

subjects of the present investigation belong to a delineated social category, namely the native Romanian young adults, whose members share recognizable linguistic features that are recurrent in their everyday communication, we wished to approach the topic from a sociolinguistic angle.

Our focal interest was to explore in depth the discourse patterns employed by the members of the community, with respect to the frequent use of English loan-words (*Anglicisms*) by interviewing them. Consequently, our qualitative research was a field research that consisted of informal interviews (see Appendix).

The collected empirical data reports on a number of interesting findings, namely that the community members display a preference for using either isolated English origin words or even more complex phrases in their colloquial speech in their first language. We have also noticed that regardless of the participants' age or different academic background (we interviewed both philology students, who claimed to be in constant contact with English, and students coming from other fields of study, such as Law, History or Medicine), all the subjects who participated in our investigation used at least one English loan-word in their answers from our questionnaire.

Conclusively, the influence of English on the contemporary Romanian young-adults' everyday speech is more than noticeable. Having scrutinized our limited collected data (only 28 interviewees' answers), we conclude by stating that these code-switch instances between the two target languages, do not necessarily occur in formal or technical contexts anymore, but have become a "trendy" solution to enrich one's vocabulary or speech. According to Avram²⁵, "word formation is not only a means of enrichment of the language of a whole nation and the organization of its vocabulary, but also a means of enrichment and organization of each speaker's vocabulary. Language cultivation helps developing the capacity of self-expression".

APPENDIX

INTERVIU 3

Specializarea: LMA

AN: 3

Combi-nația de limbi: FR-EN

1. **Care ar fi prima expresie/interjecție care îți vine în minte și pe care o folosești cel mai des, în momentul în care te surprinde sau te șochează ceva/cineva?**

Când sunt șocat sau surprins primul lucru care îmi iese pe gura e "Vai de capul meu!".

2. **Ce expresie folosești când te amuză ceva foarte tare?**

În general, nu prea spun ceva când mă amuză ceva tare pentru că sunt prea ocupat să râd. Dar dacă aș spune ceva ar fi "Cât de tare!"

3. **Denumeste un sport extrem pe care l-ai încerca măcar o dată în viață.**

Aș încerca *wingsuit flying* pentru că e sportul cel mai apropiat de zbor.

4. **Ce sporturi de iarnă preferi?**

Iarna prefer *snowboard*-ul.

5. **Ce gen de filme nu îți place să vizionezi?**

Nu îmi plac filmele cu povești de dragoste.

6. **Pentru ce folosești rețelele de socializare, în cazul în care le folosești?**

Folosesc rețelele de socializare pentru a discuta cu prieteni sau oameni cu care vreau să păstrez legătura dar sunt departe de mine și ca mediu de informație (*news and stuff about things I like*).

INTERVIU 4

Specializarea: LMA

AN: 3

Combi-nația de limbi: EN-FR

1. **Care ar fi prima expresie/interjecție care îți vine în minte și pe care o folosești cel mai des, în momentul în care te surprinde sau te șochează ceva/cineva?**

Prima expresie care îmi vine în minte atunci când sunt surprins sau șocat ar fi „*Oh my God!*”.

2. **În ce locuri mergi de obicei cu prietenii?**

De obicei merg cu prietenii în cafenele, restaurante, *pub*-uri, baruri.

3. **Denumeste un sport extrem pe care l-ai încerca măcar o dată în viață.**

Dacă ar fi să încerc un sport extrem cred că aș încerca *bungee jumping*-ul deoarece este un sport destul de interesant.

4. **Cum achiți nota de plată într-un restaurant sau cafenea?**

Atunci când trebuie să achit nota de plată la o cafenea prefer să plătesc *cash*.

5. **Ce planuri ai după terminarea studiilor?**

Sincer încă nu mi-am făcut planuri pentru după terminarea studiilor. Nu știu ce o să fac. Aștept să văd ce îmi rezervă viitorul.

6. **Unde mergi să-ți faci cumpărăturile de obicei?**

De obicei când îmi fac cumpărăturile le fac de la *supermarket* sau de la magazinul din colț.

INTERVIU 5

Specializarea: LMA

AN: 3

Combi-nația de limbi: EN-GE

1. **Ce mâncăruri consideri că nu sunt sănătoase pentru organismul nostru?**

Cred că cele mai nesănătoase alimente sunt cele care conțin mulți aditivi alimentari cum ar fi coloranții sau conservanții: sucurile carbogasoase, mâncărurile semipreparate, prăjiturile făcute în laboratoarele de patiserie sau mâncarea de la restaurantele de tip *fast-food* cum ar fi *hamburgerii* sau *kebapurile*.

2. **Ce expresie folosești când te amuză ceva foarte tare?**

În funcție de mediul în care mă aflu folosesc „*fire-ar să fie*”, când sunt cu persoane străine, „*lol*”, „*rofl*” (*rolling on the floor laughing*) sau „*what the f**k?*”, când sunt printre prieteni.

3. **Cum achiți nota de plată într-un restaurant sau cafenea?**

În general, plătesc numerar, uneori cu cardul niciodată nu am plătit prin cec.

4. Ce planuri ai după terminarea studiilor?

După ce termin studiile am de gând să gădesc o slujbă pe care să o pot realiza, fără a fi o povară pentru cei alături de care voi lucra sau pentru cei care vor lucra. Nu știu dacă acest lucru implică traduceri sau nu. Visul meu ar fi să gădesc o slujbă la Ubisoft în departamentul de creație sau relații cu publicul.

5. Ce tip de ținută îți alegi de obicei, când mergi la facultate/la un interviu?

De obicei port blugi, tricou și o bluză sau cămașă, nu acord o atenție deosebită ținutei când merg la facultate, la un interviu port un costum bleumarin (sacou și pantaloni) o cămașă și o cravată.

6. Ce gen de filme nu îți place să vizionezi?

Nu îmi plac filmele de groază, mai ales cele de tipul *stalker* sau *slasher*, cele care înfățișează vărsare de sânge fără sens, doar pentru a face ecranul „ceva mai roșu” sau filmele de groază care pornesc de la teme biblice.

INTERVIU 10

Specializarea: LMA

AN: 3

Combi-nația de limbi: EN-IT

1. Ce mâncăruri consideri că nu sunt sănătoase pentru organismul nostru?

Toate preparatele din *fast-food*-uri sunt nesănătoase, în special cele preparate în ulei, spre exemplu cartofi prăjiți.

2. Denumeste un sport extrem pe care l-ai încerca măcar odată în viață.

Mi-ar plăcea foarte mult să încerc măcar o dată *bungee jumping*-ul.

3. Cum achiți nota de plată într-un restaurant sau cafenea?

De cele mai multe ori plătesc cu *cash*.

4. În ce locuri mergi de obicei cu prietenii?

De obicei mă duc în baruri.

5. Ce tip de ținută îți alegi de obicei, când mergi la facultate/la un interviu?

La facultate sau la un interviu încerc să fiu cât se poate de *casual*.

6. Ce gen de filme nu îți place să vizionezi?

Nu îmi place deloc să mă uit la filme *horror*.

INTERVIU 13

Specializarea: LMA

AN: 3

Combi-nația de limbi: EN-IT

1. Ce mâncăruri consideri că nu sunt sănătoase pentru organismul nostru?

Consider că atât prăjelile cât și mâncărurile și băuturile cu un nivel ridicat de zaharuri ar trebui scoase total din alimentație. Băuturile acidulate, fursecurile și checurile de la magazin sunt și ele pe lista neagră.

2. Ce expresie folosești când te amuză ceva foarte tare?

De obicei, cand mă amuză ceva foarte tare, folosesc expresii precum: “incredibil, ... ce tare frate!”, “hilariant” sau chiar “demențial!!!”

3. Denumeste un sport extrem pe care l-ai încerca măcar o dată în viață.

Cu siguranță aș încerca să parcurg cu o bicicleta *mountain-bike* un traseu de *downhill*, dar pentru acest lucru, antrenamentul și îndemânarea și forța fizică sunt necesare pentru a nu ajunge la urgență cu oase rupte sau craniul fisurat.

4. Ce sporturi de iarnă preferi?

Iarna prefer *skiing*-ul, deoarece sunt de părere că viteza la coborâre poate fi ușor controlată și în același timp îmi oferă adrenalină prin manevrele evasive precum slalomul.

5. Ce gen de filme nu îți place să vizionezi?

Îmi plac foarte mult filmele, în general, dar dacă ar fi să aleg un gen care îmi displace, cred că acela ar fi *soap opera*.

6. Ce gen de muzică asculți/preferi?

În muzică, genurile preferate variază de la *Hip-Hop* la genuri tradiționale din diferite culturi sud-americane, la *Jazz* și muzică clasică și în general orice interpretare *live* de instrumental.

Notes

- 1 Philip Howard, *The State of the Language* (London: Penguin Books, 1986), 11.
- 2 Constantin Manea, *Structura Etimologică a Vocabularului Neologic (cu specială referire la anglicismele din limba română)* (Pitești: Editura Universității, 2004), 53.
- 3 **Translated from Romanian:** ”Valul masiv de împrumuturi mai recente se explică în principal prin: cunoașterea din ce în ce mai bună a limbii engleze, mai ales de către tânăra generație, engleza devansând clar din acest punct de vedere limba franceză.”
- 4 *Idem.*

- 5 **Translated from Romanian:** ”În al doilea rând, în ultimul deceniu s-au stabilit contacte culturale mai strânse între România și țările anglofone, mai ales în domeniile științei, tehnicii, diverselor domenii aplicative și artelor ori prin intermediul presei, publicațiilor științifice, mijloacelor de comunicare audio și video.”
- 6 Janet Holmes, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Second Edition (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 41.
- 7 *Idem*, 42.
- 8 Bernard Spolsky, *Sociolinguistics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 49.
- 9 *Idem*.
- 10 <<https://www.diane.ro/2013/10/limba-romana-jargon-tineri-limbaj.html>> Accessed on 30 May 2020.
- 11 <<https://www.gandul.ro/interviurile-gandul/noua-limba-a-romanilor-lingvistica-rodica-zafiu-explica-la-interviurile-gandul-cum-am-ajuns-sa-vorbim-si-sa-injuram-romglis-13874343>> Accessed on 30 May 2020.
- 12 **Translated from Romanian:** ”Grav e că, poate și după modelul slang-ului, cuvinte vulgare ajung să fie folosite ca simple clișee. Pentru că un lucru este ca termenul vulgar să fie folosit chiar ca înjurătură, și altceva ca el să devină un fel de semn de punctuație, rostit după fiecare cuvânt. Asta într-adevăr, este tot o modă juvenilă, care a prins.”
- 13 Example retrieved from one of the online Social Media platforms called Hi5.
- 14 <<https://www.diane.ro/2013/10/limba-romana-jargon-tineri-limbaj.html>> Accessed on 30 May 2020.
- 15 Janet Holmes, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (London: Second Edition. Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 42.
- 16 *Ibidem*.
- 17 *Ibidem*.
- 18 *Ibidem*.
- 19 To ghost (someone) – to end a relationship with someone suddenly by stopping all communication with them <<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/ghost>> Accessed on 31 May 2020.
- 20 Cristina Athu, *Influența Limbii Engleze asupra Limbii Române Actuale (în limbajul economic și de afaceri)* (București: Editura Universitară, 2011).
- 21 Richard A. Hudson, *Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 170.
- 22 *Idem*, 177.
- 23 *Idem*, 41.
- 24 *Idem*, 33.
- 25 Mioara Avram, *Probleme ale exprimării corecte* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1987).

Bettina Ene – PhD student with the Doctoral School in Linguistic and Literary Studies, Faculty of Letters, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. Associate at the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication within the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration and the Department of Foreign Languages for Specific Academic Purposes of Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. She has been teaching Business and Legal English to the 1st and 2nd year students. Scientific fields of interest: Sociolinguistics, Internet Linguistics, Discourse Analysis, Language Construction, Artificial Languages. Personal and academic interest in language spoken in the digital environment and the close study of virtual communities’ linguistic behaviour. Author of the following articles in the aforementioned domains: “A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Digital Social Network User Identities: The *Instagram* ‘fitfam’ Community”. *Online and Offline Discourses. New Worlds, New Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, edited by Diana Cotrău and Alexandra Cotoc. “*Game of Thrones* – A Sociolinguistic View”, in *The Science of Linguistics: papers in honour of Ștefan Oltean*, edited by Imola-Ágnes Farkas and Adriana Todea. (bettina.ene@econ.ubbcluj.ro)

Two Strategies for Noticing and Recording Phraseology in an ESP Course

*Adrian Ciupe**

Based on some of the fundamental tenets of the Lexical Approach, this article suggests two noticing and recording strategies of specialised lexis for class and independent use with B1-C2 students of English enrolled on university level ESP courses. Drawing on extensive personal teaching experience, the author weighs the pros and cons of both strategies, while also making the case for a more modern (digital) methodology to assist with their implementation through an informed empowerment of students.

collocation; colligation; digital(ly); empower(ment); ESP; fixed expression; language acquisition; Lexical Approach; noticing; phraseology; proactive; recording; strategy.

ESP courses, including business English, are substantially lexical, rather than grammatical in nature and scope, which makes a focus on collocation (I would add, phraseology in general) a major priority in the teaching/learning process.¹ In other words, “Perhaps the very nature of ESP and business training [...] puts collocations at the forefront of its language work; [...] the relevant books and training materials emphasize lexical phrases as a matter of course.”²

My typical experience with ESP (business English and English for IT) of over 20 years has been with university students already at a B1 level, with a fair degree of learner independence, at least according to the Common European Framework level structure. I have been teaching specialised topic-based language (e.g. ‘marketing’, ‘advertising’, ‘recruitment’, ‘business ethics’, ‘hardware’, ‘software’, ‘the internet’ etc.) also insisting on productive skills, speaking and writing, for which students need to be able to *produce* adequate *output* contextually related to such topics. For adequate *output* as an *end result* of the instruction process, good quality *input* – through reading, listening and language (vocabulary) practice – is required. The general framework in which this happens is not very generous in terms of the time available. A language course typically has 28

* Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

hours of teaching per semester, including testing. Consequently, taking into account the independence presumed from a B1 level upwards, I have always put effort into empowering my students by building upon their already assumed independence. The idea of student empowerment is central to the Lexical Approach, whose advocates never fail to emphasise.

Teachers thus need to be proactive in pointing out useful language and getting learners to record it³, the teacher's role becoming more and more that of facilitating learning⁴: "A primary aim of teaching must be to raise the students' awareness of their increasing responsibility for, and power over, their learning."⁵ More explicitly, "regardless of the approach to collocation, our goal as teachers remains the same: to empower our students as language learners."⁶ This empowerment and ensuing increase in students' independence as language learners is required for the very practicality of their future jobs or careers (in business or IT, for instance) presupposing a certain degree of proficiency in a foreign language.

This empowerment may come from training students in noticing and recording language (collocations/phrases) in context, an idea supported by the most influential promoters of the Lexical Approach, such as Morgan Lewis⁷, George Woolard⁸ and Michael Lewis⁹. All this implies that conscious noticing *does* facilitate language acquisition¹⁰ which, in effect, leads to a change of paradigm in teaching: from *present – practise – produce to observe – hypothesise – experiment*¹¹.

The main purpose of my article is to suggest two practical strategies for noticing and recording in view of the basic principles mentioned above, which I have already implemented in my ESP teaching. The two strategies are effectively the same thing, except that each of them is adapted to a different level of proficiency. Both of them require a certain amount of pre-training in language skills and adopting either one may present both advantages and disadvantages. Both acknowledge that keeping language records is essential (for being able to revisit them), but *few* students really do it *adequately*, as this also requires classroom training¹².

Pre-training

The two strategies that I am going to explain here are obviously intended for students' self-study work, due to the length of time necessary for their use. For this, a certain amount of pre-training in language skills is required. I usually do this in the first two course meetings, taking approximately three hours of teaching. I first try to establish the main principles behind the ESP course by telling students to expect a focus on vocabulary, rather than grammar. I emphasise the idea by mentioning that the grammar they will have to deal with is perfectly manageable from a B1 level upwards, which they can acknowledge themselves even just by looking at the following illustrative text (which will also be used in my exemplification of the two strategies): "Advertisements

are a guaranteed method of reaching an audience. By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business. This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics."¹³ As a typical descriptive text similar to the language they will encounter in the course itself, it contains simple verb tenses, passive voice constructions or basic use of modals. Further on, reminding them that words do not work in isolation but in various combinations with other words, I ask them to look at the text again and mention a few instances of what they 'perceive' as 'combinations'; among the elicited answers, I get 'a guaranteed method of...', 'reaching an audience', 'creating an engaging ad', 'spending enough' etc.

At this stage, it is useful to give students an inventory of the phraseology they can expect to see in texts, introducing notions they will already have dealt with before: collocations, phrasal verbs, idioms and fixed expressions with dependent prepositions. Incidentally, I always make a special point of specifying that phrasal verbs should be treated as the rest of verbs (i.e. as self-contained units of meaning), reminding them that phrasal verbs can also have collocates, for example, 'I'll have to fill my boss in on the new developments', where '(new) developments' is a collocate of the phrasal verb 'to fill (somebody) in on (something)'. Regarding the inventory of phraseology mentioned, I provide students with the following systematic tables / classifications for future reference and guidance, along with the necessary explanations:

Fixed phrases (dependent prepositions)

NOUN + PREPOSITION	<i>This would be a great addition to my collection!</i>
PREPOSITION + NOUN	<i>It really works and, in addition, it's nice!</i>
PREPOSITION + NOUN + PREPOSITION	<i>In addition to what I said, please see the full report.</i>
VERB + PREPOSITION	<i>He was charged with embezzlement.</i>
ADJECTIVE + PREPOSITION	<i>He was found guilty of embezzlement.</i>

Fixed phrases (phrasal verbs)

VERB + PARTICLE	<p><i>Please switch on the light!</i> <i>Please switch the light on!</i> <i>Please switch on it! (INCORRECT)</i> <i>Please switch it on!</i></p>
VERB + PARTICLE + PREPOSITION	<p><i>We came up against problems.</i> <i>We came up against them.</i> <i>We came problems up against.</i> <i>(INCORRECT)</i> <i>We came up problems against.</i> <i>(INCORRECT)</i> <i>We came them up against. (INCORRECT)</i> <i>We came up them against. (INCORRECT)</i></p>

Fixed phrases (idioms)

<p><i>from 2 words to one entire sentence</i></p>	<p><i>Many people complain about too much red tape.</i> <i>If you don't pull your weight, you could be fired.</i> <i>That's the way the cookie crumbles.</i></p>
---	--

Semifixed phrases (collocations)

VERB + NOUN	<p><i>She landed a job with an IT company.</i> <i>He carved out a successful career in showbiz.</i></p>
NOUN + VERB	<p><i>The job doesn't pay very well.</i> <i>These calculations just won't add up!</i></p>
NOUN + (of +) NOUN	<p><i>Do you know of any job vacancies?</i> <i>I'm going for a job interview tomorrow.</i> <i>We offer a wide range of products to suit all tastes.</i> <i>I'd like a piece of information, please.</i> <i>Meeting this deadline is a matter of urgency.</i> <i>Would you like another slice of cake?</i></p>
ADJECTIVE + NOUN	<p><i>Sealing envelopes is quite an undemanding job.</i> <i>What's your ideal job?</i></p>
ADVERB + ADJECTIVE	<p><i>That's absolutely amazing!</i> <i>The whole political system is thoroughly corrupt.</i></p>
ADVERB + ADVERB	<p><i>She's doing extremely well now that she's won the lottery.</i></p>
VERB + ADVERB	<p><i>The job doesn't pay very well.</i> <i>He got up and walked calmly out of the room.</i></p>
VERB + PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE	<p><i>The accused will remain in custody for a week.</i> <i>Take into account the small print in the contract!</i></p>

Presenting the above information in this order makes practical sense, given the gradual transition from fixed phraseology (easier, because all these expressions are treated exhaustively in learner's dictionaries) to semifixed phraseology / collocations (more difficult, as a full inventory of all possible collocations is impossible due to their sheer number and also because such word combinations can pose further difficulty, many times being 'unexpected').

Once such groundwork has been laid, one more set of explanations is needed before working on strategy 1 or strategy 2 described in the next section. In effect, everything comes down to one question: what kind of words (that are part of different fixed or semifixed combinations) should students focus on (the words should be highlighted / underlined in context)? Here is an exhaustive enumeration:

nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs that are 'perceived' to work together (in order to exclude free word combinations); exceptions: all auxiliary/modal verbs and the verb 'to be' (copula);

all dependent prepositions (part of fixed expressions); exceptions: 'of' (possessive meaning only), 'by' (when it introduces the passive voice agent or when it refers to a way of doing something, e.g. 'We succeeded by hard work / by working hard') and any freely used preposition (i.e. not a dependent preposition), for instance the preposition 'for' in 'I did it for her.';

all phrasal verb particles.

Returning to the original illustrative text, it should finally look like this (highlighting included): "Advertisements are a guaranteed method of reaching an audience. By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business. This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics."

Both strategies that follow are based on manipulating (c.f. 'recording') such a text on the horizontal and on the vertical, by breaking it down into its component simple or complex sentences. The objective of either strategy is to produce a logical system that will allow for quick and easy retrieval of data (i.e. fixed and semifixed phraseology) based on the highlighted / underlined words. Students are expected to use a table in a Word (Microsoft Office) document to which they can add items any time and which they can later reorder alphabetically based on interest and focus.

Strategy 1

This could be considered the 'light' version of the same method and it can be used with mid-level students (B1-B2):

Step 1: using a Word document, insert a table with two columns and an indefinite number of rows;

Step 2: copy and paste/type a full sentence, simple or complex, in row 1, column 2;

Step 3: in the sentence, highlight / underline the (type of) words described in the above section;

Step 4: type each of the highlighted words in column 1; if, for example, 5 words are highlighted in one given sentence in column 2 (i.e. the horizontal), 5 consecutive rows will be needed in column 1 to record those words (i.e. the vertical);

Step 5: copy the sentence from column 2, row 1 and paste it as such into the next consecutive rows in column 2, for each word typed in column 1 (belonging to the same sentence);

Step 6 and onwards: follow steps (1) to (5) above for any further full sentence.

Based on all the sentences making up the illustrative text used above, the final result should look like this:

<i>guaranteed</i>	<i>Advertisements are a guaranteed method of reaching an audience.</i>
<i>method</i>	<i>Advertisements are a guaranteed method of reaching an audience.</i>
<i>of</i>	<i>Advertisements are a guaranteed method of reaching an audience.</i>
<i>reach</i>	<i>Advertisements are a guaranteed method of reaching an audience.</i>
<i>audience</i>	<i>Advertisements are a guaranteed method of reaching an audience.</i>
<i>create</i>	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
<i>engaging</i>	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
<i>ad</i>	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>

spend	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
enough	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
reach	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
user	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
advertisement	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
have	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
immediate	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
impact	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
on	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
business	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
effect	<i>This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.</i>

see	<i>This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.</i>
in	<i>This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.</i>
improved	<i>This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.</i>
trade	<i>This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.</i>
boosted	<i>This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.</i>
brand	<i>This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.</i>
recognition	<i>This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.</i>

Having processed any number of sentences in a similar fashion, students can retrieve headword-based phraseology in context by simply sorting the table alphabetically by column 1.

Strategy 2

This can be considered the fully-featured version of the same method, suitable for higher level (C1-C2) or more enthusiastic students, as it requires more systematic grammar knowledge and abstract thinking towards generalisation of structures using the highlighted/ underlined lexical items.

Each sentence is processed in exactly the same way as described in strategy 1, but using columns 1 (for the headwords) and 4 (for the sentences) and recording more detailed information in columns 2 and 3.

Column 3 contains the entire expression that includes the *headword* and its *closest collocates*; for grammatical patterns, the colligations should be recorded as

a generalisation, by using words like `something`, `someone`, `one` or `one's`; for example, if in the sentence we have `... a guaranteed method of reaching an audience...` and if the focus is on the expression `method... of...`, this should be recorded as `method of doing something / sth.`.

Column 2 clarifies colligations by mentioning indefinite articles (or not, for expressions starting with uncountable or plural nouns) and the `to` particle to introduce an expression that starts with a verb; it would be helpful to also use `to be` for expressions mostly used in the passive or other constructions that require `be`. `The` can also be included for noun phrases that are always preceded by the definite article.

Here is the final result:

<i>guaranteed</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>guaranteed method</i>	<i>Advertisements are a guaranteed method of reaching an audience.</i>
<i>method</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>method of doing sth.</i>	<i>Advertisements are a guaranteed method of reaching an audience.</i>
<i>of</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>method of doing sth.</i>	<i>Advertisements are a guaranteed method of reaching an audience.</i>
<i>reach</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>reach an audience</i>	<i>Advertisements are a guaranteed method of reaching an audience.</i>
<i>audience</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>reach an audience</i>	<i>Advertisements are a guaranteed method of reaching an audience.</i>
<i>create</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>create an ad</i>	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
<i>engaging</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>engaging ad</i>	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>

<i>ad</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>engaging ad</i>	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
<i>spend</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>spend enough</i>	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
<i>enough</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>spend enough</i>	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
<i>reach</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>reach users</i>	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
<i>user</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>reach users</i>	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
<i>advertisement</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>advertisement has an impact</i>	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
<i>have</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>have an impact</i>	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
<i>immediate</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>immediate impact</i>	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>
<i>impact</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>immediate impact</i>	<i>By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.</i>

on	an	impact on sth.	By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.
business	an	impact on business	By creating an engaging ad, and spending enough to reach many users, advertisements can have an immediate impact on business.
effect	to	see an effect	This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.
see	to	see an effect	This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.
in	to	see an effect in sth.	This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.
improved		improved trade	This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.
trade		improved trade	This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.
boosted		boosted recognition	This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.
brand		brand recognition	This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.

recognition		brand recognition	This effect could be seen in improved trade or boosted brand recognition, among many different metrics.
-------------	--	-------------------	---

Having worked with strategy 2, by sorting the table alphabetically by column 1, students can retrieve an entire host of phraseology in context based on any existing headword; sorting the table by column 2, students can group the existing structures by grammatical category; sorting the table by column 3, students can easily look up fixed/semifixed phrases based on the first collocate.

Final thoughts and conclusion

Both strategies can be considered phraseological organisers that can be used for any given ESP course or for general reference. Of course, choosing one strategy over the other has its pros and cons. The main advantage of strategy 1 is that it is straightforward and fairly simple to use, based on a mere horizontal/vertical equivalence pattern; its disadvantage is that students have to 'hunt' more for the desired expression in context, by skimming through the entire example sentence. On the other hand, the great advantage of strategy 2 is that it can provide students with more detailed information regarding a given phrase; however, working with this strategy requires not only a higher language level and more complex theoretical knowledge, but also more time, commitment, persistence, consistency and a capacity for thinking in the abstract. As concerns my own practice, I provide my students with explanations for both strategies and they are free to use either one of them, based on their ability and interest. Either way, I have been pleased to ascertain higher student performance in exams.

ESP teaching clearly requires a lexical approach; much has been said, *in theory*, about the importance of noticing and recording, but *realistic practical advice* has been relative, at best, in terms of implementation. Traditionally, students have been advised to record 'vocabulary' in notebooks, in various ways or styles (by topic, alphabetically by keyword, by part of speech, with / without definitions and/or examples etc.). In my entire teaching career I have never encountered any such method that really 'works'. The limitations of paper-based records are obvious, which makes recording vocabulary in notebooks rather ineffective in a digital era; with mobile devices and technology everywhere, the abovementioned limitations can be overcome if proactive teachers take their role seriously in empowering their students by equipping them with suitable advice and skills that take account of today's technological developments. Whatever (noticing and) recording method, it should be easy to use in retrieving the desired information (collocations and phrases, in this case); this can effectively be achieved in dictionary format, electronically, while concomitantly encouraging the recycling of language

through recurrent exposure to the same context, but with a different focus each time, for each different lexical item in question (see how example sentences are used in either strategy discussed).

With these considerations in mind, having tested a lot of noticing / recording methods during my teaching career, I have finally come up with the two strategies discussed here and having already used them with my students, I can testify to a fair amount of success, which I have acknowledged in students' exam performance. The only caveat is that in order for such an approach to be feasible (using either strategy suggested), teachers need to be quite convincing in informing their students about *how* this can work to their advantage and *why* in such formats.

Lecturer Adrian Ciupe, PhD. He is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication within the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration of Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. He has been teaching business and general English, business communication, advanced writing and speaking skills to BA and MA students and also preparation courses for the TOEFL test and the Cambridge Exams Suite in a variety of systems and formats. His main areas of interest include ESP, ELT, course and syllabus writing/design, online English teaching, computer-assisted language learning (CALL), the Lexical Approach, lexicology / lexicography, language proficiency testing, corpora concordancers and language learning apps for Android, iOS and Windows. (adrian.ciupe@econ.ubbcluj.ro)

Notes

- 1 George Woolard, "Collocation – Encouraging Learner Independence", in *Teaching Collocation. Further Developments in the Lexical Approach*, ed. M. Lewis (Boston: Thomson Heinle, 2000), 31.
- 2 Jane Conzett, "Integrating Collocation into a Reading and Writing Course", in *op. cit.*, 81.
- 3 Morgan Lewis, "There Is Nothing as Practical as a Good Theory", in *op. cit.*, 18.
- 4 George Woolard, *op. cit.*, 31, 36.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 46.
- 6 Jane Conzett, *op. cit.*, 87.
- 7 Morgan Lewis, *op. cit.*, 23.
- 8 George Woolard, *op. cit.*, 29.
- 9 Michael Lewis, "Learning in the Lexical Approach", in *op. cit.*, 155.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 158, 163.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 177.
- 12 Scott Thornbury, *How to Teach Vocabulary* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007), 111.
- 13 <https://www.adjust.com/glossary/advertisement/> (accessed on: 22.09.2020).

L'Ellipse dans les médias et dans la formation

Ellipsis in Media and Teaching

Sergiu Zagan*

In this article, we argue that the lack of preoccupation for the didactic aspects of the media can lead to gaps regarding the way in which one chooses and understands the information. The bivalency of the ellipsis (on the one hand, the gaps in the media, on the other hand, the gaps in the didactic aspects of the media) will certainly create ambiguity. Due to the fact that the ellipses that occur in the media are necessary, being a rule of the discourse, what matters is the way in which the recovery of the gaps in the didactic aspects of the media is possible.

ellipsis; didactic; media; gaps; recovery; formation; information.

1. Introduction

Apprendre à s'informer, apprendre à choisir et apprendre à apprendre – dans et par les médias – constitue un point central aujourd'hui quand les gens n'ont pas le temps de s'informer, mais préfèrent être informés, quand la quantité d'information est très grande (le lecteur ayant des difficultés de choix), et la qualité de plus en plus diminuée et, bien sûr, quand apprendre à apprendre est une nécessité pédagogique. Pochet¹ considère qu'il n'existe pas de capacité innée de repérage et d'exploitation de l'information. Ce sont des compétences qui s'acquièrent et pour lesquelles l'enseignement, l'école ont un rôle essentiel à jouer. Il s'agit de compétences fondamentales donnant les moyens à l'individu, l'élève, l'étudiant, le travailleur, d'accéder à d'autres compétences et d'être un citoyen responsable à même de juger de la valeur réelle d'une information et d'avoir vis-à-vis d'elle une attitude critique lui permettant d'agir efficacement sur son environnement.

La communauté éducative est de plus en plus intéressée à la la nécessité de former les élèves et les étudiants à l'usage et à la maîtrise de l'information, à cause de la généralisation massive des usages d'Internet chez les plus jeunes, mais aussi à cause du développement

* Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

des « mésusages » de l'information (pratiques du copier-coller, indifférence aux sources, problèmes d'évaluation de l'information, etc.) Sans prendre en considération la partie de divertissement grâce au développement des médias (films, jeux, musique), mais seulement les informations fournies par les médias, nous soutenons dans cet article la nécessité d'une récupération des manques dans la didacticité des médias. Une telle récupération des manques exige quelques points qui doivent être mentionnés : l'existence d'un manque, l'identification des manques dans la formation pour la réception de l'information (après une partie dans laquelle nous présentons le manque avec ces deux parties, le manque positif et le manque négatif), et la récupération des manques qui regardent les aspects de la didacticité dans les médias.

2. L'ellipse

Le mot *ellipse* provient du grec *ἐλλείπω* : *elleipō* (= *laisser de côté, négliger*). L'ellipse constitue un point de recherche qu'aucun linguiste ne peut ignorer. Adam² la nomme « règle du discours » et, comme toute règle, elle ne peut pas être laissée de côté dans le discours média. Selon Adam³, l'ellipse est subordonnée à l'implication, l'une des cinq opérations de liage qui unissent les constituants de propositions proches et agissent aussi à longue distance de façon prospective et rétrospective, assurant ainsi la cohérence textuelle. L'ellipse, de paire avec l'implicite (divisé en présupposé et sous-entendu) constitue un facteur de textualité, mais ni les liages du signifié et du signifiant, ni même les implications, les connexions et les séquences d'actes de discours ne suffisent seuls à faire d'un texte une unité cohérente. L'ellipse ne peut pas être absente du discours média, car elle est subordonnée à des règles syntaxiques (quand elle apparaît avec l'anaphore) ou bien elle « subordonne » le destinataire à la création/récupération de quelques séquences qui ne sont pas « dites » explicitement. Voici quelques définitions du terme :

Il est incontestable que dans un certain nombre de phrases où manque un élément, le verbe par exemple, on se trouve en présence de phrases incomplètes que volontairement on a abrégées. Il y a alors ellipse, une ellipse que l'esprit supplée.⁴

À la limite, le représentant peut disparaître ; on a alors affaire à l'ellipse, c'est-à-dire à l'omission d'un terme qu'il serait aisé de suppléer, grâce à la construction de la phrase.⁵

L'ellipse est [...] l'omission d'un ou plusieurs mots que requerrait la régularité de la construction grammaticale, et que l'on considère comme faciles à suppléer.⁶

On appelle ellipse l'absence d'un ou plusieurs mots qui seraient nécessaires pour la construction régulière de la phrase. La véritable ellipse se réalise quand l'auditeur ou le lecteur doivent chercher dans le contexte ou la situation les éléments qui manquent et sans lesquels le message serait incompréhensible. [...] Mais dans d'autres cas, le message est

clair et complet et il n'y a ellipse que par comparaison avec la phrase que l'on considère comme normale.⁷

Dans son *Gradus*, Bernard Dupriez⁸ voit dans l'ellipse une figure de construction qui consiste à supprimer des mots qui seraient nécessaires à la plénitude de la construction, mais que ceux qui sont exprimés font assez entendre pour qu'il ne restent ni obscurité ni incertitude.

Notre remarque est que, pour cette analyse, nous ne gardons de ce terme que le sens initial, celui de manque ou d'absence et, plus que cela, d'un manque qui doit être récupéré, car une autre démarche produira de l'ambiguïté parmi ceux qui reçoivent l'information, directement ou indirectement, c'est-à-dire en s'informant ou en étant informés.

3. L'ellipse dans les médias

Selon nous, tout manque peut être récupéré potentiellement. Dans les médias, une ellipse a lieu quand un manque qui existe dans un article par exemple, est repéré par un lecteur qui lit un autre article avec la même thématique. Genette⁹ parle de l'ellipse comme d'une portion inexistante dans le discours. Les raisons pour lesquelles ces portions manquent sont très nombreuses et ne constituent pas notre point central dans cet article. Nous appelons *ellipses positives* dans les médias, l'identification des manques, la récupération de ce qui manque et, plus important, le choix correct des moyens d'informations qui, même s'ils contiennent des manques, sont une première étape dans la découverte de l'information correcte. Doru Pop¹⁰ considère que la condition principale pour que les informations parues dans la presse aient de l'effet sur le public est que les messages soient reçus, ce qui suppose l'existence d'un canal de communication ouvert et prédisposé à l'échange informationnel. Après la réception des messages, ils doivent être bien compris, ce qui signifie leur formulation cohérente et déchiffrable pour chaque participant au processus de la communication. Nous appelons *ellipses négatives* dans les médias les manques générés par l'absence d'une formation à l'information. C'est vraiment le point central de notre analyse.

4. L'ellipse dans la formation

Le principal manque dans la formation est la faible prise en compte par l'école des pratiques et des usages réels d'Internet des élèves, comme l'a montré la récente enquête Mediappro¹¹ sur l'appropriation des TIC par les adolescents ; un véritable fossé semble se creuser dans l'utilisation d'Internet, entre la sphère privée et le monde scolaire, les jeunes étant le plus souvent laissés « seuls face à Internet ». Nous avons l'impression que grâce à l'Internet, nous sommes sauvés ; nous pouvons avoir toutes les informations voulues. En réalité, nous pouvons avoir seulement les informations que les autres veulent transmettre, si le manque dans la formation à l'information n'est pas couvert. Le deuxième manque, selon

nous, est dû à une formation insuffisante des enseignants sur les évolutions qui touchent aussi bien les nouveaux modes de production, circulation, ou validation des informations et des savoirs que les pratiques de recherche d'information. Implicitement, nous faisons la remarque qu'il s'agit de l'absence d'une véritable politique nationale de formation à l'information. Le troisième manque est donné par la prédominance des formations méthodologiques et procédurales, dans la mesure où la formation à l'information peine à se détacher de l'approche bibliothéconomique, par exemple, de la « formation des usagers » à la bibliothèque, au moins dans le supérieur.

Trois possibilités de récupération du manque (la maîtrise de l'information dans le sens d'une véritable didactique informationnelle) peuvent être envisagées : la compréhension des médias d'un nouveau genre (la priorité des notions, des concepts, des questionnements, de la réflexion critique, dans la formation d'élèves de plus en plus autonomes dans le maniement et l'utilisation procédurale des outils), le retour aux fondamentaux (face aux innovations permanentes, pour asseoir une véritable culture informationnelle, l'approche bibliothéconomique doit être prise en discussion) et l'organisation d'une formation progressive (sur un corpus didactique scientifiquement fondé). L'élaboration d'un corpus didactique de l'information est, selon Dessus¹², une entreprise de longue haleine, où l'on peut schématiquement distinguer quatre grandes étapes : la délimitation et la détermination des contenus, la définition et la didactisation des notions info-documentaires, la mise en progressivité des apprentissages et des niveaux de formulation de ces notions, les pistes d'exploitation pédagogique pour leur mise en oeuvre.

Chacun d'entre nous, en naviguant sur Internet, a pu observer la manière dans laquelle le moteur de recherche Google établit l'ordre d'affichage de l'information. En cherchant une information sur un écrivain, on peut avoir la surprise de ne pas voir parmi les premiers titres, la page officielle de l'écrivain recherché, mais un site comme *Amazon*, qui commercialise des livres de l'auteur respectif. Dessus¹³ croit que le modèle des compétences, qui met forcément au premier plan les savoir-faire techniques, les compétences méthodologiques, évaluables parce que « visibles » doit être dépassé parce que, compte tenu des enjeux liés aux usages massifs et exclusifs de Google, à cette « googlisation » galopante du monde et de la vie de chacun, aux risques de l'invasion publicitaire, aux effets pervers des modes de classement des moteurs de recherche, aux problèmes d'identification et d'évaluation des sources, à la protection des données personnelles, etc., il faudrait désormais considérer les outils de recherche, et Google au premier chef, comme de nouveaux médias, voire comme les nouvelles industries de la culture et de l'information, et non plus comme de banals outils. D'où la nécessité d'une formation axée sur la compréhension de ces médias d'un nouveau genre, compréhension intellectuelle portant aussi bien sur le mode de fonctionnement de ces objets techniques particuliers que sur les enjeux économiques.

Quel est le rôle de l'école ? L'école ne gagnera jamais la course au suivi de l'innovation technique et ce n'est d'ailleurs pas son rôle ; les vagues d'innovations, dans

ce domaine en constante ébullition qu'est la recherche d'information sur Internet, sont incessantes, rapides et ne cessent de bousculer usages, usagers et formateurs. S'il faut tenter d'en comprendre le sens, il est vain de vouloir, dans la formation des élèves à l'information, rester « à la pointe » des techniques. En revanche, l'accélération technique rend d'autant plus indispensable la maîtrise des concepts et des principes fondamentaux, aussi bien techniques qu'informationnels.

À l'instar des autres sociétés à travers le monde, en Roumanie aussi on s'adapte continuellement aux changements imposés par la pandémie du nouveau coronavirus. Comme pendant toute crise majeure, les catégories sociales vulnérables sont les plus touchées. Ce pilier important qu'est l'éducation est également sujet à des reconfigurations, en raison des nouvelles règles de distanciation physique. Ceci étant, le milieu virtuel reste l'unique alternative à l'enseignement en classe. Collégiens et lycéens tentent de garder le rythme du programme scolaire¹⁴.

Les écoles et universités ont abordé la question de l'enseignement en ligne avec grande méfiance, avec des approches panachées (« *blended* »), avec des espaces numériques de travail ou des plates-formes comme Moodle. Mais, la logistique de la formation à distance et les pédagogies attenantes sont très différentes de celles de l'enseignement face à face¹⁵.

Quelle est la différence entre un cours dans lequel l'enseignant expose certains problèmes et un cours pratique dans lequel les étudiants doivent faire des exercices et l'enseignant peut clairement voir où l'élève se trompe en écrivant ? C'est exactement la différence entre face à face et en ligne. Pour un cours dans lequel l'enseignant est dans l'amphithéâtre et présente une partie théorique, la différence entre face à face et en ligne est très faible. Fondamentalement, ce qui manque, c'est : 1. l'enseignant ne peut pas être vu dans son intégralité, mais seulement avec le visage. 2. si un étudiant lève la main en ligne, il ne peut pas être vu immédiatement par l'enseignant. 3. Le professeur est à égale distance de tous les élèves, peu importe qui est à la première place ou qui est à la dernière place, comme dans le cas d'un amphithéâtre.

Dans un cours pratique, cependant, les différences entre en ligne et un cours face à face sont beaucoup plus grandes. En plus des différences qui existent pour un cours théorique, dans un cours pratique il est essentiel que : 1. l'enseignant circule parmi les groupes d'étudiants qui ont certaines tâches à accomplir et les soutient, 2. l'enseignant entend les groupes d'étudiants se parler (en ligne, les étudiants sont généralement silencieux pour ne pas créer des interférences, 3. l'enseignant peut trouver la bonne réponse avec les élèves, et identifier facilement l'élève qui a donné la bonne réponse en la plaçant dans l'espace, et pas immédiatement en fonction de son nom, tel qu'il apparaît en ligne.

5. Conclusion

Nous avons vu que l'ellipse est une règle du discours et, donc, comme toute règle, elle est obligatoire aussi dans les médias. Nous avons constaté qu'il y a beaucoup de manques dans le processus de formation à l'information qui donnent de l'ambiguïté. Un rôle accru de l'État dans la résolution de ce problème (nous avons le droit à l'information, nous avons la possibilité de nous informer, mais la connaissance des stratégies est presque nulle) ne semble pas une solution dans cette période tumultueuse. Il reste toujours la tâche de l'enseignant de couvrir les manques des élèves et des étudiants.

Lecturer Sergiu Zagan, PhD. He is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication within the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration of Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. He has a PhD in linguistics and a master degree in literature. He has published so far several articles in specialized magazines on topics such as: ellipsis in the narrative discourse and in the professional discourse, discourse analysis, theory and practice in teaching Business French. (sergiu.zagan@econ.ubbcluj.ro)

Notes

- 1 Bernard Pochet, « Former à l'information, pourquoi ? Comment ? Quelques réponses à partir de la situation de l'enseignement supérieur en communauté française de Belgique », dans *Information et démocratie. Formons nos citoyens. 7e congrès des enseignants documentalistes de l'Éducation nationale. Nice, 8, 9 et 10 avril*. Paris : Nathan. <<https://orbi.uliege.be/bitstream/2268/15834/1/Pochet2006b.pdf>>, 21.09.2020.
- 2 Jean-Michel Adam, *La Linguistique textuelle* (Paris : Armand Colin, 2006), 85.
- 3 *Ibidem*, 2.
- 4 Ferdinand Brunot, *L'Enseignement de la langue française. Ce qu'il est, ce qu'il devrait être dans l'enseignement primaire*. [Cours de méthodologie professé à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris (1908-1909) et recueilli par N. Bony]. (Paris : A. Colin, 1909), 18.
- 5 Jean-Claude Chevalier et al., *Grammaire Larousse du français contemporain* (Paris : Librairie Larousse, 1964), 9.
- 6 Maurice Grevisse, *Le Bon Usage*. 12e éd., (Paris : Duculot, 1986), 169.
- 7 Maurice Grevisse, André Goose, *Nouvelle grammaire française* (Éditions du Renouveau Pédagogique Inc. : Paris/Gembloux, 1980), 68.
- 8 Bernard Dupriez, *Gradus. Les procédés littéraires. (Dictionnaire)* (Paris : Union Générale d'Édition, 1984), 134.
- 9 Gérard Genette, « Discours du récit », dans: *Figures iii*. (Paris : Seuil, 1972), 89.
- 10 Doru Pop, *Mass media și politica. Teorii, structuri, principii*. (Iași: Institutul European, 2000), 35.
- 11 <<http://www.clemi.org/fr/dans-les-classes/experimentations/programme-2004-2006/>>, 20.09.2020.
- 12 P. Dessus (1992), « Hypermédias et situation didactique », dans *Le Bulletin de l'EPIN*, no. 67, p. 123.
- 13 *Ibidem*, 12.
- 14 <https://www.rri.ro/fr_fr/les_systemes_denseignement_en_ligne_pour_la_periode_de_confinement-2616927>, consulté le 30 septembre 2020.
- 15 <<https://theconversation.com/pedagogie-a-distance-les-enseignements-du-e-confinement-137327>>, consulté le 30 septembre 2020.

Assertive Kommunikation im Fremdsprachenunterricht

Assertive Communication in Foreign Language Teaching

*Kovács Réka**

The present article describes some of the characteristics of assertive communication and explains its role in our everyday life. Assertiveness can help us in overcoming the barriers of communication, in resolving conflict situations and in having more pleasurable and balanced relationships with people. For this reason, elements of assertive communication have been introduced to foreign language classes, in form of tasks and exercises. The purpose of such activities has been on the one hand, to raise awareness of the importance of assertiveness and on the other to practice speaking, writing, vocabulary and grammar.

assertiveness; emotions; conflicts; problem-solving; responsibility; tasks on assertive communication.

Einführung und Zielsetzung

Heutzutage gerät man häufig in Situationen, in denen man sich durchsetzen soll. Sei es im Geschäfts- und Privatleben, sei es am Arbeitsplatz - man soll sich verteidigen, sich selbst und seine Interessen vertreten können und man soll nicht zuletzt mit verschiedenen Gesprächspartnern so umgehen, dass man die anderen Personen in einem Konflikt, in einer Debatte, oder in einem gefühlsgeladenen Kontext, der Missverständnisse oder Meinungsverschiedenheiten auslöst, nicht bekämpft, aggressiv niederdrückt oder stark verletzt. Die Fähigkeit, unter solchen Umständen die passenden Worte zu finden,

* Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Argumente und Gegenargumente vorzubringen, konstruktiv und ohne Angst die Gefühle auszudrücken und somit erfolgreich agieren zu können, liegt in unserer Hand.

Assertive Kommunikation kann dazu dienen, unseren Alltag zu erleichtern, unser Wohlbefinden zu steigern und die Zufriedenheit mit uns selbst und unserer Umgebung zu erhöhen. Im richtigen Moment geäußerte und sorgfältig ausgewählte Worte können Berge versetzen. Unangenehme Interaktionen können in fruchtbringende Gespräche umgewandelt werden, die, auf diese Weise, positive und produktive menschliche Beziehungen ergeben.

In Anbetracht der Assertivität setzt sich diese Arbeit zum Ziel, die Notwendigkeit dieser Kunst der Kommunikation zum Vorschein zu bringen und versucht, solche Übungen, Aufgaben und Beispiele vorzustellen, die im Rahmen des Fremdsprachenunterrichts angewandt werden können, beziehungsweise mit Hilfe derer den Studierenden die Rolle der Assertivität bewusst gemacht werden kann. Auch wenn die Lernenden nur an „einfachen“ Sprachkursen teilnehmen, kann ihnen beigebracht werden, wie sie in verschiedenen Lebens- und Arbeitssituationen assertiv kommunizieren und handeln können.

Theoretische Grundlagen - Assertivität und ihre Rolle

Assertivität bezieht sich auf eine Kommunikation, wenn jemandem offen und klar mitgeteilt wird, was man möchte, was man nicht möchte und wie man sich fühlt,¹ indem man für sich selbst eintritt und die eigenen Gedanken, Emotionen und Meinungen ohne Beleidigung ausdrückt.² Das assertive Verhalten setzt eine verantwortungsvolle Kommunikation voraus, wenn die eigenen Bedürfnisse, Ansprüche direkt, in passende Worte gefasst werden. Mit assertiver Kommunikation kann man deutlich zum Ausdruck bringen, was akzeptiert und nicht akzeptiert werden kann. Deshalb sucht eine assertive Person nach Lösungen, arbeitet zusammen mit den anderen, ist bereit zu Diskussionen, hört zu, zeigt Interesse, kann Kritik annehmen und damit umgehen.³

Wenn man sich unter Spannung und Belastung befindet, hat man mit einer ganzen Reihe von Emotionen zurechtzukommen. Wut, Nervosität, Sorgen, Angst, Enttäuschung, Wehrlosigkeit, Unsicherheit, Hilflosigkeit, Ärger, Schuld, Mutlosigkeit, Unzufriedenheit, Verlorenheit, Unentschlossenheit, Spott, Verwirrtheit können zu der bunten Palette der erlebten Gefühle gehören. Auseinandersetzungen, Streitigkeiten, Widersprüche bringen unterschiedliche Angstgefühle mit sich, z. B. die Angst, verlassen zu werden, bestraft zu werden, manipuliert zu werden, in Not gelassen zu werden, bedrückt zu werden, kritisiert

zu werden, misshandelt zu sein, den Respekt der anderen zu verlieren, die Angst vor einer Kündigung, vor der Zukunft, vor den eigenen Gefühlen.

Um solche starken Emotionen abwehren zu können und sich vor einem verbalen Angriff zu wehren, kann man einen inneren Schutzschild aufbauen, der einem die Kraft verleiht, sich nicht in die Gefühle und Eigenschaften des Gesprächspartners einzumischen. Die Selbstverteidigung verhindert einen, von einem emotionalen Wirbelwind dominiert zu werden, sich unterdrückt zu fühlen und von den Gefühlen der anderen abhängig zu sein. Falls man eine sogenannte Schutzmauer um sich baut, kann man die negative Stimmung, die Persönlichkeit und den groben Anschlag des Partners wirksamer loswerden.⁴

Mit assertiver Kommunikation kann es gelingen, nicht nur einer Provokation zu widerstehen, sich in einer Konfrontation durchzusetzen, sondern auch den Beleidigungen entgegenzuwirken. In diesem Sinne ist der erste Schritt das Erkennen und die Bewusstmachung der eigenen Gefühle, sodass mit dieser Methode die Kontrolle über den Emotionen behalten werden kann.⁵ Wenn man die erlebten Emotionen in Worte kleidet, kann man einerseits dem anderen verständlich machen, wie man sich in einer gewissen Situation fühlt. Damit kann eine Tür zur gegenseitigen Kommunikation geöffnet werden, indem es gelingen wird, den anderen Sprecher und dessen Vorhaben besser zu verstehen. Andererseits kann man mit der Offenbarung der Emotionen erreichen, diese zu akzeptieren und gleichzeitig von ihnen frei zu werden.⁶

Darüber hinaus ist es wichtig, einzusehen, dass man beim klaren Verstand die Oberhand durch das Wechselbad der Gefühle erhalten, sich gegen den Gesprächspartner durchsetzen und so die richtigen Entscheidungen treffen kann.⁷

Außerdem kann die klare, direkte und offene Ausdrucksweise dazu beitragen, dass die Mitteilungen vom Gegenüber besser empfangen und verstanden werden. Der Fokus auf das Problem und auf die Besonderheiten des Problems kann auch die Diskussion in eine positive Richtung steuern.⁸ George Kohlrieser nach soll eine Trennlinie zwischen die den Konflikt verursachende Person und das eigentliche Problem gezogen werden. Falls man sich auf die Lösung des Problems konzentriert, kann die Auseinandersetzung besser beseitigt werden.⁹

Ein assertiver Sprecher hört aktiv zu und ist fähig, die anderen zu loben beziehungsweise ihre Arbeit und ihre Leistungen zu verbessern. Da assertive Personen erlauben, dass die anderen Menschen kreativ umgehen und ihre Gedanken frei ausdrücken

können, fühlen sich die Leute in einer Organisation, in einer Gemeinschaft mit Ehre und Würde behandelt.¹⁰

So nimmt der assertive Kommunikationsstil die eigenen Rechte und die der anderen in Betracht. Gegenseitiger Respekt und damit auch Anerkennung können erwiesen werden, falls die assertive Person merken kann, dass nicht nur die eigenen Bedürfnisse, Wünsche, Gefühle und Blickpunkte von Wichtigkeit sind, sondern auch die Rechte der anderen. Diese grundsätzlichen Rechte können folgendens umfassen: das Recht auf Respekt, das Recht, die Meinungen und Gefühle zu äußern, Ziele zu setzen, eine Anfrage abzulehnen, Nein zu sagen, Fehler zu machen u. a. Jedoch soll nochmals hervorgehoben werden, dass diese Rechte von allen Gesprächsteilnehmern beachtet werden müssen.¹¹

Als ein weiteres Merkmal der Assertivität gilt die Bereitschaft und die Offenheit, Verhandlungen aufzunehmen, Kompromisse einzugehen und somit Lösungen und Zusammenarbeit anzustreben.¹²

Nicht zuletzt ist die Verantwortung im Falle der assertiven Kommunikation von großer Bedeutung. Genauer gesagt soll man imstande sein, die Verantwortung für die Mitteilung der Gefühle, der Wünsche, der Bedürfnisse und der Entscheidungen zu tragen. Die übliche Falle, in die man geraten kann, ist, wenn man den anderen die Schuld für das Scheitern der Kommunikation gibt. Im Gegenteil, auch wenn sich die Ereignisse nicht unseren Vorstellungen und Erwartungen gemäß abspielen, kommt man nicht als Verlierer aus einer Konfrontation heraus, sondern man akzeptiert das Zurücktreten mit entsprechender Haltung und Reife.¹³ Dieser Zustand geht Hand in Hand auch mit einer emotionalen Befreiung, wodurch man nicht nur sein eigenes, sondern auch das Leben des anderen bereichern kann.¹⁴

Wie auch die Theorie beweist, ist die assertive Kommunikation unentbehrlich in unserem Leben. Mit genauer Beobachtung und Auswertung des Wortschatzes, mit der Bewusstmachung der Art und Weise von den Mitteilungen können die menschlichen Interaktionen und Beziehungen wesentlich verbessert werden. Auseinandersetzungen können feurige Gespräche zur Folge haben und in denen entstandene Gefühle können eine negative Wirkung auf die Teilnehmer des Kommunikationsprozesses ausüben. Mit Selbstvertrauen und mit situationsbezogenen Kommunikationsfähigkeiten können sämtliche dieser Herausforderungen meisterhaft überwunden werden.

Praktische Grundlagen und Bemerkungen

Die vorliegende Arbeit beabsichtigt, die Aufmerksamkeit der Lernenden auf die Rolle der assertiven Kommunikation zu lenken. Die Zielgruppe der Forschung, das heißt, die Studierenden der Fakultät für Wirtschaftswissenschaften und Unternehmensführung (in Cluj-Napoca, Rumänien), besuchen Wirtschaftsenglischseminare, die ihnen auf dem B2-Niveau angeboten werden. Auch wenn sie Teilnehmer am „gewöhnlichen“ Fremdsprachenunterricht sind, kann und soll Wert auf die Anwendung der Assertivität im Rahmen dieser Unterrichtsstunden gelegt werden. Da die Lernenden in der nahen Zukunft im Geschäftsleben tätig sein werden, ist es für sie von Vorteil, mit solchen Kommunikationsfähigkeiten ausgestattet zu sein.

Da der Aufbau und die Thematik der Seminare die Einführung von theoretischen Prinzipien nicht ermöglicht, wurden Elemente der Assertivität in verschiedene Übungen, Aufgaben und Tätigkeiten eingefügt. Unser Interesse lag darin, zu erforschen, inwieweit die Studierenden solche empfindliche Situationen erkennen können, wie sie darauf reagieren würden, was für Lösungen sie für gewisse konfliktgeladene Interaktionen ausdenken können. Gleichzeitig stand im Mittelpunkt solcher Tätigkeiten das Üben von Sprechen, Schreiben und Grammatik und nicht zuletzt die Bereicherung des Wortschatzes.

Übung 1. Den Studierenden wurden unterschiedliche Situationen aufgegeben, die Konflikte, Missverständnisse und Schwierigkeiten in der Kommunikation auslösen können. Die Aufgabe bestand darin, Meinungen darüber zu äußern, Kommentare hinzuzufügen, Gefühle zu beschreiben. Das war sowohl eine Sprech-, als auch eine Schreibübung gedacht. Die zwei Beispiele waren die folgenden: 1. „Ihr Chef hat Sie darum gebeten, zusätzliche Aufgaben zu erledigen. Sie leiden unter hoher Arbeitsbelastung. Wie können Sie Ihrem Chef erklären, dass Sie die Arbeit nicht mehr annehmen können?“ und 2. „Sie glauben, eine Beförderung zu verdienen. Sie bereiten eine Liste von Erfolgen und Resultaten und beschließen, Ihre Aufstiegschancen mit Ihrem Chef zu besprechen“.

Auf beide Situationen haben die Lernenden verschiedenartig reagiert. Bezüglich des Beispiels Nummer 1 waren viele der Ansicht, dass man eine ehrliche Diskussion mit dem Chef haben soll, in der man erläutert, dass die zusätzliche Arbeit nicht übernommen werden kann. Prioritäten zu setzen ist von Bedeutung – meinten die Studenten. Im Gegenteil, wenige Lernende haben gezögert, dem Chef zu gestehen, dass Sie die zusätzliche Arbeit nicht annehmen können. Ihrer Meinung nach könnte das ihrer Zuverlässigkeit und ihrem Ansehen am Arbeitsplatz schaden. Andere fühlten sich

bereit, die Arbeit zu erledigen, falls sie absolut notwendig ist. In Bezug auf Beispiel Nummer 2 glaubten die Studierenden, dass eine offene Besprechung, in der man Gründe für die Beförderung und erzielte Ergebnisse aufzählt, beziehungsweise erklärt, kann der Schlüssel zum Erfolg der Verhandlungen führen. Sie haben allerdings betont, dass sie aus konstruktiver Kritik durchaus lernen würden.

Übung 2. Die Studenten hatten sich mit folgender Situation auseinanderzusetzen: „Der Kollege, mit dem Sie zusammenarbeiten müssen, benimmt sich sehr aggressiv. Immer wenn Sie eine neue und originelle Idee zu der gemeinsamen Arbeit haben, wird Ihre Initiative stark vom Kollegen abgelehnt. Wie können Sie ihm mitteilen, dass Sie seinem Verhalten nicht zustimmen, beziehungsweise, dass auch Sie Ihre Ideen in die Praxis umsetzen möchten?“ Es wurde den Lernenden mitgeteilt, die Gefühle aufzuzählen, Lösungen für diese Situation zu finden und den Wortschatz betreffend Zustimmungen und Ablehnungen zu üben. Abschließend wurden die Lernenden darum gebeten, Rollenspiele vorzustellen.

Auch in diesem Fall glaubten die Lernenden an eine offene und konstruktive Diskussion, mittels derer die Missverständnisse und Gefühle geklärt werden können. Sie haben außerdem hervorgehoben, dass man Mut und Haltung zeigen soll, um sich in einer solchen Situation durchsetzen zu können. Viele waren bereit, Kompromisse einzugehen, sich zu einigen und dem anderen ihre Unterstützung zu bieten. Nur die fruchtbare Zusammenarbeit kann zu den günstigsten Ergebnissen führen – dachten sie. Es gab auch Lernende, die auf Aggressivität mit Aggressivität antworten würden und die sich wegen des Verhaltens des Arbeitskollegen letztendlich beim Chef beschweren würden.

Mit dieser Tätigkeit ist es den Lernenden auch gelungen, den Wortschatz bezüglich Zustimmungen und Ablehnungen zu erfrischen. Die Rollenspiele erwiesen sich als eine wunderbare Gelegenheit, etwas Humor und Kreativität in die Stunden einzubetten. Damit haben die Studenten sich selbst auch einen Spiegel vorgehalten und konnten bemerken, wie es ist, von Emotionen gefesselt zu sein.

Übung 3. Die Lernenden hatten die Aufgabe, die folgende Situation zu lesen und dazu entsprechende Konditionalsätze zu bilden. „Sie arbeiten mit einem Kollegen zusammen. Theoretisch wird bei der Arbeit ein gleicher Beitrag von beiden Seiten erwartet. Jedoch lehnt der Kollege seine Verantwortungen ab. Um nicht bestraft zu werden übernehmen Sie seinen Teil der Arbeit. Sie fühlen sich trotzdem frustriert und ungerecht

behandelt. Wie können Sie ihn das wissen lassen?“ Danach sollten die Lernenden auch Diskussionen zum Thema führen.

Das Ziel dieser Tätigkeit war einerseits, die Studenten dazu zu bewegen, passende Lösungen zu finden, mit Hilfe derer schwierige Gespräche geführt und bewältigt werden können. Andererseits, da das Formulieren und Üben der Konditionalsätze häufig Probleme darstellt, können solche Übungen dem Grammatikunterricht dienen.

Wie oben erwähnt können diese Tätigkeiten und Aufgaben unterschiedlichen Zwecken dienen. Sie leiten die Studierenden zur Bewusstmachung und hoffentlich zur Aneignung der assertiven Kommunikationstechniken. Sie fördern Interaktion in dem Unterricht und helfen Konflikte zu schlichten und die Hindernisse in der Kommunikation zu überwinden. Indessen tragen sie dazu bei, Sprechen, Schreiben, Grammatik und Wortschatz zu üben und aufzubessern. Die Lernenden sollen auch darauf vorbereitet sein, dass Auseinandersetzungen am Arbeitsplatz oft auftauchen. Falls sie ihre Kenntnisse erweitern und sich die passenden Kommunikationsfähigkeiten erwerben, können sie in der Zukunft ihre sozialen Beziehungen deutlich verbessern.

Schlussfolgerung

Im Umgang mit unseren Mitmenschen stoßen wir tagtäglich mit dem Kopf gegen die Wand. In Konflikten fühlen wir uns wehrlos, frustriert und unter der Macht von scheinbar unkontrollierbaren Emotionen. Mit Anerkennung unserer Gefühle und Bedürfnisse, mit Selbstvertrauen, mit einem sorgfältig ausgewählten Wortschatz können wir nicht nur uns selbst von der emotionalen Belastung befreien, sondern auch unsere Gesprächspartner richtig anreden, ohne sie zu verletzen, zu dominieren oder zu bekämpfen. Die assertive Kommunikation trägt dazu bei, bessere Entscheidungen zu treffen, Verantwortung für unsere Worte und Handlungen zu übernehmen und nicht zuletzt dazu, die Lebensqualität und unser Wohlbefinden zu steigern.

Notes

- 1 Richard H. Pfeiffer, *The real solution. Assertiveness. Workbook.* (New York: Growth Publishing, 2003), 16.
- 2 Eric Garner, *Assertiveness: Re-claim your assertive birthright.* (Eric Garner & Ventus Publishing ApS, 2012), 12.
- 3 Sue Hadfield, Gill Hasson, *Asszertivitás. Hogyan érvényesítsük sikeresen az érdekeinket?* (Budapest: Scolar Kiadó, 2012, 2015), 20-27.
- 4 Barbara Berckhan, *Verbális önvédelem. Magabiztos válaszok bántó megjegyzésekre.* (Budapest: Bioenergetic Kiadó Kft., 2018), 13-16.

- 5 Sue Hadfield, Gill Hasson, *Asszertivitas. Hogyan érvényesítsük sikeresen az érdekeinket?* (Budapest: Scolar Kiadó, 2012, 2015), 73-75.
- 6 Rambala Éva, *Az erőszakmentes kommunikáció alapjai.* (Budapest: The Center for Nonviolent Communication, 2013), 28-33.
- 7 Sue Hadfield, Gill Hasson, *Asszertivitas. Hogyan érvényesítsük sikeresen az érdekeinket?* (Budapest: Scolar Kiadó, 2012, 2015), 73-75.
- 8 Sue Bishop, *Develop your assertiveness.* (London, Philadelphia: Kogan Page, 2006), 67-70.
- 9 George Kohlrieser, *Tűzok a tárgyalóasztalnál. Konfliktuskezelés mesterfokon.* (Budapest: Háttér Kiadó, 2013), 160-162.
- 10 Cliff Ricketts, John C. Ricketts, *Leadership: Personal development and career success.* (Delmar: Cengage Learning, 2011), 63-64.
- 11 Max A. Eggert, *Assertiveness. Pocketbook.* (Alresford, Hants: Management Pocketbooks Ltd., 2011), 43-53.
- 12 L. Ann Masters, Harold R. Wallace, *Personal development for life and work.* (Mason: South-Western Cengage Learning, 2011), 117.
- 13 Sue Hadfield, Gill Hasson, *Asszertivitas. Hogyan érvényesítsük sikeresen az érdekeinket?* (Budapest: Scolar Kiadó, 2012, 2015), 73-91.
- 14 Marshall B. Rosenberg, *A szavak ablakok vagy falak. Erőszakmentes kommunikáció.* (Budapest: Agykontroll Kft., 2001), 68-69.

Assistant Lecturer Kovács Réka, Ph.D. She is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication within the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration of Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. She has been teaching Business English and Business German courses to graduate and undergraduate students. Her main areas of interest are: culture management, organisational communication and language acquisition. (reka.kovacs@econ.ubbcluj.ro)

„Kurzarbeit, în varianta românească”¹ – Zur Übertragung des Fachbegriffes *Kurzarbeit* aus dem Deutschen ins Rumänische

“Kurzarbeit, in Romanian Version” – Insights into the Translation of the Term *Kurzarbeit* from German into Romanian

*Maria Parasca**

This paper proposes an analysis of the ways in which the German concept *Kurzarbeit* was taken over in the Romanian language. The analysis started from twenty-five translation options of the term *Kurzarbeit* into Romanian. As this concept has not been in the Romanian language so far, its entry into Romanian was a challenge, from the conceptual point of view as well as from the perspective of the translation of the term from German into Romanian.

Kurzarbeit; German-Romanian translation; language for specific purposes.

* Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

0 Einleitung und Zielsetzung

„*Guvernul a adoptat Kurzarbeit-ul*“ – ‚Die Regierung hat die (Verordnung) über die Kurzarbeit erlassen‘ ist ein Titel, der in letzter Zeit häufig² in der rumänischen Presse zu lesen bzw. zu hören ist. Es wird heftig darüber diskutiert, wie das „deutsche Modell der Kurzarbeit“ auch den rumänischen Arbeitgebern und Arbeitnehmern helfen kann, die Corona-Krise leichter zu überstehen.

Als ich diese Formulierung zum ersten Mal gehört habe, habe ich mich gefragt, wieso dazu gekommen ist, dass dieser Terminus als solches ins Rumänische übernommen wurde, ob es im Rumänischen keine entsprechenden Äquivalente gibt und wie der Fachbegriff *Kurzarbeit* vom Deutschen im Rumänischen gelandet ist. So setzt sich die vorliegende Arbeit zum Ziel, aus übersetzungslinguistischer Sicht zu untersuchen, wie der deutsche Fachbegriff *Kurzarbeit* ins Rumänische übertragen wurde.

Fest steht, dass das Rumänische wie die meisten europäischen Sprachen Fachbegriffe mit Vorliebe aus dem Englischen übernimmt, so dass die Übernahme eines (Fach)Wortes aus dem Deutschen schon als ungewöhnlich gilt.

1 Kurze Darstellung der theoretischen Grundlage

Wenn die Rede über die Übertragung von Fachbegriffen von einer Sprache (Ausgangssprache) in eine andere Sprache (Zielsprache) ist, dann sind zunächst folgende Begriffe theoretisch zu klären: Fachsprache, Fachbegriff, Terminus und Fachübersetzung.

Zunächst wird die Fachsprache definiert als: „die Gesamtheit aller sprachlichen Mittel, die in einem fachlich begrenzten Kommunikationsbereich verwendet werden, um die Verständigung der dort tätigen Fachleuten zu gewährleisten“³. Zu den sprachlichen Mitteln, die kennzeichnend für eine Fachsprache sind, zählen in erster Linie die Fachbegriffe, als Hauptträger der fachspezifischen Informationen.

Die Kommunikation der Fachinhalte in einem Fachbereich findet also mittels Fachbegriffe und der dazugehörigen Termini statt. *Begriff* und *Terminus* werden in DIN 2342 (2011)⁴ wie folgt definiert. Unter *Begriff* wird eine „Denkeinheit“ verstanden, „die aus einer Menge von Gegenständen unter Ermittlung der diesen Gegenständen gemeinsamen Eigenschaften mittels Abstraktion gebildet wird.“ Zu jedem *Begriff* gehören eine oder mehrere *Benennungen* (*Terminus*, *Fachausdruck*), definiert als „sprachliche Bezeichnung eines Allgemeinbegriffs aus einem Fachgebiet.“

Im Rahmen der vorliegenden Arbeit geht es um den Fachbegriff *Kurzarbeit*, also um alle Elemente, aus denen das Konzept besteht und um den Terminus *Kurzarbeit*, als Bezeichnung oder Fachausdruck des oben genannten Konzeptes. Diesen Unterschied zu machen, gilt für das Übersetzen von einer Sprache in die andere als äußerst wichtig, da es bei der Übersetzung darum geht, „das Gemeinte“ herauszufinden und eine entsprechende Bezeichnung, einen entsprechenden Ausdruck dafür in der Zielsprache zu finden.

Somit schließe ich mich im Rahmen der vorliegenden Arbeit der Definition von Übersetzten von Stolze (2009) an:

Übersetzten heißt, zum ausgangssprachlichen Zeichen über das ausgangssprachlich Bezeichnete (Wortbedeutung) das Gemeinte (Begriff) finden und zu demselben Gemeinten in der Zielsprache über das zielsprachlich Bezeichnete das zugeordnete zielsprachliche Zeichen finden, ganz im Sinne des nachrichtentechnischen Kommunikationsmodells.⁵

Beim Übersetzen wird also der Unterschied zwischen Begriff (die Denkeinheit) und Terminus (die sprachliche Bezeichnung) gemacht. Die Termini sind so Stolze, „freilich in mehreren Sprachen keineswegs immer bedeutungsgleich“⁶, sodass bei der Übersetzung drei Fälle unterschieden werden: die Begriffsinhalte decken sich vollständig, teilweise oder nicht⁷.

Arntz/Picht/Mayer⁸ machen den Unterschied zwischen Äquivalenz und Entsprechung der *Termini*. Wenn sich die Begriffsinhalte der Termini in zwei Sprachen vollständig decken, dann spricht man von *Äquivalenz*, wenn nicht, dann handelt es sich um eine *Entsprechung*. In diesem Sinne stellen die Autoren vier mögliche Konstellationen dar:

1. Die Begriffe A und B stimmen voll überein → Äquivalent
2. A ist weiter als B, schließt B aber ganz ein → Ober- mit Unterbegriff
3. Der Begriff A bzw. der Begriff B fehlt in der anderen Sprache → Lücke
4. Die Begriffe A und B sind nur teilweise äquivalent, weil ein Begriff oder beide Begriffe über einen gemeinsamen Kern wesentlicher Merkmale hinausgehend noch je eigene wesentliche Merkmale aufweisen → Entsprechung

Wenn kein Äquivalent zu finden ist, dann gibt es folgende Möglichkeiten⁹, um das Übersetzungsproblem zu lösen:

- Übernahme oder Lehnübersetzung eines Wortes aus der Ausgangssprache
- Prägen eines neuen Ausdrucks in der Zielsprache
- Schaffung einer erklärenden Umschreibung.

Im ersten Fall handelt es sich um eine „lexikalische Lücke“¹⁰ in der Zielsprache, die dadurch kompensiert wird, dass der fremdsprachliche Terminus als solchen oder als Lehnwort einfach übernommen wird, „freilich auch mit einzelsprachspezifischen Grammatikformen oder neue Namen mit einheimischen Material gebildet werden“. Diesen ersten zwei Schritten folgt die Lehnübersetzung.

2 Zum Fachbegriff „Kurzarbeit“ im Deutschen und Rumänischen

2.1 Der deutsche Begriff „Kurzarbeit“

In DUDEN – Wirtschaft von A bis Z11 findet man folgende Definition der Kurzarbeit:

Vorübergehende Herabsetzung der betriebsüblichen Arbeitszeit. Zweck der Kurzarbeit ist die Erhaltung von Arbeitsplätzen trotz fehlender Kapazitätsauslastung infolge Auftragsmangels. Haben Arbeitgeber oder Betriebsrat bei der zuständigen Agentur für Arbeit Kurzarbeit beantragt, besteht unter bestimmten Voraussetzungen Anspruch auf Kurzarbeitergeld. Demnach erhalten Arbeitnehmer mit Kindern 67% ihres letzten Nettoverdienstes, Ledige ohne Kinder 60% für die Ausfallstunden. Die geleisteten Arbeitsstunden zahlt der Betrieb.

Rittershofer¹² definiert im Wirtschaftslexikon *Kurzarbeit* als die „Herabsetzung der *normalen* → Arbeitszeit (Hervorhebung im Original) bei entsprechender Kürzung des Arbeitsentgelts.“.

Bedeutungsgemäß steht also *Kurzarbeit* für ein arbeitsmarktspezifisches Instrument, dessen Hauptfunktion darin besteht die Arbeitsstellen während Krisenzeiten aufrechtzuerhalten. Dieses Instrument weist in Deutschland eine lange Geschichte auf, wobei die Urform des Modells schon 1910 durch ein Gesetz für die Arbeiter der Kalibergbau und Düngemittelindustrie¹³ festgelegt wurde. Über seine lange Geschichte bewahrt das Konzept seine Bedeutung, seinen Sinn, als Unterstützungsmaßnahme für erwerbstätige Personen, die wegen konjunktureller Schwankungen der Wirtschaft, infolge von Krisen, in Gefahr geraten, ihre Arbeitsstellen zu verlieren und arbeitslos zu werden.

Dieses Instrument wurde während der Wirtschaftskrise 2008 in Deutschland erfolgreich eingesetzt und wie das Handelsblatt berichtet, hat „das als Kriseninstrument bewährte deutsche Modell der Kurzarbeit [...] in der Corona-Pandemie in Europa Schule gemacht und die trudelnde Wirtschaft stabilisiert. Dies geht aus einer am Mittwoch veröffentlichten Studie der Europäischen Zentralbank (EZB) hervor.“¹⁴.

2.2 „Kurzarbeit“ auf Rumänisch

Die rumänische Regierung ging auch der Empfehlung der Europäischen Union nach und suchte nach verschiedenen Möglichkeiten dieses Instrument für den rumänischen Arbeitsmarkt zu übernehmen, wobei die unterschiedlichen wirtschaftlichen, politischen und kulturellen Merkmale des rumänischen Kontextes zu berücksichtigen waren.

So entstanden auch in der breiten Öffentlichkeit heftige Diskussionen darüber, zunächst was dieses Modell/Konzept/Instrument bedeutet, welche Merkmale es hat und wie es auf den rumänischen Markt übertragen werden kann. Aus Übersetzungslinguistischer

Sicht stellt die Übertragung des Modells der *Kurzarbeit* besondere Herausforderungen dar, da, während dieses Konzept im Deutschen schon seit Jahrhunderten existierte, gab es im rumänischen institutionellen Rahmen zu den Unterstützungsleistungen der erwerbstätigen Arbeitnehmer seitens der öffentlichen Hand nicht.

So war es zunächst notwendig, zu recherchieren, wofür *Kurzarbeit* als Konzept (Denkeinheit) steht, um das damit „Gemeinte“ zu identifizieren. Einmal dieser Schritt durchgeführt, sah sich der Übersetzer mit der folgenden großen Herausforderung konfrontiert: Wie übersetzt man ein Konzept, das es in der Zielsprache nicht gibt und zuerst in der Zielsprache definiert werden muss?

Im Folgenden werde ich anhand von Beispielen¹⁵ aus rumänischen Texten (Übersetzungen) aber auch aus Originaltexten der rumänischen Presse beschreiben, welche Lösungen für die Übertragung ins Rumänische gefunden worden sind. Bei der Durchsicht der oben genannten Quellen wurden die folgenden fünfundzwanzig Entsprechungen des Begriffes *Kurzarbeit* identifiziert:

1. *Orare de muncă reduce*
2. *Program redus de lucru*
3. *Normă redusă de lucru*
4. *Fracțiune de normă*
5. *Reducere a timpului de lucru*
6. *Șomaj parțial*
7. *Muncă de scurtă durată*
8. *Program de muncă cu timp redus*
9. *Muncă pe timp scurt*
10. *Muncă de scurtă durată pentru angajați*
11. *(să lucreze) în timp scurt*
12. *Program de lucru mai scurt*
13. *Program de muncă redusă*
14. *Muncă redusă*
15. *Program scurt de lucru*
16. *Reducerea orelor de muncă*
17. *Program redus*
18. *Jumătate de normă*
19. *Reducerea programului de lucru*
20. *Șomaj tehnic*
21. *Program redus de muncă*
22. *Normă de muncă parțială*
23. *Șomaj parțial*
24. *Scăderea numărului de ore de lucru*

25. *Activitate cu normă redusă.*

Diese analysiere ich demnächst aus der Sicht der vier Möglichkeiten der Äquivalenzschaffung in der Zielsprache, wenn das zu übertragene Konzept in der Zielsprache nicht existiert. Wie im theoretischen Teil hervorgehoben, stehen dem Übersetzer in solchen Fällen folgende Möglichkeiten zur Verfügung:

- Übernahme
- Lehnübersetzung eines Wortes (Terminus) aus der Ausgangssprache
- Schaffung einer erklärenden Umschreibung
- Prägen eines neuen Ausdrucks.

Zunächst wurde die lexikalische Lücke durch die Übernahme des Terminus aus dem Deutschen gedeckt. Als Beispiel dazu dient der Artikel von der Fachzeitschrift *Săptămâna Financiară* ('Wirtschaftswoche')¹⁶ mit dem Titel: *Ce este kurzarbeit și cum poate salva economia* ('Was ist Kurzarbeit und wie kann sie die Wirtschaft retten'). Auch im Fernsehen¹⁷ wurde heftig darüber diskutiert, was *Kurzarbeit* ist und wie dieses Modell auf den rumänischen Arbeitsmarkt übertragen werden kann. Dabei könnte man im Fernsehen Formen wie *Kurzarbeit-ul* hören, was als Beispiel für die Anpassung des deutschen Wortes an die Deklinationsregeln des Rumänischen dient. Im Rumänischen wird der bestimmte Artikel im Unterschied zu Deutschen nachgestellt und im Falle eines Fremdwortes mit Bindestrich angeschlossen.

In der nächsten Phase entstanden mehrere Lehnübersetzungen ins Rumänische. Eine Lehnübersetzung wird wie folgt definiert¹⁸: „zusammengesetztes Wort, das nach einem Fremdwort gebildet wurde, in dem beide bzw. alle Bestandteile des Fremdwortes einzeln übersetzt werden.“ Angesichts der Tatsache, dass das Verfahren der Zusammensetzung im rumänischen Wortschatz nicht Gang und Gäbe ist, wie der Fall für das Deutsche ist, entsprechen in der Regel den deutschen Zusammensetzungen Wortverbindungen im Rumänischen. Dass dies so ist, bestätigt auch der hier analysierte Fall.

Folgende Lehnübersetzungen des deutschen Terminus *Kurzarbeit* konnten identifiziert werden:

- *program redus de lucru*
- *muncă de scurtă durată*
- *muncă pe timp scurt*
- *program de muncă redus*
- *muncă redusă*
- *program scurt de lucru*

Das deutsche zusammengesetzte Wort besteht aus einem Adjektiv *kurz* und einem Substantiv *Arbeit*. Im Rumänischen werden im Unterschied zu Deutschen die Adjektive dem Substantiv nachgestellt, *Arbeit + kurze*. So wird das deutsche Wort *Arbeit* ins Rumänische sowohl mit der Bedeutung „das Arbeiten, Schaffen, Tätigsein; das Beschäftigtsein mit etwas, mit jemandem“ als *muncă* als auch mit der Bedeutung 'Arbeitszeiten' – 'program de lucru' übertragen. Hier taucht im Rumänischen auch die Synonymie zwischen *munca* und *lucru* auf. Dabei ist hervorzuheben, dass in der Kombination mit *program* eher *lucru* üblicher ist und *program de lucru* als eine feste Wortkombination im Rumänischen gilt.

Bemerkenswert sind auch die Übersetzungen von *kurz* einerseits wortwörtlich, mit der Bedeutung „eine [vergleichsweise] geringe räumliche Ausdehnung“, als auch im übertragenen Sinn, als „reduziert“ – also weniger als der Normalfall. *Program redus de lucru* und *program de muncă redusă* sind andere zwei Varianten der Übersetzung, wobei was *program de muncă redusă* im Rumänischen bedeutet, nicht klar ist. Diese Konstruktion ist weiter aufgefasst, als der deutsche Terminus, da nicht klarstellt, ob die Kurzarbeit mit dem einseitigen Willen des Arbeitnehmers (der Arbeitnehmer arbeitet weniger, weil er es so will) oder mit der konjunkturellen Wirtschaftslage (der Arbeitnehmer arbeitet weniger, weil er dazu gezwungen ist) zusammenhängt.

Folgende Umschreibungen des deutschen Terminus *Kurzarbeit* wurden identifiziert:

- *orare de muncă reduce*
- *normă redusă de lucru*
- *reducere a timpului de lucru*
- *program de muncă cu timp redus*
- *(indemnizația) de muncă de scurtă durată pentru angajați*
- *program de lucru mai scurt*
- *reducerea orelor de muncă*
- *reducerea programului de lucru*
- *program redus de muncă*
- *normă de muncă parțială*
- *scăderea numărului de ore de lucru*
- *activitate cu normă redusă.*

Bei der Umschreibung in der Zielsprache, geht es darum, durch ein anderes Wort oder durch eine andere Wortkombination, die Bedeutung des Terminus in der Ausgangssprache wiederzugeben. Wie oben erwähnt, steht Kurzarbeit für die „Herabsetzung der normalen Arbeitszeit“ oder „Herabsetzung der betriebsüblichen Arbeitszeit.“ Allen rumänischen Umschreibungen fehlt das in der Definition der Kurzarbeit enthaltene Adjektiv

betriebsüblich oder *normal*, was dazu führt, dass sie unklar sind, da sie nur teilweise die Bedeutung des deutschen Terminus wiedergeben. Alle geben den Sinn wieder, dass die Arbeitszeit reduziert wird, fehlt aber die Spezifizierung, dass die *betriebsübliche* oder *normale* Arbeitszeit reduziert wird. Wenn man das Adjektiv *normal* zur Umschreibung zufügt, wird sie spezifischer und somit auch klarer für den Nutzer.

Beim Versuch des Prägens eines neuen Terminus sind der Terminus *șomaj parțial* – 'Teilarbeitslosigkeit' und der Terminus *jumătate de normă* - 'Halbarbeitszeit' zu nennen. Keinen der beiden Termini finde ich als Übersetzung der *Kurzarbeit* ins Rumänische angemessen. Der erste Ausdruck *șomaj parțial* 'Teilarbeitslosigkeit' hat an sich keinen Sinn, da man entweder erwerbstätig oder arbeitslos ist und es nicht 'teilweise' sein kann. Der zweite Ausdruck *jumătate de normă* - 'Halbarbeitszeit' geht semantisch weiter, indem er den Grad der Herabsetzung der Arbeitszeit stark spezifiziert, *Kurzarbeit* als Hälfte der normalen Arbeitszeit. Diese Spezifizierung ist aus semantischer Sicht ungeeignet, da eigentlich der Prozentsatz, um den die Arbeitszeit herabgesetzt wird, von der wirtschaftlichen Lage abhängig ist und nicht festgelegt werden kann.

Durch die Eilverordnung Nr. 132/2020 über Unterstützungsmaßnahmen für Arbeitgeber und Arbeitnehmer im Kontext der durch die Verbreitung des Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 verursachten epidemiologischen Lage, als auch für die Förderung des Beschäftigungsgrades der Arbeitskräfte¹⁹ wurde das deutsche Modell der Kurzarbeit auf den rumänischen Markt übertragen. Beim Art. 1 steht Folgendes:

În cazul reducerii temporare a activității determinate de instituirea stării de urgență/alertă/asediu, în condițiile legii, angajatorii au posibilitatea reducerii timpului de muncă a salariaților cu cel mult 50 % din durata prevăzută în contractul individual de muncă, cu informarea și consultarea sindicatului, a reprezentanților salariaților sau a salariaților, după caz, anterior comunicării deciziei salariatului.²⁰

Das rumänische Modell der Kurzarbeit sieht also die Möglichkeit einer maximalen Herabsetzung der Arbeitszeit von 50 Prozent vor, aber nur im Falle der Erklärung des Notzustandes, der Versetzung in Alarmbereitschaft oder des Verhängens der Ausgangssperre.

Der offiziell verabschiedete Ausdruck (Terminus) im Rumänischen lautet somit *reducerea timpului de lucru* – 'Herabsetzung der Arbeitszeit', wobei die weiteren Bestimmungen klarstellen, unter welchen Bedingungen, die Arbeitszeit herabgesetzt werden kann. Hervorzuheben, dass die rumänische Variante dieses Modells eine prozentuelle Spanne vorgibt, mit einem Maximum von 50 Prozent, das sich auf den Umfang der Arbeitszeit bezieht, während die deutsche Definition die Prozentsätze der finanziellen Unterstützung hervorhebt, also wie viel Geld die Arbeitnehmer für die Ausfallstunden als Unterstützung bekommen.

Meiner Meinung nach sollte die rumänische Entsprechung des Terminus auch das Adjektiv *normal* beinhalten, so dass auch sprachlich spezifiziert wird, dass die konjunkturbedingte Herabsetzung der Arbeitszeit sich auf die *normale* bzw. *betriebsübliche* Arbeitszeit bezieht.

3 Zusammenfassende Schlussbemerkungen

Das Ziel der vorliegenden Arbeit lag darin, aus übersetzungslinguistischer Sicht zu untersuchen, mit welchen Termini und Ausdrücken der deutsche Begriff *Kurzarbeit* ins Rumänische übersetzt wurde bzw. übersetzt werden kann und inwieweit diese thematische Deckung gesichert ist.

Anhand der durchgeführten Analyse wurde gezeigt, wie *Kurzarbeit* zunächst als solches ins Rumänische übernommen wurde und sogar den rumänischen Deklinationsregeln angepasst wurde. Danach wurden verschiedene Lehnübersetzungen und Umschreibungen ausprobiert, die mehr oder weniger als passende Übersetzungen eingestuft werden können. Ich konnte auch zwei Beispiele für den Versuch des Ausprägens eines neuen Terminus finden, die aber semantisch nicht passend sind.

Durch die Ende Juli erlassene Eilverordnung wird auch die „rumänische Variante“ der *Kurzarbeit* nun offiziell erklärt. Die Verfasser haben sich für die Umschreibung *reducerea timpului de lucru* ('Herabsetzung der Arbeitszeit') entschlossen. Aus der Anzahl der präsentierten Beispiele und meinen eigenen Überlegungen optiere ich für die folgende Variante: *reducerea programului normal de lucru*. Ich bin der Einsicht, dass diese Umschreibung geeigneter als die anderen ist, da sie die drei Hauptelemente der deutschen Definition beinhaltet, und zwar: *Herabsetzung – reducerea, Arbeitszeit – program de lucru, betriebsüblich/normal – normal*.

Nur der Sprachusus wird zeigen, welche der im Rahmen dieser Arbeit diskutierten Varianten sprachlich überleben werden und ob dann eine Variante ihren festen Sitz in der Sprache finden wird.

Assistant lecturer Maria Parasca, PhD, is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication of the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration at Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. She has been teaching Business German courses to the first, second and third year students and the MA course – Business Communication. Her main areas of interest are: teaching Business German and studying the cultural and intercultural (Romanian-German) aspects of teaching modern languages for specific purposes. (maria.parasca@econ.ubbcluj.ro)

Notes

- 1 Pressetitel – Nachrichten digi24.ro, 12.08.2020, 15.00 Uhr.
- 2 Vgl. Nachrichten digi24.ro, Zeitspanne 20.07.2020-12.08.2020.
- 3 Hoffmann, Lothar (1985): Kommunikationsmittel Fachsprache. Eine Einführung. 2., völlig neu bearb. Aufl. Tübingen: Narr (Forum für Fachsprachen-Forschung, 1), 2.
- 4 Arntz, Reiner; Picht, Heribert; Schmitz, Klaus-Dirk (2014): Einführung in die Terminologiearbeit. 7., vollständig überarbeitete und aktualisierte Auflage. Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms, 40.
- 5 Stolze, Radegundis (2009): Fachübersetzen - ein Lehrbuch für Theorie und Praxis. Berlin: Frank & Timme (Forum für Fachsprachen-Forschung, 89), 74.6 *Idem*, 5.
- 7 *Ibidem*.
- 8 Arntz, Reiner; Picht, Heribert; Schmitz, Klaus-Dirk (2002): Einführung in die Terminologiearbeit. Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms., 143.9 *Idem*, 8.
- 10 *Ibidem*.
- 11 DUDEN-Wirtschaft von A bis Z. Grundlagenwissen für Schule und Studium, Beruf und Alltag (2008): 3. Auflage, Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut & F.A. Brockhaus AG, 330.
- 12 Rittershofer, Werner (2005): Wirtschaftslexikon – über 4000 Stichwörter für Studium und Praxis, 3. vollständig überarbeitete Auflage, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH & Co. KG.
- 13 Vgl. <<http://www.handwerksjournalisten.de/pages/dokus/kurzarbeitergeld.pdf>>, abgerufen am 19.08.2020.
- 14 Vgl. <<https://www.handelsblatt.com/finanzen/geldpolitik/coronakrise-kurzarbeitsmodell-made-in-germany-bewaehrt-sich-in-europa/25924498.html?ticket=ST-7994466-yP2IdMDCkWoF1n2CPund-ap4>>, abgerufen am 19.08.2020.
- 15 Die rumänischen Übersetzungen stammen aus den folgenden Quellen (die Ergebnisse auf der ersten Seite folgender Suchanfrage (10.08.2020) auf google: „kurzarbeit definitie“ (Kurzarbeit Definition): <<https://www.digi24.ro/stiri/externe/mapamond/peste-2-milioane-de-germani-sunt-asteptati-sa-revina-la-kurzarbeit-din-cauza-covid-19-1278246>>. <<https://ro.linguee.com/german%C4%83-rom%C3%A2n%C4%83/traducere/kurzarbeit.html>>. <<https://www.sfin.ro/ce-este-kurzarbeit-si-cum-poate-sa-reporneasca-economia/>>. <<https://context.reverso.net/traducere/germana-romana/Kurzarbeit>>. <<https://spotmedia.ro/stiri/economie/ce-este-kurzarbeit-programul-german-de-munca-flexibila-pe-care-orban-vrea-sa-l-implementeze-in-romania>>. <<https://www.zf.ro/profesii/dragos-anastasiu-presedintele-camerei-comert-romano-germane-vrea-19085286>>. <<https://start-up.ro/ce-este-kurzarbeit-10-beneficii-ale-kurzarbeit-in-economia-romaniei/>>. <<https://claudiuvrinceanu.ro/kurzarbeit-ce-este/>>. <<https://lege5.ro/Gratuit/gm4dcmrxhe3a/ordonanta-de-urgenta-nr-132-2020-privind-masuri-de-sprrijin-destinate-salariatilor-si-angajatorilor-in-contextul-situatiei-epidemiologice-determinate-de-raspandirea-coronavirusului-sars-cov-2-precum-si>>.16 <<https://www.sfin.ro/ce-este-kurzarbeit-si-cum-poate-sa-reporneasca-economia/>>, abgerufen am 10.08.2020.
- 17 Vgl. u.a., <www.digi24.ro>.
- 18 Vgl. <<https://www.wortbedeutung.info/Lehn%C3%BCbersetzung/>>, abgerufen am 19.08.2020.
- 19 Eigenübersetzung aus dem Rumänischen. Der Originaltitel auf Rumänisch lautet: „Ordonanța de urgență nr. 132/2020 privind măsuri de sprijin destinate salariaților și angajatorilor în contextul situației epidemiologice determinate de răspândirea coronavirusului SARS-CoV-2, precum și pentru stimularea creșterii ocupării forței de muncă“.
- 20 <<https://lege5.ro/Gratuit/gm4dcmrxhe3a/ordonanta-de-urgenta-nr-132-2020-privind-masuri-de-sprrijin-destinate-salariatilor-si-angajatorilor-in-contextul-situatiei-epidemiologice-determinate-de-raspandirea-coronavirusului-sars-cov-2-precum-si>>, abgerufen am 21.08.2020.

Literature & Philosophy

Le nozze funebri di Psiche – Apuleio, *Met.* IV 33-34 alla luce del folklore romeno

Psyche's Funeral Wedding – Apuleius, Met. IV, 33-34 in the Light of Romanian Folklore

Nicola Perencin*

While folklorists believe that in the tale of Cupid and Psyche, very similar to the European folk tales of the ATU 425 B type, Apuleius reworked an oral source, in the area of Classical Philology the dominant tendency is to exclude the contribution of folklore in favor of a literary approach. Recently, Emmanuel and Nedjima Plantade have provided convincing contributions to the exegesis of Apuleius's text starting from the ethnographic documentation of North African folklore. This interdisciplinary article compares a specific episode of the story of Cupid and Psyche and the Romanian and Balkan tradition of the "wedding of the dead", showing that despite the chronological, geographical and cultural distance, ethnographic data from South-Eastern Europe can contribute to throwing new light on a famous text from classical antiquity. The comparative reading of *Metamorphoses* IV, 33-34 (the Oracle of Miletus and Psyche's "funeral wedding") with the Romanian ethnographic documentation about the "wedding of the dead" traditions, the funeral lament and the famous *Miorița*-carol allows us to recognize the mythical-ritual implications of the Latin text, in a broad comparative and anthropological horizon.

Keywords: Cupid and Psyche; Romanian Folklore; Wedding and Funeral Traditions; Comparative Mythology; Ethnography.

* University of Padua, Italy

1. Abstract italiano.

Mentre i folkloristi ritengono che nel racconto di *Amore e Psiche*, molto simile ai racconti popolari europei del tipo ATU 425 B, Apuleio abbia rielaborato una fonte orale, nell'area della filologia classica la tendenza dominante è di escludere il contributo del folklore, privilegiando l'approccio letterario. In anni recenti, Emmauel e Nedjima Plantade hanno fornito contributi convincenti all'esegesi del testo apuleiano proprio a partire dalla documentazione etnografica del folklore nordafricano. In questo articolo di taglio interdisciplinare si confrontano un episodio specifico della vicenda di *Amore e Psiche* e la tradizione romena e balcanica delle "nozze del morto," mostrando che nonostante la distanza cronologica, geografica e culturale la conoscenza dei dati etnografici può contribuire a gettare nuova luce su un celebre testo dell'Antichità classica. La lettura contrastiva dei paragrafi di *Metamorfosi* IV, 33-34 (l'Oracolo di Mileto e le «nozze funebri» di Psiche) con la documentazione etnografica romena sulle nozze del morto, il lamento funebre e il celebre canto di *Miorița* permette di riconoscere le implicazioni mitico-rituali del testo latino in un orizzonte comparativo e antropologico ampio.

1. Introduzione: il racconto di *Amore e Psiche* nelle *Metamorfosi* di Apuleio.

Afferma un detto popolare che non sempre le ragazze più belle sono anche le prime a convolare a nozze. Ma è anche vero che qualche volta tali nozze possono essere davvero fuori dall'ordinario. Così almeno è per Psiche, mitica fanciulla che già dall'inizio della *fabula* di Apuleio spicca, per la sua bellezza sovrumana, sulle pur graziose sorelle¹:

C'era una volta, in una città, un re e una regina, che avevano tre figlie bellissime. Ma le due maggiori, per quanto incantevoli, pareva si potesse lodarle a sufficienza con le normali parole d'elogio che si usano per gli esseri umani, mentre la bellezza della più giovane era così straordinaria, così meravigliosa, che era impossibile descriverla o anche lodarla come meritava, perché le parole umane non bastavano.

Una tanto appariscente avvenenza, per di più concentrata nella figlia minore, non può che preludere ad una vicenda appassionata e a un destino speciale. Così, in un mondo sospeso nello spazio e sottratto al tempo, esordisce la più notevole tra un gran numero di narrazioni digressive contenute nelle *Metamorfosi* di Apuleio, romanzo ampio e composito, datato al II secolo dell'era cristiana, l'unico della letteratura latina ad esserci pervenuto per intero. Il racconto di *Amore e Psiche* vi è inserito nella cornice delle intricate vicende del protagonista della trama principale, Lucio: un giovane trasformato in asino durante un maldestro tentativo di sperimentare le arti magiche che, dopo innumerevoli peripezie e grazie all'intervento divino, riesce infine a recuperare sembianze umane

e a raggiungere uno stato di coscienza superiore. I temi ricorrenti della *curiositas*, la metamorfosi (esteriore ed interiore) del protagonista, i forti rispecchiamenti tra la sua vicenda e quella di Psiche, i nomi stessi Anima e Amore e gli espliciti riferimenti ai culti di Iside hanno suggerito nei secoli infinite letture simboliche e allegoriche; coerentemente, del resto, con il profilo dell'autore, il filosofo e retore Apuleio, vicino al neoplatonismo e iniziato ai culti misterici, vissuto nell'Africa romana in un'epoca ancora in bilico tra il paganesimo e l'imporsi del Cristianesimo.

Già in Antichità e fino ad anni recenti le *Metamorfosi* sono state in grado di suscitare le più varie interpretazioni letterarie e suggestioni religiose, filosofiche, psicologiche e psicanalitiche. Lo stesso si può dire anche per il racconto di Psiche, il quale occupa circa due libri degli undici che compongono l'opera, precisamente i capitoli IV 28 – VI 24: anzi, forse nessun'altra parte del romanzo ha suscitato altrettanta attenzione, tanto che sarebbe difficile dire con certezza se, tolta quella, l'opera nel suo insieme avrebbe conosciuto la medesima fama. Prima di tentare di approfondirne alcune sfaccettature, ecco in breve la trama:

(IV, 28) Per Psiche la bellezza è un dono quanto una condanna alla solitudine: oltre a suscitare l'invidia delle sorelle, attira da Paesi lontani numerosi visitatori che la ammirano e la venerano, ma come una creatura eccelsa e inavvicinabile. Venere, sentendosi trascurata e offesa dai mortali che tributano onori divini ad una mortale, per vendetta chiede a suo figlio Cupido di punire la fanciulla scoccandole una freccia che la facesse innamorare dell'uomo peggiore sulla faccia della terra. Intanto il padre di Psiche, preoccupato perché la figlia non riceveva alcuna proposta di matrimonio e temendo l'ira degli dei, si rivolge all'oracolo di Apollo, che comanda di preparare la fanciulla "come se andasse a nozze con la morte" e di esporla su una roccia affinché andasse in sposa ad un mostro malvagio. Lasciata sola dalla folla e dai familiari, anziché essere preda di un terribile drago, Psiche viene trasportata da un dolce zefiro in un palazzo incantato (V), dotato di tutte le comodità. La fanciulla vi dimora in solitudine, salvo essere visitata nel buio delle ore notturne dall'incognito marito, che altri non è se non Cupido in persona: questi la fa sua senza mai rivelarsi completamente a lei. Trascorso così del tempo, Psiche sente nostalgia dei genitori e delle sorelle ed ottiene dal suo benevolo coniuge di andarle a visitare. Le sorelle gelose, però, instillano in Psiche dei dubbi sulla vera identità del partner, facendole credere che fosse un orribile serpente. Così facendo, la spingono all'azione più icastica del mito, divenuta antonomasia della *curiositas*: nascondendo una lucerna nella camera da letto, Psiche illumina Cupido dormiente: rapita da tale bellezza, si ferisce il dito con una delle sue frecce magiche e, inavvertitamente, lascia sfuggire dalla lampada una goccia di olio bollente, che schizza sulla spalla dell'alato marito. Questi, riscuotendosi all'improvviso, promette vendetta sulle malvagie sorelle che

avevano spinto la sposa ad infrangere il divieto e la abbandona indignato. Allora Psiche, disperata, parte alla sua ricerca (VI). Dopo una lunga erranza ricca di incontri e peripezie, non avendo ottenuto l'aiuto di Cerere né di Giunone, giunge dalla stessa Venere, riesce a superare i compiti impossibili assegnati da quest'ultima ma, proprio rientrando dalla sua ultima impresa, che l'aveva portata addirittura negli Inferi alla ricerca di una boccetta della bellezza di Proserpina, cede ancora una volta alla curiosità e cade in un sonno profondo, da cui però la scuote Cupido. I due, infine riuniti, ottengono benedizione di Giove, padre degli dèi, cosicché il racconto ha termine con un banchetto in cui Psiche, in presenza di tutti gli dei dell'Olimpo, ottiene l'immortalità. Dall'unione di Amore e Psiche nasce una figlia, Voluttà.

2. Intenti della ricerca.

I molteplici paralleli letterari, mitologici e folklorici del racconto di *Amore e Psiche*, insieme allo statuto instabile ed ambiguo del genere del romanzo latino, hanno fatto sì che i tentativi di definirne la natura si collocassero principalmente in questi ambiti.² Senza pretese di esaustività rispetto alla mole di studi critici e filologici pertinenti, in questo articolo ci concentreremo su specifiche sezioni dell'opera per cui è possibile rilevare elementi con un assetto folklorico, ora ridiscusso alla luce dei principali e più aggiornati sviluppi metodologici. Più in particolare, sulla scia di recenti contributi che paiono migliorare la comprensione del testo apuleiano a partire dal folklore di aree considerate marginali,³ esamineremo quali peculiari spunti di lettura possano emergere considerando le tradizioni popolari della Romania, caratterizzate da una pronunciata arcaicità e conservatività sotto il profilo folklorico ed etnografico, ma raramente prese in considerazione dagli studi classici. La lettura contrastiva dei paragrafi IV, 33-34 (l'Oracolo di Mileto e le "nozze funebri" di Psiche sulla montagna) con la documentazione etnografica romena fungerà da banco di prova per riattivare le implicazioni mitico-rituali sottintese negli strati della giacitura testuale apuleiana. Si tenterà infine di dare senso a tali echi, da intendersi, come diciamo sin da ora, non su di un piano di generica (e tutta da dimostrare) comunanza culturale, né in un'angusta (e altrettanto indimostrabile) logica di filiazione; bensì come omologie di ordine morfologico e archetipico in un più ampio orizzonte comparativo e antropologico.

3. *Amore e Psiche* e il folklore: lo stato dell'arte.

È un fatto che nella storia di *Amore e Psiche*, stemperati dall'autore colto in un'atmosfera culturale greco-latina e comunque in forma non immediata, trovino riscontro motivi caratteristici anche del racconto popolare, quali l'invidia tra fratelli (qui tre sorelle), il serpente o drago rapitore, il palazzo incantato, il divieto di vedere il marito, la "ricerca dello sposo perduto" e infine gli aiutanti che soccorrono il protagonista nel

portare a termine i "compiti impossibili", ovvero le prove da superare prima dell'*happy end*.⁴ Tale omologia strutturale può anche essere un forte indizio del suo stretto legame con il mondo della fiaba popolare ma non basta, da sola, a dimostrare la sua origine o la sua natura di *folktale*:⁵ lo riconobbe anche Stith Thompson, scrivendo che «se non vi fossero degli analoghi nel folklore odierno, non potremmo immaginare di avere in questa storia di Apuleio la versione letteraria di quella che sicuramente fu una fiaba della campagna italiana e greca ai tempi di Marco Aurelio»⁶. Effettivamente, l'affinità del mito apuleiano con il genere della fiaba di magia gode del vasto riscontro di più di mille versioni popolari del racconto che condividono, pur con differenze, il medesimo schema narrativo. Raccolte dall'epoca romantica in avanti in molti paesi, europei prima ed extraeuropei poi, queste sono oggi facilmente reperibili perché indicizzate nell'inestimabile catalogo internazionale dei tipi della fiaba di Aarne e Thompson al numero ATU 425.7 La monografia di riferimento su questo specifico tipo narrativo rimane, ad oltre sessant'anni dalla comparsa, *The Tale of Cupid and Psyche* dello svedese Jan-Öjvind Swahn⁸, un lavoro decennale che recensisce 1042 varianti della storia secondo il metodo storico-geografico della scuola folkloristica nordica.

Nonostante le precise somiglianze riscontrate tra *Amore e Psiche* e i racconti indicizzati come ATU 425, è pur vero che nessuno di questi ne riflette la trama con assoluta esattezza e completezza⁹. Questo dato, insieme alla mancanza di attestazioni del mito anteriori a quella contenuta nelle *Metamorfosi*¹⁰, ha fatto sì che la presenza (o anche solo l'influenza) dell'elemento folklorico in Apuleio non venisse accettata senza riserve¹¹. L'ipotesi di una rielaborazione di materiali folklorici preesistenti è stata talora contestata in favore di una maggiore enfaticizzazione del ruolo creativo dell'autore¹² e delle sue fonti letterarie, arrivando persino sostenere la tesi opposta, ovvero che Apuleio avrebbe influenzato il folklore, e non viceversa¹³. Il più radicale portavoce di questa posizione estrema è stato il filologo berlinese Detlev Fehling, la cui impostazione ha profondamente segnato l'approccio tuttora dominante nell'area degli studi classici su *Amore e Psiche* ed è stata recepita anche dagli autorevoli *Groeningen Commentaries on Apuleius* (GCA)¹⁴ soprattutto grazie al consenso di Carl Schlam, che così chiude la questione¹⁵:

Scattered parallels to almost every motif in the tale of Cupid and Psyche can be encountered in ancient myths and literature as well as in later folktales. These do not establish that any fairly complete narrative, either oral or written, provided the narrative basis for the Apuleian tale. Apuleius himself may very well have composed the story out of disparate materials to serve as the centrepiece of his novel. Dispute on whether the hypothetical source was a folktale or a myth, oral or written, has long ceased to enlighten

our understanding of either the story or the culture of its time. The focus of our thinking about the Apuleian narrative should shift from where it came to where it is going.

Al netto del dibattito, il racconto di *Amore e Psiche* presenta effettivamente delle particolarità di cui è necessario tenere conto. Soprattutto, sebbene l'ipotesi di un'influenza diretta della versione di Apuleio sul folklore ci appaia inverosimile o comunque circoscrivibile a pochi e limitatissimi casi, la critica ai tentativi di ricondurre la trama complessiva a un antecedente folklorico sembra invece molto difficile da ignorare¹⁶. Quel genere di impostazione (davvero, verrebbe da dire, folkloristica) ha probabilmente già dato il meglio della propria efficacia e non si è dimostrata risolutiva. Tuttavia, preso atto di ciò, non condividiamo un certo approccio della filologia classica che, restringendo all'ambito letterario l'ampia questione delle fonti di Apuleio ed estendendo alla totalità del folklore la diffidenza verso i racconti del tipo ATU 425, nei fatti ha portato ad escludere *a priori* ogni contributo all'esegesi del testo che possa derivare dal confronto con materiali tradizionali significativi.

4. Contributi recenti dell'etnografia all'esegesi del testo apuleiano.

Un caso felice in cui ciò è avvenuto si ha nei recenti studi di Emmanuel e Nedjima Plantade, che alla luce di nuovi materiali provenienti dal Nordafrica, la patria di Apuleio, hanno tentato di superare l'*empasse* creatasi dopo l'intervento di Fehling tra gli studi classici e la folkloristica:¹⁷

Folkloric typology is at pains when it comes to establishing intertextual or genetic connections. This criticism, which is legitimate, does not necessarily mean that folklore's resources should be neglected, and Fehling undoubtedly exaggerates when he assumes that Apuleius' narrative has undergone only literary influences.

A partire da testimonianze etnografiche e sulla base dell'analisi del nuovo *corpus* di racconti nordafricani, la coppia di studiosi ha tentato di rilanciare ancora una volta l'ipotesi che Apuleio fosse entrato in contatto con una fonte orale berbera; che l'avesse rielaborata nel romanzo; e dunque che *Amore e Psiche* possa essere considerata come un'opera letteraria latina ampiamente basata su un canovaccio folklorico di origine libica¹⁸. Questa argomentazione, coraggiosamente contrastante con l'approccio dominante della filologia classica, necessiterebbe di una trattazione a parte, che tralasciamo in questa sede. Ci concentreremo invece sugli elementi etnografici prodotti dalla nuova documentazione, che hanno attirato la nostra attenzione per la chiarezza e l'economia con cui permettono di spiegare due punti critici del testo apuleiano. Entrambi i passaggi esaminati dai Plantade descrivono dei particolari gesti compiuti da personaggi del racconto e hanno a lungo sfidato l'acume dei filologi, suscitando ipotesi e congetture¹⁹.

Il primo gesto, assai enigmatico, si trova proprio nel paragrafo iniziale del racconto ed è compiuto dai forestieri che vengono ad ammirare Psiche²⁰:

<p>(...) <i>admouentes oribus suis dexteram primore digito in erectum pollicem residente, ut ipsam prorsus deam Venerem <uenerabantur> religiosis adorationibus.</i></p>	<p>(...) <i>accostando la mano destra alla bocca con l'indice appoggiato sul pollice disteso, la veneravano con atti di fervida devozione, come se si trattasse della dea Venere in persona.</i></p>
--	--

Per questo passo, mancando qualsiasi parallelo per la particolare posa delle dita, i commentatori di Groninga ammettono di non aver saputo trovare spiegazioni certe e ipotizzano che l'autore abbia sostanzialmente inventato, combinando il gesto religioso di portare il pugno alle labbra e un particolare movimento delle dita impiegato come segno di approvazione²¹. L'interpretazione è complicata anche dai problemi ecdotici riguardanti la variante *priore digito*, più conservativa e preferita sia dai GCA che dai Plantade²² in luogo del congetturale *primore digito* accolto da tutti gli editori²³. In entrambi i casi, l'espressione è stata quasi sempre tradotta come se si riferisse al dito indice. Ciononostante, i GCA (44) notano che un attento esame di ambedue le alternative sembra comunque suggerire che il senso letterale dell'espressione non voglia denotare tanto il dito indice quanto piuttosto la punta delle dita:

It must be emphasized here that the text has practically always been translated as if *priore digito* unambiguously refer to the index finger. [...] However, there is no attested instance of *digitus primor* indicating the index finger. [...] Nor is *digitus prior* attested in that sense. [...] However, both *digitus prior* and *digitus primor* are attested meaning finger (/toe) tip [...]. When we give up the idea that the index finger is meant here, and assume that the phrase refers to a gesture where the finger tip is made to rest on the outstretched thumb, without specifying which finger is meant, there is no reason to alter the ms. reading.

Il contributo addotto dai Plantade sulla base del materiale etnografico nordafricano sembra a questo punto fornire (letteralmente) il *clic* rivelatore: i due studiosi documentano tutt'oggi, sempre in Africa settentrionale ed esattamente nelle modalità in cui fu descritto da Apuleio, un particolare gesto eseguito dalle donne che si recano in pellegrinaggio alla tomba di un santo locale: dopo aver toccato la stoffa che ricopre il cenotafio, l'indice viene piegato per così dire intorno al pollice e il pugno chiuso viene portato con devozione alle

labbra.²⁴ La documentazione fotografica mostra che la punta dell'indice risulta ripiegata sul pollice disteso, rispecchiando con esattezza il senso letterale del testo tradito.

Notando che il gesto ricorre solo in Apuleio e anche nell'*Apologia* (56,4) "*adorandi gratia manum labris admouere*", gli autori concludono che esso doveva risultare al contempo esotico ma comprensibile per il lettore latino, contribuendo così all'atmosfera fiabesca del romanzo²⁵. Quanto alla problematica sollevata dalla distanza cronologica tra la documentazione e il testo, nel loro ultimo articolo i Plantade hanno proposto della documentazione iconografica (due mosaici realizzati da artigiani dell'Africa del Nord) a conferma della diffusione del gesto nell'epoca di Apuleio²⁶.

Il secondo caso è meno eclatante: riguarda il momento in cui Psiche, nella sua erranza alla ricerca di Cupido, giunge al cospetto di Venere (*Metamorfosi* VI, 9). Al vedere la fanciulla, la dea, nei suoi moti d'ira, scuote la testa e si gratta l'orecchio destro (*caputque quatens et ascalpens aurem dexteram*). Secondo i commentatori del GCA (425), il gesto rimane inspiegato e privo di paralleli nel folklore mondiale; al contrario, i Plantade affermano che in Nordafrica esiste un gran numero di gesti in rapporto con l'orecchio e in particolare registrano un parallelo al passo apuleiano in un racconto cabilo intitolato "*Bourgeon d'or*" in cui la protagonista si tocca l'orecchio destro come segno di scoraggiamento ogni volta che viene sottoposta ad un nuovo compito impossibile²⁷. Il gesto sarebbe dunque attribuito all'eroina, non all'antagonista, e l'emozione associata sarebbe quella dell'ansia, non l'ira; ma gli autori sottolineano che anche in questo caso, come nel precedente, Apuleio potrebbe aver voluto offrire una descrizione accurata di una pratica locale, notando che il participio *ascalpens* è *hapax*, probabilmente un neologismo creato a partire dal vero *scalpo*, *-is*, *-ere*.

Tenendo conto della provenienza nordafricana dell'autore e del suo interesse personale per le manifestazioni del fenomeno religioso e professionale, in quanto retore, per la dimensione gestuale in quanto connessa all'*actio*, la documentazione raccolta dai Plantade a partire dall'ambito folklorico-etnografico sembra a nostro avviso offrire contributi accettabili, se non risolutivi, per l'esegesi del testo. Restrungendo invece il campo al un piano meramente letterario, le difficoltà poste da questi passaggi sarebbero rimaste inespugnatte. I due gesti, documentati in un'area assolutamente marginale per gli studi classici e in un contesto femminile, non avrebbero potuto in alcun modo venire all'attenzione degli studiosi.

5. Le nozze funebri di Psiche alla luce del folklore balcanico.

5.1. La scena delle nozze funebri di Psiche in Apuleio.

Come ulteriore esempio di ricognizione sui modi in cui i dati etnografici tratti dal folklore possono illuminare i testi dell'antichità classica, procediamo ora all'analisi di un ultimo passo, meno filologicamente incerto ma ugualmente denso di implicazioni

mitiche e rituali. Iniziamo quest'ultima sezione ripercorrendo brevemente i paragrafi della storia di Psiche che riguardano l'oracolo di Mileto, l'esposizione della fanciulla sulla montagna e le sue "nozze funebri", evidenziando in grassetto i passaggi che saranno oggetto di discussione, qui come nella traduzione presente in nota²⁸.

*IV.33. Montis in excelsi scopulo, rex, siste puellam
ornatam mundo funerei thalami.*

Nec speres generum mortali stirpe creatum,
sed saevum atque ferum vipereumque malum,
quod pinnis volitans super aethera cuncta fatigat
flammaque et ferro singula debilitat,
quod tremit ipse Iovis quo numina terrificantur,
fluminaque horrescunt et Stygiae tenebrae.

Rex olim beatus affatu sanctae vaticinationis accepto pigens tristisque retro domum
pergit suaeque coniugi praecepta soris enodat infaustae. Maeretur, fletur, lamentatur
diebus plusculis. Sed dirae sortis iam urget taeter effectus. Iam **feralium nuptiarum**
miserrimae virgini choragium struitur, iam taedae lumen atrae fuliginis cinere marcescit,
et **sonus tibiae zygiae mutatur in querulum Ludii modum cantusque laetus hymenaei**
lugubri finitur ululatu et puella nuptura deterget lacrimas ipso suo flammeo. Sic
adfectae domus triste fatum cuncta etiam civitas congemebat luctuque publico confestim
congruens edicatur iustitium.²⁹

IV.34. Sed monitis caelestibus parendi necessitas misellam Psychen ad destinatam
poenam efflagitabat. Perfectis igitur **feralis thalami** cum summo maerore sollempnibus
toto prosequente populo **vivum producitur funus**, et lacrimosa Psyche comitatur **non**
nuptias sed exequias suas. [...] ³⁰

Quando, al paragrafo IV, 33, l'oracolo impone al padre di Psiche di abbandonare la fanciulla su una vetta, "vestita e ornata per funebri nozze" (*ornatam mundo funerei thalami*), l'ossimoro è il primo segnale della dimensione luttuosa, che raggiunge il *climax* nel momento in cui per la fanciulla ancora viva viene preparata per le "nozze di morte", una cerimonia nuziale e funebre insieme (*feralium nuptiarum choragium*), descritta con precisi segnali cromatici e uditivi, come la fiaccola oscurata e il suono dei flauti nuziali che si smorza in una querula melodia lidia. Il cordoglio si estende poi a tutta la città, mestamente partecipe della tragica sorte toccata alla giovane e alla sua famiglia. Nel paragrafo IV, 34, terminati i preparativi, si porta in processione il «cadavere vivente» (*vivum producitur funus*) e la povera Psiche è condotta non alle sue nozze bensì alle sue

esequie (*lacrimosa Psyche comitatur non nuptias sed exequias suas*). Nella parte che segue, la protagonista prende la parola con un discorso consolatorio rivolto ai genitori e agli astanti, in cui si evidenzia la sua completa e serena rassegnazione al destino impostole. Infine, nel paragrafo conclusivo del IV libro, Psiche piangente viene abbandonata sola sulla vetta del monte: ma lì la raggiunge la brezza di Zefiro che, sollevandola, la trasporta dolcemente su di un letto di erbe e fiori in una valletta sottostante.

5.2. Il tema etnografico-folklorico delle nozze funebri nel sud-est europeo.

Anche se non mancano, per questo episodio, somiglianze letterarie con le figure di Andromeda, Ifigenia, Antigone, Proserpina e altre eroine mitiche e tragiche³¹, il concetto delle nozze funebri, che si presenta in Apuleio con elevato grado di sofisticazione letteraria, assume tutt'altro tipo di risonanza e di profondità ancestrale se raffrontato al contesto etnografico balcanico e carpatico-danubiano, dove il tema mitico-rituale delle nozze funebri o nozze del morto [*nunta mortului*] riveste un'importanza centrale tanto nelle pratiche funerarie riguardanti i morti anzitempo quanto nei lamenti funebri che le accompagnano e, non ultimo, nel canto tradizionale senza dubbio più emblematico della specificità romena, *Miorița*, che narra la vicenda mitica del pastore in punto di morte che esprime le sue ultime volontà in forma di testamento, prescrivendo attentamente le modalità e il luogo della sepoltura, insieme agli oggetti che desidera gli siano posti accanto³². Il confronto si svolge dunque su tre piani: primo, la dimensione mitico-simbolica rituale documentata dall'etnografia su cui si innesta, secondo, il lamento funebre³³; l'insieme delle due trova infine un riflesso all'interno della costellazione mioritica, punto nevralgico del grande panorama dei generi orali tradizionali della Romania³⁴.

I punti di contatto tra questi tre piani e la vicenda di Psiche pertengono tutti al macro-tema della morte anzitempo, nella particolare declinazione da esso assunta nel caso del trapasso prematuro di un individuo giovane e non sposato, che si ricava da tre specifici passaggi testuali: l'oracolo che comanda che Psiche venga preparata (vestita e ornata) per delle nozze funebri sulla montagna; le caratteristiche ambigue della processione, in cui vengono a sovrapporsi il cerimoniale funebre e quello nuziale; infine la sottomessa accettazione del destino di morte non solo da parte della comunità e della famiglia, ma anche dalla protagonista stessa, che si rassegna all'ineluttabile con una fatalità che si dimostra estranea alla logica letteraria dei sentimenti umani. Esaminiamoli con ordine.

5.3. La vestizione.

Quanto al primo elemento, l'esistenza del complesso mitico-simbolico e rituale delle nozze del morto nel contesto romeno e balcanico fu studiata già nel 1925 da

Ion Mușlea³⁵. Partendo dal folklore greco, ben documentato e intessuto di riflessi la cui filigrana è riconoscibile nelle testimonianze greche classiche³⁶, lo studioso portò all'attenzione materiali folklorici ed etnografici di straordinario interesse, mostrando in un'ampia prospettiva comparata sud-est europea che il nesso morte-matrimonio è un tratto comune anche all'area slovena e bulgara, romena e aromena.

Non ignaro della lezione di Van Gennep sulla vicinanza del rituale funebre con quello nuziale in quanto riti di passaggio, Mușlea riconobbe la rilevanza dell'usanza romena di seppellire i giovani morti non sposati con un vestito nuziale e altri oggetti simbolici come l'anello o la corona, ornamento tipicamente indossato dagli sposi durante il matrimonio religioso cristiano ortodosso³⁷. In certi casi, una giovane poteva essere designata (o anche offrirsi volontaria) per fungere da "sposa" per un ragazzo morto prematuramente³⁸, inscenando una cerimonia di nozze (non vincolante per il *partner* vivo), con amici nel ruolo di testimoni. Anche per costoro, l'abbigliamento non è casuale. Lo conferma Gail Kligman³⁹, nella sua indagine antropologica sulla tradizione del funerale-matrimonio nel Maramureș condotta nel 1978-1979⁴⁰.

The deceased, who is about to be married in death, is dressed in wedding attire; brides – living or dead – wear white. The bridesmaid is also dressed appropriately for her role. The other participants who "celebrate" this wedding, however, are mourners; accordingly, they are dressed in black funeral clothes. [...] While the "bride" or "groom" wears a wedding crown, the mourners respect the convention of funeral decorum; for example, the men go bareheaded.

Anche per la Grecia, Danforth riporta consuetudini simili⁴¹:

The analogy between marriage and death is even clearer, and is explicitly articulated, at the funeral of an unmarried person. On such occasions people say, "We celebrate the funeral like a wedding" (*Tin kidhia tin kanoume sa ghamo*). [...] In Potamia and in many other areas of Greece a person who dies unmarried is buried dressed in wedding attire. The deceased also wears a wedding crown, which in some cases is actually placed on his head by his godparent, just as it is during the Orthodox wedding ceremony.

Lungi dall'aver diffusione locale, consuetudini del medesimo stampo non sono difficili da rintracciare anche in aree molto diverse da quella sud-est europea, perché corrispondono ad un serbatoio più ampio di ritualità funebri note a tutti i popoli, fino alla Cina⁴². La loro funzione compensativa è ben chiara, essendo volta a risarcire il defunto di ciò che la morte prematura gli aveva sottratto e a far sì che non ritornasse ad esigerlo

dai vivi; al contempo, per la comunità tradizionale l'evento fortemente traumatico della morte anzitempo andava esorcizzato e sublimato con una ritualità precisa, che cercava di suggerire attraverso l'adempimento di pratiche codificate l'idea dell'attraversamento di tutte le tappe e le età sociali della vita. Il ciclo, se interrotto in modo inopportuno, richiedeva una riconferma simbolico-rituale della sua validità⁴³.

5.4. Canzoni da matrimonio o da funerale?

La forte relazione tra funerale e matrimonio appena riscontrata sul piano rituale si riflette anche nel secondo piano dell'analisi, quello del lamento cerimoniale. Nel caso delle nozze funebri in contesto romeno, il repertorio lessicale enfatizza l'identificazione morte-matrimonio, identificando il defunto come "sposo" o "sposa". Così per esempio nel seguente lamento riportato da Klingman⁴⁴:

*N-am văzut așă un mnire
Măi Dumni ca și pă tine.
Să zie popa acasă
Să te cunune pe masă.
Mnirele stă-n copârșeu
Mnireasa-i la Dumnezău.
Cu haine albe-mbrăcată
N-om vide-o niciodată. [...]*

*Non ho mai visto uno sposo così bello
Come sei tu, Dumi,
Che il prete arrivi a casa
E ti incoroni sopra la tavola.
Lo sposo è nella bara,
La sposa è la sposa del Signore,
Tutta vestita di bianco
Non la vedrà nessuno.*

Ancora una volta, il lamento funebre della Grecia rurale conferma tale identificazione. La metafora nuziale dovrebbe anche mitigare il contrasto vita-morte, assimilando due i riti secondo una modalità ben documentata⁴⁵:

Don't tell them that I have been killed.
Don't tell them that I am dead.
Just tell them that I have married and taken a good wife.
I have taken the tombstone as my mother-in-law, the black earth as my wife,
and I have the little pebbles as brothers- and sisters-in-law.

Il procedimento metaforico che porta ad associare i due elementi opposti del matrimonio e della morte non è, dunque, affatto estraneo alla poesia popolare⁴⁶. Ma c'è di più: nel lamento funebre greco in occasione delle "nozze del morto" colpisce il fatto, notato da Danforth, che i canti eseguiti nelle cerimonie funebri potessero essere gli stessi

del matrimonio, soltanto con modifiche testuali o musicali volte ad adattarli al contesto funebre. Riportiamo l'intero passaggio⁴⁷:

One of the most striking features of Greek funeral laments is the close resemblance they bear to the songs that are sung at weddings throughout rural Greece. In Potamia these wedding songs are called *nifika traghoudhia* or *nifiatika traghoudhia*, literally "bridal songs". The classification of songs as *miroloyia* or as *nifika traghoudhia* depends on the context in which they are performed. These two categories of songs resemble each other with regard to their musical form, their narrative structure, and their iconography. So close is this resemblance that many songs can be sung at both death rites and weddings. Of such a song it is said: "You can sing it as a funeral lament, and you can also sing it as a wedding song" (*To les miroloyi, to les ke nifko*). The lyrics and the basic melody of these songs are the same whether they are performed at death rites or at weddings, but the manner in which the melody is sung varies according to the occasion. When these songs are sung at weddings, the style is more forceful, vigorous, and joyful; the melody more elaborate, with trills and light melismatic phrases. At death rites, the style is more somber and restrained; the melody flatter and less elaborate. This relationship between funeral laments and wedding songs is but one aspect of a larger correspondence or analogy between death rites and marriage rites which is to be found in Greek culture.

La circolazione o sostanziale identità di testi e melodie tra il genere del lamento funebre e della canzone nuziale è riportata da Mușlea per il contesto aromeno⁴⁸:

Si celui qui vient de mourir et jeune, on lui chante beaucoup de myriologues sur des airs de chansons de noce et sur différents autres airs usités dans les réjouissances ; ou bien ce sont les chansons de noce un peu adaptées à la situation tragique.

Per quanto peculiare o inappropriata possa apparire alla mentalità occidentale l'unione sincretica del canto da nozze con il lamento funebre, essa trova ragione nel tratto saliente che li accomuna in quanto riti di passaggio, ossia nel tema della partenza da un luogo per un altro: dalla casa dei familiari a quella degli affini oppure dal mondo dei vivi a quello dei defunti. Al pari del macro-tema delle nozze del morto, anche questa usanza ha una diffusione geografica e culturale ampia, essendo documentato per esempio in Kirghizistan⁴⁹.

Anche senza insistere oltre nell'esame della documentazione etnografica, si vede che la consuetudine balcanica delle «nozze del morto» è ben caratterizzata e presenta più punti di somiglianza con la vicenda di Psiche. Di fronte all'ambiguo responso dell'oracolo, nessuno dei personaggi è incerto sul significato da attribuire al vaticinio né sulla prassi rituale da seguire. La fanciulla, in Apuleio ancor viva, per andare incontro alla morte

viene vestita da sposa e condotta in processione accompagnata da canti che smorzano le melodie nuziali in toni lugubri, esattamente come documentato dall'etnografia nei contesti tradizionali menzionati sopra⁵⁰.

Esistono, dunque, chiare corrispondenze tra le azioni di Psiche, dei suoi genitori e della sua comunità e quelle ritualmente svolte nel contesto rurale sud-est europeo in caso di morte anzitempo, rappresentative di un insieme di credenze che secondo Mircea Eliade sarebbero tanto arcaiche da affondare le loro radici nella preistoria⁵¹.

5.5. Rassegnarsi alla morte.

L'ultimo elemento da indagare è l'atteggiamento di Psiche nell'apprendere dal responso oracolare il destino che l'attende: ricorreremo in questo senso ad un testo di principale rilievo nel panorama del folklore romeno, *Miorița*, anch'esso riassumibile come la "cronaca di una morte annunciata".

Come accennato, il nucleo del «testamento del pastore», in cui il pastorello designa il luogo della sepoltura e gli oggetti che vuole vicino a sé, è probabilmente il motivo più rappresentativo del canto e sicuramente quello che ricorre con maggiore frequenza nell'ampio *corpus* di varianti disponibili. Nel repertorio più arcaico delle *colinde* transilvane, infatti, esso può essere addirittura l'unico presente, mentre nel genere più recente del *cântec bătrânesc* è di norma inserito in uno sviluppo narrativo più articolato, arricchito di elementi affabulatori e giullareschi. La «pecorella veggente» predice al pastorello la morte imminente, spesso mettendolo in guardia dalle intenzioni omicide dei suoi colleghi pastori più anziani ed esortandolo a difendersi. Ciononostante, il pastorello rifiuta di fuggire o di opporre resistenza, indicando invece le modalità con cui la sua stessa uccisione dovrebbe avvenire, aprendo il problema di quale sia la logica da sottendere alle sue parole.

Poiché il canto di *Miorița* appartiene a una tradizione orale che vive nelle sue varianti, per cui non vale il concetto letterario di una versione originale o corretta, non è possibile fissarlo in un solo testo. A titolo di esempio, riportiamo qui una *Colinda dei pastori (Colinda păcurarilor)* attinta dalla monumentale raccolta di Adrian Fochi⁵², con traduzione di Dan Octavian Cepraga⁵³.

La virfițu muntelui
 Dimineața lui Crăciun,
 sunt vreo trei păcurarași.
 Cei mai mari îs veri primari,
 cel mai mic îi strein tare,
 Tot îl mîna și-l adună
 ca s-abată oile.
 Pîna oile-abătè,
 lui grea lege îi facè:
 o pîn pușce să-l împușce
 ori în sabie să-l arunce.
 El din grai așa grăia;
 - "Dragilor frați și firtați,
 pe mine nu mă-mpușcați,
 fără capul mi-l luați
 și pă mine mă-ngropați
 în turiștea oilor,
 în jocuțul mieilor.
 Pă mine pămînt nu puneți,
 numai dragă gluga mea
 și drag fluierașul meu
 puneți-l la capul meu.
 Cînd vîntu a trăgăna
 fluierașul m-a cînta,
 cînd a sufla vîntu lin
 m-a cînta ca p-un strein,
 cînd a sufla vîntu-ncet
 m-a cînta ca p-un secret,
 oile cele cornute
 mîndru m-or cînta pe munte,
 oile cele bălăi,
 mîndru m-or cînta per văi,
 oile cele seine,
 mîndru m-or cînta per mine."

In cima al monte
 La mattina di Natale
 ci sono tre pastorelli.
 I più grandi sono cugini,
 il più piccolo è forestiero,
 lo incitano e lo tirano
 perché raduni le pecore.
 Finché le pecore raduna,
 la dura usanza gli fanno:
 di sparargli col fucile
 o di passarlo al coltello.
 Lui con le parole così parlò:
 - "Cari fratelli e compari,
 non sparatemi,
 ma tagliatemi la testa
 e seppellitemi
 nello strame delle pecore,
 dove giocano gli agnelli.
 Su di me non mettete la terra,
 ma solo il mio bel covone di grano,
 e il mio caro zuffoletto
 mettetemelo vicino alla testa.
 Quando il vento passerà
 lo zuffolo mi suonerà;
 quando soffierà il vento dolce
 mi piangerà come un forestiero;
 Quando soffierà il vento piano
 mi piangerà come un maledetto,
 le pecore dai cornetti
 ben mi piangeranno per il monte,
 le pecore dal pelo chiaro ben mi
 piangeranno per le valli,
 le pecore dal pelo grigio ben mi
 piangeranno."

Evidenziando la funzione cerimoniale di *Miorița* e rilevando che essa poteva essere eseguita come “colinda da morto”, i recenti studi di Giorgia Bernardele hanno puntualizzato il dato cruciale che⁵⁴ “al centro focale di *Miorița colind* vi è una morte atipica, più precisamente la morte prematura di un giovane pastore, sopraggiunta in circostanze eccezionali, fuori dal villaggio natale”. Su questa base, si comprende come le bizzarre richieste del pastorello vadano ricondotte al preciso contesto della morte «atipica», ampia categoria che comprende tutti i decessi fuori dall’ordinario e in particolare le morti premature. La serie di prescrizioni e interdizioni espressa dal nucleo del “testamento del pastore” descrive lo schema primitivo di un rituale funebre e illustra gli atti essenziali da compiere nel caso di una morte anzitempo, avvenuta per strada, lontano dal villaggio, dal compianto delle persone care e priva dell’inumazione in terra consacrata.

La richiesta di un particolare luogo di sepoltura è uno degli elementi più esemplificativi in tal senso e può risultare utile anche per la lettura del testo di Apuleio. Come riporta Bernardele (148-149), ai morti di morte atipica veniva riservato, di regola o per circostanze, un trattamento diverso, lo spazio cimiteriale essendo riservato ai defunti che hanno portato a termine la “quantità di vita” [*veac*] toccata loro in sorte. Per i pastori morti per strada, in particolare, la sepoltura improvvisata e sommaria era spesso una scelta obbligata in una situazione di transumanza, essendo impraticabile, specie in certe condizioni ambientali o stagionali, l’eventualità del trasporto o anche solo l’inumazione. La mobilità del gregge non consentiva di attardarsi per adempiere ai riti normalmente spettanti al defunto e poteva rendere obbligato il suo abbandono nel luogo immediato del decesso, lasciando però lui e la sua comunità esposti al trauma e ai pericoli derivanti da quella che era considerata una inadempienza grave. Ecco allora che il canto fornisce il protocollo rituale adatto alla particolare situazione e il pastorello chiedere di essere sepolto in una zona ben definita del recinto delle pecore, oppure anche lungo la strada, ai piedi di tre abeti o accanto a un pozzo. Eccetto l’ovile, che richiama la continuità *post mortem* della professione svolta in vita, si tratta di luoghi liminari, connotati anche come punti di passaggio, che riflettono immediatamente la condizione di «morto-non-morto» di chi fosse scomparso in modalità anomala, senza aver completato per intero il ciclo della vita o senza l’accompagnamento funebre dovuto.

Di più: incroci, radure con alberi e polle d’acqua sono considerati anche come punti di accesso all’altro mondo, così come le cime dei monti, spazio di incontro tra la dimensione celeste e terrestre. Forse per questo motivo, come osserva Bernardele,⁵⁵ “il luogo di sepoltura [del pastore] si trova piuttosto in montagna, ‘in alto’, nelle vicinanze dell’ovile o del gregge, oppure ‘sulla cima di un monte’, e in ogni caso lontano dal villaggio, situato ‘in basso’, in pianura”. In questo senso, anche il recarsi di Psiche in

vetta a una montagna per compiere le sue «nozze funebri» potrebbe costituire una spia non casuale di rispondenza rituale.

Anche se assente nella variante riportata, non è estraneo alla varietà tematica di *Miorița* il motivo delle nozze postume, ovvero la rappresentazione della morte del pastore come un matrimonio, con la richiesta che alla madre non venga riferito della sua morte, bensì delle sue nozze⁵⁶. Come nota ancora Bernardele⁵⁷, la figura della «vecchia madre» contribuisce ad offrire la giusta cornice interpretativa del canto, «la vicenda di un pastore *înstrăinat*, che non ha fatto più ritorno a casa ed è aspettato invano dai parenti». I motivi delle nozze postume e della vecchia madre possono anche mancare, specie nelle varianti più antiche, ma loro attestazione nella *Miorița* contribuisce a mostrare la coerenza e la coesione del sistema mitico-rituale dell’area romena, in cui i motivi circolano in quanto materia viva, e insieme la fondatezza della rapportabilità del canto con le nozze funebri di Psiche.

L’elemento della decapitazione, pure non necessariamente presente, è invece estraneo al contesto apuleiano e non è necessario soffermarvisi se non per l’analogia che consente di tracciare con altri casi in cui è la vittima stessa a descrivere le modalità della propria uccisione, mostrando indifferenza verso la morte. Ma, più in generale, si può dire che l’accettazione fatalistica della morte è un antichissimo motivo mitico-folklorico collegato ad una dimensione protocollare e prescrittiva in contesto rituale⁵⁸.

Se letta in questa chiave, la serena accettazione della morte anzitempo da parte del pastorello, spesso tritamente interpretata come un’espressione del fatalismo romeno, assume connotati ben diversi e particolarmente arcaici, essendo documentata nello strato più antico delle tradizioni orali romene, rappresentato dalla colinda. Nelle sue ultime volontà, il pastore chiede che alla sua morte venga seguito un preciso protocollo di gesti, stabilendo insomma una prassi rituale appropriata per la morte improvvisa di un pastore lontano da casa e spiegando le azioni da compiere per esorcizzare e sublimare un evento traumatico e sconvolgente per la comunità. Dunque, l’accettazione della morte è ben più di un tratto estetico e letterario, bensì un elemento rivelatore della presenza di un profondissimo sostrato mitico-folklorico, sintomo dell’importanza e dell’attenzione ossessiva che la mentalità tradizionale riservava alle norme comportamentali e agli atti cerimoniali.

L’atteggiamento di indifferenza di fronte alla morte, particolarmente smaccato in *Miorița*, non è affatto *hapax* nel panorama del folklore romeno e ciò, come nota Cefruga⁵⁹, “potrebbe suggerire la presenza di un vecchio scenario rituale dimenticato”, i cui echi, aggiungiamo, si possono ritrovare anche nella “fatalità rituale” con cui Psiche si avvia alle proprie nozze funebri.

6. Conclusioni

Non sembra il caso di insistere qui su come sia possibile colmare la distanza diacronica, geografica e culturale che separa le *Metamorfosi* dalle testimonianze folkloriche ed etnografiche che sono state prese in considerazione: abbiamo trovato altissimi spunti di metodo nelle eccellenti riflessioni di Carlo Ginzburg, che nell'introduzione a *Storia Notturna* scrive tra l'altro (XXXVII-XXVII)⁶⁰: «Nella sezione trasversale di qualunque presente sono incrociati anche molti passati, di diverso spessore temporale, che (soprattutto nel caso di testimonianze folkloriche) possono rinviare a un contesto spaziale molto più vasto. «.

Una prima ricognizione della straordinaria documentazione etnografica del folklore carpatico-danubiano e balcanico riconducibile al tema della morte anzitempo ha mostrato somiglianze puntuali con la scena delle nozze funebri di Psiche nelle *Metamorfosi*. Le parole dell'oracolo, i gesti e la musica rituali, gli atteggiamenti stessi dell'eroina presentano precisi punti di tangenza con le arcaiche tradizioni attestate e praticate in contesti rurali sud-est europei fino ai decenni a noi più vicini dell'ultimo secolo. Lungi dal pretendere di poter trarre conclusioni, interpretare o spiegare su queste basi il racconto complessivo di Apuleio, ci sembra che le affinità così riscontrate possano gettare nuova luce sui precisi passaggi testuali che tradiscono, nel loro assetto folklorico, la chiara presenza di sottintesi mitico-simbolici e mitico-rituali, incorporati nell'opera da un autore perfettamente in grado di sfruttare elementi della cultura elevata come di quella popolare, mascherando al contempo le proprie molteplici fonti.

Sotto il profilo metodologico, si è riscontrata una certa tendenza nell'area degli studi classici che vorrebbe resistere ad un approccio meno strettamente letterario al testo e alle fonti di Apuleio. Pur apprezzandone le conquiste, riteniamo che una via d'accesso ai classici che tenga conto del folklore e dell'etnografia possa in certi casi rivelarsi non solo remunerativa bensì indispensabile per riconoscere e valutare correttamente fenomeni normali della prassi di un autore, come il dosaggio di elementi orali e tradizionali all'interno di un'opera letteraria non per questo meno colta, sofisticata o esteticamente riuscita.

Nicola Perencin is a PhD Candidate in Romanian Literature at the Department of Linguistics and Literature Studies, University of Padua (Italy). His research project, "The traditional narrative genres of Romanian folklore in comparison to the classical world", is supervised by prof. Dan Octavian Cepraga. His main areas of interest are Folklore, Romanian Literature and Classic Studies. (nicola.perencin@phd.unipd.it)

Notes

- 1 Apuleio, *Metamorfosi* IV, 28. Testo e traduzione sono riferiti ad Apuleio, *Le Metamorfosi o l'Asino d'Oro*, a cura di Lara Nicolini (Milano: BUR 2005). Approfitto di questa nota iniziale per ringraziare il mio maestro Dan Cepraga, la lettrice Iulia Cosma e il collega Pietro Vesentin per le critiche e il sostegno in questa mia prima ricognizione sull'argomento.
 - 2 Carl C. Schlam, *The metamorphoses of Apuleius. On making an ass of oneself* (London: Duckworth 1992), 85, n. 7.
 - 3 Emmanuel and Nedjima Plantade, «Libyca Psyche, Apuleius' Narrative and Berber Folktales», in *Apuleius and Africa* (London: Routledge 2014), 174-202; Emmanuel et Nedjima Plantade, «Du conte berbère au mythe grec: le cas d'Eros et Psyche», in *Revue des Études Berbères*, vol. 9 (INALCO, 2013), 533-563. Per brevità, ci riferiremo alla coppia di studiosi come a Plantade.
 - 4 Studi degli anni 1970 hanno offerto complete analisi strutturali del racconto di Apuleio alla luce delle categorie proppiane: cfr. Teresa Mantero, *Amore a Psiche. Struttura di una "fiaba di magia"* (Bergamo: Arti Grafiche Monti, 1973) e Michèle Brossard, «Conte ou mythe? Apulée, Métamorphoses» in *Des Mythes* (Fontenay-aux-Roses: Les Cahiers de Fontenay, 9-10, 1978), 79-134. Brossard esprime chiaramente l'aspettativa di confermare la natura folklorica di un racconto rilevando al suo interno le funzioni di Propp: «On ne sait s'il s'agit d'un conte populaire intégré par Apulée à son œuvre ou d'une création de cet auteur. [...] Si nous trouvons dans ce conte les fonctions du conte merveilleux telles que Propp les a identifiées et dans l'ordre qu'il a relevé, il y a des fortes chances pour que nous nous trouvions en présence d'un véritable conte populaire, c'est-à-dire d'un mythe.» (Brossard, cit.), 79-80.
 - 5 Carlo Donà, «Vladimir Propp e la morfologia della fiaba», in *Omaggio a Gianfranco Folena* (Padova: Editoriale Programma, 1993), 2103-2125 ha ridiscusso i presupposti, metodi e risultati della *Morfologia della Fiaba* di Vladimir Propp evidenziando che lo studioso russo «ha infatti postulato aprioristicamente l'esistenza di una particolare categoria di fiabe, le 'favole di magia', appunto, semplicemente isolando in modo del tutto arbitrario e senza giustificazioni di sorta uno degli elementi della fiaba, il 'magico', e ha presupposto quindi, senza tentare di dimostrarlo in nessun modo, che tali 'favole di magia' costituissero a differenza delle altre favole un insieme morfologicamente omogeneo» Donà, cit., 2105.
 - 6 Stith Thompson, *La fiaba nella tradizione popolare* (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 2016), 307.
 - 7 Cfr. Aarne, Thompson, Uther, *The types of international folktales* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia 2004). Il tipo ATU 425 è diviso in sottogruppi e la versione di Apuleio è collegata al tipo ATU 425 B.
 - 8 Jan-Öjvind Swahn, *The tale of Cupid and Psyche* (Lund: CWK Gleerup 1955).
 - 9 Schlam (1992), 86: «The folklorists' collections of tales document many shared motifs, but the novel's overall scheme of action, as outlined above, is in large part unparalleled. Identification of Apuleius' narrative with the tale-type of the 'monster mate' is problematic. «.
 - 10 Quanto alle attestazioni letterarie, Graham Anderson, *Fairy tale in the Ancient World* (London and New York: Routledge 2000), 61-71, (come già Naumann e Tegethoff: cfr. Schlam, *id.*, 87 n. 16.) vede una parziale anticipazione di *Amore Psiche* nella vicenda di Zeus e Semele; crede inoltre di poter individuare l'intreccio completo nel complesso mitologico relativo al dio ittita Telipinu (II millennio a.C.).
- Quanto alle attestazioni non letterarie, esistono testimonianze iconografiche greche che in passato sono state addotte come prova della preesistenza e della circolazione orale del racconto nel mondo classico, ma il consenso nel considerarle collegate ad *Amore e Psiche* è tutt'altro che unanime. Il riferimento è Carl C. Schlam, *Cupid and Psyche. Apuleius and the monuments*, (University Park Pennsylvania: The American Philological Association, 1976).
- 11 Cfr. i profili di Kawczynsky e Wesselsky nella rassegna su «Aa425 and Folk-tale Research» in Swahn, *id.*, 397. Al nocciolo della loro obiezione sta l'antico pregiudizio che vedeva nella cultura popolare un relitto derivato dalla cultura colta delle classi alte (invero mai supportata da una convincente trafila stemmatica) e che riduceva lo studio folklore alla banale agnizione dell'antecedente letterario delle varianti date. Oggi, al contrario, si considera l'autonomia del folklore come un fatto assodato.
 - 12 Schlam 1992, 89: «The Apuleian tale created, rather than preserved, a myth of Cupid and Psyche».

- 13 Detlev Fehling, *Amor und Psyche. Die Schöpfung des Apuleius und ihre Einwirkung auf das Märchen. Eine kritik der romantischen Märchentheorie*, (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner: 1977). Non conoscendo il tedesco, ne riassumo le posizioni a partire da Ken Dowden, [recensione a] “Detlev Fehling: Amor und Psyche...”, in *The Classical Review*, 29(2), (1979) 314 e Carl Schlam, [recensione a] “Detlev Fehling: Amor und Psyche...” in *Classical Philology*, The University of Chicago Press, vol. 76, No.2 (Apr., 1981), 164-166. Il filologo berlinese si mostra scettico riguardo all’esistenza stessa del folklore nel mondo antico e considera tutte le versioni successive al 1830 come contaminate e riconducibili alle opere letterarie ispirate ad Apuleio. Le sue posizioni estreme, inconciliabili con quelle dei folkloristi, non hanno mancato di suscitare decise reazioni, come quella di William Hansen, *Ariadne’s Thread. A Guide to International Tales found in Classical Literature*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002), 112: “This vision seems to me a caricature of the philological model, in which all knowledge is transmitted via written documents, which derive in turn from other written documents. It does not jibe with the experience of fieldworkers who have collected oral texts from illiterate narrators and from semiliterate narrators with little access to books, nor with the fact that storytellers may recount tales that they heard decades earlier.”
- In particolare, Fehling ritiene anche che postulare per alcune opere del mondo greco-latino un antecedente folklorico perduto sia un pregiudizio romantico, tanto più se questo comporta un’inversione cronologica tanto evidente quanto arbitraria come sarebbe, a detta sua, il ricercare le fonti di Apuleio in testimonianze del XIX e XX secolo. Sulla capacità delle tradizioni popolari di veicolare nuclei narrativi stabili per migliaia di anni anche in culture illetterate si veda Walter Ong, *Oralità e Scrittura. La tecnologia della parola* (Bologna: Il Mulino 1986). Un caso di studio concreto in grado di rispondere all’obiezione, tutto sommato arretrata, ci sembra possa provenire dall’area degli studi omerici, per cui si veda Francesco Bertolini, “Società di trasmissione orale: mito e folklore”, in *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia Antica* (Roma: Salerno Editrice 1992), 47-75, e Francesco Bertolini, “Dal folklore all’epica: esempi di trasformazione e adattamento”, in *Il Meraviglioso e il Verosimile tra Antichità e Medioevo*, ed. Diego Lanza e Oddone Longo (Firenze: Olschki 1989), 131-152.
- 14 M. Zimmermann, S. Panayotakis et alii, *Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius – Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses – Books IV 28–35, V and VI 1–24: The Tale of Cupid and Psyche* Pp. IX + 596. (Groningen: Egbert Forsten 2004), 2 n. 5. Cfr. anche, Luca Graverini, [recensione a] M. Zimmerman, S. Panayotakis, V.C. Hunink, W.H. Keulen, S.J. Harrison, Th.D. McCreight, B. Wesseling, D. van Mal-Maeder, *Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses, Books IV 28-35, V and VI 1-24: The Tale of Cupid and Psyche*, Groningen, E. Forsten 2004, “Ancient Narrative” 5 (2007), 97-107.
- 15 Schlam (1992), 89-90.
- 16 Per questa ragione non ci addenteremo qui nella ricognizione delle varianti romene di ATU 425, questione comunque non banale, mancando – lacuna grave – un indice aggiornato dei tipi della fiaba romena. ATU in questo senso è soltanto il punto di partenza e spesso rimanda al quasi centenario Adolf Schuller, *Verzeichnis der rumänischen märchen und märchenvarianten, nach dem system der märchentypen Antti Aarnes zusammengestellt*, (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1928), FFC 78-80. Importantissimo riferimento è la raccolta di Ovidiu Bîrlea, *Antologia de proză populară epică*, 3 voll. (București: Editura pentru Literatură 1966).
- 17 Plantade (2014), 175.
- 18 Plantade (2017), 78 e ss.. La forte presenza nel corpus nordafricano di racconti del tipo ATU 425 di motivi caratteristici come l’interdizione di vedere il marito e la prova della cernita delle granaglie potrebbero, secondo gli autori, riaprire la questione dell’origine orale del racconto.
- 19 Plantade 2013, 556-557. Gli autori hanno ripreso l’argomento in lavori più recenti: Emmanuel et Nedjima Plantade, “Le récit de Psyché et Cupidon comme témoignage sur la littérature orale amazighe”, in *Regards croisés sur Apulée* (Alger: 2017), 75-98; e Emmanuel et Nedjima Plantade, “Psyché (d’Apulée)”, in *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 37, (2015), col. 6588-6602.
- 20 Apuleio, *Metamorfosi* IV, 28.
- 21 GCA, 43: “This description of the hand gesture, although suggesting minute detail, is far from clear. It seems as if Apuleius in the phrase *admoventes oribus... dexteram priore digito...* residente has combined the religious gesture attested elsewhere (see previous note) with a specific position of the fingers which may refer to a non-religious gesture of approval.”
- 22 Per un quadro completo della questione, si veda GCA, 43-44. Per la posizione di Plantade 2017, 78-83.
- 23 Plantade (2017), 78 nota 3 fa risalire la congettura a Pierre Grimal, *Apulée, Métamorphoseis (IV, 28 – VI, 24)* (Paris: PUF 1963), 36. Così anche Nicolini, di cui qui abbiamo seguito il testo.
- 24 Plantade (2013), 557. Plantade 2017, 78-83 riprende ed amplia l’esegesi del passo, arricchendo con documentazione fotografica la descrizione del gesto.
- 25 “Du point de vue littéraire, la précision extrême de la description du geste apporte donc ce que R. Barthes appelle « un effet de réel », qui a pour but de transporter le lecteur dans un monde fictif, parce que culturellement hybride. En définitive, on peut affirmer que le geste des adorateurs de Psyché est, pour le lecteur romain, à la fois intelligible — il peut y retrouver une pratique pieuse qui lui est familière —, et étrange, voire exotique, dans sa précision. C’est ainsi qu’Apulée a pu introduire dans son roman, pour ainsi dire en contrebande, une touche d’amazighité que seul le lecteur initié peut déceler.” (Plantade 2017, *cit.*), 83.
- 26 “L’étude des représentations antiques apporte une confirmation supplémentaire à cette observation ethnologique fondamentale. En effet, quelques mosaïques antiques, réalisées par des artisans d’Afrique du nord montrent que le geste (LIMC 1 s.v. Amazones n° 793*; LIMC 2 s.v. Artemisi/Diana n°60* et n°58*) était déjà en usage à l’époque d’Apulée.” Plantade (2017), 81.
- 27 “On pourrait également trouver en Afrique du nord, une grande variété de ces gestes en rapport avec l’oreille, dont celui d’Apulée pourrait faire partie. Mais il n’y a plus lieu, désormais, de chercher aussi loin car la réponse se trouve dans le conte kabyle « Bourgeon d’or » publié par Y. Allioui (2002). Ce geste y est restitué dans sa pureté originelle, qui est de se gratter l’oreille, (et non « la tête derrière l’oreille »), et accompli dans un contexte d’affliction, puisqu’il est attribué à l’héroïne, à chaque fois que celle-ci est accablée devant une nouvelle tâche impossible. En outre, le participe *ascalpens* est un hapax, un néologisme créé par Apulée à partir du verbe *scalpo*, is, ere. Il est possible que cette innovation lexicale de l’auteur latin soit due à la volonté de donner une description technique à une pratique locale, conçue comme très spécifique, et originale.” (Plantade 2013, 556). Il riferimento è a Y. Allioui, *Contes Kabyles. Timucuha*, (Paris: Harmattan, 2002).
- 28 Apuleio, *Metamorfosi* IV, 33-34.
- 29 IV, 33. **In cima a un alto monte, a nozze sia vestita, / lascia tua figlia, o re, per nozze senza vita.** / Non t’aspettare un genero d’origine mortale, / ma un mostro velenoso, spietato ed esiziale: / su con l’ali volando nel cielo tutto fiacca, / ogni creatura sfibra, con ferro e fuoco attacca: / ne trema Giove stesso che temono anche i numi, / e l’Ade ne ha paura, con gl’infernali fiumi. //
- Il re un tempo felice, appresa la rivelazione della sacra profezia, tornò a casa tutto dolente e triste raccontò alla moglie le istruzioni di quel vaticinio funesto. E per un po’ di giorni sono lacrime, pianti, lamenti. Ma ormai incombe il termine tremendo dello spaventoso vaticinio. E già si prepara per la disgraziata fanciulla la cerimonia di quelle **nozze di morte**, già la luce della fiaccola si offusca sotto la cenere di una scura fuliggine, **il suono del flauto nuziale si muta in un lamentoso ritmo lidio e l’inno gioioso dell’imeneo si conclude in un lugubre grido di dolore, e la ragazza che sta per sposarsi si asciuga le lacrime col suo stesso velo nuziale**. Allo stesso modo, la città intera piangeva il triste destino di quella famiglia così duramente colpita e subito venne indetto un giorno di sospensione di tutti gli affari in segno di lutto cittadino.
- 30 IV.34. Ma la necessità di obbedire ai comandi divini richiedeva la povera Psiche alla pena stabilita; perciò, appena compiuti nella più grande tristezza i riti solenni di quel **matrimonio di morte**, tutto il popolo in corteo **accompagna quel cadavere vivente, e Psiche in lacrime viene scortata non alle sue nozze, ma al suo stesso funerale**.

- 31 Dal punto di vista narrativo, Psiche è inserita in quello che Gian Franco Gianotti, “Andromeda e Psiche: storie nuziali e assunzioni in cielo”, in *Forme di comunicazione nel mondo antico e metamorfosi del mito: dal teatro al romanzo*, ed. M. Guglielmo e E. Bona, (Torino: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2003), 243-257 chiama “un vero e proprio repertorio di situazioni canoniche riservate alle eroine tragiche.” L’autore individua a partire dal mito di Andromeda un *pattern*, estendibile anche ad altre eroine e in particolare a Psiche, comprendente (riassumo): ineluttabilità del sacrificio a seguito di sconsiderate gare di bellezza nei confronti di troppo suscettibili divinità; lamento doloroso; corto-circuito rituale tra matrimonio e funerale; arrivo insperato del salvatore e trionfo di Eros; disputa nuziale; lieto fine; catasterismo. Un altro studio sulla riscrittura di modelli mitici attestati in letteratura nel passo di *Amore e Psiche* qui in esame è Alessandro Schiesaro, “La ‘tragedia’ di Psiche: note ad Apuleio, *Met.* IV 28-35”, in *Maia*, vol. XL (Cappelli editore, 1988) 141-150. Si veda anche Richard Seaford, “The Tragic Wedding”, in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 107 (1987), 106-130.
- 32 Su *Miorița* nel folklore romeno, rimandiamo al quadro tracciato in *Le nozze del sole*, ed. D. O. Cepraga, L. Renzi, R. Sperandio, (Roma: Carocci, 2004), 66-79, con la celeberrima versione di Alecsandri e due varianti popolari, rappresentative dei generi del *cântec bătrânesc* e della *colinda*, presentate in traduzione italiana.
- 33 Sui canti cerimoniali romeni della sepoltura e sul lamento funebre (*bocet*), ad un livello introduttivo si veda il capitolo sui funerali di Lazzaro Boia in Ernesto De Martino, *Morte e pianto rituale nel mondo antico. Dal lamento funebre antico al pianto di Maria*, (Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 2008), 150-177. Il riferimento principale è Constantin Brăiloiu, *Ale mortului. Din Gorj*, (București: Societatea Compozitorilor Români, publicațiile Arhivei de folklor, 1936).
- 34 Sui generi tradizionali del folklore romeno si veda Marco Cugno, “La poesia orale in Romania”, in *Folklore letterario romeno. Antologia di testi scelti e tradotti da M.C. e D. Loșonți*, (Torino: Regione Piemonte, 1981).
- 35 Ion Mușlea, “La mort-mariage: une particularité du folklore balcanique”, in *Mélanges de l’école roumaine en France*, (Paris: Gamber, 1925), 3-32, ora in *Cercetări etnografice și de folklor*, vol. II (Bucarest: Editura Minerva 1972), 7-28. Il primo celebre studio sull’argomento, ancora indispensabile per la ricchezza di dati etnografici, è Simon Florea Marian, *Înmormântarea la Români, studiu etnografic* (Bucarest: Editura Academiei Române 1892).
- 36 Rush Rehm, *Marriage to Death. The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
- 37 Cfr. Marian (1892), 64-66 per la vestizione funebre dei giovani morti non sposati.
- 38 Il caso opposto non sempre è documentato. Gail Kligman, *The Wedding of the Dead. Ritual, Poetics, and Popular Culture in Transylvania* (California, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1988), 223 riportando le parole di un padre che ha perduto la figlia, scrive: “*The father of the dead ‘bride’ observed: ‘A bride is ‘put’ only for young men; a groom is never ‘put’ (for girls) – only a crown.*”
- 39 Kligman (1988), capitolo 4, *The Wedding of the Dead* comprende importante documentazione sul tema specifico della *nunta mortului*.
- 40 Kligman (1988), 220-221.
- 41 Loring M. Danforth, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece, Photography by Alexander Tsiras*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 79-80.
- 42 Ne parla anche Marco Polo nel *Milione*: cfr. pp. 16-17 di Alvaro Barbieri, “Marco Polo e l’Altro”, in *Studi Testuali*, 5 (1998), 7-24.
- 43 Il completamento o la sostituzione del corteo funebre con quello nuziale avrebbe dunque una funzione “ostentativa”, cioè volta ad assicurare l’efficacia magica dei codici. Cfr. Nicolae Panea, *Verso la terra senza dolore. forme e strutture del rito funebre nella cultura popolare romena* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2014), 119 e ss.
- 44 Klingman (1988), 222.
- 45 Danforth (1982), 81.
- 46 Scrive Danforth (1982), 82: “Death is in many important aspects both like and unlike marriage. This paradoxical relationship of simultaneous opposition and identity, difference and likeness, is the essence of metaphor. To assert through ritual and song that a funeral is a wedding is to establish a metaphoric relationship between the two rites of passage. “ La metafora della morte come matrimonio non è che un tentativo per attenuare l’opposizione tra la vita e la morte, sul terreno comune del passaggio: infatti, *ibid.*, “The power of metaphors lies in their ability to change the way we view our world. “
- 47 Danforth (1982), 74.
- 48 Mușlea (1972), 14. Mușlea rimanda a Pér. Papahagi, *Din literatura poporana a aromânilor* (Bucarest 1904), 986, non consultato.
- 49 Elmira Köchümkulova, “Kyrgyz Wedding Songs”, in *The Music of Central Asia*, edited by T. Levin, S. Daukeyeva & E. Köchümkulova (Bloomington & Indianapolis: 2016), 217-233, nota a proposito dei canti nuziali kirghizi (Köchümkulova, 217): “*In its poetic composition, melody and themes, a bridal koshok shares many similarities with the funerary lament (Koshok or joktoo).*” Ringrazio per il ragguaglio Silvia Giubilato, studentessa di Antropologia all’Università Ca’ Foscari di Venezia.
- 50 Diversamente, Schiesaro (1988), 146: “Il topos del matrimonio-funerale, non privo di riscontri nel romanzo greco, era diffuso anche in poesia, come attestano varie ricorrenze nell’*Antologia Palatina*.” Siamo portati a pensare che il riferimento colto e quello folklorico non si escludano reciprocamente, ma che la modalità e la quantità del loro dosaggio dipenda dalla prassi dell’autore. Il fatto che nel rito la fanciulla sia morta e che nella narrazione essa sia invece ancora viva potrebbe essere spiegato come una “trasposizione del rito” nel senso di Vladimir Propp, *Morfologia dela fiaba e Le radici storiche dei racconti di magia* (Roma: Newton, 2009), 146-147.
- 51 Mircea Eliade, *Da Zalmoxis a Gengis-Khan* (Roma: Ubaldini, 1975), 208.
- 52 Adrian Fochi, *Miorița. Tipologie, circulație, geneză, texte*, (București: Editura Academiei, 1964). Località: Sîntejude (Țaga), Cluj.
- 53 Cepraga (2004), 78-79.
- 54 Giorgia Bernardele, “Immaginario e cornici culturali della « morte speciale » - ancora sulla Miorița-colind”, in *Transylvanian Review*, XXIV, suppl. n. 2 (2015), 143-160. Cfr. 144.
- 55 Bernardele (2015), 145.
- 56 Mușlea (1972), 18.
- 57 Bernardele (2015), 154.
- 58 La decapitazione e la fatalistica accettazione della morte sono motivi ricorrenti nel canto di Constantin Brîncoveanu, principe di Valacchia storicamente esistito e realmente decapitato a Costantinopoli nel 1714 per ordine del sultano Ahmed III. Il riferimento è Cepraga, 164-178. Il dettaglio che qui interessa è che nel *cântec*, dopo che i figli vengono decapitati davanti al padre perché si rifiutava di abiurare la fede cristiana, Constantin Brîncoveanu descrive all’imperatore come avrebbe dovuto condurre il suo supplizio: dopo essere stato scuoiato, il suo corpo avrebbe dovuto essere tagliato a pezzi, i pezzi messi in un cestino e gettati nel mare. Nell’epilogo, il canto presenta anche l’immagine apocalittica del mare che prende fuoco e brucia ininterrottamente per tre giorni e tre notti, finché le preghiere di quaranta preti riescono a placare l’incendio. La fosca descrizione dei figli decapitati è stata ricollegata da Dan Octavian Cepraga al *topos* della decapitazione dei martiri cristiani, ricorrente nell’iconografia bizantina delle chiese romene; parimenti, lo smembramento del corpo di Brîncoveanu sarebbe da ricondurre allo scenario rituale martirologico tipico dell’agiografia popolare romena, con il confronto significativo delle colinde sul martirio di santa Venerdi, il cui corpo tagliato a pezzi dai pagani viene messo a bollire per tre giorni in una pentola piena di resina e cera (Cepraga, 168-169). Nel caso di Constantin Brîncoveanu, dunque, il discorso in cui la vittima descrive meticolosamente le modalità dell’uccisione sarebbe indicativo del protocollo rituale relativo all’archetipo religioso del santo cristiano martirizzato dai pagani.
- 59 Cepraga (2004), 169.
- 60 Carlo Ginzburg, *Storia notturna. Una decifrazione del sabba* (Milano: Adelphi, 2017).

Leopardi “anti-romantico” e l’opzione neoclassica della poesia di Duiliu Zamfirescu

Anti-romantic Leopardi and Duiliu Zamfirescu Neoclassical Poetics

Federico Donatiello*

The present work intends to analyze the influence of Leopardi’s *Canti* and of the European parnassianism in poems by Duiliu Zamfirescu. In the first part of the work, we will focus on the nature of Zamfirescu’s interest towards the classicism and its relations with the Italian poetry; in the second part, we will propose an analysis of the classical elements in his poems.

Keywords: Leopardi; Zamfirescu; parnassianism; Romanian poetry; classicism.

Nel suo epitaffio in onore di Duiliu Zamfirescu, Ibrăileanu formula un giudizio sulla sua poesia di particolare acutezza, che riportiamo interamente¹:

Lirismul lui potolit și nevoia de lirism a epocii; caracterul clasic al poeziei sale; frumusețea ei mai rece; preocuparea de “alte orizonturi” și unele ingrediente “culturale”; concurența primejdioasă a unor emuli ca Eminescu în lirism și Coșbuc în idilă și descripție – iată atâtea cauze care [...] au făcut ca acest foarte distins poet să nu pătrundă îndeajuns în conștiința publicului românesc, mult mai sensibil la opera unor poeți inferiori lui, dar mai pe înțelesul și gustul mulțimii. Ca să fim însă drepiți cu acești din urmă, trebuie să

* University of Padova, Italy

adăugăm că poezia lui Duiliu Zamfirescu e lipsită de forță, de unitatea concepției, de acele însușiri prin care poezia pune stăpânire pe suflete. Apoi, în această poezie se simte ca o umbră de artificialitate, de căutare. Aceste lipsuri și aceste însușiri negative justifică, măcar în parte, indiferența publicului mare. Dar dacă Duiliu Zamfirescu nu e un poet popular, în schimb e un poet iubit de artiști.²

Il suo lirismo diafano e la necessità di lirismo dell’epoca; il carattere classico della sua poesia; la sua bellezza fredda; la preoccupazione verso «altri orizzonti» e alcuni ingredienti culturali; la concorrenza pericolosa degli emuli come Eminescu nella lirica e Coșbuc nell’idillio e nella descrizione – ecco alcuni dei motivi che [...] hanno fatto in modo che un poeta così distinto non entrasse sufficientemente nella coscienza di un pubblico romeno maggiormente sensibile verso l’opera di poeti a lui inferiori, ma più vicini alla comprensione e al gusto dei più. Per essere più corretti nei confronti di questi ultimi, bisogna aggiungere che la poesia di Duiliu Zamfirescu è priva di forza, di unità di concezione, di quelle caratteristiche attraverso cui la poesia soggioga gli spiriti. Inoltre, in questa poesia inoltre si sente un’ombra di artificialità, di ricerca. Queste mancanze e queste caratteristiche negative giustificano, forse in parte, l’indifferenza del vasto pubblico. Ma se Duiliu Zamfirescu non è un poeta popolare, in compenso, è un poeta amato dagli artisti.

All’interno del panorama letterario dell’epoca sua, l’eccezionalità della produzione poetica di Zamfirescu si evidenzia per alcune scelte stilistico-tematiche che la rendono sostanzialmente non ortodossa non solo rispetto alla poesia sua contemporanea, ma, in realtà, rispetto alle direttrici principali che ha assunto la poesia romena nella sua storia moderna e contemporanea. Ad esempio, con il sintagma «alte orizonturi» (‘altri orizzonti’) Ibrăileanu non cita solamente il titolo della seconda raccolta di Zamfirescu, ma indica con precisione la sua tendenza a cercare nuove fonti di ispirazione, soprattutto nella letteratura italiana (Leopardi e Carducci, in primis), ma anche nel mondo classico greco-latino³.

Senza dubbio, Duiliu Zamfirescu è una figura complessa, canonizzata in modo problematico all’interno della storia della letteratura romena, quasi un outsider del suo tempo⁴. Poeta raffinato e romanziere di prodigiosa cultura europea, Zamfirescu ha goduto di un rapporto privilegiato con l’Italia per motivi biografici, in quanto, per la sua attività di diplomatico, ha vissuto a Roma per quasi vent’anni (dal 1889 al 1906). Non si tratta di un dato esclusivamente autobiografico in quanto il rapporto diretto con l’Italia ha determinato una tendenza all’assimilazione di elementi neoclassici nella sua produzione letteraria allora poco frequenti nella letteratura romena. Come poeta lirico, Zamfirescu accoglie numerosi aspetti del parnassianesimo europeo, sperimentando in romeno soggetti e temi neoclassici e, non ultima, la metrica barbara carducciana (soprattutto

nella raccolta di poesie dal titolo eloquentemente legato alla poesia del premio Nobel italiano, *Îmnuri păgâne* del 1896)⁵. Inoltre, Zamfirescu è anche il primo traduttore di Leopardi in Romania, riannodandosi idealmente e aggiornando l'italianismo di metà Ottocento⁶. In realtà, il rapporto di emulazione di Duiliu Zamfirescu nei confronti di Leopardi è forse un *unicum* in tutta la storia della letteratura romena dell'Ottocento e, salvo smentite, della stessa fortuna leopardiana in Europa. In effetti, se guardiamo retrospettivamente al periodo dell'italianismo di Heliade e dei suoi «esperimenti» di modernizzazione,⁷ non troviamo un livello così profondo di interferenza letteraria tra un autore romeno e un autore straniero che coinvolge tutti gli aspetti, dalla traduzione, alla citazione, allo sviluppo di un dialogo intertestuale e ideologico con il modello.

La «conversione» leopardiana e la pubblicazione della sue traduzioni segna un deciso mutamento della poesia di Zamfirescu rispetto alla prima raccolta poetica *Fără titlu* ('Senza titolo', 1883). Le raccolte successive lasciano trapelare sin dai titoli le nuove sperimentazioni poetiche influenzate dal contatto diretto con la letteratura italiana: *Alte orizonturi* ('Altri orizzonti', 1894), *Îmnuri păgâne* ('Inni pagani', 1896) e, infine, *Poezii nouă* ('Poesie nuove', 1899). Se il titolo della prima raccolta individua un effettivo allargamento degli orizzonti personali, sia geografici (grazie alla carriera diplomatica dello scrittore che lo conduce a vivere non solo a Roma, ma anche ad Atene, a Bruxelles, etc.) sia stilistici (vengono accolti nuovi spunti formali provenienti dai poeti italiani Carducci, Leopardi e forse anche Pascoli), la seconda entra in un rapporto di emulazione diretto con la poesia italiana contemporanea, con Carducci in particolare, proponendo alcuni esperimenti in metrica barbara e il tema del «paganesimo».

Accanto alla ricezione della grande letteratura italiana, Zamfirescu prosegue il suo dialogo intenso con la poesia romena, in particolare con Mihail Eminescu, il massimo poeta nazionale che proprio in quegli anni veniva canonizzato, proponendo per primo, insieme a Titu Maiorescu, un suo accostamento al magistero leopardiano⁸.

Agli occhi di Zamfirescu, il binomio Eminescu-Leopardi segna la definitiva classicizzazione del poeta romeno e l'individuazione dell'autore dei *Canti* come modello di poeta anti-romantico⁹ e, in definitiva, anti-folclorico. Infatti, a una visione poetica di natura aristocratica e antipopolare, che trova anche un suo contraltare nella produzione romanzesca dell'autore dichiaratamente anti-contadina, corrisponde la ricerca di uno stile e di lingua letteraria depurata e sorvegliata in senso classico.

Lo stile della *metriotes* proposto da Zamfirescu si caratterizza in primo luogo per una ristretta serie di nuclei tematici: la scelta di *topoi* ripetuti è indotta spesso da corrispettivi tematici leopardiani ed eminesciani, che, a loro volta, veicolano un lessico selezionato e ristretto, quasi «temperato». Zamfirescu combina in chiave erudita e preziosa luoghi leopardiani ed eminesciani in calembour letterari caratterizzati da grande preziosità. Ad esempio, in *Alte orizonturi* troviamo un sonetto rivolto ad Aspasia¹⁰:

*S-a stins, copilă, focul tinereței
din ochii lui cu timidă privire.
Pe alba-i frunte, urma de gândire
A închiegat-o vântul dimineței.*

*Un blând surâs pe gura lui subțire
insufletește cadrul trist al feței
în semn că iartă relele vieței
și-ți iartă cruda ta iubire.*

*E de prisos să-l plângi. Tu știi prea bine
că-n nobila și calda fantazie
te-ai căutat de-apururea pe tine,*

*pe când acolo, casta poezie
stă peste tot, precum între lumine
Beatrix stă-n Divina Comedie.*

*Si è spento, fanciulla, il fuoco della
giovinchezza
dai suoi occhi dallo sguardo timido.
Sulla sua fronte pallida, l'ombra del
pensiero
l'ha condensata il vento della mattina.*

*Un debole sorriso sulla sua bocca sottile
dà anima al triste aspetto del volto
dando segno che perdona le cose brutte
della vita
e ti perdona il tuo amore crudele.*

*È inutile piangerlo. Sai bene
che nella nobile e calda fantasia
hai cercato sempre te stessa,*

*quando lì, la casta poesia
è ovunque, come tra le luci
Beatrice è nella Divina Comedia.*

Come si vede, l'amore infelice di Leopardi è eternato attraverso il filtro eminesciano della sublimazione del dolore attraverso la poesia quale garanzia di eternità. Tuttavia, Zamfirescu è un uomo del suo tempo e, con gusto per l'erudizione tipica del classicismo di fine Ottocento, riformula in chiave leopardiana il tema eminesciano della divergenza tra ideale amoroso e limitatezza umana (il tema di Lucifero è una delle costanti preoccupazioni di Zamfirescu ed è spesso sovrapposto al mito letterario leopardiano). In un altro testo, *Versuri heterometre albe* (Versi eterometri liberi), proveniente dalla raccolta *Îmnuri păgâne*, è contenuto un altro omaggio a Leopardi stesso, questa volta direttamente rivolto al poeta:

<p><i>Atunci ai crezut că-n Aspasia Natura pusese răsunet Din mersul armonic al zorilor Spre caldă viață a zilei; Și iar ai crezut că în Silvia Pusese poetica umbră Din geana luminii ce tremură În lungul crepuscul al serii.</i></p> <p><i>Dar nu era nimeni să semene Duiosei icoane din suflet. De-abia dacă floarea pustiului, Ginestra, cu galbene ramuri, Mișcând pe a clipelor aripă, Ușor adia pentru tine; De-abia dacă luna patetică, Plutind pe deasupra pădurii, Venea din trecut să te mângâie O, tânăr cu palidă frunte!</i></p>	<p><i>Allora hai creduto che in Aspasia la natura avesse riposto l'eco del volgersi armonioso delle albe verso la calda vita del giorno; e poi hai creduto che in Silvia avesse posto la poetica ombra delle ciglia di luce che tremola durante il crepuscolo della sera.</i></p> <p><i>Ma non c'era nulla che assomigliasse alla dolorosa immagine dell'anima. Difficilmente, con rami gialli, muovendo sull'ala degli istanti, lievemente profuma per te; difficilmente se la luna patetica, fluttuando sulla foresta, veniva dal passato a consolarti, giovane dalla pallida fronte!</i></p>
--	--

La «leopardianità» dei componimenti sta nella descrizione sobria, classica, della morte del poeta e della sua figura malinconica, facendo uso di un linguaggio medio e di una musicalità quasi cameristica. Il gioco combinatorio di gusto alessandrino collega più immagini leopardiane, spesso semplici allusioni inanellate in una forma poetica calibratissima e altamente musicale: non sono presenti vere e proprie citazioni, ma allusioni colte, spesso, come nota Cimpoi, sovrapponibili a entrambi i poeti (Eminescu e Leopardi).

Il dialogo intertestuale con i due modelli illustri prosegue anche grazie alla persistenza di alcune immagini lunari che punteggiano con una certa costanza alcuni testi zamfiresciani. Si vedano gli esempi seguenti:

La lună (Alla luna)

*În somn răsare luna gânditoare
Și umple bolta de singurătate.*

Fugind de tot (Fuggendo da tutto)

Nespus de dulcea ei singurătate

Și-o poartă-n lume luna gânditoare

La lună (Alla luna)

Tu răsari de peste ape, galbenă și gânditoare

Dal punto di vista tematico, il binomio solitudine dell'Io e confessione alla luna sembra collegarsi perfettamente a *loci* piuttosto noti della produzione leopardiana:

<p><i>Nespus de dulcea ei singurătate Și-o poartă-n lume luna gânditoare: Mă uit la dânsa, și nu mă mai doare Viața-mi plină de pustietate.</i></p>	<p><i>La sua inspiegabilmente dolce solitudine porta nel mondo la luna pensosa: la osservo, e non mi addolora più la mia vita piena di solitudine.</i></p>
---	--

Si pensi al canto *Alla Luna* e ai versi «Ma nebuloso|e tremulo dal pianto|Che mi sorgea sul ciglio, alle mie luci|Il tuo volto appariva, che travagliosa|Era mia vita», ma anche al perpetuarsi nel tempo del dialogo con la luna. Nell'altro testo intitolato *La lună (Alla luna)* si individua un riferimento piuttosto esplicito al *Canto notturno*:

<p><i>Lună, astră plutitoare pe văzduhuri line, Dacă-ai fost vreodată vie, unde-i sufletul din tine? Către care alte astre dintr-un timp trecut pe veci A sburat suflarea-ți caldă și-a lăsat forme-ți reci? Cine ești, din ce viața, din ce flăcări iai putere?</i></p> <p><i>Tu răsari de peste ape, galbenă și gânditoare, Parcă soarta pamâtească te străbate și te doare, și, plutind, te urci în noapte, ca în propriul tău vis.</i></p>	<p><i>Luna, astro che fluttui nell'aria quieta, se mai sei stata in vita, dov'è la tua anima? Verso quali altri astri di un tempo passato nell'eternità è volato il tuo soffio caldo e ha lasciato fredde le tue forme? Chi sei, da quale vita, da quali fiamme prendi potere?</i></p> <p><i>Sorgi dalle acque, gialla e pensosa, sembra che la sorte del mondo ti percorra e ti dolga, e, fluttuando, ascendi nella notte, come in tuo sogno.</i></p>
--	--

Nonostante i titoli e le immagini che richiamano i canti leopardiani, sarebbe un errore considerare la figura della luna pensosa (“lună gânditoare”) come un'influenza esclusivamente leopardiana (sebbene, proprio nel *Canto notturno* la luna sia “pensosa” e, nella sua traduzione, Zamfirescu usi proprio questo aggettivo): il sintagma è anche

un *topos* romeno, che trova origine nella poesia di Vasile Alecsandri ed è poi sviluppato anche da Eminescu, sempre in posizione forte di rima:

prin frunze răspândite de luna gânditoare (Vasile Alecsandri, *Legenda ciocârlei*)

ori o lună gânditoare (Mihai Eminescu, *De ce să mori tu*)

Il gioco combinatorio tra spunti leopardiani ed eminesciani si accresce di nuove suggestioni date dal fascino per il paesaggio mediterraneo e per il mondo greco-latino. Grazie a un linguaggio prezioso e raffinato, individuiamo in questi componimenti zamfiresciani un aggiornamento del linguaggio poetico romeno di chiara ascendenza parnassiana (e, ovviamente, carducciana). Si veda, ad esempio, la poesia *Amurg* (Tramonto):

<p>Se lasă noaptea, limpede și caldă; Răsare luna palidă pe cer, Punând pe valuri brațe ce se scaldă Și-n toată firea aer de mister.</p>	<p>Si diffonde la notte, chiara e calda; sale la luna pallida nel cielo, poggiando sulle onde braccia che si bagnano e su tutto l'esistente aria di mistero.</p>
<p>Pe-un soclu rupt, o veselă bacantă Și-nvăluie, de două mii de ani, În haina umbrei, pururi elegantă, Splendoarea umerilor diafani.</p>	<p>Su un basamento rotto, una gioiosa baccante avvolge, da duemila anni, nella veste d'ombra, eternamente elegante, lo splendore delle spalle diafane.</p>
<p>Mișcând din flamuri, vechile trireme, Adorm în pacea lungului amurg, Înfiripând un vis din altă vreme: Izbânzile lui Hermes Demiurg.</p>	<p>Muovendo i pennoni, le antiche triremi, dormono nella pace del lungo tramonto, facendo rinascere un sogno del passato: le vittorie di Hermes Demiurgo.</p>
<p>La umbra lor, pescarul trage-o plasă Și cântă-ncet, cu glas adormitor, Duiosa lui tragudie de-acasă, Visând și el un vis în viitor.</p>	<p>Alla loro ombra, il pescatore trae la rete e canta piano, con voce sonnolenta, il triste "tragoudi" del tetto natio, sognando anch'egli il sogno futuro.</p>

Si tratta di un immaginario che sincronizza questa produzione lirica di Zamfirescu con le esperienze neoclassiche della lirica europea contemporanea (anticipando, a nostro avviso, un intero filone romeno): se il canto del pescatore ci rimanda nuovamente ad alcune immagini vivide leopardiane di artigiani e viaggiatori immersi perfettamente nel paesaggio, il riferimento alla greicità è manifesto grazie al meraviglioso neogrecismo *tragudie*¹¹, al riferimento alla baccante (già eminesciano) e a *Ermes Demiurgo* fino a parole come *bacantă*, *triremă* (già presente nella traduzione di Plutarco a opera di Constantin Aristia).

Infine, proprio il tema delle antiche civiltà e delle loro vestigia è rappresentativo del carne *Pe Acropole*, di cui trascriviamo le prime strofe:

<p><i>Pe Acropole</i></p> <p>Luna tragică privește, într-o mută contemplare, Pacifica singurătate din împărăția sa, Strejuind de peste ape valea clasică, în care, Pe Acropolea știrbită, Parthenonul dormita.</p> <p>Ah! și cum durerea lumii mă prindea în ghiara-i rece La prveliștea acestei, unice în univers, Protestări a omenirii contra timpului ce trece, Monument, al cărui nume sunător e ca un vers.</p> <p>Căci așa e, totul piere, ca o umilă scânteie: Jocuri, timp, filozofie; mâna care te făcu; Timpuri noi și jocuri nouă; sărbători panathenee, Totul piere sau se schimbă; neclintit ești numai tu.</p>	<p><i>Sull'Acropoli</i></p> <p>La luna tragica osserva, in muta contemplazione, la pacifica solitudine dal suo regno, vegliando dalle acque la valle classica, in cui, sull'Acropoli corrosa, il Partenone dormiva.</p> <p>Ah! come il dolore del mondo mi coglieva nel suo freddo artiglio A questa vista, unica nell'universo, ribellione dell'umanità contro il tempo che passa, Monumento, il cui nome risonante e come un verso.</p> <p>Perché è così, tutto perisce, come umile scintilla: danze, tempo, filosofia; la mano che ti ha eretto; tempi nuovi e danze nuove; le feste panathenee, Tutto perisce o cambia; - immobile rimani solo tu.</p>
---	--

Considerata da Gafița, «piesa cea mai reușită și cu viziunea cea mai amplă»¹² («il componimento più riuscito e con la visione più ampia») di una una serie di testi

poetici caratterizzati dal paesaggio classico. Il tema delle rovine dell'antica Grecia e Roma e il loro ricordo rievoca il Leopardi del canto *La sera del dì di festa*¹³. In questa tipologia di testi si registrano toponimi evocativi come *Acropolea, Parthenonul, Anienu, Megara, Eleusis, Corint*, etc., ma non mancano nemmeno riferimenti a figure storiche come *Sophocle, Pericles*, etc. e ad antiche usanze come le Feste Panatenaiche.

Pur in un contesto di sostanziale epigonismo eminesciano, la poesia di Zamfirescu segna un momento di innovazione, aprendo la strada a un superamento della visione poporanista e seminorista a lui particolarmente invisa. Effettivamente, il sincretismo poetico di Zamfirescu promuove un nuovo modo di fare poesia nella Romania di fine Ottocento, rifiutando la poesia legata al folclore e riallacciando i nodi con la generazione cosmopolita e occidentalizzante *pașoptistă*, desiderosa di inserire la poesia romena all'interno del gruppo delle letterature più sviluppate del continente. Con la sua opera, Zamfirescu segna un punto di notevole rilievo per l'intero processo di sincronizzazione con l'Occidente, creando una sintesi tra gli esiti maggiori della poesia romena, Eminescu, il classicismo leopardiano «attualizzato» e la corrente estetizzante del parnassianesimo europeo.

Zamfirescu è un intellettuale outsider rispetto al proprio tempo, un «antiromantico» che predilige una poesia fredda, artificiosa, cerebrale, caratterizzata da un distacco dalla materia e da un intenso *labor limae*. Del resto, nel discorso pronunciato nel 1911 presso l'accademia di Romania, *Metafizica cuvintelor*, Zamfirescu sostiene che: «Poezia este, ca matematica, materie mintală și este de pură origine abstractă. Emotivitatea noastră, oricât de puternică ar fi, nu devine poezie, adică operă de artă, decât dacă intervine puterea creatoare, care, fie că s-ar chema fantazie combinativă, fie că s'ar chema invențiime, este o operație mintală de aceeași natură ca și comparațiunea în matematică.» [La poesia è, come la matematica, materia mentale ed è di pura origine astratta. La nostra emotività, per quanto potente, non diviene poesia, cioè opera d'arte, se non interviene il potere creativo, che, sia che si chiami fantasia combinatoria, sia che si chiami invenzione, è un'operazione mentale della stessa natura della comparazione in matematica.]

Poesia che si nutre di altra poesia e di altra letteratura, la produzione poetica di Zamfirescu è considerata minore anche oggi, trovando, tuttavia, una sua fortuna presso il pubblico colto ed erudito.

Il gioco di richiami testuali, il classicismo apparentemente antiquato, l'astrazione che intende descrivere «misterioase doruri de necunoscut» segnano l'adesione a ricercata civiltà letteraria, erudita, citazionistica, cosmopolita. Il classicismo di Zamfirescu non è un ritorno indietro, ma, è «progressivo» proprio come quello di Brahms nei confronti di Beethoven. Il ruolo di Leopardi nella definizione della sua poetica sta nella scoperta di una civiltà erudito-filologica che anticipa molti aspetti la nuova apertura verso Occidente ricercata da intellettuali come Densușianu e Lovinescu, inaugurando una schiera di poeti cittadini e borghesi, amanti del gioco letterario e della lingua dei salotti e

dell'intellettualità, tra cui annoveriamo il contemporaneo Macedonski, Minulescu, Pillat e, aggiungerei in modo provocatorio, il «quasi» postmoderno Mircea Ivănescu.

Federico Donatiello, Ph.D. Research Fellow at the Department of Linguistic and Literary Studies, University of Padova (Italy). He has been teaching Romanian Literature courses to the 2018/2019 and 2019/2020 year students at the University “Ca’ Foscari” of Venice. His main areas of interest are: Romanian literature, History of Romanian Language, Romance Philology, History of Italian Opera. Main publications: Federico Donatiello, „*Limba română în templul Muzelor*”: *La lingua delle prime traduzioni teatrali romene* (București: Eikon, 2020); Mircea Ivănescu, *Altre poesie scelte*, *Antologia e traduzione a cura di Federico Donatiello* (Milano: Criterion, 2020). (federico.donatiello@unipd.it.)

Notes

- 1 Il testo di questo contributo rielabora alcuni punti della conferenza dal titolo «*Misterioase doruri de necunoscut*»: *l'influenza leopardiana sull'opera di Duiliu Zamfirescu* tenuta a Padova il 4 giugno 2020; una parte di questo materiale è stata usata anche per la preparazione del nostro articolo *Alla ricerca di una lingua della metriotes: le traduzioni da Leopardi di Duiliu Zamfirescu* presso “*Analele Universității din Craiova*”.
- 2 Garabet Ibrăileanu, «La moartea lui Duiliu Zamfirescu», *Scritori români* (București: Litera, 2011).
- 3 Sull'immaginario classico nella letteratura romena rimandiamo in primo luogo ad alcuni lavori di interesse generale come Dimitrie Păcurariu, *Clasicismul românesc* (București: Editura Minerva, 1971) e la sua revisione con aggiunte Dimitrie Păcurariu, *Clasicism și tendințe clasice în literatura română* (București: Cartea Românească, 1979); per il periodo precedente a quello di nostro interesse si veda anche Ion Rotaru, *Forme ale clasicismului în poezia românească până la Vasile Alecsandri* (București: Editura Minerva, 1979).
- 4 Autore di rilievo nel panorama letterario romeno tra la fine dell'Ottocento e l'inizio del Novecento, Duiliu Zamfirescu è stato oggetto di numerosi studi critici. Riportiamo almeno le seguenti monografie: Mihai Gafița, *Duiliu Zamfirescu* (București: Editura pentru literatură, 1969); Alexandru Săndulescu, *Duiliu Zamfirescu și marele său roman epistolar* (București: Editura Minerva, 1986); Alexandru Săndulescu, *Pe urmele lui Duiliu Zamfirescu* (București: Editura Sport-Turism 1989). Più recenti, i lavori Ioan Adam, *Oglinda și modelele. Ideologia literară a lui Duiliu Zamfirescu* (București: Editura 100+1 Gramar 2001) e Mihai Cimpoi, *Duiliu Zamfirescu – diptic*, (Chișinău: Tipogr. «Elan Poligraf» SRL, 2007). Per quanto riguarda le edizioni critiche dell'opera zamfireschiana si segnala la più completa in otto volumi Duiliu Zamfirescu, *Opere* (București: Editura Minerva 1970 - 1985) e la più recente, ma per ora limitata ai romanzi, Duiliu Zamfirescu, *Integrala romanelor* (București: Academia Română, Fundația națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2015). Per quanto riguarda il poco materiale disponibile in italiano, non registriamo altro che la traduzione del suo romanzo *Viața la țară*, Duilio Zamfirescu, *La vita in campagna* (Torino: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1932); seconda edizione (Francavilla: Edizioni Paoline, 1966). Segnaliamo inoltre l'interessante capitolo «Il mito di Roma nell'opera di Duiliu Zamfirescu», in Alexandra Vranceanu Pagliardini, *Il mito dell'Italia nella letteratura romena dell'Ottocento*, (Padova: Cleup, 2019), 215-252.
- 5 Cfr. a tal proposito le interessanti osservazioni in Gafița 1969, 265-267. Lo storico della letteratura ed editore delle opere di Zamfirescu sottolinea come l'incontro con l'opera letteraria di Leopardi e Carducci abbia contribuito alla messa a punto di una poetica parnassiana le cui radici erano già individuabili nella produzione zamfireschiana precedente sia in rapporto con la poesia di Eminescu che con gli esempi francesi. L'influsso leopardiano e carducciano «potențiază și nuanțiază procesul început mai demult» («potenzia e sfuma il processo iniziato da tempo», 265), offrendo, nel caso di Leopardi e del suo «dolore», una conferma a una direttrice già segnata da Eminescu (266).

- 6 Per quanto riguarda le traduzioni leopardiane si è occupata di questo tema (e dell'influenza carducciana su Zamfirescu)
Alexandrina Mititelu, «Influența lui Leopardi și Carducci în poezia lui Duiliu Zamfirescu», *Studii italiene*, IV, 1937. Molto interessanti alcune considerazioni sul «triangolo» Leopardi-Zamfirescu-Eminescu contenute in Mihai Cimpoi, *Leopardi*.
Drum neted și drum labirintic (București: Ideea europeană 2015), in particolare i capitoli *Eminescu și Leopardi e În lumini românești*, quest'ultimo contenente un'esaustiva bibliografia sulla ricezione dell'opera di Leopardi in Romania a cui rimandiamo.
- 7 Ci riferiamo ovviamente al volume del nostro maestro Dan Octavian Cepraga, *Esperimenti italiani. Studi sull'italianismo romeno dell'Ottocento* (Verona: Edizioni Fiorini, 2015). A questo ci permettiamo di aggiungere le considerazioni presentate nel primo capitolo e nelle analisi della traduzioni nel nostro lavoro Federico Donatiello, «*Limba română în templul Muzelor*»: *La lingua delle prime traduzioni teatrali romene* (București: Eikon, 2020).
- 8 Titu Maiorescu sembrerebbe essere stato il primo a collegare la figura di Leopardi a quella di Eminescu, citando il canto *Aspasia* nel celebre articolo *Eminescu și poeziile sale («Eminescu e le sue poesie»)* del 1889 (T. Maiorescu, «Eminescu și poeziile lui», *Critice*, vol. II, București, 1960. Nello stesso anno, nelle sue lettere destinate a Maiorescu, Zamfirescu scriveva più volte di Leopardi, parlando di una vera e propria «conversione» personale dopo la lettura della *Ginestra*: «Eu, care din *Dialoghi* [le *Operette morali*] nu eram entuziasmat de loc pentru Leopardi, m-a biruit» («io che delle *Operette morali* non era per nulla entusiasta per Leopardi, mi ha conquistato», cfr. Lettera a Titu Maiorescu del 18 maggio 1889. Cfr. Gafița 1969, 266). Nella stessa lettera, Zamfirescu fa riferimento all'«incomparabilă simplitate» («incomparabile semplicità») e alla «simplitate durerii» («semplicità del dolore») dello stile leopardiano. Infine, tra i vari contributi realizzati nel corso del Novecento, si veda Iosif Cheie-Pantea, *Eminescu și Leopardi* (București: Editura Minerva, 1980).
- 9 Si veda a tal proposito la raccolta di saggi contenuta in Pier Vincenzo Mengaldo, *Leopardi antiromantico*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2012: in particolare, sullo stile «classico» di Leopardi in opposizione al mondo romantico contemporaneo, si veda il primo saggio che porta lo stesso titolo del volume.
- 10 I testi presi in esame sono riportati in Duiliu Zamfirescu, *Opere. Vol. 1: poezii*, ediție îngrijită de Mihai Gafița (București: Minerva, 1970).
- 11 A quel che sembra un *hapax* nella lingua poetica romena dovuto alla conoscenza diretta del mondo greco da parte di Zamfirescu e del neogreco come testimoniato, del resto, da alcune pagine del romanzo epistolare *Lydda*.
- 12 Gafița 1969, 388.
- 13 Ne è una conferma anche la splendida pagina del romanzo *Lydda* in cui, attraverso dell'io narrante, Zamfirescu rievoca il suo arrivo a Megara: «Unde-i Megara? Care-i Megara? Gramada aceea de case de clisă? [...] Acolo fusese altădată capitala Megaridei, rivala Atenei, prima întemeietoare a Bizanțului! Megara! Îmi vin lăcrămile în ochi când mă gândesc la ce a fost și văd acum ce e. În firea mea vânjos optimistă pătrunde morfina gândurilor triste și-mi vine să strig cu poetul: E fieramente mi si stringe il core|A pensar come tutto al mondo passa|E quasi orma non lascia» (Zamfirescu 2015, 1042-43, «Dov'è Megara? Qual è Megara? Quel mucchio di case di argilla? [...] Lì è stata una volta la capitale della Megaride, rivale di Atene, prima fondatrice di Bisanzio! Megara! Mi vengono le lacrime agli occhi quando penso a cos'è stata e cos'è oggi. Nel mio essere fortemente ottimista penetra la morfina dei pensieri tristi e mi viene da gridare con il poeta: E fieramente mi si stringe il core|A pensar come tutto al mondo passa|E quasi ormai non lascia».

Miron Kiropol – À la recherche d'une langue totale

Miron Kiropol – Looking for a Total Language

Letiția Ilea*

The paper highlights the main points of Miron Kiropol's poetry. The Romanian poet, exiled in France where he died in 2020, is the author of an impressive work, still to be discovered.

Keywords: Mystic poetry; total language; self-translation.

Le 18 juin 2020 s'éteignait à Paris le poète Miron Kiropol. Né en 1936 à Bucarest, il a fait ses débuts en 1963 dans la revue « Contemporanul », puis en volume en 1967, par *Jocul lui Adam*. Suivent deux autres recueils, *Schimbarea la față* (1968) et *Rosarium* (1969), le dernier détruit par la censure communiste lorsque le poète a demandé asile politique en France. En 1970, il part en Espagne pour presque une année. Là-bas, il écrit en espagnol et est recommandé par Vintilă Horia à *Estafeta Literaria*, importante revue qui paraissait à Madrid. Parce que l'Espagne était encore franquiste, le poète choisit la France. En 1983, le grand éditeur de poésie, Guy Chambelland, lui dédie entièrement le numéro 80 de la revue *Le Pont de l'Épée*. Suivent chez le même éditeur *L'Auguste nostalgie du sang* (1986), *Chasteté régnante* (1987, avec un essai de Lucian Raicu), *Signes légendaires* (1989, avec une préface de Guy Chambelland) et *Apophtegmes de l'amour* (1989, avec une préface d'Alain Simon). Il publie aussi chez La Bartavelle éditeur *Le Rang johannique* (1989) et *Diotima* (v. 1, 1990). Miron Kiropol publie ensuite plusieurs recueils en roumain ou bilingues : *Scara lui Iacob* (1998) ; *Această pierdere* (1992) ; *Făt-Frumos din lacrimă* (1994-1996) ; *Augusta nostalgie a sângelui – Auguste nostalgie du sang* (1997) ; *Solitudinea lui Eros* (1998) ; *Ceea ce sferile gândesc despre*

* Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

noi (1999) ; *Metopă* (2001) ; *Ioana d'Arc* (2001) ; *Povestea deviaționistului* (2003) ; *Aur în sită* (2014) ; *Cuvinte strigându-și cenușa* (2019).

Miron Kiropol a été aussi traducteur. Il a traduit en roumain de l'œuvre d'Eugenio Montale, Cecco Angioleri, Dino Campana, Salvatore Quasimodo, aussi bien que des poètes français du XVIIe siècle. Il a traduit aussi vers le français des poèmes de G. Bacovia, Ion Caraion, Mircea Dinescu, Constanța Buzea, etc. Il a été récompensé de plusieurs prix : Le Prix de l'Union des Écrivains de Roumanie et Le Prix de l'Académie Roumaine (1992) ; Le Prix Opera Omnia du Festival International de Poésie d'Oradea (1997).

J'ai eu le privilège de connaître Miron Kiropol en 2005, par l'intermédiaire du poète Andrei Zanca, lorsque je me trouvais en France avec une bourse Erasmus pour mon doctorat. Je l'ai revu plusieurs fois pendant mes visites ultérieures en France. La première impression qu'il m'a faite se reconfirmait à chaque fois : le poète semblait ne pas être de ce monde. Être délicat, frêle, au sourire enfantin et angélique à la fois, Miron Kiropol semblait ne vivre que pour et dans la poésie ; tout cela était doublé de l'impression d'être en présence d'un saint. Ses cheveux blancs frisés formaient une sorte d'aura autour de sa tête. Je n'oublierai jamais la façon dont il s'enflammait lorsqu'il parlait de tel ou tel poète, la générosité dont il me fit don de ses livres ou sa virulence contre tels ou tels aspects du monde contemporain (allant des ordinateurs à la politique).

Le critique Lucian Raicu, son ami de jeunesse, décrit Miron Kiropol comme il suit :

Lorsque je le vis la première fois [...] je compris qu'il est Poète dans le sens entier et presque oublié du mot, indifféremment du fait qu'il écrit ou non des vers [...], parce qu'il est différent de tous les autres hommes, bons ou mauvais, avec ou sans talent, marqués par les soucis courants. Il ne semblait d'aucune manière partager ces soucis, ces inquiétudes et, bien que le sort ne l'épargnât pas, il s'élevait sans effort au-dessus des conjonctures et en riait presque.¹

La poésie était vitale comme l'air pour Miron Kiropol. Il m'a dit, à plusieurs reprises, que la poésie coulait de lui. C'est ce qu'il avouait aussi dans la préface du recueil *Poésies et variantes* : « Les mots venaient à moi comme d'une jouissance divine »². Il se mouvait, avec une facilité digne des grands humanistes, entre plusieurs langues : français, roumain, espagnol, italien, etc. Sa poésie pourrait être un territoire fertile pour les théoriciens de l'auto-traduction :

j'ai écrit en roumain des centaines de poésies que j'ai traduites en français et en italien. Plus tard, oubliant de les avoir écrites en roumain, je les ai à nouveau traduites, du français et de l'italien en ma langue natale. Jeu sublime dans lequel à présent le

français et le roumain se sont enchaînés l'un à l'autre et ont créé en moi une langue totale, un abîme dans lequel je vis un Royaume, l'abîme de l'instant premier lorsque « la Terre était une masse sans forme et vide et que sur les eaux planait l'Esprit de Dieu ».³

La citation de *La Genèse* n'est pas choisie par hasard, car Miron Kiropol était un homme profondément croyant et toute sa poésie baigne dans le sacré. Le critique Ioan Holban considère que Miron Kiropol illustre parfaitement les dires de l'Abbé Brémond, selon lequel la poésie est une « prière profane »⁴. Voici l'*Autoportrait* du poète, où il avoue être marqué du sceau divin :

Je parle comme les mendiants
Avec un écriteau de carton devant moi :
Je suis le fils de Dieu. [...]
J'ai un caillou enfoncé dans la bosse,
Une pierre noire porteuse des vents
Du nord, et sur la dernière vertèbre
La morsure d'un ange, ce chrysanthème sans lèvres.⁵

Dans un autre poème, Kiropol invoque la miséricorde divine :

Lorsque je maudis ton nom, lorsque dans la luxure
Je vautre ton visage éparpillé sur mon visage,
Fais que mon corps tombe comme neige des âges
À genoux devant toi, en démesure.⁶

Bien que spirituelle et mystique, la poésie de cet auteur n'est pas dématérialisée. « Rarement un territoire fut plus disputé par les puissances du *désir*, proclamées avec humilité et déchirement », affirme Lucian Raicu, pour continuer : « La poésie « mystique » de Miron Kiropol devient, sans que nous y prenions garde, une mystique de la poésie »⁷.

Auteur d'un monologue continu, dans lequel le Verbe sacré se fait entendre sans cesse, le poète y croit aveuglement, témoignant d'une confiance absolue aux forces de la poésie :

Bien-aimé Verbe pour toute ma vie,
Je suis heureux de ton parler en moi.
J'étends la main pour te répondre
Dans l'idiome du premier paradis.
Je crois que ma bouche balbutiera les mots des anges,
Apprenant la science de la brûlure,
Même si je ne comprends pas leur chuchotement secret,

Seulement à l'entendre leurs ailes m'embrasseront.
Je cherche la résurrection dans chaque parole du dictionnaire
Et j'entonne chaque syllabe comme un psaume.
Je crois aveuglement en toi.

Dans un autre poème du même recueil, Miron Kiropol s'imagine en traducteur de la Parole divine ; le poème est le Grand Œuvre du creuset de l'alchimiste :

Les dents de Dieu t'embrassent
La hanche. Tu apprends
À mieux traduire cette parole
Et enfantes, comme un alchimiste,
Divine la pierre.⁸

La mort hante le poète dès ses premiers recueils : « Pardonne-moi cette vie qui/ Avant qu'elle meure fut la mort »⁹, écrivait-il dans un poème de 1968. Et ailleurs : « À quoi m'intégrer plus qu'à une jolie mort ? »¹⁰. Dieu, poésie, mort, amour, ce sont des thèmes présents chez tous les grands poètes ; ils acquièrent pourtant des accents particuliers chez Kiropol, qui n'est pas facile à déchiffrer à une première lecture, car le poète est tout simplement *différent* :

Sur la poésie, sur le salut, sur la beauté, Miron Kiropol pense *autrement*. Et lui-même est tout à fait *autrement* bâti, plus fragile et à la fois plus fortement articulé que tant de ses contemporains communicatifs et intelligibles, enracinés dans un « quotidien » qui ne lui parle en rien. Il ne veut pas séduire, il n'a pas de « mesure », ne tient pas compte du goût de l'époque, ne penche pas l'oreille, ne penche pas la tête, ne s'inscrit pas dans une école, ne fait pas expressément de la « littérature », ne compose pas d'après les exigences de la critique littéraire et d'un public avide de spectacle. Il s'enferme en soi, accepte la crucifixion de la solitude et du manque d'audience, guette les signes seulement par lui attendus.¹¹

Beaucoup de ses poèmes ne portent pas de titre. Dans son dernier recueil, *La marginea focului extrem* [En marge du feu extrême], le titre des poèmes est la date de leur écriture ; le poète écrit un journal *sui generis* qui témoigne du fait que pour lui la poésie se confondait à la vie. Et, en effet, qu'est-ce qui mérite d'être retenu du passage des journées, sinon leur miel, c'est-à-dire le poème ? En même temps, cette absence des titres donne l'impression d'un continuum. Kiropol écrit en fait un seul poème-fleuve, qui « coule » de lui, comme il avait l'habitude de dire. Que ce soit en roumain, français, espagnol ou italien, Kiropol écrit en fait le même poème, dans une « langue totale »,

qui ne peut être que celle de la poésie. Est-ce que cela suffit pour justifier un destin ? Non seulement que cela le justifie, mais c'est à mon avis la seule justification possible. C'est d'ailleurs la clé dans laquelle Alain Simon lit Miron Kiropol : « Il est simplement question d'admettre l'appartenance au double registre de l'émotion et du fini esthétique, par où la lecture du poème est possible, comme possible son destin »¹².

La recherche d'une langue-matrice qui puisse tout englober, la fouille aux sources du Verbe – et les références à la Bible ne sont pas rares – est dans mon opinion la principale caractéristique de la poésie de Miron Kiropol.

Une vie dans et pour la poésie, une destinée poétique à contre-courant des modes littéraires du moment, une œuvre impressionnante encore peu connue aux lecteurs de Roumanie et de France. Publié dans de petites maisons d'édition, aux tirages confidentiels, Miron Kiropol attend encore sa reconnaissance bien méritée. C'est un poète à récupérer et à re(découvrir).

Associate Professor Letiția Ilea, Ph.D. She is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication within the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration of Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. She has been teaching Business French and Business English courses to the 1st and 2nd year students and the MA course Business Communication (French). Ms Ilea is an acclaimed poet, a well-known author of several volumes of poetry and translation, published in Romania, France and Spain. She has been awarded thirteen literary prizes for her contributions, both as a poet and a translator, in Romania and in France. Her areas of interest are: French literature, business communication, translation studies, poetry. (letitia.ilea@econ.ubbcluj.ro)

Notes

- 1 Lucian Raicu, « Préface », dans Miron Kiropol, *Poésies et variantes* (Iași : Editura Timpul, 2003), 12.
- 2 Miron Kiropol, *Poésies et variantes* (Iași : Editura Timpul, 2003), 4.
- 3 *Idem*, 8.
- 4 Ioan Holban, « In memoriam Miron Kiropol. Bătăile inimii între filele unei cărți imense », dans *România literară*, 27/2020.
- 5 Miron Kiropol, *Idem*, 44.
- 6 *Idem*, 50.
- 7 Lucian Raicu, *Idem*, 26.
- 8 Miron Kiropol, *Idem*, 240.
- 9 *Idem*, 247.
- 10 *Idem*, 253.
- 11 Lucian Raicu, *Idem*, 38.
- 12 Alain Simon, sur la quatrième de couverture de Miron Kiropol, *Le Rang johannique* (La Bartavelle Éditeur, 1989).

Ontological Dimensions and Images of the *Other* in the Romanian Philosophical Discourse (Constantin Noica, Mircea Eliade and Emil Cioran)¹

Maria-Zoica Balaban*

The main aim of this paper is to present the most important aspects of the philosophical Romanian thinking in the 20th century regarding the role and the place of Romania, as a small and underdeveloped country – as some might think of it – in the European context. Ontological dimensions and images of the other in the Romanian philosophical discourse are reflected in many writings, especially the ones belonging to C. Noica, M. Eliade and E. Cioran, the most important representatives of Generation '27. Discovering the *other* involves living ontologically in one's language, culture and experience.

cultural differences; the other one; marginal; forward; backward;
philosophical thinking.

The relationship between identity and otherness has been a reflection reason for in-depth studies starting with the ancient times and continuing up to the present moment. Plato (427 BC-347 BC) is the first one who introduced the notions of *identity* and *otherness*. Although, at first sight, the two notions are opposite, in reality, they refer to the same subject: things are the same and, at the same time, they are different. In his dialogue *Lysis*², he introduces, for the first time, the term *alter-ego*, emphasizing that one's identity is like a double fact and highlighting the absolute form of the truth viewed simultaneously from two perspectives: *identity* and *self*. Friendship, an essential concept for defining otherness in ancient times, is seen as a reciprocity relationship between

two equal people, both having as a form of identity/otherness equality itself. Later on, Aristotle (384 BC-322 BC) redefines the Platonic ideas related to identity-otherness. In *Etica nicomahică*, the concept of friendship is placed between the absence of the neighbour and the merging with him. The equality relationship expressed by Plato is reiterated by Aristotle in the form of loyalty to the other.

In the modern era, there have been constant concerns for the study of the identity-otherness relationship. Gottlob Frege (1848-1925), one of the founders of modern logic, whose studies formed the basis of analytical philosophy, with its main component, the philosophy of language, considered that identity cannot be defined, "because any definition is an identity"³ and argued that the identity of any individual is culturally coded. Claude Lévi Strauss (1908-2009) emphasized the importance of the person's name in defining identity. José Ortega y Gasset (1833-1955) discusses the difference between man and animal, starting from two criteria: the animal does not live by itself, but constantly attentive to otherness, sometimes even terrorized by it. On the other hand, the man has the ability to ignore otherness and to turn to himself. From a social point of view, human existence is loneliness, and society is a sum of interindividual relations. "The crowd, the others, all, the community, the society – that is: no one"⁴. When defining identity-otherness relationship, cultural codifications and certain criteria applicable to a predefined social environment intervene. The return to oneself, to the inner world is called by Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961) "personality no.2", with a defining role in the identity-otherness relationship: "The alternating game of personalities 1 and 2 [...] takes place in each individual. Especially religions are those that have always addressed man's personality no. 2, the inner man"⁵, the equivalent of the other. We find the same perception of inner otherness in Tzvetan Todorov (1939-2017) who said that "we can discover others in ourselves and that we can understand that we do not form a homogeneous substance and radically foreign to everything that is not the self: I am the other"⁶. In Tzvetan Todorov's view, inner otherness or self-knowledge is achieved only through the knowledge of the other. This process is not continuous, fluid, but it is often accompanied by ruptures and discontinuities. The other one is a social group, an entity which we do not belong to. This group can be spotted both inside the city (women/ men, rich/poor, normal/crazy, accepted/marginalized) and outside it (a distant group in space/time, with a different language and a culture based on other values and models). Todorov distinguishes three ways of relating to otherness issue: axiological reporting (involves making value judgments about the other: the other is good or bad, beautiful or ugly, I accept or despise him, I respect or defy him, I treat him as an equal or I consider him inferior etc.), praxiological reporting (which involves accepting the other in terms of a close relationship, accepting the other in terms of a familiar otherness, embracing the other's values, identifying with him, assimilating him, or adopting a neutral position) and epistemic reporting (I know or ignore the other's identity, to varying degrees

* Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

which generates complex states of knowledge, with complex feelings and attitudes)⁷. Interesting points of view regarding the identity-otherness relationship are the ones in Martin Buber's writings (1878-1965), who, although not a creator of a philosophical system, offers deep meditations on the I-you/I-that relationship. For Martin Buber, the I-you relationship is an ontological event. From his point of view, every man possesses, before any social experience, a partner, who is his innate self; therefore, every man is meant for a relationship with the other. While the I-you relationship indicates an existential, ontologically lived engagement in spirit, the I-that relationship indicates a relationship between the knowing subject and the object of its knowledge, between a possessing person and the possessed object.

As far as it concerns the Romanian cultural space, there have been multiple preoccupations for the study of otherness. Romanian culture, as a whole, has never rejected its relations with other cultures. There were temptations of other cultures as Mircea Vulcănescu stated: "a temptation of Rome, one of our non-Latin background, a Greek-Byzantine temptation, a Slavic temptation-maybe even two: one Slavic-Balkan, another from Dostoevsky's Russia. There are also French and German temptations so strong that they could alienate us. A Polish-Hungarian temptation of pride – especially in Transylvania. All these temptations have historically materialized in political and cultural trends, which have significance at different times and which continue to polarize"⁸. Dimitrie Cantemir's writings, the works from the Pasoptist and Junimist period, the works of Nicolae Iorga, Lucian Blaga, Mircea Vulcănescu, Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran, Constantin Noica, Eugen Ionescu, Dumitru Drăghicescu, Șt.Aug.Doinaș, C-tin Rădulescu-Motru, Vintilă Mihăilescu, Andrei Oișteanu, Lucian Boia, Sorin Alexandrescu, D.H.Mazilu, Marius Sala, Alexandru Zub, Alexandru Duțu shape the historical evolution of the identity-otherness relationship in the Romanian culture.

Dimitrie Cantemir is considered the first crisis phenomenon in the Romanian spirituality, the spirit of criticism begins with him, the "dissatisfaction with oneself, dissatisfaction with being the way you are, this dissatisfaction that still enlivens many Romanian thoughts, unable to reconcile what they are with what they want to become"⁹. Dimitrie Cantemir's cultural development, encompassing both Western and Eastern culture, built him a reputation as a European. *Descriptio Moldaviae* and *the Chronicle of the Antiquity of the Roman-Moldavian-Vlachs* represent eloquent examples of simultaneous experiences, on the border between East and West. The Pasoptist culture (1830-1860), considered a challenge of the French culture, continued the preoccupations for the other, marking the beginning of the Romanian society modernization under the western models' influence. The approach of the Romanian intellectuals from the first half of the 19th century to France gave this epoch a francophone and francophile dimension. The fascination for Western models also brings with it identity questions about the other. The Junimist period (1863-1907), considered a challenge to German culture,

involuntarily continued its preoccupations for the study of otherness. The Junimists, through their critical and constructive spirit, laid the foundations for the Romanian modernity restructuring. Titu Maiorescu, Petre Carp, Vasile Pogor, Iacob Negruzzi and Theodor Rosetti, educated in the German space, made a radical mentality change in the local culture, orienting the aesthetic taste towards the well-founded originality. The strong influence of the German philosophy from that period (Heinrich Heine, Heinrich Laube, Karl Gutzkow) led to a placement of the junimist phenomenon in the European context, seeking to educate an audience capable of distinguishing value from non-value by promoting original literature and unifying the language.

The '27 Generation is a point of reference in the study of the identity-otherness relationship. Emil Cioran (1911-1995), Constantin Noica (1909-1987), Mircea Eliade (1907-1986), Mircea Vulcănescu (1904-1952) reflect, in their writings, on the identity-otherness relationship. Cioran spoke about our historical misfortune and about the need to make a historical leap so that Romania can follow the destiny of great European countries. He was the stubbornest of his generation, constantly rising up against the secondary culture destiny of the country he belonged to. In this social, political and historical minority, Noica, Eliade and Vulcănescu described a Romanian reality, impossible to identify in other cultures. The evolution of our being, in spite of this minority, carries in the subtext the language and its infinite philosophizing possibilities in relation to its own identity and in relation to the other. The closure that opens is, in Noica's view, the metaphor that defines the identity projections in case of Romanians, the one that capitalizes on sensitivity and an existence consumed at the border between East and West: "the inner principle of anything that makes it open and makes it remain in further openness"¹⁰. For Noica, a nation's identity is like an organism that

cannot live without a balanced disposition of its component parts, without a mutual and solidary collaboration of those parts, in a word without a general organization of its being [...] If the inner finality is the convenience of the parts in the whole made up of them, the outer finality of one thing is its convenience thus organized in relation to another. Every organism must, in order to exist, have an inner finality and can have, in order to evolve, an external finality.¹¹

In the equation of identifying the other, Noica introduces a gnoseological relationship between the inner finality and the outer finality, the defining factors for shaping a people's identity. Between the two terms of the relationship, a broken identity is born due to the inferiority complex created by all those who were actors of a history that did not have patience with us.

If Cioran maximizes this diminished condition of our identity, Sorin Alexandrescu proposes a valorization of marginality:

There is no provincial culture, but there is a high quality culture or there is a lack of culture, especially for political reasons. We are not talking about a provincial culture [...] I would say that there is a form of border culture, there is a border culture. All Romanians lived on the margins of other empires: Russian, Habsburg, Turkish. Marginal cultures were created in all Romanian provinces. But a marginal culture is not an inferior culture [...] a marginal culture is a culture different from the culture that takes place at the center.¹²

This marginal status has a fascinating charm, through which, unfortunately, we have not been able to exploit this double identity. Despite our uncertain identity, we waited at the gates of the East and we did not leave the gates of the West, building a prototype of our becoming, in an undulatory space, an area of intersections and multiplicities. Noica recognizes a sense of inferiority; it is neither Cioran's grave, exacerbated tone, nor Eliade's positive resignation, but the desire for historical reparation through compensatory universes. Noica strongly believes that language would hide the formula of a good response to the modernity challenges. Noica reiterates the ideas expressed by Todorov, Buber and Ortega y Gasset regarding the relationship between identity and otherness, introducing the pair *sinele* (the male self) – *eul* (the self) – *sinea* (the female self): The (male) self represents the detachment from the self, or rather its attachment to something wider [...] the self means precisely that <I am not me>, that I am something else"¹³. While the (male) self is a diaphanous concept of continuous expansion in the plane of thought, the female self is outlined as a point of maximum concentration, expressing "the ultimate intimacy of anything"¹⁴. The paradigm of being in the Romanian spirituality is claimed, however, from the ontological particle *întu* (in). *Întu* is our part of heaven, the ontological operator that determined our space and time, the particle of continuous openings, the symbol of spiritual suspension and our own disease through which we subscribe to the European spirit; it is a *modus vivendi*, which coagulates into a unitary whole – the possible, contingency, revelation, withdrawal, suspension and eventuality: „this new ontological modality – neither becoming, nor being, but both, but with one oriented towards the other –, you realize that its affinity for the disorder of becoming is balanced by its affinity with the order of being; that a particularly deforming, transforming and formative being meets with it in particular"¹⁵.

Mircea Eliade proposes a resizing process of the Romanian spirituality. For Eliade, a true culture must live, grow from within, individualize, create itself alive, grant itself as a citadel to the experience, the one that attests and creates a spiritual dimension and atmosphere. Eliade pleads for the individual, for personal experience, for giving up imitations and imposed, acclaimed and borrowed beliefs. The only way to save ourselves is experience, which Eliade defined in the following terms:

[...] I only value experiences. And experiences can only be rigorously personal and their conclusions must always be seen as personal results. On this fact we all agree that we have come to distinguish the concrete of attitudes – from the imaginary, the inconsistent of simple rational constructions. The latter are possibilities. Experiences, on the contrary, are existences. A spiritual life nourished only by possibilities is shipwrecked. Unity, convergence, creative ferment [...] brought by experiences.¹⁶

Eliade believes that any culture must be ethnically colored and individually nuanced in order to be defined in terms of identity-otherness relationship.

On the other hand, Emil Cioran grants an intermediate culture status to the Romanian culture. In Cioran's view, we are witnessing an existential tragedy, in the sense that we lack the macroscopic vision of history. Cioran's pleads for the exit from social, political and cultural anonymity; we must individualize, change rest into restlessness, resignation into inertia, into metaphysical momentum, and anonymity into originality and universal recognition: "any people that enters history when all the other ones reached maturity suffers from a lack of equilibrium, provoked by historical inequalities [...] there is no other choice but to burn the stages"¹⁷.

In the Romanian space, Ștefan Augustin Doinaș has pertinent reflections on identity and otherness when talking about the social dimension of man, which he considers as a *sine qua non* condition in defining otherness. Society, as a whole, has a dual function: integrating and humanizing. Thus arises the problem of otherness, of the individual relationship between me and the other. Social life makes the individual benefit from the others' experience, in interindividual relationships, each person faces his fellow man, each ego meets and enters a relationship with an alter ego. The encounter with the other is, in fact, the fiery test of our own existence:

Self-consciousness is formed by the impression that each of us is different and different from the other. The child gradually acquires it. Then, becoming an adult citizen, he realizes that together with the others he resembles, he can only assert himself through differentiation within various social groups: class, family, ethnic community, party, religion, etc. We are permanently from childhood to old age and from all parts – family, tribe, society etc. confronted with the other and obliged to recognize ourselves only insofar as we are different from our fellow men.¹⁸

Speaking about the self-other relationship, Doinaș identifies three types of otherness: the fundamental otherness (between the ego and any other thing or being), the second degree alterity (which opposes the other to the self) and a third otherness that is between the first two and which consists in the difference between the sexes, not only

biologically, but also in flesh and spirit: “I am a plural One. [...] I, the one at the moment, am no longer the same as I was a day ago, a year ago. As tomorrow I will be different than I am today and implicitly different”¹⁹.

Speaking about the compensatory role of the imaginary, Lucian Boia mentions the otherness between the eight archetypal structures of an imaginary that can be applied to historical evolution:

The connection between I and Others, between Us and Others is expressed through a complex system of othernesses. This game works in all registers, from the minimum difference to the radical otherness, the latter pushing the Other beyond the limits of humanity, in an area close to animality or the divine [...]. Any interpersonal relationship and any discourse about man inevitably passes through this imaginary grid. In a broader sense, otherness refers to a whole set of differences: different spaces and landscapes, different beings, different societies, thus associating imaginary geography, fantastic biology and social utopia.²⁰

The nuance of the relationship between identity construction and the perception of otherness creates a complex of attitudes from the most diverse, from simple acceptance of the other, to friendship, love, parentage, rejection, hatred, phobia:

The other is a ubiquitous character in the imagination of any community. The games of otherness are constituted in an archetypal structure. Under this report, Romanians are not and cannot make an exception. However, two characteristic features of the Romanian history contributed to the placement of the Other in a specific light: on the one hand, the reaction of a somewhat isolated rural civilization and, on the other hand, the massive and uninterrupted impact of foreign dominions and models. The contradictory and complementary action of these factors led to a synthesis with definite originality notes.²¹

In the Romanian cultural space, the year 2007, the year of Romania’s accession to the European Union, represents a turning point, because the Romanian culture and society are going through a series of major changes. Cultural differences are being felt more and more, which determines a perception change from national to universal, with an emphasis on our ability to overcome our own identity and to accept, without reservations, the different.

Identity-otherness relationship has been a debatable issue for a very long period of time. Since ancient times, people have wondered about the other one, why is he/she different and what makes him/her different. Knowing the other one has been of interest to scholars, philosophers, historians, ordinary people. Knowing the other one we manage to know ourselves better and deal with the modernity challenges. The other one is, at the

same time, close enough but also far away: the experiences we share, the way we live, the way we tend to be are all parts of the same coin, the one that reveals the self through the other’s image and perceptions. We are who we are and we are what we are as a result of our shared interests, lived experience and others’ perception. In ontological terms, being yourself means discovering yourself and discovering yourself means experiencing the otherness.

Maria-Zoica Balaban, PhD, Teaching Lecturer. She is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication at the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration within Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. Her main areas of interest are: business communication, intercultural communication, literature, philosophy.

Notes

- 1 The present study is supported by the Ministry of Research and Innovation CCCDI – UEFISCDI Project Code: PN-III-PI-1.2-PCCDI-2017-0326/49PCCDI/2018 according to PNCDI III.
- 2 Plato, 1976, 163-250.
- 3 Gottlob Frege in *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, France, 1990, corpus 11, 896.
- 4 Jose Ortega y Gasset, *Omul și mulțimea*. Traducere din spaniolă și note de Sorin Mărculescu (București: Humanitas, 2001), 10.
- 5 C. G. Jung, *Amintiri, vise, reflecții*, consemnate și editate de Aniela Jaffé, traducere și notă de Daniela Ștefănescu, (București: Humanitas, 1996), 58.
- 6 Tzvetan Todorov, *Cucerirea Americii. Problema Celuilalt*, Traducere de Magda Jeanrenaud (Iași: Institutul European, 1997), 7.
- 7 *idem*, 173.
- 8 Mircea Vulcănescu, *Dimensiunea românească a existenței* (București: Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1991), 19.
- 9 Constantin Noica, *Pagini despre sufletul românesc*, ediția a II-a (București: Humanitas, 1992), 20.
- 10 Constantin Noica, *Devenirea intru Ființă*. Încercare asupra filozofiei tradiționale. Tratat de ontologie (București: Humanitas, 1998), 211.
- 11 Constantin Noica, *Logica națională în Acțiune și Reacțiune II/1930. Caiete semestriale de sinteză națională în cadrul sec. XX*. Scrise de Petru Comarnescu, Ion Jianu, Constantin Noica, Mihail Polihroniade (București, 1930), 79.
- 12 Sorin Alexandrescu, *Identitate în ruptură* (București: Univers, 2000), 34.
- 13 Constantin Noica, *Cuvânt împreună despre rostirea românească* (București: Editura Eminescu, 1987), 13.
- 14 *idem*, 16.
- 15 *idem*, 33.
- 16 Mircea Eliade, *Profetism românesc 1. Itinerariu spiritual. Scrisori către un provincial. Destinul culturii românești* (București: Editura Roza Vânturilor, 1990), 87.
- 17 Emil Cioran, *Schimbarea la față a României*. Postfață de Gabriel Stănescu (Norcross: Criterion Publishing, 2002), 15.
- 18 Ștefan Augustin Doinaș, “Fragmente despre alteritate”, in *Secolul 21, Alteritate*, nr. 1-7/2002, 23-27.
- 19 *ibidem*.
- 20 Lucian Boia, *Pentru o istorie a imaginarului*. Traducere din franceză de Tatiana Mochi (București: Humanitas, 2006), 32.
- 21 Lucian Boia, *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească* (București: Humanitas, 1997), 177-223.

Varia

Oxford University Press, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary 10th edition* (Android App)

*Adrian Ciupe**

This review looks at the Android version of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, with its latest (10th) edition, made available on Google Play in early 2020. It discusses both the dictionary's strengths, especially in terms of quality and quantity of content and also its weaknesses, mainly relating to form / usability and certain controversial marketing strategies of Oxford University Press.

advanced; Android; app; buyer; collocation; customer; dictionary; edition; full text search; headword; idiom; learner; meaning; online; payment method; phrasal verb; user.

Advanced learner's dictionaries from all major ELT publishers (Oxford¹, Cambridge², Longman³, Macmillan⁴, Collins/Cobuild⁵) are freely available online. However, some of them have also put out Android app counterparts, such as the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary 10th edition*⁶, which makes the object of this review (henceforth referred to as 'the OALD10 app'/'the app').

The app boasts 86,000 words, 95,000 phrases, 112,000 meanings, 237,000 examples (full sentences or just language chunks), usage notes, synonyms, collocations, idioms, phrasal verbs, vocabulary quizzes and pronunciation practice support, among other things⁷. The layout for each entry is similar, if not identical, to the free online version; a typical example of entry includes the headword, followed by British and American phonetic transcriptions and audio pronunciation of the headword in both variants, meanings differentiated by tags⁸, lists of synonyms, collocations, extra examples and related words ('wordfinder'); a 'word origin' explanation is included with each entry as well. Certain (but not *all*) meanings/lexical units (i.e. single words and phrases) are assigned CEF level tags (A1, B2, C2 etc.). Phraseology is featured at the end of each

* Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

entry – phrasal verbs and / or idioms, depending on the case (i.e. the headword being a verb, a noun, an adjective etc.).

If the content of the free online version and the app is broadly similar, some features are not. For example, users can practice their pronunciation (record + playback) only with the paid Android app. Also, the app (and not the free online version) gives users the possibility of listening to audio versions of the examples (full sentences or just language chunks) in both British and American English.

The app benefits from two great advantages: (1) all dictionary content can be downloaded for offline use, including the pictures and spoken pronunciations of the headwords and the example sentences/language chunks – users have the choice of storing the data on SD card; (2) perhaps the greatest benefit is a feature which I think all electronic dictionaries should have, regardless of their format or platform (web, Adroid, iOS etc.): *full text search*. The OALD10 app gives users two ways of looking up words: ‘simple search’, which is just based on the headword typed, the user being taken to the entire menu for a specific entry/headword; ‘full text search’, which is extremely helpful, as it allows users to find any desired phrase (collocation, fixed expression, idiom, phrasal verb) by typing just one word or more which they ‘think’ belong together – the dictionary will return search results within headwords, idioms, phrasal verbs or example sentences / language chunks.

To conclude this brief description of the app in question, in terms of layout and accessibility, some users may complain that the back arrow was removed in this edition (as compared to OALD9⁹), the app developers opting for ‘history’ (which lists all the headwords previously looked up, in descending chronological order); also, users may choose between light and dark modes (or ‘themes’) but, unfortunately, I would find the dark one somewhat lacking in its visual implementation, given that yellow highlighting is superimposed on white text, seriously affecting the ease of reference to some words specifically searched for in context, when using the full text search option.

The content of the app is undeniably excellent – but this can also be said about the free online version, as well as about the dictionaries from the other publishers mentioned. Given the freely available online version, what makes the app worth purchasing (and using) largely depends on its embedded features (offline use and the full text search option) but not least, on its marketing.

From this point of view (marketing), the OALD10 app has certainly raised eyebrows among prospective users/buyers; this can be easily noticed in customers’ reviews and app ratings for OALD10 and its predecessor, OALD9: the latter is rated 4.2 out of 5 stars¹⁰, while the former has only garnered 3.8 stars out of 5¹¹ so far. Customers’ opinions (expressed in the product reviews on Google Play) are obviously divided.

With OALD10, Oxford made the controversial decision of changing the payment method for the app: while up to the 9th edition customers had to make a one-time payment, the 10th edition, reviewed here, has introduced a monthly / yearly subscription payment plan. Like other purchasers of the app, I would find this marketing decision highly questionable and illogical. Whereas most apps on Google Play, from high-profile developers, benefit from free updates, Oxford University Press has chosen to consider each of its OALD editions a separate product; this means, in effect, that OALD9 no longer receives updates, which, in turn, ‘forces’ previous customers to ‘buy again’, if they want the latest additions to essentially *the same* (well over 90 %) product; another downside is that OUP does *not* offer any discounts to existing customers (who would like to upgrade from the 9th to the 10th edition, for example). Moreover, it took OUP half a year to come up with an update allowing existing 9th edition customers to restore their purchase (OALD9) in case they did not want to be arbitrarily pushed to OALD10¹².

Like similar ELT products from major publishers, the OALD10 app makes for a helpful learner resource based on its excellent content. However, as the same content can be accessed online for free and given certain controversial vagaries of marketing strategies behind the product, it remains to be seen whether such an app can be a real success with prospective customers/users; most of them carry along mobile devices with an internet connection; consequently, having offline access to the dictionary may not necessarily be a powerful incentive to pay for the Android version; on the other hand, in order to appreciate the full potential of a feature like *full text search* – as the single most important advantage of the paid app over the free online version – it would take a really enthusiastic and committed learner or teacher of English.

Lecturer Adrian Ciupe, PhD. He is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication within the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration of Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. He has been teaching business and general English, business communication, advanced writing and speaking skills to BA and MA students and also preparation courses for the TOEFL test and the Cambridge Exams Suite in a variety of systems and formats. His main areas of interest include ESP, ELT, course and syllabus writing/design, online English teaching, computer-assisted language learning (CALL), the Lexical Approach, lexicology/lexicography, language proficiency testing, corpora concordancers and language learning apps for Android, iOS and Windows. (adrian.ciupe@econ.ubbcluj.ro)

Notes

- 1 <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com> (accessed on: 16.09.2020).
- 2 <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/> (accessed on: 16.09.2020).
- 3 <https://www.ldoceonline.com> (accessed on: 16.09.2020).

- 4 <https://www.macmillandictionary.com> (accessed on: 16.09.2020).
 5 <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english> (accessed on: 16.09.2020).
 6 https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.oup.elt.oald10_gp (accessed on: 16.09.2020).
 7 *Idem*.
 8 E.g. the headword 'job' lists the following tags: 'paid work', 'task', 'duty', 'crime', 'object' and 'computing'; *idem*.
 9 <https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.oup.elt.oald9> (accessed on: 16.09.2020).
 10 *Idem*.
 11 *Op. cit.*
 12 OALD10 came out in January 2020, replacing OALD9 (which automatically became unavailable on the OUP product page on Google Play). This meant that previous customers of the 9th edition could no longer find OALD9 using the same Google Play account in case they wanted to install the already purchased app on a new mobile device. Following customers' complaints, OUP issued an update to OALD9 (15.06.2020, for version 1.1.10), thus allowing buyers of OALD9 to restore their purchase – see <https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.oup.elt.oald9> (accessed on: 16.09.2020).

Die politische Karikatur: ein Mittel zur politischen Meinungsbildung? The Political Cartoon: a Means of Shaping Political Opinion?

*Veronica Câmpian**, *Alfred Fellner***

The present work investigates the contribution of cartoons to the political opinion-forming of their viewers. Through the visual framing, from the caricaturist's subjective point of view, one aspect is emphasized, one problem is illustrated. By questioning certain facts or exposing things through the cartoon, the author challenges the viewer to think along, opens up new perspectives and helps him to form political opinions. The article aims to highlight the topics and the formal, content-related and stylistic structures according to which the cartoons from the *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung für Rumänien* (ADZ) published in 2019 contribute to the political opinion-forming of its readers. It is important to determine which of the above-mentioned characteristics are mainly used to reflect, in excerpts, those states of affairs which the newspaper has put on the agenda of its readers and which have thus gained predominant importance. In order to investigate this, the following hypothesis is put forward which can be confirmed or disproved by analyzing the characteristics of political cartoons: The cartoons published in the ADZ contribute to the political opinion of the viewers.

political cartoon; Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung für Rumänien; visual framing; opinion shaping.

1. Einleitung:

Die Presse ist ein Medium, das aus dem heutigen Leben kaum weg zu denken ist. Seit Gutenberg begleiten Zeitungen die Menschen tagtäglich. Die Presse gilt als langlebigstes Massenmedium¹. Neben der Hauptfunktion dieses Mediums, die Informationsfunktion erfüllt sie in jeglicher Hinsicht viele andere Aufgaben. Sie hält uns

* Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

** Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

immer auf dem Laufenden, sie leitet unsere Meinung, sie schafft Werbung, sie bildet und nicht an letzter Stelle, sie unterhält. Das geschieht meistens in eigenständigen Resorts, die der Unterhaltung gewidmet sind.

Der Journalist ist ständig auf der Suche neue Mittel und Techniken einzuführen, um die Aufmerksamkeit der Zeitungsläser auf den Inhalt zu lenken. Das geschriebene Wort alleine schafft es in vielen Situationen nicht mehr den Leser am Blatt gebunden zu halten und aus diesem Grund werden auch visuelle Elemente in den Vordergrund gebracht, um auf diesen Weg eine Meinung zu formulieren und zu äußern. Der Pressemensch kennt die Vorteile der bildlichen Mittel und die Tatsache, dass sich eine visuelle Botschaft schneller beim Rezipienten einprägen lässt.

Eine wichtige Rolle spielt in diesem Zusammenhang die Karikatur, welche in den letzten Jahren an Bedeutung gewonnen hat und einen wichtigen Platz in den Zeitungen eingenommen hat. Sie soll eine komplexe Rolle erfüllen: einerseits als visueller Kommentar und bei der Meinungsäußerung zu helfen und andererseits dem Leser eine ausdrucksstarke visuelle Zusammenfassung eines aktuellen Sachverhaltes anzubieten. Karikaturen sind da, um Missstände zu identifizieren, Probleme auf zu decken und diese auf humoristische Weise zeichnerisch dar zu stellen.

Durch das Einführen der Grundrechte in verschiedenen Staaten, entwickelt sich die Karikatur in direkten Zusammenhang mit dem Journalismus zu einem politischen Kampfmittel². Der Karikaturist hat die Freiheit diese Zeichnung so zu gestalten wie er es für richtig hält, um das zu transportieren was er sich vorgenommen hat. So entsteht aber die Frage um die Wahrnehmung deren die diese Karikaturen sehen. Nicht alle Konsumenten dieser werden genau das verstehen was der Autor versucht hat zu zeigen.

Die vorliegende Arbeit untersucht den Beitrag der Karikatur zur politischen Meinungsbildung ihrer Betrachter. Durch die visuelle Rahmung wird aus der subjektiven Sicht des Karikaturisten ein Aspekt hervorgehoben, ein Problem bildlich thematisiert. Indem der Verfasser durch die Karikatur gewisse Sachverhalte unterfragt oder Dinge entlarvt, fordert er den Betrachter zum Mitdenken, öffnet bei ihm neue Perspektiven und hilft ihm bei der politischen Meinungsbildung. Sehr wichtig sind jedoch auch der Wissensstand des Rezipienten und seine Fähigkeit Symbole, Metaphern, Phraseologismen und andere Anspielungen zu dekodieren.

Der Beitrag möchte nicht untersuchen, ob der Betrachter den Bildinhalt im Einklang mit dem Karikaturisten versteht, sondern er möchte hervorheben zu welchen Themen und nach welchen formellen, inhaltlichen und stilistischen Strukturen die Karikaturen der ADZ aus dem Jahr 2019 zur politischen Meinungsbildung seiner Leser beitragen. Wichtig ist festzustellen, welche der oben genannten Merkmale vorwiegend verwendet werden, um, ausschnitthaft, diejenigen Zustände zu reflektieren, die von der Zeitung auf die Agenda der Leser gesetzt wurden und somit eine vorherrschende Bedeutung gewonnen haben. Um dies zu untersuchen wird folgende Hypothese aufgestellt die anhand

der Analyse der Kriterien bzw. Merkmale der politischen Karikaturen zu bestätigen oder zu widerlegen gilt: Die Karikaturen die in der ADZ veröffentlicht werden, tragen zur politischen Meinungsbildung der Betrachter bei.

1. Aktueller Stand der Forschung:

Forscher haben sich in den letzten Jahren intensiv dem Thema Karikaturen gewidmet. Einen starken Andrang dazu entstand mit der Veröffentlichung im Jahre 2005 der größten dänischen Zeitung Jyllands Posten von zwölf Karikaturen über Mohamed³ und mit dem islamistisch motivierten Terroranschlag der am 7. Januar 2015 auf die Redaktion der Satirezeitschrift Charlie Hebdo in Paris verübt wurde.

In einer Studie nimmt Quante Julia⁴ das Thema Karikatur aus der Sicht von Sigmund Freud auf und äußert, dass diejenigen die über eine Karikatur lachen, nicht mehr ernsthaft den Wahrheitsgehalt der zugrunde liegenden Informationen hinterfragt. Die Karikatur sei ein Mittel der Beeinflussung⁵. Das bedeutet, dass die Wahrnehmung einer Karikatur eventuell nicht mit dem eigentlichen Sinn dieser übereinstimmen.

Laut Vinicius Liebel (2010) wird, im Gegensatz zu der schriftlichen Rede in der Kritik offener und direkter vermittelt wird, in der Karikatur durch die Leichtigkeit der Zeichnung die Meinung getarnt rübergebracht⁶. Das bedarf natürlich einer Entschlüsselung seitens des Betrachters. Liebel (2010) beschreibt einer der wichtigsten qualitativen Methoden zur Analyse von Bildern, und benutzt als Beispiele einige Karikaturen. Diese Methode wird <dokumentarische Methode> genannt. Liebel (2010) stützt sich auf Mannheims⁷ (1980) Theorie, laut welcher für eine erfolgreiche und vollständige Analyse eines Untersuchungselement drei „Sinnschichten“⁸ beachtet werden müssen: den objektiven Sinn, den intendierten Sinn und deren dokumentarischen Sinn. Beim ersten handelt es sich um das was aus der reinen Beobachtung verstanden werden kann, beim zweiten geht es die Botschaften der Körper und der möglichen Wörter und beim dritten um die Dokumentation und Interpretation und die Herstellungsweise des Untersuchungselements⁹. In Liebels (2010) Fall ist dies aber nur dann erforderlich, wenn der Autor die Untersuchung der Karikaturen selbst vornimmt.

Der Kommunikationswissenschaftler Thomas Knieper¹⁰ stellt die Karikatur als einen wichtigen Bestandteil der Medienberichterstattung dar, der ihren festen Platz in der Tageszeitung hat, kommt aber auch in anderen Massenmedien vor. Sie thematisiert Tagesereignisse von großer Aktualität, ohne dafür aber eine Lösung anzubieten. Sie beschäftigt sich aber auch mit kulturellen Verhaltensmustern.

1.1. *Der Framing und der Visual Framing - Ansatz*

Während die traditionelle Sichtweise der Rahmentheorie die Notwendigkeit feststellt, einen Aspekt der Realität auszuwählen und ihm eine Auffälligkeit zu verleihen¹¹, indem sie eine Zwiespalt zwischen der Einrahmung und der Argumentation

betont, verbindet die neuere Sichtweise den Sprachtyp, der sich aus Metaphern, Hyperbeln und Ironie zusammensetzt, mit dem begrifflichen Inhalt¹².

In der Kommunikationswissenschaft betrachten einige Wissenschaftler der Framing-Ansatz als eine zweite Stufe des Agenda-Settings¹³, denn in der Medienberichterstattung wird nicht mehr über die Wichtigkeit gewisser Themen vermittelt, sondern auch versinnbildlicht, welche Besonderheiten eines Sachverhaltes als relevant angesehen werden könnten.

Eine genaue Reduktion einer bildlichen Darstellung auf einen gewissen thematischen Ausschnitt ist unter dem Begriff <visual framing> bekannt. In Anlehnung an den oben beschriebenen Framing-Ansatz, können auch Karikaturen als Frames verstanden werden. In ihrer meinungsbildenden Absicht reduzieren sie ein aktuelles Thema auf einen bestimmten Aspekt, um „ein pointiertes Bewertungs- und Interpretationsangebot zu diesem Thema zu liefern“¹⁴. Die Bildgestaltung von Karikaturen, ihre Motivwahl und die Symbolistik vermitteln eine bestimmte Botschaft, genauso wie die Schlüsselbegriffe der Meinungsartikeln¹⁵. Somit kann der Karikaturist darüber entscheiden, welcher Blickwinkel eines politischen Themas durch seine Zeichnung einen „exklusiven Medienrahmen“¹⁶ bekommt.

Grünewald (2002) betont die Ikonizität der Karikatur: „Die Zuordnung eines visuellen Zeichens zu einer inhaltlichen Bedeutung beruht auf das Prinzip der Ähnlichkeit. Dabei ist die Ähnlichkeit zu dem Gemeinten nur indirekt maßgebend; wichtiger [...] ist die Ähnlichkeit mit der Bildvorstellung des Betrachters zum Gemeinten.“¹⁷.

2. Allgemeine Betrachtungen über die Karikatur:

Die Karikatur drückt nicht direkt eine Mitteilung aus. Diese wird in der Zeichnung verpackt und codiert. Wenn der Betrachter die Botschaft dieser bildlichen Ausdrucksform verstehen will, so muss er zuerst den verkappten und ausgedrückten Inhalt der Karikatur entziffern. Erst durch die Dekodierung stellt sich das Wissen um die Aussagen der Karikatur beim Rezipienten ein¹⁸.

Schwender & Grahl & Knieper (2019) sind der Ansicht, dass das Verstehen von Karikaturen „das Wissen um die Figuren und [...] den Ereigniskontext voraussetzt.“¹⁹ Sollten Encodierung und Decodierung unterschiedlich erfolgen, dann könnte die Karikatur in die Irre führen²⁰.

Die Karikatur ist ein Indiz der Meinungsbildung. Sieht man eine Karikatur, versteht man schnell die Aufforderung zur Meinungsbildung. Man geht davon aus, dass ein visuelles Erzeugnis eine höhere und bedeutendere emotionale Wirkung beim Rezipienten haben wird als jede sprachliche Äußerung. Zur gleichen Zeit soll der Betrachter die Karikatur auch als eine Einladung zum Amüsieren verstehen.

Eine der wichtigsten Wesensmerkmale der Karikatur ist laut Quante (2013) die Übertreibung oder die Verzerrung, denn „durch ein Zerrbild wird die dargestellte Person verfremdet.“²¹.

Schwender & Grahl & Knieper²² sind der Ansicht, dass Karikaturen zu der politischen Debatte gehören und Grünewald (2002) definiert politische Karikaturen als solche, die „aktuelle Ereignisse, Prozesse, Entscheidungen, Positionen und Verhaltensweisen kritisch thematisieren, die politischer Einflussnahme unterliegen und die Offenheit betreffen“²³. Quante (2013) führt diese Idee weiter und meint, „Karikaturen reflektieren Politik, Meinungen über Politik, politische Mentalitäten und in Einzelfällen machen sie auch selbst Politik“²⁴. Zu den Aufgaben der politischen Karikaturen zählt die Autorin folgende Besonderheiten: „Sie pointieren, treiben Dinge auf die Spitze, stellen einseitig dar, machen aber gerade dadurch etwas sichtbar, was sonst vielleicht nicht sichtbar geworden wäre“²⁵. Somit muss sie nicht um eine Neutralität bemüht sein, sondern darf und soll frei kommentieren²⁶, aber auch „bloßstellen und beleidigen“²⁷. Über die Rolle und den Stellenwert der politischen Karikatur meint Herbert Päge: „Als politisch bedeutsames Medium ist sie ein Träger gesellschaftlicher und politischer Kritik und ein Mitinitiator öffentlicher Meinungsbildung“²⁸.

Karikaturen weisen formale und inhaltliche Strukturen auf, aber auch stilistische Mittel die den Meinungsbildungsprozess unterstützen. Formell, nach dem zeichnerischen Inhalt unterscheidet Schnakenberg²⁹ folgende Typen der politischen Karikatur: apersonale Karikatur, personale Typenkarikatur und personale Individualkarikatur.

Aus der Perspektive ihrer inhaltlichen Struktur unterscheiden Grünewald (2002) und Knieper (2002) folgende Typen der politischen Karikatur: deskriptive Karikaturen, die sich auf der Beschreibung der Sachverhalte konzentrieren, kommentierende Karikaturen, die Standpunkt in den Vordergrund bringen, aber ohne Argumente zu gebrauchen, analytische Karikaturen, die Hintergründe und Zusatzinfos für die Unterstützung einer bestimmten Meinung veranschaulichen und propagandistische Karikaturen, die einen agitatorisch-emotionalen Standpunkt vertreten.

Die Einteilung der Karikaturen nach Päge (2007) aus der Perspektive der Anwesenheit von Text in der Karikatur ist ein Ausgangspunkt einer lexikalisch-syntaktischen Analyse der Karikaturen. Päge³⁰ unterscheidet folgende Kategorien: Karikaturen ohne Text, mit Text, ohne Bildunterzeile und mit Unterzeile. Eine letzte Kategorie kreist um Karikaturen, die sowohl einen Text, als auch eine Bildunterzeile aufweisen. Der kurze verbal geschriebene Ausdruck weist lexikalische und syntaktische Besonderheiten auf, die zusammen mit dem bildlichen Inhalt zur Meinungsbildung helfen sollen.

Eine weitere Klassifizierung der Karikaturen beschäftigt sich mit den stilistischen Mitteln. Laut Quante (2013) wird „das Typische einer Person oder einer Situation, ihr Kern, durch Vereinfachung oder Übertreibung, Verzerrung, Verfremdung oder Deformation

in der Karikatur pointiert⁴³¹. Somit sind die Übertreibung, die Vertauschung, die Verfremdung, der Gegensatz und die Parodie die stilistischen Mittel, die einer Karikatur zugrunde liegen.

Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, dass die Karikatur durch den pointierten Inhalt und der zugespitzten Form belustigt, kommentiert oder angreift. Somit wird aus der Karikatur eine facettenreiche Darstellungsform, die zugleich eine Witzzeichnung, ein Bildkommentar und ein Kampfbild ist.

3. Das Auswahlverfahren

Die der Analyse unterzogen Karikaturen wurden anhand eines bewussten Auswahlverfahrens ausgesucht.

Die Karikaturen werden aus der Allgemeinen Deutschen Zeitung für Rumänien entnommen, als einzige deutschsprachige Tageszeitung aus Rumänien. Diese hat eine lange Tradition in der Veröffentlichung von Karikaturen. Sie erscheinen in jeder Samstag Ausgabe. Die Geschichte der ADZ geht bis auf fast ein halbes Jahrhundert vor dem ersten Erscheinen unter der heutigen Form zurück. Nachdem 1948 die Große Nationalversammlung in Rumänien die Verfassung des Landes verabschiedete und somit allen Bürgern völlige Gleichberechtigung garantierte, wurde ein Jahr später das Antifaschistische Deutsche Komitee gegründet, um die Deutschen ideologisch zu gewinnen. Ein dafür eigens geschaffenes Medium wurde herausgegeben, es war die Geburtsstunde der Zeitung Neuer Weg. Anfangs war die Zeitung ideologisch geprägt und mit der Zeit als Erziehungsmethode im Sinne der kommunistischen Partei aus Rumänien eingesetzt³². Nichts desto trotz, vertrat der ehemalige Mitarbeiter der Zeitung Hans Fink die von ihm aufgestellte Theorie der ‚zwei Zeitungen‘ die es im Neuen Weg gab. Einmal die offizielle Zeitung der Partei, die den anderen rumänischen Zeitungen ähnelte, und als zweites die eigentliche Zeitung, die für die deutschsprachige Bevölkerung gemacht war³³. Die Auflage des NW befand sich hauptsächlich zwischen 60.000 und 70.000, und hatte 1964 den Höhepunkt mit 80.000 Exemplare. Als Konsequenz der massiven Auswanderungen der Deutschen nach der Wende, sank die Auflage 1990 auf 30.000 bis hin zu 15.000 am Ende desselben Jahres³⁴. Am 5 Januar 1993 erscheint die Zeitung das erste Mal unter dem Namen Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung.

Die Auswahl der Karikaturen steht in direktem Zusammenhang mit der Zeitspanne ihrer Publizierung und bezieht sich aus zwei Gründen auf das ganze Jahr 2019. Erstens spielt die Aktualität der in den Karikaturen dargestellten Themen eine ausschlaggebende Rolle und zweitens bot das Jahr 2019 eine Vielfalt an nationalen und internationalen politischen Ereignissen. Zu erwähnen sind der Brexit, Trumps außenpolitische Handlungen in Bezug auf Russland und China sowie der Start der gegen Trumps geführten Amtserhebungsuntersuchung, Rumäniens EU-Ratspräsidentschaft, Wahl zum 9. Europäischen Parlaments, UN-Klimagipfel in New York und UN-Klimakonferenz in

Madrid, G20 Gipfel in Osaka, das große Thema der Digitalisierung und des Datenschutzes sowie die Terroranschläge von Neuseeland und Halle. Die erste ausgewählte Karikatur stammt von Samstag den 5. Januar 2019, die letzte vom 21. Dezember 2019.

4. Die Auswertung der Karikaturen

Als erstes werden die Karikaturen thematisch eingeteilt, um zu sehen ob ein eventueller Zusammenhang zum Thema Politik oder zum politischen Spektrum besteht. Insgesamt ließen sich 14 Themenfelder konturieren, die nach ihrem Inhalt in drei verschiedenen Relationen zum Hauptthema Politik stehen: <eindeutig Politik>, <abhängig von Politik> und <mögliche Beeinflussung seitens der Politik>. Zu <eindeutig Politik> lassen sich 24 der 46 Karikaturen Thematisch zuordnen, diese Themen sind: Demokratie³⁵, Menschenrechte³⁶, Wahlen³⁷, Nationalstaat³⁸, Frieden/Konflikt³⁹ und Politik⁴⁰. Zu <Zusammenhang Politik> gehören thematisch 20 Karikaturen die, die Felder Wirtschaft/Misswirtschaft⁴¹, Medien/Digitalisierung⁴², Umweltschutz/Klimaschutz⁴³, Gesellschaft⁴⁴, Schulreform⁴⁵ und Gesundheitswesen⁴⁶ behandeln. Zur Kategorie <möglicher Zusammenhang mit Politik> gehören die Themen Familienbilder⁴⁷ und Kultur⁴⁸ mit jeweils einer Karikatur. Aus dieser ersten thematischen Einteilung lässt sich entnehmen, dass die analysierten Karikaturen fast ausschließlich das Thema Politik oder Themen, die sich in engen Zusammenhang mit der Politik befinden behandeln. Die Annahme, die untersuchten Karikaturen aus der ADZ tragen zur politischen Meinungsbildung bei, ist bis zu diesem Punkt richtig.

Als nächstes werden die Karikaturen einer Analyse unterzogen die, die formellen, inhaltlichen und stilistischen Merkmale betreffen, sowie die Techniken, die eingesetzt wurden, um dem Betrachter einen Sachverhalt zu übermitteln und somit zur politischen Meinungsbildung bei zu tragen. (siehe Kap.3) Die Anwendung eben dieser aufgezählten Merkmale ist ausschlaggebend für die Decodierung seitens der Konsumenten, und somit für den konkreten politik-bildenden Charakter dieser Karikaturen.

Die erste Einteilung analysiert die Karikaturen formell dem zeichnerischen Inhalt nach. Eine einzige Karikatur ist eine <apersonale>, das heißt es sind keine Personen zu erkennen, nur Gegenstände (siehe Abb.1).



Abb. Nr.1: Karikatur Februar 2019

30 der Zeichnungen sind <personale Typenkarikaturen>, in denen mindestens eine Person gezeichnet ist, öfters jedoch sind es mehrere, gesellschaftliche Gruppen z.B. eine Schulklasse, oder Familien in der gewohnten Umgebung. Eben diese personalen Typenkarikaturen haben einen meinungsbildenden Charakter da auf diese Weise die dargestellten Sachverhalte mühelos verstanden werden können, und somit mit dem jeweiligen politischen Ereignis in Verbindung gebracht werden bzw. dazu anregt sich diesem Thema intensiver zu widmen. Unter anderem werden Personen im Zusammenhang mit der Digitalisierung der Schulklassen, Personen, die sich mit dem Datenschutz auseinandersetzen, Personen und deren Familienleben und Menschen betroffen von der Erderwärmung, dargestellt. In 15 dieser Karikaturen sind reale Persönlichkeiten zwar verzerrt jedoch eindeutig erkennbar. Die Tatsache, dass es sich in all diesen Fällen um nationale und internationale politische Akteure handelt bestätigt die Annahme, dass die untersuchten Karikaturen zur politischen Meinungsbildung beitragen. Donald Trump (siehe Abb.2) kommt in 7 dieser 15 Zeichnungen vor, gefolgt von Angela Merkel die drei Mal gezeigt wird und Boris Johnson dem zwei Karikaturen gewidmet sind. Wladimir Putin, Recep Tayyip Erdogan und Andreas Scheuer kommen jeweils einmal vor.



Abb. Nr.2: Karikatur April 2019

Das nächste Analyse Kriterium bezieht sich auf die Funktion der politischen Karikatur. 32 der insgesamt 46 sind ihrer Funktion nach deskriptiv, was bedeutet sie beschreiben Sachverhalte. Hier werden Alltagsszenen von allgemeinem Interesse gezeigt, ohne diese beeinflussen zu wollen. So wird z.B. im November Karikatur gedruckt die objektiv die Situation des Schulsystems in Deutschland veranschaulichen und eine andere die die Lage bezüglich der Bestrebung ein Klimaziel zu erreichen zeigt (siehe Abb.3). Sieben der restlichen Karikaturen sind kommentierende indem sie einen Standpunkt vertreten, diesen jedoch nicht argumentieren. Die letzten sieben Karikaturen sind analytisch, der Autor gibt Hintergründe und Zusatzinformationen, um seine Meinung zu veranschaulichen. Keine der 46 Zeichnungen sind als propagandistisch einzuordnen. Im Falle aller drei angewandten Funktionen der politischen Karikatur ist ein gewisser Grad an politischer Meinungsbildung zu erkennen, sei dieser absichtlich oder unabsichtlich. In 32 Fällen wird dem Betrachter anhand der rein deskriptiven Darstellung die freie Meinungsbildung zu einem gegebenen Sachverhalt überlassen. In wenigen Fällen wird dies, durch ein nicht-argumentiertes Kommentar seitens des Zeichners gestützt, ebenso selten kommen bildliche Zusatzinformationen in den Karikaturen vor, die einerseits die Meinungsbildung verstärken, andererseits erschweren können.



Abb. Nr. 3: Karikatur November 2019

Weiter wurden die Karikaturen nach der Anwesenheit eines Textes analysiert. Anhand dieses Kriteriums lässt sich die Wichtigkeit eines Textes als Zusatzhilfsmittel für die richtige Decodierung und somit auch für die politische Meinungsbildung erkennen. 37 Zeichnungen verwenden Text in Begleitung des Bildlichen, 15 von diesen sogar mit Bildunterzeile. Die Texte sind fast in allen Fällen als Textblasen der gezeichneten Personen anwesend deren Funktion es ist einen kommunikativen Austausch zwischen den dargestellten Protagonisten zu schaffen und somit zu einem leichteren Verständnis des Themas beiträgt, während die Bildunterzeile eine zusätzliche Information, objektiv oder subjektiv, seitens des Autors ist.

Bei sieben Karikaturen findet sich Text nur als Bildunterzeile, bei zweien fehlt die Bildunterzeile und eine einzige Zeichnung ist gänzlich ohne Text (siehe Abb.4). Viele der verwendeten Begriffe schaffen direkten Zusammenhang zu politischen Themen und verstärken weiter die Hypothese, dass die Karikaturen aus der ADZ zur politischen Meinungsbildung beitragen. Einige Beispiele sind: Wahlkampf, Brexit, NATO, CO2 Steuer, EU, G-20, Abrüstungsvertrag, Demokratie, u.a.



Abb. Nr. 4: Karikatur April 2019

Der letzte Teil der Analyse widmet sich den stilistischen Mittel. In 16 Karikaturen wurde die Übertreibung angewandt. Auf diese Weise werden durch den Autor gewisse Sachverhalte übertrieben hinsichtlich ihrer Auswirkung, Konsequenzen oder Unfähigkeit dargestellt. Z.B. wird in einer Karikatur⁴⁹ beschrieben, dass man sich bald beim Fahrradfahren den Kopf an eine Drohne anstoßen könnte, wegen der großen Anzahl dieser, in einer anderen Zeichnung⁵⁰ wird wegen der großen Hitzewelle die 2019 Deutschland erreichte, die Wettermoderatorin leicht bekleidet gezeigt und die im Hintergrund zu sehende geschmolzene Deutschlandkarte.

In vier Fällen wird die Vertauschung als stilistisches Mittel verwendet. Hier präsentiert der Autor ein Subjekt, Gegenstand oder Person außerhalb des gewohnten Kontextes. Es werden z.B. in einer Karikatur⁵¹ die Sozialen Media Kanäle als Abwasserkanäle gezeigt die als Informationsquellen für einen Wahlkampf dienen. Ein einziges Mal wird das Mittel der Verfremdung oder Veränderung angewandt, im Falle des Brexits⁵². Beim Blick der Briten in ihr Geldbeutel springt ein Boxhandschuh heraus und trifft sie direkt ins Gesicht. Hier wird der Geldbeutel als Symbol des britischen Wohlstandes entfremdet und als Schlag ins Gesicht gezeigt.

Das stilistische Mittel Gegensatz kommt sechs Mal vor. Die Visualisierung von Gegensätzen wird in einer der Karikaturen von Dezember 2019 kenntlich gemacht. Anstatt durch einer gewöhnlichen Masern- Impfung der Krankheit vorzubeugen, wird hier die Person zum Impfen ans Bett gefesselt in Anwesenheit des Arztes, eines Richters und

eines weiteren Beamten (siehe Abb.5). Typisch für die Karikaturen wird in 16 Fällen das Mittel der Parodie angewandt. Ein gutes Beispiel ist die Zeichnung vom Oktober 2019 in der der Autor die typisch deutsche politische Korrektheit parodiert. Obwohl diese Mittel einen lustigen Charakter hat lenkt es jedoch nicht vom ursprünglichen Sinn ab.



Abb. Nr. 5: Dezember 2019

5. Fazit:

Die Karikaturen haben die Fähigkeit, im Vergleich zum Geschriebenen, den Leser der Zeitung in einer kurzen Zeit auf ein Thema zu lenken und dank der visuellen Komponente, prägen sie sich dauerhaft dem Gedächtnis des Betrachters ein. Darüber hinaus fordert sie den Leser auf, sich um die in der Karikatur angesprochenen Sachverhalte Gedanken zu machen.

Die Analyse der Karikaturen hat erwiesen, dass diese 14 Themenfelder aufweisen, wobei sie fast ausschließlich um das Dachthema Politik kreisen. Inhaltlich ist der politisch-bildende Charakter der Karikaturen zu erwähnen und formell betrachtet, gehört ein überwiegender Prozentsatz des untersuchten Bildmaterials der Kategorie <personale Typenkarikaturen> an. Diese ermöglichen Assoziationen zu den realen politischen Akteuren, auch wenn ihr Bild verzerrt dargestellt wird. In den meisten Fällen handelt es sich um Elitepersonen aus Elitenationen, also um weltbekannte Persönlichkeiten, deren Entscheidungen und Haltungen von globaler Bedeutung sind (Donald Trump, Angela Merkel, Boris Johnson u.a.).

Die Karikaturen haben auch einen stark deskriptiven Charakter erwiesen. Der Karikaturist beschreibt den Sachverhalt und in den meisten Fällen steht es dem

Betrachter frei, seine Meinung anhand dieser Darstellungen zu bilden. Keine gelenkte Meinungsbildung ist bemerkbar.

Eine weitere wichtige Komponente der Untersuchung beschäftigt sich mit der Anwesenheit des Textes. Dieser erscheint in der Form der Textblasen oder der Bildunterschriften. Das Vorhandensein des Textes bei den meisten Karikaturen verleiht ihm eine entscheidende Rolle bei der Entschlüsselung des visuellen Materials. Die letzte Analysekategorie hat sich mit dem Gebrauch von stilistischen Mitteln in den Karikaturen beschäftigt. Vorhanden war die Übertreibung, die Vertauschung, die Verfremdung und der Gegensatz. Obwohl sie zu den Witztechniken gehören und den Betrachter wegen den nicht eingehaltenen Erwartungen und der Normverletzungen zum Lächeln bringen, lenken diese Strategien nicht von der eigentlichen Botschaft des Karikaturisten ab, und zwar von seinem visuellen Kommentar.

Zusammenfassend kann man die Vielzahl der prägenden Merkmale der Karikatur beobachten, aber auch die raffinierten Strategien, mit denen sie arbeitet. Die Karikatur im Allgemeinen und die Politische im Besonderen übt eine harsche Kritik an der Gesellschaft, der Politik und den Politikern aus, und durch die absichtliche Übertreibung bestimmter Charakterzüge, Entscheidungen, Kontexte trägt sie sicherlich zur öffentlichen Agenda und sogar zur politischen Meinungsbildung der Leser bei. Somit kann man von der Bestätigung der formulierten Hypothese sprechen, also, dass die in der ADZ veröffentlichten Karikaturen die politische Meinungsbildung der Leser unterstützen.

Lecturer Veronica Câmpian, Ph.D. is a member of the Department of Communication, Public Relations and Advertising (German language section) within the Faculty of Political, Administrative and Communication Sciences of the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. She has been teaching Verbal and Non-verbal Communication courses to the first-year students, Intercultural Communication to the second-year students and the MA courses such as Communication theories and Media Systems. Her main areas of interest are: verbal and non-verbal communication, media language and political communication. (campean@fspac.ro)

Alfred Fellner is an MA student in Public Relations and Advertising at the Faculty of Political, Administrative and Communication Sciences of the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. His main interests are: Journalism, Print Media Analysis, Ethics and Political Communication. (alfredy90@yahoo.de)

Notes

- 1 Wilke Jürgen, „Presse“, in E. Noelle-Neumann, Wilfried Schulz, & J. Wilke, *Fischer Lexikon, Publizistik, Massenkommunikation* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 2009), 459-500.

- 2 Plum Angelika, *Die Karikatur im Spannungsfeld von Kunstgeschichte und Politikwissenschaft* (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 1998), 63.
- 3 Ata Mehmet, *Der Mohammed-Karikaturenstreit in den deutschen und türkischen Medien* (Siegen: VS Verlag, 2011), 11.
- 4 Quante Julia, „Freud im Spiegel von Karikaturen“, in *Psychologie und Gesellschaftskritik* 38(3) /2014, 75-97.
- 5 *Idem*, 5-76.
- 6 Liebel Vinicius, „Die politische Karikatur im Stürmer - eine dokumentarische Bildinterpretation“, *Zeitschrift für Qualitative Forschung* 11(2010)1, 56.
- 7 Mannheim, Karl, *Strukturen des Denkens* (Frankfurt am Main, 1980).
- 8 Liebel Vinicius, „Die politische Karikatur im Stürmer - eine dokumentarische Bildinterpretation“, *Zeitschrift für Qualitative Forschung* 11(2010)1, 57.
- 9 *Idem*, 57.
- 10 Knieper Thomas, *Die politische Karikatur – Eine journalistische Darstellungsform und deren Produzenten* (Köln: Halem, 2002), 252.
- 11 Entman Robert, „Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm“, *Journal of Communication* 43(4) 1993: 51–58.
- 12 Burgers Christian, Konijn Elly, Steen Gerard, „Figurative Framing: Shaping Public Discourse Through Metaphor, Hyperbole, and Irony“, *Communication Theory* 26(2016), 410-430.
- 13 Schmid-Petri Hannah, *Das Framing von Issues in Medien und Politik: Eine Analyse systemspezifischer Besonderheiten* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2012)
- 14 Jones Priska, *Europa in Karikaturen* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2009), 39.
- 15 *Idem*, 38.
- 16 Schenk Michael, *Medienwirkungsforschung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 409.
- 17 Grünewald Dietrich, „Zwischen Journalismus und Kunst – politische Karikaturen“, in: Grünewald Dietrich (Hrsg.): *Politische Karikatur: Zwischen Journalismus und Kunst* (Belz, Weimar, 2002), 18-19.
- 18 Knieper Thomas, *Die politische Karikatur – Eine journalistische Darstellungsform und deren Produzenten* (Köln: Halem, 2002), 23.
- 19 Schwender Clemens; Grahl Doreen; Knieper Thomas, „Comics und Karikaturen in der Kommunikationsforschung“, in: Lobinger, Katharina (Hrsg.): *Handbuch Visuelle Kommunikationsforschung*, (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2019), 392.
- 20 *Idem*, 392.
- 21 Quante Julia, *Drawn into the heart of Europe? Die britische Europapolitik im Spiegel von Karikaturen (1973-2008)* (Münster: Lit, 2013), 59.
- 22 Schwender Clemens; Grahl Doreen; Knieper Thomas, „Comics und Karikaturen in der Kommunikationsforschung“, in: Lobinger, Katharina (Hrsg.): *Handbuch Visuelle Kommunikationsforschung*, (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2019), 398.
- 23 Grünewald Dietrich, „Zwischen Journalismus und Kunst – politische Karikaturen“, in: Grünewald Dietrich (Hrsg.): *Politische Karikatur: Zwischen Journalismus und Kunst* (Belz, Weimar, 2002), 14.
- 24 Quante Julia, *Drawn into the heart of Europe? Die britische Europapolitik im Spiegel von Karikaturen (1973-2008)* (Münster: Lit, 2013), 65.
- 25 *Idem*, 65.
- 26 *Idem*, 64.
- 27 Schwender Clemens; Grahl Doreen; Knieper Thomas, „Comics und Karikaturen in der Kommunikationsforschung“, in: Lobinger, Katharina (Hrsg.): *Handbuch Visuelle Kommunikationsforschung* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2019), 399.
- 28 Päge Herbert, *Karikatur in der Zeitung – Engagierter Bildjournalismus oder opportunistisches Schmuckelement?* (Aachen: Shaker Media, 2007), 93.
- 29 Schnakenberg Ulrich, *Geschichte in Karikaturen: Karikaturen als Quelle* (Schwalbach/Ts., 2011), 53.
- 30 Päge Herbert, *Karikatur in der Zeitung – Engagierter Bildjournalismus oder opportunistisches Schmuckelement?* (Aachen: Shaker Media, 2007), 165.
- 31 Quante Julia, *Drawn into the heart of Europe? Die britische Europapolitik im Spiegel von Karikaturen (1973-2008)* (Münster: Lit, 2013), 59.
- 32 Müller Annette, *Abschied in Raten. Vom Neuen Weg zur Allgemeinen Deutschen Zeitung für Rumänien*. (Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag, 2002), 73-74.
- 33 Liebhardt Hans, „Neuer Weg, guter Weg, schlechter Weg“, in: *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Rumänien* (Bukarest: ADZ Verlag, 2009), 84.
- 34 Mucundorfeanu Meda, *Die deutschsprachige Presse in Rumänien während der kommunistischen Zeit. Fallstudie: die Zeitung „Neuer Weg“* (Mittweida: Hochschulverlag Mittweida, 2015), 90.
- 35 z.B. Trumps (mit der Weltkugel jongliert) Sichtweise zur globalen Sicherheit, vom „Weltpolizisten“ zum „Dorfsheriff“.
- 36 z.B. Die Debatte um den Datenschutz.
- 37 Die sozialen Medien als Informationskanäle für den Wahlkampf.
- 38 Boris Johnson legt die Demokratiepause ein.
- 39 Militärischer Weltraumschrott als Lösung für die Erderwärmung.
- 40 z.B. Der Ausstieg Trumps und Putins aus dem Abrüstungsvertrag.
- 41 z.B. Der Monsanto-Skandal des deutschen Konzerns Bayer.
- 42 z.B. Digitalisierung im Schulalltag.
- 43 z.B. Planlosigkeit in der Verfolgung der Klimaziele.
- 44 z.B. Befragung zu Hass und Angst in der Gesellschaft.
- 45 Debatte zum Thema staatliche und private Schulen.
- 46 Das Masernschutzgesetz.
- 47 Ehefrau beklagt Ehemann wegen Übergewicht.
- 48 Zweifache Literaturnobelpreisverleihung.
- 49 Karikatur von Juni 2019.
- 50 Karikatur von Juli 2019.
- 51 Karikatur von Februar 2019.
- 52 Karikatur von März 2019.

Il romeno nel percorso di studio degli studenti universitari italiani

Romanian for Italian university students as part of their educational training

Dana-Maria Feurdean*

This article discusses the didactic and cultural activity carried out by the author in the Italian university field, within the Romanian language lectureship, at the University of Padua.

Romanian language; culture and civilization courses; intercultural dialogue.

L'Università degli Studi di Padova può vantare una tradizione di 83 anni di insegnamento di lingua, letteratura, cultura e civiltà romena, se prendiamo in considerazione il fatto che il primo dottorato di romeno è stato fondato nel 1937 con Nina Façon in qualità di prima lettrice. Abbiamo sottolineato in altre pubblicazioni¹ l'autorevole tradizione d'insegnamento della lingua romena nell'ambito accademico padovano accennando a quelle personalità che, grazie ai loro notevoli lavori scientifici e didattici, hanno contribuito lungo gli anni alla diffusione della nostra cultura. Inoltre, ci siamo soffermati anche sulla collaborazione docenti-studenti universitari della prima metà del Novecento individuata nelle tesi di laurea elaborate tra il 1935 e il 1956 – preziosa testimonianza dell'interesse e dell'impegno nella promozione dell'«altra latinità»² – lavori che, per le scelte tematiche che rispecchiavano le peculiarità del mondo

* Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

romeno, sono riusciti a dare voce transnazionale ai valori sui cui si era costruita l'identità nazionale del popolo romeno³.

Nelle seguenti righe ci proponiamo invece di menzionare il nostro contributo al proseguimento di tale tradizione attraverso l'esperienza diretta maturata come lettrice di romeno nel periodo 2016-2019.

Siccome i corsi del del dottorato sono rivolti a studenti universitari e magistrali e si svolgono su tre livelli linguistici (principiante, intermedio e avanzato) – indipendentemente dall'anno di studio in cui uno studente è iscritto –, il primo passo nell'approccio didattico presso il Dipartimento di Studi linguistici e Letterari (DiSLL) è stata l'identificazione dei livelli di competenza degli studenti e le loro esigenze. A seguito di queste azioni, abbiamo sviluppato tre programmi analitici per il primo semestre (livello A1, B1, C1) e tre per il secondo semestre (livello A1 + /A2; B1 + /B2; C1 + /C2) di ogni anno del mandato, che specificano gli obiettivi della disciplina, le competenze mirate e la bibliografia per ogni livello. Il percorso d'insegnamento, progettato su diversi livelli di competenza linguistica, ha adottato un approccio comunicativo basato su metodi interattivi, moderni, con l'obiettivo di sviluppare le capacità di ascolto, lettura, conversazione, scrittura, ma anche la competenza della comunicazione interculturale e di traduzione.

Nello stabilire i temi dei syllabi didattici relativi ad ogni livello linguistico si è tenuto conto degli interessi degli studenti, visto che i gruppi del dottorato erano formati da studenti con diversi indirizzi di studio: *Lingue, letterature e culture moderne e Mediazione linguistica e culturale* (Laurea Triennale); *Lingue e letterature europee e americane e Lingue moderne per la comunicazione e la cooperazione internazionale* (Laurea Magistrale).

Per gli studenti di livelli principiante e medio è stata perseguita una diversità di contenuti, mirando alle nozioni di cultura, civiltà e letteratura romene (età medievale romena; tradizioni e costumi romeni; proverbi, detti e superstizioni; attrazioni turistiche in Romania; rituali antichi e moderni; fiabe romene, ecc.), nonché nozioni specifiche di determinati settori professionali, con contenuti adatti a livello (reclutamento e lavoro; salute, ecc.)⁴.

I materiali video realizzati nell'ambito del progetto EVRO (Università Babeş-Bolyai)⁵ – di cui sono stata collaboratrice – si sono dimostrati estremamente utili nel processo dell'insegnamento/ apprendimento per gli studenti di livello A1-B2, essendo stati selezionati in base al tema proposto, al fine di sviluppare le capacità di ascolto, pre-ascolto, post-ascolto e ascolto attivo. Durante il semestre abbiamo utilizzato anche test di autovalutazione (applicati dopo il completamento di alcune unità didattiche): essi si sono rivelati uno strumento didattico apprezzato dagli studenti, in quanto li hanno aiutati nel processo di formazione continua. Tali test sono stati progettati per fornire loro un feedback obiettivo e per stimolarli nel processo di apprendimento del romeno come lingua straniera.

Per i livelli C1-C2, durante i tre anni di mandato, ogni semestre veniva affrontato un tema diverso, visto che i corsi si dovevano rivolgere sia alle esigenze degli studenti interessati alla lingua, letteratura, cultura e civiltà romena, che a quelli degli studenti con interessi per la mediazione linguistica e per lo studio dei linguaggi di alcuni settori specialistici.

Pertanto, nel primo anno, ci siamo avvicinati a unità didattiche e a testi scritti e orali che riguardavano tanto la cultura e la civiltà romene (citiamo alcuni argomenti: *valori e peculiarità della cultura romena; grandi personalità della cultura romena; l'origine del popolo romeno; frammenti di storia, cultura e civiltà romene; vestigia della cultura dei Daci in Romania; turismo: patrimonio dell'umanità UNESCO; folclore romeno; leggende, fiabe, credenze, miti e proverbi; culture in dialogo: l'approccio comparativo di alcuni temi nelle due culture – romena e italiana*), quanto la lingua romena (*espressione scritta corretta: ortografia, omofoni, omografi; relazioni semantiche: sinonimia, antonimia, paronimia, omonimia, polisemia; strutture fraseologiche. espressioni idiomatiche; arcaismi e regionalismi; errori semantici: confusione paronimica, slang e gergo, pleonaso, tautologia*). Un altro obiettivo è stato lo sviluppo (durante il secondo semestre) dell'abilità di *lettura e interpretazione dei brani letterari scelti* degli autori che venivano studiati al corso magistrale tenuto dal professore ordinario Dan Octavian Cepera (come sarebbero *Eminescu, Creangă, L. Blaga, T. Arghezi*).

Nel corso proposto per l'anno accademico 2017-2018, per il gruppo di livello avanzato, si è dato rilievo tanto allo sviluppo della competenza di traduzione, quanto a quello della competenza di produzione scritta e orale in romeno, di presentazione e dibattito, sulla base di argomenti di interesse (attinenti alla cultura e civiltà romene). Per la traduzione (dal romeno in italiano e viceversa) abbiamo selezionato, per il primo semestre, testi relativi alla comunicazione specialistica, professionale (tematica che veniva incontro agli studenti della specializzazione Mediazione linguistica) nei seguenti ambiti: reclutamento e lavoro; marketing e pubblicità; turismo; banca; giornalismo. Nella prima parte del secondo semestre ci siamo soffermati su frammenti di letteratura contemporanea (Simona Popescu, Dan Lungu, M. Cărtărescu, ecc.), mentre nella seconda parte su brani di letteratura di guerra (L. Rebreanu, *Pădurea spânzuraților*; Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, *Balaurul*; Camil Petrescu, *Ultima noapte de dragoste, întâia noapte de război*; Maria, *regina României. Jurnal de război* (a cura di L. Boia, ecc.)), celebrando così, grazie a un'opportuna scelta tematica dei corsi, il Centenario della Grande Unione.

Nel 2018-2019 è proseguito il corso pratico di traduzioni (rivolto agli studenti di livello C1-C2) applicato sia a testi di prosa e storia romena, sia a frammenti della letteratura dell'esilio e delle memorie delle carceri comuniste, la cosiddetta letteratura "da cassetto". Gli argomenti hanno suscitato particolare interesse negli studenti, poiché il criterio con cui sono stati selezionati i testi si è basato sull'intento di sviluppare non solo la competenza traduttiva degli studenti, ma anche di provarli nei dibattiti. Pertanto,

il corso pratico di traduzione è stato preceduto da diversi corsi introduttivi attraverso cui l'insegnante ha fatto conoscere agli studenti l'argomento. I corsisti hanno dovuto scegliere un rappresentante della letteratura dell'esilio o un intellettuale che ha subito le prigioni comuniste e presentare l'argomento, giustificando la scelta nelle conversazioni in classe. Le traduzioni dei frammenti della letteratura dell'esilio e "da cassetto" sono state quindi alternate a presentazioni e dibattiti tematici. Alcuni degli studenti hanno persino scelto di approfondire l'autore e l'argomento preferiti nelle loro future tesi di laurea.

Oltre allo sviluppo delle competenze di produzione orale e di traduzione, ricordiamo anche quello della capacità di lettura (su una gamma di testi: letterari, articoli di stampa, cronache, riviste, recensioni di libri e film, testi funzionali, di linguaggio specialistico, ecc.), delle capacità di espressione e produzione scritta (formulazione delle idee principali di un testo; sintesi; interpretazione del testo; testo descrittivo e narrativo; testi argomentativi, recensione dei libri letti o dei film romeni visionati, saggi) e, ovviamente, lo sviluppo delle capacità di ascolto (visione dei materiali autentici su determinati argomenti di interesse, interviste a personalità della cultura romena, stralci di documentari e film romeni).

Ogni anno, gli studenti hanno avuto l'occasione di usufruire anche di attività aggiuntive ai corsi grazie alla devozione e alla passione dei docenti di romeno per la promozione della nostra cultura e per le attività orientate al dialogo interculturale. A questo riguardo ricordiamo brevemente:

I seminari scientifici sulla lingua, cultura e civiltà romena svolti all'interno della Società "Miron Costin" (fondata nel 1986 dal Prof. Lorenzo Renzi e Alexandru Niculescu che mira all'organizzazione di incontri, conferenze e dialoghi interculturali), che ha avuto la preziosa occasione di ospitare, tra varie personalità, anche quella di Matei Vișniec.

"Lo spritz romeno" è un modo di socializzare in romeno e di partecipare a dialoghi interculturali su argomenti di cultura e civiltà romena oppure su argomenti di confronto fra le culture, visto che a questa attività extracurricolare hanno potuto partecipare vari studenti, non solo quelli del lettorato.⁶

Oltre all'attività delle proiezioni dei film romeni e ungheresi (progetto realizzato dai docenti di romeno in collaborazione con quelli di ungherese, intitolato "Sguardi dell'Est"), gli studenti del lettorato hanno avuto l'opportunità di vedere anche gli adattamenti cinematografici di alcune opere portate in discussione ai corsi (*es. Pădurea Spânzuraților (La foresta degli impiccati*, regia di Liviu Ciulei, 1965); *Ultima noapte de dragoste, întâia noapte de război (L'ultima notte d'amore, la prima notte di guerra*, 1980, diretto da Sergiu Nicolaescu); *Ciuleandra* (diretto da Sergiu Nicolaescu, 1985),

ma anche film più recenti (*Binecuvântată fii, închisoare!* (*Benedetta tu, prigionie!*, 2002, diretto da Nicolae Mărgineanu); *Moartea domnului Lăzărescu* (*La morte del signor Lăzărescu*, 2005, diretto da Cristi Puiu); *Cum mi-am petrecut sfârșitul lumii* (*Come ho trascorso la fine del mondo*, 2006, diretto da Cătălin Mitulescu); *A fost sau nu a fost* (*Era o non era*, 2006, diretto da Corneliu Porumboiu); *Poziția copilului* (*La posizione del bambino*, diretto da Călin Peter Netzer, 2013), *Sunt o babă comunistă* (*Sono una nonna comunista*, film tratto dal libro di Dan Lungu; regista Stere Gulea, 2013), ecc.).

Inoltre, all'Università degli Studi di Padova, il laboratorio di teatro completa ogni anno con successo tutte le altre attività rivolte agli studenti. Si è rivelato anche un buon metodo di apprendimento del romeno, in quanto il corsista è posto al centro di un processo di apprendimento olistico, che prevede non solo lo sviluppo di una competenza linguistica, ma anche il recitare un certo ruolo, il che include la condivisione dell'altra cultura attraverso l'emozione e l'empatia. Così, sotto la guida artistica del regista Pierantonio Rizzato e grazie anche alla collaborazione dei docenti e del lettore di romeno, nel Laboratorio Teatrale sono stati preparati tre spettacoli degli studenti (sulle pièces di Matei Vișniec ed Eugène Ionesco) che si sono rivolti ad un vasto pubblico e che hanno riscosso un vero successo.

Ovviamente non sono mancate nel periodo menzionato le manifestazioni scientifiche organizzate dai docenti di Lingua e Letteratura romena presso il Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Letterari e all'interno dell'Associazione Italiana di Romanistica⁷, alle quali hanno partecipato importanti studiosi, ma anche rilevanti nomi della cultura romena (es. Norman Manea); infine, ricordiamo anche gli spettacoli per la promozione del folclore e delle tradizioni romene⁸.

Attraverso tutte le attività sopra elencate e grazie anche ad una fruttuosa collaborazione con i colleghi della Cattedra di Romeno (il professore ordinario Dan-Octavian Cepraga e il suo discepolo, Federico Donatiello), riteniamo non solo di aver continuato con successo la tradizione della diffusione dei valori culturali romeni nello spazio accademico padovano, ma di aver contribuito allo sviluppo del lettorato di romeno, introducendo nel processo di formazione degli studenti elementi innovativi necessari al passo con la realtà del mercato del lavoro: lo sviluppo delle competenze linguistiche specifiche relative anche al romeno degli affari (livello intermedio e avanzato) e alle traduzioni specialistiche riguardanti i settori succitati.

Dana-Maria Feurdean is a Lecturer of Italian, PhD, at the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication, Faculty of Economics and Business Administration, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, where she has taught Italian Business Communication Italian courses since 2000. Between 2016-2019 she was a Romanian Lecturer at the University of Padua. She is interested in modern language teaching, Italian and Romanian (as foreign languages) teaching methods, intercultural communication, business communication, applied linguistics and contrastive

linguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, lexicography. She has published a number of articles in Romania and abroad. Books published: *Comunicare in italiano: lingua d'uso per la comunicazione nella sfera pubblica e negli affari*, volume primo; *Limba română ca limbă străină. Fișe de gramatică. Nivelurile A1, A2/Romanian as foreign language. Grammar synthesis. Levels A1 and A2* (coauthor); *Test d'italiano. Linguaggio applicato al campo pubblico e degli affari*, coauthor; *Mic dicționar englez-german-francez-italian-român de termeni economici, juridici și politici*, coauthor; *Mic dicționar englez-german-francez-italian-spaniol-român de termeni economici, juridici și politici (ediție revizuită și completată)*, coauthor. Editing: co-editor of the international journals: *Studii de romanistică*; *Oltre i confini. Il dialogo transnazionale nelle discipline storiche e filologiche* (Milano: Criterion Editrice, 2020, ISBN 978-88-32062-10-6).

Notes

- 1 Dana Feurdean, "La romanistica nello spazio linguistico-culturale padovano-sette decenni di tradizione", in *Studii de romanistică. Volum dedicat profesorului Lorenzo Renzi*, editori Felicia-Delia Marga, Victoria Moldovan, Dana Feurdean (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, 2007), 39-54.
 - 2 Alexandru Niculescu, *L'altra latinità. Storia linguistica del romeno tra Oriente e Occidente* (Verona: Edizioni Fiorini), 2007.
 - 3 Dana-Maria Feurdean, "Come si studia l'«altra latinità»: Temi e metodi della mediazione interculturale", in *Transylvanian Review*, vol. XXIX: *Temi e metodi della ricerca storica e filologica: nuove riflessioni tra Est ed Ovest*, Supplement no. 1 (Editor: Center For Transilvanian Studies, 2020), 229-240.
 - 4 A tale proposito abbiamo elaborato dispense e materiali didattici: per il livello A1-A2: Dana-Maria Feurdean, *Hai să vorbim românește/Parliamo il romeno! Manuale di livello A1-A1 + (suport de curs)*; l'ausiliare didattico Dana-Maria Feurdean, Nora-Sabina Mărcean, *Limba română ca limbă străină. Fișe de gramatică. Nivelurile A1, A2 (Romanian as a Foreign Language. Grammar Synthesis. Levels A1 and A2)* (Casa Cărții de Știință, Cluj-Napoca, 2014); per il livello B1-B2: Dana-Maria Feurdean, Ioana Sonea, Gabriela Mocan, *Româna de afaceri – Manual de limba română pentru străini. Nivel B1-B2 (suport de curs)*.
- Inoltre, ci teniamo a precisare che della bibliografia menzionata nei sillabi di livelli principiante e medio facevano parte, accanto ad altri titoli, anche i contributi delle colleghe del Dipartimento di lingua, cultura e civiltà romena (UBB): E. Platon, I. Sonea, D. Vilcu, *Manual de limba română ca limbă străină (RLS)-A1/A2* (Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 2012). E. Platon (coord.), *Caiete didactice. A1+* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Casa Cărții de Știință, 2012). I. Sonea, D. Vilcu, L. Vasiiu, *Manual de limba română ca limbă străină, Nivel B1 (suport de curs)*; E. Platon, D. Burlacu, A. Arieșan, *Manual de limba română ca limbă străină, Nivel B2 (suport de curs)*; E. Platon, A. Arieșan, L. Vasiiu, *Identitate culturală românească, (suport de curs)*; E. Platon, I. Sonea, D. Vilcu, *Exerciții audio. A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Efes, 2009).
- 5 <<http://video.elearning.ubbcluj.ro/>> (ultima visualizzazione il 10 agosto 2020)
 - 6 Alcune attività si possono visualizzare sulla pagina facebook <<https://www.facebook.com/Laltra-latinita-Romeno-a-Unipd>>.
 - 7 Rimandiamo per dettagli a Dana-Maria Feurdean, "Republica Italiană, Universitatea de Studii din Padova", in vol. *Institutul Limbii Române. 20 de ani de tradiție și internaționalizare*, ed. îngrijită de Daiana Cuibus și Emilia Ivancu (Craiova: Ed. Sitech, 2019), 115-121, volume in cui si possono trovare informazioni relative all'attività del lettorato e della Cattedra di Romeno presso il Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Letterari (DiSLL).
 - 8 Si vedano più informazioni in Dana-Maria Feurdean, *op.cit.* (2019), 115-12.

Book Reviews

iDiplomacy – The New Kid on the Block. Book review of Tom Fletcher’s *The Naked Diplomat: Understanding Power and Politics in the Digital Age*¹

Cristina Mărășescu*

Tom Fletcher, a British diplomat, proposes to the reader a personal insight into the world of international relations. Considering the current technological innovations, he makes a convincing case for the adaptation of traditional diplomatic mindset to the new rules of the game. Fletcher warns against the risk of ignoring technological developments, including big data, which are redefining the way information travels. Beyond thorough analysis and considerable foresight, the book offers a fascinating voyage into the history of international relationships.

diplomat; digital diplomacy; data driven diplomacy; Tom Fletcher.

Tom’s Fletcher’s book², whose title challenges the readers’ imagination, in many ways brings to the table what it promises: a fresh perspective on a topic that is traditionally presented in a conservative way – diplomacy. There is no nudity involved despite some spicy anecdotes but rather the title (inspired by an old TV show featuring Jamie Oliver) expresses a desire to present diplomacy in a way that does away with all unnecessarily complicated things that surround diplomacy and, at the same time, to comfortably sit the topic in the digital age as the subtitle suggests: *Understanding Power and Politics in the Digital Age*. The intended readership comprises diplomats and the general public alike.

Publishing the book review in the *Lingua* Journal seems therefore an obvious choice. I hope it will inspire students in modern languages to grab the book and read it. It may open the appetite for a future career in diplomacy or simply indulge in a captivating insight into the reality of international relations. For the academic community, the present

* Civil servant at the European External Action Service, Office of the Secretary General, Brussels, Belgium

review is a humble invitation to reading a book of unparalleled subtleties, nuances and good old British humour. The book may serve as support material in the teaching of negotiation skills or in the broader curriculum of British culture and civilisation.

Tom Fletcher was one of the youngest ambassadors to be appointed to represent Her Majesty The Queen for the past 200 years. He was the first western diplomat to be retweeted by the Iranian president. Before Lebanon, he served for four years as a political secretary under Blair, Brown and Cameron. As he describes himself – Fletcher worked for the last paper-and-pen prime minister – Tony Blair, the first e-mail prime minister – Gordon Brown and the first iPad prime minister – David Cameron.

“Diplomacy is too important to be left to diplomats”, says Tom Fletcher³. Since he is himself a diplomat, this is obviously not a mockery to a whole category of high civil servants. What he means is that the traditional way of international diplomacy is ill equipped to deal with present challenges in an era defined by the digital revolution but also by public involvement in international affairs. If diplomatic services fail to keep up, they are sure not only to be inefficient but also to lose the confidence of the public whose interest they are called to represent. This is not to say that the new ways do not come with their risks and drawbacks, but those should not stop diplomatic services to reform in the same way they did with the apparition of Gutenberg’s printing or the invention of the telephone.

Seizing the opportunity to influence on a massive scale through social media may prove crucial to diplomacy’s survival, arguing that “diplomacy is Darwinian: its practitioners need to evolve to survive”⁴. It is not by chance that his book debuts with the story of Emperor Qin Er Shi’s trusted diplomatic adviser Shen Weiqin “rudely awakened from his diplomatic comfort zone”⁵. Shen’s diplomacy was disrupted by Chu tribe’s innovative technique of passing messages quickly by positioning rested horses along the routes. Fletcher compares this third-century BC innovative technique to a decent social media account in our days. He is not merely telling the gruesome story of a death by slow-slicing and removal of 999 body parts in random order. His point is that information proved crucial (doesn’t it always!) and Chu tribe’s unexpected tactic to achieve efficient and timely communication disrupted Shen’s experienced diplomacy. Emperor Qin, who had tricked his older brother – the rightful heir to the Qin dynasty – into committing suicide thus getting the throne for himself, “rewarded” poor execution with slow execution. Mercy was not going to help him keep it. This is of course a wink to how costly the lack of versatility and foresight would be today. Poor performance in the nowadays’ diplomatic services is handled in a humane manner during long hours of constructive criticism but the cost of “arriving too late” may be of similar gravity.

Technology is prone to having huge transformative effects on governance and open vast possibilities to diplomacy. The internet has brought non-state actors into the conversation and the iGeneration is shaping the world. Diplomats should adapt to it, engage in the conversion in order to remain relevant. Rather than keeping the public out of diplomatic business, the diplomats of the digital era should master digital tools allowing them to engage with the public and respond to the challenges of new diplomatic realities. The influencing is no longer to be done through the elites alone.

The Naked Diplomat is a book of three very different sections. The first “Glad-handing on the Shoulders of Giants: A Short History of Diplomacy” and second “Statecraft and Streetcraft: Power and Diplomacy in a Connected World” draw on Fletcher’s experiences in the Foreign Office. The first chapter “Early Diplomacy: From Cavemen to Consuls” is in line with the book’s main argument for innovation: “While other sciences have advanced, that of government is at a standstill – little better practised now than three or four thousand years ago.” (John Adams, 1813)⁶.

With juicy details and witty rhetoric, Fletcher captures in “Diplomacy by Sea: From Columbus to Copyboys” (second chapter) the fascinating journey of diplomacy. At the dawns of European maritime discovery era, China was ahead of the West in many respects, especially as hard power. This meant that many of the earliest diplomatic protocols and customs were more Eastern than Western, alluding to the diplomats’ “kowtowing” (deep and humble bow) in front of representatives of other nations. Although the Chinese invented the first newspaper in 748, Gutenberg’s creation of the movable-type printing press in the 1440s allowed for the creation of a platform for unparalleled access to knowledge. In spite of the Chinese head start, Europe managed to close the gap. During Renaissance hard power was the main tool for domination but the emergence of European nations – Germany, France, Austria, Russia – kick-started the emergence of diplomacy and the need of diplomats to mediate and make sense of their nations’ differences. For Cosimo de Medici (1389-1464), Milan’s first semi-permanent ambassador, Spain’s first representative to London in 1487, Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio as first envoys of Florence, diplomacy was “not a career but a pursuit”⁷. We learn the history as well as the ins and outs of ever-sensitive issues such as ranking or other “gloriously archaic instruments”⁸, such as the credentials of new ambassadors to the heads of state. Clashes over protocol and ranking over history are source of tongue-in-cheek remarks. The French ambassador at a dinner with the English king Charles II, answered, when asked where he would like to sit: “Discover where the Spaniard desires to sit, then toss him out and put me in his place.”⁹. Fletcher admits: “I have attended many diplomatic dinners where such dark thoughts have crossed my mind.”¹⁰. On this occasion, we find out that British diplomats favour the use of United Kingdom instead of

Great Britain as, according to alphabetical order, it allows a closer seat to their American counterpart while “safely clear of the difficult group of countries whose names begin with *P*”¹¹.

Matters of more serious nature are also tackled. Fletcher touches upon the often strong mercantile core to diplomacy and the difficulty to keep the balance between “commercial priorities and our wider equities”¹². Realities of the modern diplomat leaving a diplomatic career to cope with more mundane needs are not left aside.

The first part of the book ends with the chapter “What Makes a Good Diplomat”. It introduces a historical inventory of the qualities of a diplomat. From the daunting 1566 skill set of Venetian envoy Otaviano Maggi – “trained theologian, familiar with Greek philosophers, expert in mathematical sciences, competent in law, music and poetry, proficient in Greek, Latin, French, German Spanish and Turkish, of aristocratic birth, rich and handsome”¹³ to a more modern set “a quick mind, a hard head, a strong stomach, a warm smile and a cold eye”¹⁴.

Fletcher covers first what a diplomat should NOT be. By walking us through a gallery of stereotypes “the Ferrero Rocher Ambassador”, “the aristocratic amateur”, the “Perfidious Machiavel” and the “hopeless but well-meaning chump”¹⁵, Fletcher lists characteristics ranging from being “insufferably pompous, patronising and grand” to the “lack of morality and deviousness”¹⁶.

We also read words of wisdom, subtle and telling definitions of diplomacy nonetheless amusing: “Diplomacy is the art of telling people to go to hell in such a way that they ask for directions” (Winston Churchill) or Robert Frost’s: “A diplomat is a man who always remembers a woman’s birthday but never remembers her age.”¹⁷. “Diplomacy is to do and say the nastiest thing in the nicest way” – Isaac Goldberg, the Reflex (1930)¹⁸ or “Tact is the knack of making a point without making an enemy” – Isaac Newton¹⁹.

The chapter is not limited to a collection of quotes and words on diplomacy and diplomats. Fletcher does not shy away from making the case for honesty as one of the key qualities of a diplomat. To my own personal satisfaction, in my short career in the EU’s diplomatic service – honesty has proved the strongest weapon I had. It may have not taken me far (yet) but it felt reassuring to see it written in black and white in Fletcher’s book.

Nuances here are important. A diplomat is first and foremost a negotiator. Putting all your cards on the table is not a smart way to start negotiating. However, knowing the difference between saying nothing and not saying everything is the fine line the diplomat needs to walk. Fletcher rightfully argues that in negotiations “you live or die on your reputation”²⁰.

According to the book’s author, the best advice that should resonate with any modern diplomat is in a letter written in 1813 by James Harris – a former ambassador to Russia, Prussia and France. Ambassador Harris’ letter can be boiled down to a few essential guidelines. The best school is what one learns from own observations. Listen, do not talk, at least not more than is necessary. Be cautious of those eager to meet you and share their ideas. Do not impose your habits and manners but conform as much as possible to your host country. Do not fall in the trap of compliments. Report faithfully and correctly.

One would say these are common sense principles and they indeed also echo my father’s advice when leaving the home nest for university some twenty years ago. But on the backdrop of stereotypes ingrained in the diplomatic folklore, these are more than ever guiding principles worthwhile reiterating.

The second section “Statecraft and Streetcraft: Power and Diplomacy in a Connected World” opens with the chapter titled “iDiplomacy”. Fletcher brings the tech-savvy diplomat to the fore and makes the argument that success will depend less on IQ and much more on the quality of the networks we build and on our ability to make them work. In the last decade, the number of Internet users has doubled. Current technology is changing everything, from how we collect information to how we communicate it. If the old diplomacy currency was the creation of trust, “the coinage of global politics is now digital” (Fletcher)²¹. Through a series of numerous facts and solid arguments, the author makes the case for technology as the key factor driving social change. Old diplomacy traditionally based on building trust between elites, will be replaced by diplomacy driven by big data. He shows how technology has changed the way information travels, explaining that not only is the government able to track public opinion but also the general public is now able to find out much more quickly what governments are up to. While reading this I could not help thinking of where Romania would have been now, had the public not stopped the abusive change of legislation on 31 January 2017 (Government order no. 13/2017). Thanks to timely access to information and communication via social media, citizens took to the streets in protest not only in Romania but all around the world. Under pressure, the Government had to backtrack. This is just a personal example to which I know the reader can more easily relate to understand the real power of social media.

Fletcher is relentless in drawing attention to the power of Internet. Not everyone may be on the Internet yet but humanity will get there soon and state actors would better get ready for it. Big data can help monitor how public opinion evolves and it can also help predict the future. Big data will be able to inform where conflict is more likely to happen. Fletcher argues what is already evident – we need to put technology in use and

design public services in a way that serves the public. Technology is the new arms race and those who do not master it will be left behind.

In the last part of the book “What Next” the author does no longer speak as a diplomat – but he merges into the wider category of “us”, calling for a need for all of us to reconsider our place in society and in our interconnected world. It urges us to be brave, creative, involved and connected. Diplomacy, he insists, is too important to be left to diplomats and he calls on us “citizen diplomats” to engage with it and continue the conversation on “statecraft” that traditionally belonged to diplomats and them alone. This might sound as somehow a shallow manifesto, but I see it as a simply well calculated and valid move. There is no other way but to accept that the public is now part of “diplomacy”. The book closes with the chapter “Citizen Diplomacy” where Fletcher comes back on the essence of diplomacy as a promoter of “coexistence” and as a “basic human reflex”²². He raises questions that all those involved in education should ponder on:

[...] how we create citizens diplomats. How can we influence how pupils are taught in schools in order that they are more likely to think diplomatically? Can we learn more about the costs of failure of diplomacy, i.e. wars? [...] When teaching the next generation of citizen diplomats, we should be thinking less about how to write a treaty than how humanity has managed to find ways, throughout history, to coexist.²³

The Naked Diplomat is undeniably a necessary book. The first of its sort because it is written by a real diplomat who advocates the updating of the diplomatic service fully conscious of the limitations and dangers of the old and new ways. The simple truths it speaks are easy to grasp and difficult to deny. The examples given by Tom Fletcher speak for themselves and the author successfully engages with the present day public, millennials and all people who have exchanged the newspapers for Facebook or Twitter accounts. Where the book might fall short is in oversimplifying old ways and caricaturing the old guard of diplomats. *The Naked Diplomat* is certainly a comfortable and very pleasant reading with a good share of British humour and delightful anecdotes from the past and present. It combines the attraction of an insider’s perspective with a fresh view of a long tradition of diplomacy. It is a book that most people can relate to and a book with a positive message. The author is himself a trailblazer and a possible model for the coming generations of diplomats. By saying out loud a number of things that maybe some diplomats are trying to ignore, the book opens a new era in which the immense influence of the digital tools is sure to be factored in in diplomatic relations.

Cristina Mărășescu joined the European Union’s diplomatic service in 2015. She has an MD in Communication and Public Relations awarded by the National School of Political Studies and Public Administration in 2005 and an MD in Integrational Linguistics awarded by the Faculty of Letters, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. Her area of interests includes communication, cultural diplomacy, external relations and European Union policies. (crismarasescu@gmail.com)

Notes

- 1 **Disclaimer:** The sole responsibility of this publication lies with the author. The European Union is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information contained therein.
- This article is exclusively based on open source information.
- 2 Tom Fletcher, *The Naked Diplomat: Understanding Power and Politics in the Digital Age* (London: William Collins, 2017), 312 p.
- 3 *Idem*, 274.
- 4 *Idem*, 3.
- 5 *Idem*, 2.
- 6 *Idem*, 25.
- 7 *Idem*, 32.
- 8 *Idem* 33.
- 9 *Idem*, 35.
- 10 *Ibidem*.
- 11 *Ibidem*.
- 12 *Idem*, 38.
- 13 *Idem*, 92.
- 14 *Ibidem*.
- 15 *Idem*, 90.
- 16 *Idem*, 95.
- 17 *Idem*, 91.
- 18 *Idem*, 86.
- 19 *Idem*, 94.
- 20 *Idem*, 96.
- 21 *Idem*, 107.
- 22 *Idem*, 266.
- 23 *Ibidem*.